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# JUDGES OF ARCHITECTORY: THE CLERKS OF PENICUIK AS AMATEURS

Iain Gordon Brown

**A**mateur, amateur architect, gentleman architect: the gradations betray subtle distinctions, and suggest rather different concepts. The remarkable Scottish family of the Clerks of Penicuik is worth consideration in a symposium devoted to the role of the amateur in architectural practice, for three generations were involved with architecture on the various levels which are implied by the use of these terms.

Between the 1630s and the 1830s, members of the Clerk family were leaders of artistic, musical and literary taste and patronage, or prominent in many of the sciences.<sup>1</sup> The family fortune can be traced to the activities of an enterprising merchant John Clerk (1611-74) who specialised in trade in luxury goods, and in whom art-dealing for profit from his Paris base came to assume the character of connoisseurship for its own sake. European trade permitted the acquisition of landed property back in Scotland — the Penicuik estate in Midlothian, to the south of Edinburgh, was bought in 1654 — and the subsequent ownership of coal mines greatly increased the commercial and agricultural patrimony. Social progress came rapidly, and in 1679 the second Clerk laird of Penicuik, also John (1649-1722) a member of the Scottish Parliament, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia. Further estates rather closer to Edinburgh were bought, and further mines.

Sir John's son, again called John (1676-1755) married an earl's daughter, sat in the last Scottish Parliament, served as a Commissioner for the Treaty of Union, and was a member of the first Parliament of Great Britain. An advocate, he was rewarded for his loyalty to the party of the Duke of Queensberry with an undemanding legal office as a Baron of the Scottish Court of Exchequer, a post he held for 47 years. Coal-ownership, and land, together with his government salary — what he habitually called “the King's money”, the possession of which permitted the self-indulgence in architecture which financial caution might otherwise have curbed — enabled the second baronet to devote his life to cultural affairs. Music, poetry, picture-collecting and art patronage, landscape gardening, travel, and, above all, the study of antiquities, claimed his attention.<sup>2</sup> Antiquarianism became a way of life, and as he read and wrote of classical antiquity, so he sought to create a splendid “past” for future generations to admire: thus, second only to archaeology, architecture was his greatest love.

His eldest surviving son, James (1709-82), followed no profession, and lived the life of a somewhat unsettled dilettante until he succeeded to the title and estates in 1755. Widely travelled and enjoying some considerable measure of training in art and design, Sir James Clerk brought the family tradition of architectural enthusiasm to its highest pitch, and took the step which neither his father nor his grandfather had had the courage to do: to demolish the ancient house of Newbiggin and to build, to his own design, a magnificent new Penicuik House, opulent, eccentric, and ornamented with a scheme of decorative painting by Alexander Runciman which formed one of the major monuments of British Romanticism.<sup>3</sup>

But this is to anticipate; and we must return to the later 17th century to begin this brief investigation of the architectural enterprise of the first three Clerk baronets who together exemplify those three degrees of amateur involvement in architecture. Attractive as it would be to say that, in a sort of “positive, comparative, superlative” structure, the first Sir John may be classified firmly as an amateur, that the second Sir John fits the requirements

of the amateur architect, and that Sir James is a gentleman architect, things are actually more complex.

We have the first Sir John, buying architectural books, writing lengthy memoranda on topics such as the use of the orders, or English country-house planning, and sketching a design for a house on a site later to be made famous by the villa which his son eventually built in the 1720s. He seems to have been responsible for a number of additions to his own house, and for one or two other works, the most notable of which is the mausoleum with rectangular base and pyramidal top which he designed as his wife's monument and which appears to have intriguingly obscure Classical sources.<sup>4</sup> He and his son began the Clerk tradition of giving advice to friends and neighbours on matters relating to building and architecture, and though on one occasion he went so far as to call himself in a consciously grandiloquent way "architect and chief plotter" for the redesign of a neighbouring proprietor's house ("I might have contributed all my skill to your advantage and satisfaction . . ."),<sup>5</sup> it is doubtful whether he would really have considered himself anything more than a serious and knowledgeable amateur of architecture in the literal sense of a lover of the subject. His strict Calvinism would not allow too great an enjoyment of the arts, and one senses an inner struggle between religious duty and abandonment to aesthetic pleasure.

In complete contrast, his grandson, Sir James Clerk, surrendered himself to the arts to such an extent that he incurred the suspicion of the populace. There is an attractive, but apocryphal, story that the elegant Gibbsian steeple over the entrance to the court of offices built by Sir James close to his new Penicuik House had originally been designed for a church that he proposed to build in Penicuik. Allegedly, this intended structure caused offence to minister, fellow heritors, kirk session and parishioners alike as smacking of popery: not one to waste a good idea, and confident in himself as a judge of architecory, Clerk risked disapproval and re-used his design in his own stables. The facts are rather different but equally fascinating, and show Clerk's preference for architectural design above religious convention and accepted propriety. What he did actually give his new church was a squat portico with a cross at the apex of the pediment. In 1779, when the stable-block steeple had been standing for 14 years in the place for which it had always been designed, Sir James's house was threatened by a mob opposed to the controversial Catholic Relief Act. The story is related by one of his brothers: "The spirit of the country is madness and fury, and should you speak to any of them on the subject they are like mad dogs or wylde cats flying at your throat . . . Many have received incendiary letters . . . Sir James has not escaped. They have wrote him and given many reasons for burning his house. First that he has many Roman Altars in his house, and therefore he must either be a Papist or a favourer . . . He has set up upon the new church he has built a cross which is an abomination of the scarlet whore, and has a portico with Columns which are but useless vanitys . . ." Had the bigots, who so conspicuously failed to appreciate either the second baronet's collection of Roman antiquities or the third baronet's Palladian facade, got inside the house they would have been further incensed to find the walls covered by frescoes illustrating pagan myth and legend. As a man of rank, wealth, artistic training and fine taste, who could also draw plans like a professional practitioner — a quantity of his drawings survive, several inscribed "J C Architectus" — and who worked very closely with professional architects, Sir James indeed must stand as an exemplar of the gentleman-architect.

The second baronet was an infinitely more appealing character than the first Sir John. It is a not insignificant fact that he was less shackled by the worst killjoy aspects of a Presbyterian conscience. In comparison with his father, he definitely thought of himself as belonging to a higher stage of cultural development. Whereas the first Sir John regarded himself as one of the Elect in religion, the second preferred to think of an Elect in terms of the scholarly circles of a virtuoso world where the creed was one of taste and spirit deriving from classical antiquity.

"Architectory", he wrote, "is what a great many pretend to judge of tho' 'tis certain Nature has qualifyd few, very few, for this sort of Knowledge"; and the implication throughout his long didactic poem "The Country Seat", from the preface to which this dictum is quoted, is that he was indeed one such.<sup>7</sup>

His devotion to the study of the academic sources, especially Vitruvius, was profound: these were the "unexhausted Stores, the surest Rules", the classical canon without a study of which the modern virtuoso could offer "no pretence to understand Architectory".<sup>8</sup> His membership of a cultural Elect was widely recognised. Certainly, as consultant and adviser-in-chief to the Scottish aristocracy and gentry; as an early and important patron of William Adam; as the man who took credit for the way that his beautiful villa of Mavisbank finally looked; and as a would-be arbiter of taste in all matters relating to building and architecture, practical or stylistic, he did nothing to discourage the general belief that his role in Scotland was somewhat akin to Lord Burlington's in the south, and undoubtedly he was, by his own canon, to be classed as an amateur architect.

As is Mavisbank in stone, so in the realm of theory is the didactic poem "The Country Seat" Clerk's principal claim to architectural distinction; and the poem is in turn the counterpart to his lifetime's experience of acting as an architectural critic and adviser. In the guise of a blank verse georgic, the poem was intended to be a manual of architecture and landscape theory, together with a practical treatise on technical matters of building. By means of the poem, which circulated in manuscript both in Scotland and in London, but about the publication of which he was strangely coy, he clearly aimed to establish a dictatorship of taste. Scottish contemporaries certainly regarded it as some sort of national manifesto. The poet James Thomson praised the "Truth, Taste and Delicacy" of Clerk's rules: "Whose taste will it not suit? and where is the Man who, after all the Bustle and ambitious toil of life, is not fond of the fine amusements and philosophical calm of the country seat? Yet if such there was, one executed according to your plan must charm him into Retirement."<sup>9</sup> Samuel Boyse wrote thus of the hoped-for influence of the poem's precepts:

Taught by thy Pen should Northern Chiswicks rise  
Or future Chatsworths strike the ravished eyes,  
Till Scotia should be lovely villas boast,  
As gild fair Thames's shore, or grace Hesperia's coast.<sup>10</sup>

The impression was general that the writing of the poem established Clerk as a great arbiter elegantiarum, an "Apollo of the Arts" to whom Scots should look for cultural leadership "... And verse again assume the power to build";<sup>11</sup> and it was in an exactly similar way that Pope handed to Burlington the palm of the architectural and aesthetic arbiter ("You too proceed! make falling Arts your care . . .").<sup>12</sup> The poet Allan Ramsay, long Clerk's intimate friend, matched him with Burlington. When engaged on building operations under Clerk's general guidance, Ramsay self he had "a certain portion of your & his [i.e. Burlington's] spirit, tho I fall vastly short of your superiour abilitys . . .".<sup>13</sup> William Aikman the painter, a member of Burlington's circle, implored Sir John to write down remarks on Vitruvian theory, to help "make architecture take in this critical age". Lord Garlies said of Clerk, who had been much involved in giving architectural advice to his family: "You have more experience in affairs of this kind than any body whatever."

"You write indeed like ane architect . . ." Garlies had said on another occasion, when Clerk had made suggestions for a grander pretension in house-building than he would, in fact, have allowed himself. There is ample evidence to suggest that Clerk put a value on his own advice, in aesthetic considerations certainly, but more especially in technical matters: he won for himself a Burlingtonian reputation as "a staunch builder" who enjoyed grappling with the problems of intractable masonry and recalcitrant masons, for he had, he maintained, "served a long

apprenticeship"; and he was surprised when his advice was not taken.<sup>14</sup> Indeed Sir John did have an uncommon technical interest in building science which made him an obvious and welcome consultant to fellow patrons less able to understand the niceties of well-slaked lime and sharp sand, joists and wainscoting, or else less willing to get their shoes dirty. In many of his writings he laid stress on those very points — technical details and practical concerns — which probably interested the average patron less than would advice about matters of style, external show and decorative features, which made a house a symbol of the owner's wealth, and eloquent of his fashionable taste.

However, the second baronet is a strangely paradoxical character. Throughout his life, and in every aspect of his cultural activity, he was obsessed by the notion of the gentleman: one must not be a pedant, or appear to know too much about a subject, for that would make one seem to be a professional, and a professional was hardly a gentleman.<sup>15</sup> It is as if he were determined that no matter how good an architect he might become, he would never lose sight of the fact that he must maintain this "amateur status": to be too much of an expert — to build a house without any aid from a professional — was to cease to be an amateur, and so a gentleman. Nevertheless, Clerk was in many ways a pedant in architecture, for instance in his interest in the thoroughly ungentlemanly pursuit of mortar-mixing, a subject which along with other technical matters fills and almost clogs the pages of "The Country Seat". I have pointed out that he was coy about publishing his georgic. He both wanted to, and did not want to do so. His rules, he said, were tendered as by "a Person in a Masque".<sup>16</sup> One suspects that he would have been prepared to see the work published anonymously or pseudonymously. Yet when this very thing nearly happened, he was at some pains and expense to retrieve the copy of his manuscript. In his architectural writing his attitude closely resembled the approach he adopted to other major projects, most notably a six-volume history of the Union of England and Scotland, written in Latin, on which he worked in a desultory way for 40 years but which he ever found "an unlick't cub".<sup>17</sup> A comparison with his musical life is instructive. A highly accomplished composer, and a sometime pupil of Corelli, Clerk subsequently refused to play in public, and maintained that he had in his youth performed "better than became a Gentleman".<sup>18</sup> In his role as an adviser to fellow patrons he displayed a preference for seeing the professional architect kept in his proper place as executor of the patron's wishes. During the time of their co-operation in the design and construction of Clerk's villa at Mavisbank, and throughout the years of their association on other commissions, William Adam, in his letters, shows a growing sense of equality verging on superiority: the professional scores points over the patron, and the amateur is treated with slight disdain. For his part, whereas Clerk referred in his *Memoirs* to Willaim Adam as "Architect", Adam is listed in Clerk's private accounts along with "masons, wrights, plasterers, smiths and sclaiters", as if the step from tradesman to gentleman were a broad one.<sup>19</sup>

The first baronet's taste had been formed by his knowledge of the architecture of Paris and of the Low Countries acquired during his studies and subsequent travels in the earlier 1670s. Of Italy and all things Italian he remained suspicious throughout his life, and he viewed with extreme concern his son's decision to extend his own legal education at Leiden by a prolonged Grand Tour which took him through Germany and Austria to Venice, and on to Rome — where he spent 14 months — and thence to Naples, Florence, and finally to Paris.<sup>20</sup> In his turn, the son of the second baronet worried his father by the extent and duration of his European travels, which included a time spent in the Roman studio of the fashionable painter Francesco Imperiali.

Thus among them the three Clerk architectural amateurs had a remarkable range of European experience on which to draw. They assembled a fine collection of Dutch, French and Italian architectural books,<sup>21</sup> which they housed in the various closets, studies and library rooms of Newbiggin and Mavisbank until James Clerk in 1753 persuaded the second baronet to allow

him to build onto the old house a new library to his own design. Not content with this, Sir James (as he now was), acting the joint role of architect and bibliophile, made provision for a finer library in the attic of his new Penicuik House, on which work began in 1761. The garden front presents an austere facade, where even the expected pediment is replaced by a canted attic of highly unusual design, in which are three arcaded windows: these lit the library, which consequently had a splendid view over fields and hills, and the ponds, walks, terraces and bastions of the Penicuik policies and pleasure-grounds. More splendid still, and more remarkable by far, was Sir James's unexecuted design for an independent library to be built some distance from the new house.<sup>22</sup> This extraordinary and, in a Scottish context, utterly impractical conceit allowed for a circular library-room, based upon the Pantheon and complete with hypethral dome, with a suite of hot and cold baths in the basement. And as if the thought of a distinguished library collection constantly at hazard from the elements beneath an open oculus were not enough, we may speculate upon the effects of the juxtaposition of valuable books and a steaming Turkish bath.

The third of the architectural Clerk baronets built a wholly new and grand house. His father had preferred to leave the main family seat well alone and to concentrate his efforts, to spend his resources and to satisfy his desires – in a half self-indulgent, half restrained way, and one always tempered by a need to justify extravagance by stress on the real “conveniency and use” of his architectural play-thing – in the construction of a subsidiary villa. The first Sir John, and indeed the first laird before him, enlarged considerably the tower-house which had been acquired with the lands of Penicuik. The earlier generations to live at Penicuik felt that their resources were not yet sufficient to demolish Newbiggin, or Old Penicuik House, and to build a new in a modern taste. Thus there grew up a tradition of “patching and adding”, which left the baronet of the day to outline on paper – either in the form of graphic “scratches”, or else in the shape of lengthy memoranda to which the Clerks were addicted – his ideas for the sort of new house he would ideally build if courage or finances permitted, and the heir, in turn, to be dissatisfied with his father’s caution and conservatism.

Family correspondence suggests that some six years after his return from the Grand Tour John Clerk had conceived an ambitious design for the rebuilding of Newbiggin as a regular “double pile” house, which project would have included the construction of a Classical facade and pavilions. This was to be a long-term undertaking; but beyond the introduction of a few sash windows, the house was in actuality dressed up no further.<sup>23</sup> Paradoxically, the younger Clerk seems already to have accepted the impracticality, even undesirability, of attempting to modernise old houses; for he wrote that “My notion of building is that every man should study conveniency and good aire, without any regard to regularity . . . for an old building reform’d and made a little regulare, makes as ill a figure as a tayleur with a clamper’d coat on his back, wheras a good old coat made so as to keep a man warm looks like nature without affectation.”<sup>24</sup>

In reality father and son were not so different in their views of what could or should be done. “I have seen many fool books of architecture with respect to order and magnificency”, wrote the first baronet; “I wou’d gladly see one that treats chiefly of conveniency.”<sup>25</sup> This consideration hindered the construction either by father or son of what the latter termed a “very fine uniform house”; and when the younger Clerk came into the estate, pragmatism prevailed and he “contented [him]self with what was done, and fell a-building of Mavisbank”. Thus he was able to enjoy the best of both worlds: to build an exquisite small villa suitable for the arbiter of taste he was – and necessary for practical reasons as a suburban base from which to ride in to Edinburgh to attend the court in session – and at the same time to retain the old mansion to which sentiment bound him. “It is ample rather than magnificent, useful and convenient rather than sumptuous or splendid. It shows an aged and wrinkled brow . . . ; but it is clean and bright, and more suited to the wants of my family than if it had been finished with all the arts and orna-

ments of Vitruvius.”<sup>27</sup> Late in life, his conclusion was that his old house looked better “in its antique figure than if it was all new built. May it be my fate to live and die in it, and may those who come after me do the like.”<sup>28</sup> But Sir James Clerk – denied the pleasure of building some new small-scale gem of a house as an exercise for his talents, such as Mavisbank had been for his father, and clearly lacking his father’s sentiment for the past (with the conjoint excuse which that had provided for avoiding prodigal expenditure on further building), and as a childless man with no particular responsibilities to provide for the future – was ready and willing to indulge his architectural enthusiasm on a much grander scale by building in the place of the old seat a new house appropriate for a connoisseur and patron of the arts.

“Study, travel and experience” were the factors which the second baronet advanced in justification of his fitness to be a codifier of the “Rules and Directions” of architecture.<sup>29</sup> The academic study of architecture he had pursued from his youth. He was one of the most important of early-18th century architectural tourists, as indeed he was a notable spectator of his times in general.<sup>30</sup> His voluminous journals and correspondence contain much of value to the architectural historian of today.<sup>31</sup> Practical experience he gained above all from his work with William Adam at Mavisbank from 1723; and it was this experience which enabled him to act so frequently as an adviser to others. His amateur activity in design and in the more practical aspects of building allowed him to play the adviser’s part in a way that the simple exercise of patronage almost certainly would not have done.

At Mavisbank Clerk had sketched out his ideas which he then submitted to the scrutiny of a professional: Adam perfected those ideas, gave substance to them, or at any rate assessed them for architectonic feasibility. The evidence suggests that Clerk was justified in writing of a plan “concerted” between himself and Adam.<sup>32</sup> The conception of the house and its execution in the initial stages were Clerk’s: he in turn was inspired by ideas of his father, who had possibly depended for advice upon James Smith.<sup>33</sup> A fascinating survival is a set of plans and elevations for a house at Mavisbank in the hand of the first baronet, which are annotated by the second baronet with his reasons for his building a smaller but much more elaborate villa. In the hands of the second Sir John and William Adam, Mavisbank became “a very small box, and Genteell too”<sup>34</sup>, with a plan outstanding for its miniature perfection. Clerk set specifications to which Adam gave working coherence; and in the end Clerk could still write that “however the Architecture may please or displease, it is owing chiefly to my self”.<sup>35</sup> Each man won some points dear to him. Had Clerk’s will not prevailed in determining the building’s height, “the fabrick wou’d have lookt like a Touer, and been quite spoiled”;<sup>36</sup> but Adam pushed for, and achieved, much greater exterior embellishment than Clerk wanted, whereas Clerk secured the relative restraint in interior plasterwork he sought; and so on. The full story cannot be told here, but the episode is illuminating, and a valuable exposition of intricate architectural relationships.<sup>37</sup> It should be said that not the least important aspect of the Mavisbank story is the crystallising in stone of the villa idea: for the house was intended to be the museum and rural retreat of a learned man of affairs at which he might gather about himself his virtuoso friends and where a Horatian or Plinian life of cultivated ease might be pursued “in imitation of the Ancients”.<sup>38</sup>

As adviser and consultant Clerk found himself a talented and experienced amateur at the centre of a group of professional architects, builders and masons. In this role, too, he was a central figure in a world of patrons or would-be patrons all anxious about taking that critical step which Clerk’s friend Charles Erskine of Tinwald described as the “dip into mortar”.<sup>39</sup> His advice was customarily given when a professional designer was being, or was about to be employed. The patron found comfort in the help of a sympathetic amateur of his own class, who could discuss all the problems involved in building or remodelling a house, and who might defend his interests in the face of the professional who was frequently seen as pushing and likely to run up costs

for personal gain.

The architectural correspondence in the Clerk papers shows a consistent tendency for architects to despise or belittle patrons, patrons to distrust professionals, and both to appeal to Clerk as mediator in disputes, and as defender of ideas. Sometimes Clerk was asked to supply a plan of his own to set against that of a professional as a basis for discussion. Frequently he held the ring between patron and professional man, or sometimes between architects. He would visit houses a-building to give one-the-spot advice, and on occasion found himself drawn in to act more or less as an overseer or clerk-of-works. For the Earl of Aberdeen at Haddo, or the Earl of Galloway at Glasserton, or the Marquis of Tweeddale at Yester, and elsewhere, Clerk recommended the employment of particular trusted masons; criticised and modified the design of the architect, or of rival architects; arranged for efficient workmen to handle the best materials he could order; and listened as patient arbitrator to the recriminations of designer, builder, and patron.<sup>40</sup>

Clerk idealised the gentleman amateur. It is Burlington who is the hero of "The Country Seat"; of professionals (if these men can be so demeaned) only Jones and Vanbrugh are mentioned, and then not in as reverential tones as he. In garden design, too, Clerk singled out for praise the work of amateurs. "The Country Seat" advances the ideal notion that the gentleman will "proceed with well-digested thoughts to form a Plan" on paper, then in a model, which may rid the design of costly mistakes at an early stage. But, as "Designs of highest Taste in miniature/ Faint and imperfect Ideas convey", the gentleman will then call on a "skill'd Artist by Experience taught", who will refine the draft which the amateur has made. Such had been Clerk's own method at Mavisbank. But it was important that the patron should retain control, and the ability to extract the best from the professional and his craftsmen. Gentlemanly commitment was vital. Second only to Burlington, in Clerk's estimation, was Lord Pembroke: the first, he said, "gloried more in the title of Architect than of his peerage", and of the second he was told that architecture was "the best part of his character".<sup>41</sup> A study of Clerk's working relationships with professional architects and builders may suggest that to describe him as "the Lord Pembroke of Scotland" may actually be nearer the mark in purely architectural terms than it is to force a comparison with Burlington purely on architectural grounds rather than on those of wider cultural leadership.

Among Scottish amateurs resident in Scotland Clerk was outstanding. Only John Erskine, Earl of Mar, had seen and learned more at home and abroad. It is he who is, perhaps, the best candidate for the title of the Scottish Burlington, by virtue of his connections and his precocious talent. He was Clerk's "particular acquaintance"; however, Clerk thought of him not as an architect but as a rebel in the 1715 Jacobite rising, after which he had been forced to take his architectural and other talents abroad.<sup>42</sup> Many of his extraordinary later designs were produced as an anodyne for the sadness of exile and attainder, and had no hope of realisation.<sup>43</sup> Mar, in fact, practised Clerk's recommendation to "exert your skill to build and plant/ In paper fields . . ."<sup>44</sup> Mar might reminisce about handsome houses in the Ancient Kingdom. But he was furth of Scotland, and while he was designing for Drumlanrig a great dome over the courtyard – grandiose enough for any poetic palace of "The Country Seat" – it was Clerk who was actually on hand to assist the Duke of Queensberry with architectural and landscape problems,<sup>45</sup> and to gather much other business of advising into his own hands:

How vain and fruitless is it to attempt  
Structures we cannot to Perfection bring . . .  
The tow'ring Fancy of an Architect,  
Must never soar to such a boundless Height,  
As not to keep his Judgement still in sight.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For his habitual kindness in granting permission to quote from manuscripts in the Clerk of Penicuik Muniments deposited in the Scottish Record Office [SRO], H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, I am indebted to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt.

## NOTES

1. Iain Gordon Brown, *The Clerks of Penicuik: Portraits of Taste and Talent*, Edinburgh, 1987. I have in hand a detailed study of the second baronet which will have the title of *A Light for the Muses: Sir John Clerk and his Circle*.
2. On the second baronet see John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle*, London, 1962, 15-32; and Iain Gordon Brown, "Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755): Aspects of a Virtuoso Life", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1980 [hereafter cited as "Virtuoso Life"]. On his antiquarian and related activities see Iain Gordon Brown, "Critick in Antiquity: Sir John Clerk of Penicuik", *Antiquity* LI, 1977, 201-10; and *idem*, *The Hobby - Horsical Antiquary*, Edinburgh, 1980, *passim*.
3. Alistair Rowan, "Penicuik House, Midlothian", *Country Life*, August 15 and 22, 1968. See also Susan Booth, "The Early Career of Alexander Runciman and his Relations with Sir James Clerk of Penicuik", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, 332-43; and Duncan Macmillan, "'Truly National Designs': Runciman's Scottish Themes at Penicuik", *Art History* I, 1978, 90-98.
4. Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-life*, New Haven and London, 1991, 303-06. The tomb is illustrated in Fig. 278. The drawing is in SRO, GD18/1752.
5. "Virtuoso Life", 240 and note 66.
6. Quoted in Brown, *The Hobby-Horsical Antiquary*, 7.
7. I am preparing an edition of "The Country Seat" in which the complete text of the poem, together with the author's notes and introduction, will be published for the first time, accompanied by a full introduction and commentary by myself. The MS., which exists in three versions, is SRO, GD18/4404/1-3. See also Stuart Piggott, "Sir John Clerk and 'The Country Seat'", in H.M. Colvin and J. Harris, eds, *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House*, London, 1970, 110-16.
8. "The Country Seat", author's note 5.
9. SRO, GD18/4514, James Thomson to Sir John Clerk, January 18, 1728.
10. GD18/4518/3. In the published version of Boyse's poem (*English Poets*, ed. Chalmers, London, 1810, XIV, 583), Wanstead is substituted for Chiswick.
11. *Ibid.*
12. "Moral Essays. Epistle to Burlington", line 191.
13. *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, IV, A. Kinghorn and A. Law, eds, Scottish Text Society, 1970, 195. On Ramsay's building of his "goose pie" house in Edinburgh see Iain Gordon Brown, *Poet and Painter: Allan Ramsay, Father and Son, 1684-1784*, Edinburgh, 1984, 22-23.
14. For these quotations illustrative of Clerk's reputation see "Virtuoso Life", 231-32 and notes 14-18.
15. On Clerk's Roman gravity, and his sheltering behind the mask of the gentleman and the judge, see "Virtuoso Life", Chapter 6.
16. "The Country Seat", Preface.
17. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, J. M. Gray, ed., Scottish History Society, XIII, Edinburgh, 1892, 160.
18. *Ibid.*, 36, note 1.
19. *Ibid.*, 115; SRO, GD18/1729/2, accounts for 1731, p. 37.
20. For a full study of Clerk's Grand Tour see "Virtuoso Life", Chapter 3.
21. The Penicuik library catalogue is in the National Library of Scotland, Department of Manuscripts. Dep. 187.
22. Iain Gordon Brown, "A Bibliophile's Bagnio: Sir James Clerk's Pantheon for Penicuik", in A. Rowan and I. Gow, eds, *Scottish Country Houses*, Edinburgh, 1994, 134-49.
23. "Virtuoso Life", 275 and note 259.
24. SRO, GD18/5238/57, John Clerk, younger of Penicuik, to Sir John Clerk, January 16, 1705.
25. SRO, GD18/5238/85, Sir John Clerk to John Clerk, younger of Penicuik, May 13, 1706.
26. SRO, GD18/1758, "Memoirs in Relation to the House of Penicuik", p. 4.
27. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk*, 237.
28. SRO, GD18/1758, "Memoirs in Relation to the House of Penicuik", p. 12.
29. "The Country Seat", Preface, 2.
30. "Virtuoso Life", Chapters 1 and 6.
31. This was first demonstrated by John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle*, 22-32.
32. SRO, GD18/1770, "Memorandums Concerning the Building of Mavisbank".
33. "Virtuoso Life", 249.

34. SRO, GD18/4719, Adam to Clerk, January 30, 1723.
35. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk*, 115.
36. *Ibid.*
37. On the building of Mavisbank see Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle*, 33-44, and Ian Gow, "Mavisbank, Midlothian", *Country Life*, August 20, 1987; also "Virtuoso Life", 250-53.
38. See "Virtuoso Life", Chapter 7, "Beatus Ille: Antique Life at the Villa".
39. SRO, GD18/3224, Erskine to Sir John Clerk, April 5, 1739.
40. On Clerk as adviser see "Virtuoso Life", 231-34, 240-47.
41. SRO, GD18/2110/2, "General Observations on England" (c. 1733), 25-26; 5030/30, Roger Gale to Sir John Clerk, February 27, 1733.
42. SRO, GD18/2110/3, "A Trip to the North of Scotland", 4.
43. SRO, RHP 13256-7. The Drumlanrig design is RHP 13256, f. 64.
44. This and the subsequent verse quotations are from "The Country Seat" 11 and 19.
45. SRO. GD18/2623/1-13, Archibald Douglas of Cavers to Sir John Clerk, 1726-28, on Clerk's work for Queensberry.