

## SHORTER NOTICE

# *The Roots of Scottish Baronial: Drawings for David Bryce's Book Project, 1827–36*

by RALPH ST CLAIR WADE

### ABSTRACT

This article re-evaluates an unfinished book project by the celebrated Edinburgh architect David Bryce (1803–76). It demonstrates that a group of drawings in the British Architectural Library hitherto attributed to Bryce's employer William Burn (1789–1870) was in fact the work of the young Bryce, who executed them between 1827 and 1831. This corpus emerges as the first stage of Bryce's book project, of which only one volume, 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament' (c. 1831–36), was compiled but not published. Bryce's initiative, in turn, emerges as the preparatory effort for one of Victorian Scotland's great sourcebooks, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845–52) by Robert William Billings. In itself, Bryce's unpublished work represents a notably early engagement with the architecture of early modern Scotland; in its relation to the work of Billings, it played an appreciable role in the revival of Scotland's national architecture.

Once billed as 'Scotland's great Victorian architect', David Bryce (1803–76) is now largely unstudied.<sup>1</sup> Praised by one obituarist as the most prominent member of the Scottish profession, he left well over 200 buildings.<sup>2</sup> When that figure is combined with the output of his sometime employer and business partner William Burn (1789–1870), the total approaches 900 commissions.<sup>3</sup> This was a legacy of quality as well as quantity. Visitors to Edinburgh — the city of Bryce's birth and practice — can hardly fail to notice the monumental baroque of his Bank of Scotland or the imaginative Franco-baronial of Fettes College (Fig. 1). Although Bryce was an accomplished classicist with a flourishing civic practice, Scottish-baronial country houses represented the majority of his output. Indeed, building on the contributions of Robert Adam, James Gillespie Graham and Burn, he was largely responsible for the revival of the Scottish-baronial style.

It is perhaps surprising that an architect of Bryce's stature has left so little by way of self-explanation. Even when invited by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) to discuss the design of Fettes College, he devoted half of his short paper to the circumstances of William Fettes's benefaction and the other half to the (admittedly extensive) ventilation arrangements.<sup>4</sup> His relative taciturnity has perhaps made him an

easy figure to overlook. To date, there is no full-length book on Bryce, nor have there been any articles in refereed journals. In compensation, we have the excellent exhibition catalogue of 1976 by Valerie Fiddes and Alistair Rowan, supported by a number of scholarly articles in *Country Life*, the *Listener* and *Scottish Field*. Bryce's unfinished book project is therefore doubly significant: it is the work of an architect who otherwise wrote nothing, and about whom comparatively little has been written.

The core discovery presented here is the reattribution of a group of drawings in the British Architectural Library (the 'BAL group') at the RIBA.<sup>5</sup> These drawings form part of the library's William Burn collection and, although hitherto attributed to Burn, are now shown to be the work of Bryce. The reattribution is made possible by the substantial overlap between this material and the contents of an unpublished volume indubitably by Bryce, 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament' (hereafter 'Sketches'). This volume, which had formed part of Bryce's office library, is now held by Washington University in St Louis, Missouri. The correct attribution of the BAL group establishes the proper context of Bryce's unpublished book on Scottish architecture and shows that his work was preparatory to the renowned publication by Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845–52).

The BAL group is a collection of forty-four drawings mounted on thirty-two backing sheets (440 × 290 mm). Of these sheets, twenty-three feature one drawing (minimum 254 × 146 mm, maximum 432 × 241 mm); seven feature multiples of two, three or four small drawings (minimum 102 × 102 mm, maximum 191 × 273 mm); and a further two are blank. The majority of the drawings, which range in date from 1820 to 1847, were executed between 1827 and 1831. They are all precisely detailed depictions of early modern domestic architecture in England and Scotland and, with only four exceptions, are all elevational.<sup>6</sup> There is little contemporary annotation, and the subjects — which have been identified in the course of this research — are listed in the appendix (see page 86). Among the most frequently recurring are details from George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, and Crewe Hall, Cheshire. The intended audience appears to be architectural, and the material might have functioned well as a pattern book; there are no general views and only a handful of drawings that depict complete features — the screen of Crewe Hall is a notable exception (Fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> Of the features selected, moulded plaster ceilings are the most common (twenty drawings), followed by exterior balustrades (ten drawings) and ornamental window heads (twenty-four examples on three drawings).

The group, as it is identified here, has previously been treated as a miscellany. The RIBA catalogue describes the items as 'Survey drawings of details of Jacobean ornaments' and places them at the end of Burn's extensive entry. The result has been the inclusion of at least ten drawings that, it will be argued, do not belong with the others. The catalogue, in addition, suggests that the drawings of Hatfield House in Hertfordshire were prepared as studies for Burn's work at Lynford Hall in Norfolk (c. 1856).<sup>8</sup> The present article reveals that the BAL group is largely an earlier version of Bryce's 'Sketches'; as such, it is both the younger man's work and of earlier date.

As for Bryce's 'Sketches', this is one of two bound volumes from Bryce's library now at Washington University, the other being 'Examples of Ornamental Sculpture'. 'Sketches' consists of sixty-eight folios (400 × 540 mm) and can be dated c. 1831–36, while



Fig. 1. *Fettes College, Edinburgh, entrance front, David Bryce, 1862, photograph of 2017 by Pawel Gieralt (Wikimedia Commons)*

'Examples' comprises forty-four folios and can be dated *c.* 1838.<sup>9</sup> Both volumes are approximately dated from Whatman watermarks, and both retain their contemporary binding (*c.* 1842).<sup>10</sup> Bryce is named as the author on the binding of 'Sketches'. By contrast, 'Examples' has no named author, perhaps because its character is largely derivative: a collection of tracings of French woodwork, plasterwork, ironwork and garden design largely culled from the pages of Jean Marot, Jacques-François Blondel and Hippolyte Destailleur, all of which Bryce had in his library.<sup>11</sup> 'Sketches' follows the BAL group in comprising original, elevational drawings of early modern domestic ornament. The focus remains on moulded plaster ceilings, balustrades and exterior carving. Like the BAL group, neither 'Sketches' nor 'Examples' has any captioning text or contemporary annotation. An indicative list of the subjects in 'Sketches' (identified, as with the BAL group, in the course of this research) is given in the appendix (pages 86–87). Although 'Sketches' offers a roughly equal quantity of English and Scottish details, the latter are drawn from a smaller collection of sites. Of the fourteen identifiable English locations, examples from Crewe Hall and Audley End, Essex, predominate. The Scottish material, however, includes a detailed treatment of only five identifiable sites: Argyll's Lodging, Stirling; George Heriot's Hospital; Moray House, Edinburgh; Old College, Glasgow University; and Greyfriars Kirkyard, Edinburgh. The sixteen full-page studies of seventeenth-century monuments in Greyfriars Kirkyard arguably represent the pinnacle of the work.

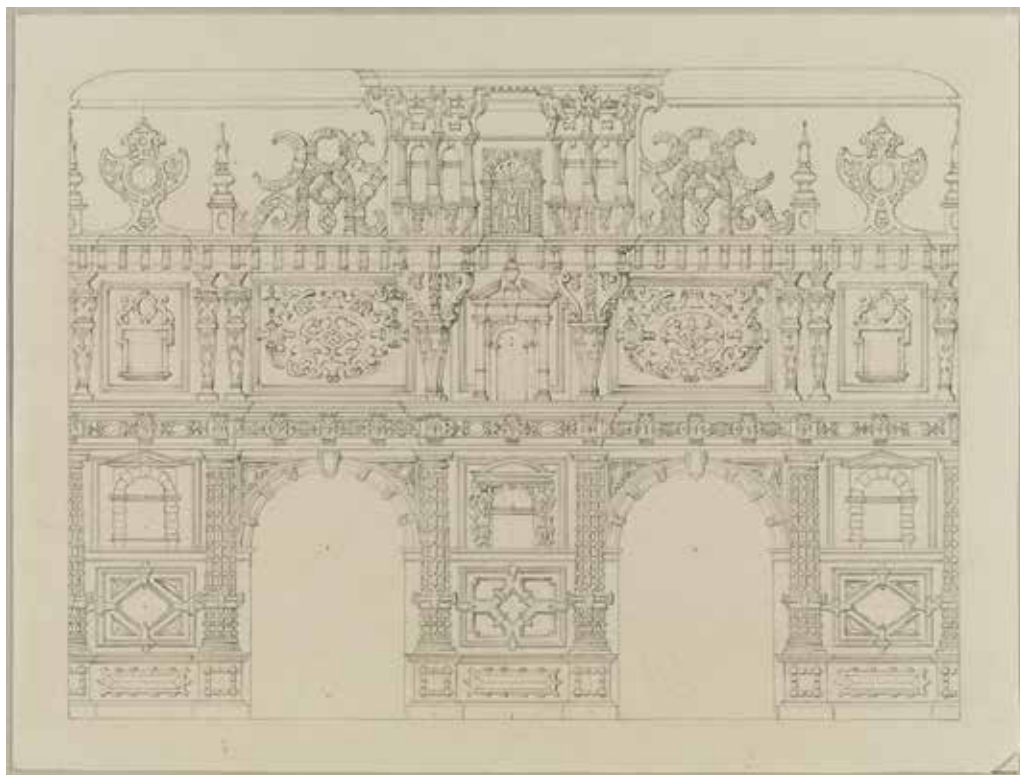


Fig. 2. *The screen at Crewe Hall, Cheshire, from the British Architectural Library group of drawings by David Bryce, c. 1827–31 (RIBA Drawings Collection)*

How did the various drawings end up in their current location? The BAL group seems to have been taken by Burn to his new London office around 1844, when he and Bryce parted company. The drawings remained with the Burn practice until they were donated to the RIBA in June 1933 by Burn's great-nephew, Henry Lennox Anderson.<sup>12</sup> The two bound volumes, 'Sketches' and 'Examples', remained with the Bryce practice and were kept in the office library until the retirement of Bryce's last successor in practice, John Bryce Brechin, in 1928. At this point, the practice library was sold wholesale to an American restaurateur, Joseph Garavelli, who donated the collection directly to Washington University in St Louis. 'Sketches' and 'Examples' have remained largely unstudied, with the exception of a brief bibliographic reference in the catalogue of the 1976 Edinburgh exhibition, for which the volumes were borrowed.<sup>13</sup> Poor-quality photocopies of uncertain date were placed in the library of the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS), now the archive of Historic Environment Scotland. These copies were lost, although the facsimile of 'Examples' has recently been rediscovered. Preparing this piece has involved the commission of new digital facsimiles from Washington University Libraries.<sup>14</sup>

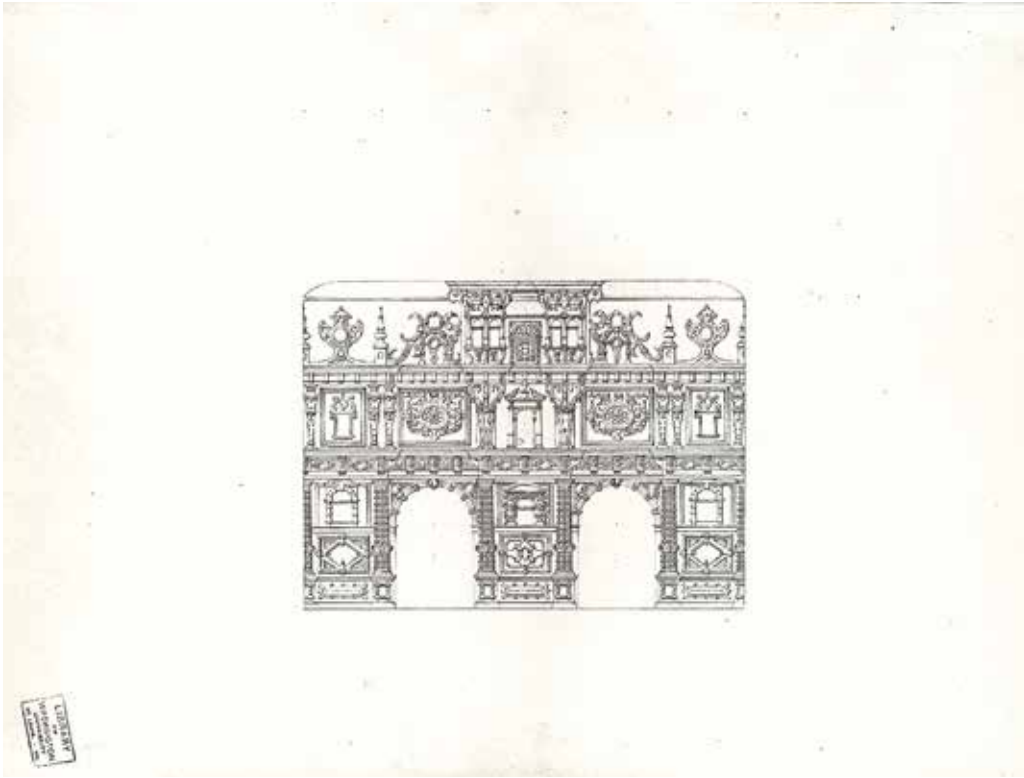


Fig. 3. *The screen at Crewe Hall, Cheshire, from David Bryce's 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament', c. 1831–36, f. 27 (Washington University Libraries)*

The BAL group is thus permanently estranged from its sibling volume in Missouri and, until now, has remained in London misattributed and with most of its subjects unidentified. It contains at least sixty-five depictions that are identical to those in 'Sketches'. The overlap in subjects, style and page layout makes it clear that this collection is the companion of the volume in Missouri (compare, for example, Figs 2–5). That 'Sketches' is a development of the BAL group can be discerned from two aspects of its format. First, of the two, 'Sketches' is markedly more worked up. This is true of both its layout and its execution: of layout, because 'Sketches' regularises and reorders the individually mounted drawings in the BAL group at folio scale; and of execution, because in 'Sketches' all tone and inessential line are stripped out for the benefit of the engraver. What confirms the kinship of these works, and that one is preparatory to the other, is the presence of reversed images. At least three details in 'Sketches' are mirror images: the south front of Burghley House in Lincolnshire (Figs 6 and 7), the balustrade from Charlton Park in Wiltshire and the stair of Crewe Hall (Figs 8 and 9). That these correspond to positive images in the BAL group demonstrates the closest kind of relationship between the two: direct tracing. It also places 'Sketches' at the final stage



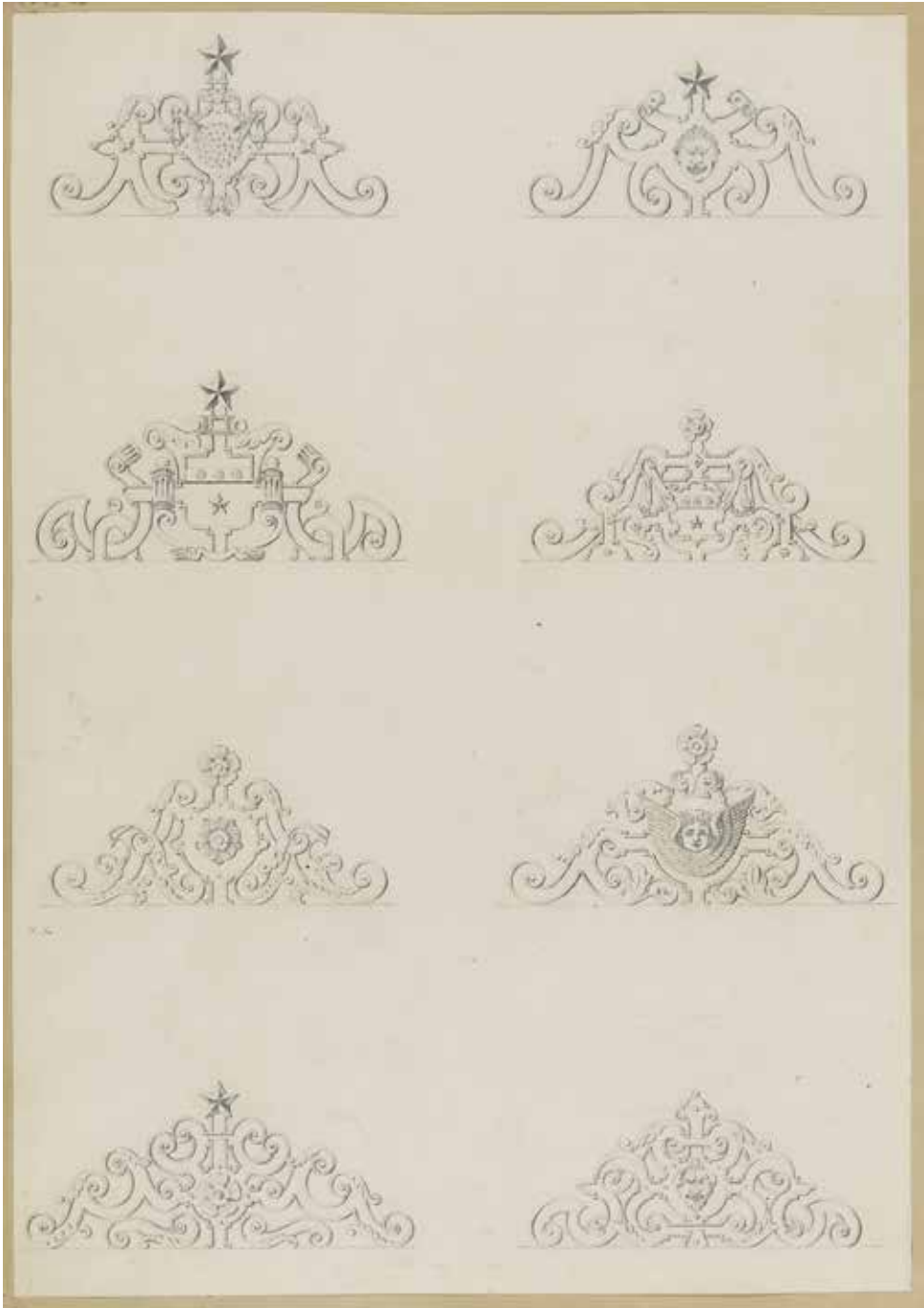


Fig. 4. Aedicule details from Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, from the British Architectural Library group of drawings by David Bryce, c. 1827–31 (RIBA Drawings Collection)

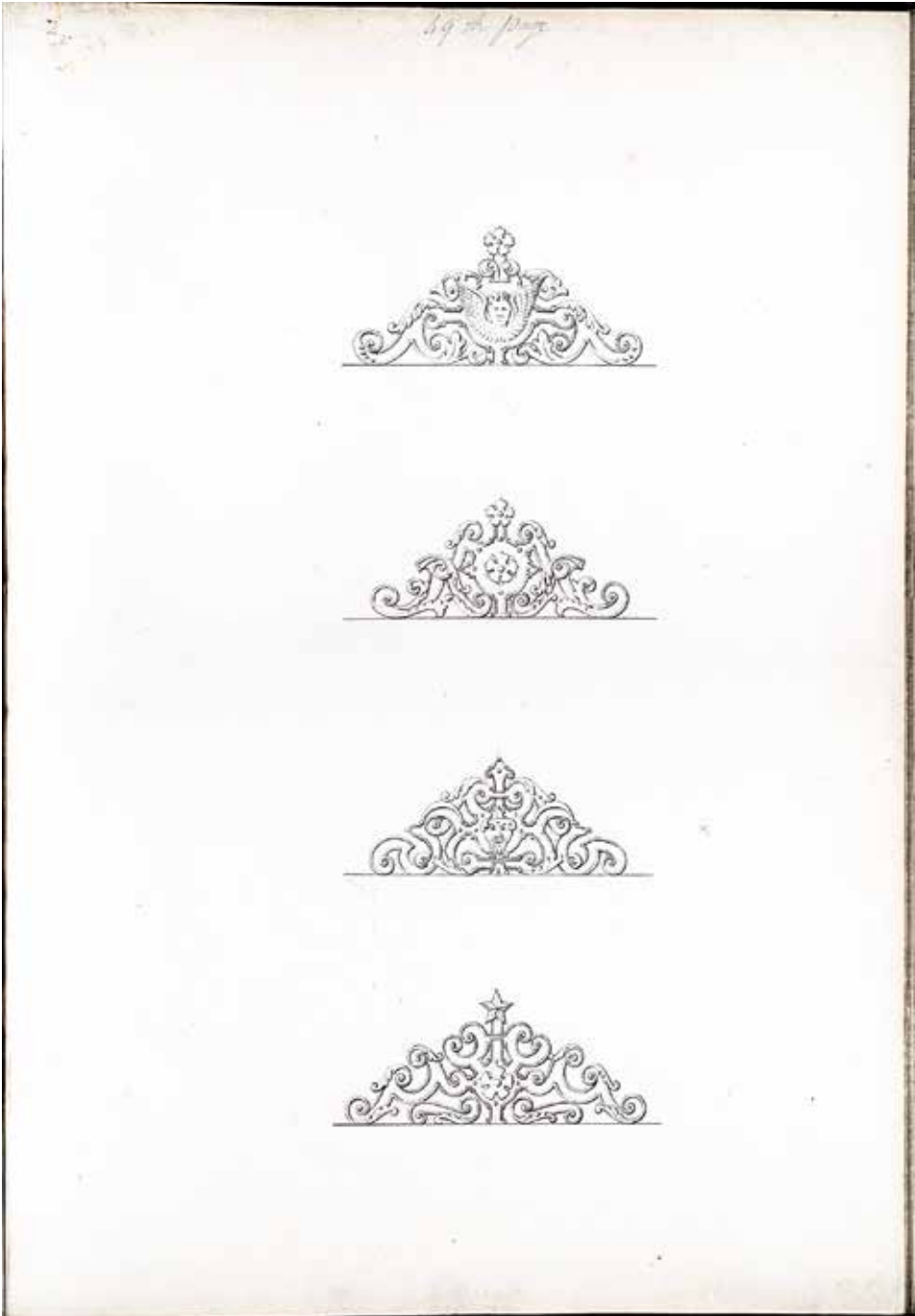


Fig. 5. Aedicule details from Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, from David Bryce's 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament', c. 1831–36, f. 50 (Washington University Library)

in the production process: not only are its images finessed in both linework and layout, but they are reversed to assist the engraving process. Whereas the engraver would usually have to place an original in a mirror, to generate an accurately reversed image to copy on to the steel plate, authors such as Bryce provided ready-made mirror images for this purpose. What has survived, therefore, are the latter stages of an unfinished book project: the neat 'final' drawings, which were then traced, further simplified and laid out for engraving.<sup>15</sup>

To restate, the BAL group, as catalogued in the RIBA Drawings Collection, contains material not relevant to 'Sketches'.<sup>16</sup> In this regard, a later mounting and compiling operation — probably a nineteenth-century effort, judging by the copperplate page numbers — did a disservice.<sup>17</sup> Helpfully, the material not related to 'Sketches' is easy to spot: a set of parapet drawings, for instance, numbered 1–10 and dated (in two cases) 13 January 1847, is in ink rather than pencil, and in an entirely different hand and format.<sup>18</sup> Aside from being produced at least a decade later than the rest of the material, these drawings are labelled '6 Stratton Street', which was Burn's London office. They also strikingly resemble the thin enclosures that the Burn office sent to clients in the process of choosing landscape features.<sup>19</sup> Intriguingly, however, there are a further eleven drawings that match the preparatory work exactly in hand, medium and format. Whether these were examples that never made it into 'Sketches', or whether they were intended for a subsequent volume, is not known. What is certain is that the preparatory drawings which form the core of the BAL group must both predate 'Sketches' and be the work of Bryce, not Burn. That 'Sketches' dates from c. 1831–36 enables the core of the BAL group to be placed in the late 1820s. Examination of the contemporary work of Burn and Bryce shows that features from the BAL group were in use by 1827: the staircase of Crewe Hall, for instance — as it appears in the BAL group (Fig. 8) — is copied at three of their Scottish country houses: Garscube, Dunbartonshire (1827), Tynninghame, East Lothian (1829), and Belleisle, Ayrshire (c. 1830).<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, while the BAL group as a whole ranges in date from 1820 to 1847, the 'Sketches' part can be placed firmly between 1827, with the appearance of the Crewe details at Garscube, and c. 1831, with the start of 'Sketches' (as indicated by the earliest watermarks present).

The discovery that the core of the BAL group and 'Sketches' are successive parts of the same project overhauls our understanding of both components. First, as to the BAL group, the suggestion in the catalogue of the RIBA Drawings Collection that 'the drawings after Hatfield House were probably executed c. 1856 under order of Mrs Lyne Stephens of Lynford Hall' can be set aside.<sup>21</sup> That explanation only ever accounted for images of Hatfield House and, in any case, the core of the BAL group can now be securely dated at least twenty years earlier. Second, the purpose of 'Sketches' has to be reconsidered. It was previously conceivable that the volume was an ambitious showpiece for the private practice that Bryce was, exceptionally, permitted to keep alongside his full-time job in the Burn office. The discovery of the preparatory work among Burn's papers locates the project within the Burn practice, rather than Bryce's private office. This aligns with what has been observed about the character of 'Sketches'. As a publication-ready manuscript of some sixty-eight folios, it would have represented an impossible financial proposition for the young Bryce, then comparatively unknown and in his early thirties.<sup>22</sup> As the third son of a modestly successful builder-architect, he





Fig. 6 and Fig. 7. East portion of the south front of Burghley House, Lincolnshire, from (left) the British Architectural Library group of drawings by David Bryce, c. 1827–31 (RIBA Drawings Collection) and (right) David Bryce's 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament', c. 1831–36, f. 17 (Washington University Libraries)

had no prospect of inheriting the capital needed to realise the project. Somebody with Burn's professional reputation and financial resources was needed.

Having established the true character of the drawings in the BAL group, the final question is how the unpublished book project represented by these and 'Sketches' relates to another project that *was* published. Executed by Robert William Billings (1812–74), *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1846–1852) was a lavish four-volume work that had been proposed, and was part-financed, by Burn. Like 'Sketches', Billings's work was centred on early modern Scottish architecture but, unlike it, was rendered in perspective and omitted the English subjects. With a subscription list that included three sometime prime ministers — the Earls of Aberdeen, Rosebery and Derby — along with the Queen, it was a work of some consequence.<sup>23</sup> Aonghus MacKechnie and Miles Glendinning have suggested that this grander project was initiated separately, after Bryce failed to publish 'Sketches'.<sup>24</sup> Given Burn's involvement in the Bryce project, however, the connection seems more direct. 'Sketches' was probably an abortive first attempt at the early modern Scottish sourcebook that *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities* became. This conclusion is consistent with Burn's comment to his publisher that Billings's undertaking was 'a work that I had long contemplated'.<sup>25</sup>

Aside from their successive date and shared backing by Burn, the continuity between the projects lay in the artists involved and their shared subject matter. Ian Gow has shown that Billings knew Bryce, with the former using his publisher's carrying service to



Fig. 8. Details from the staircase of Crewe Hall, Cheshire, from the British Architectural Library group of drawings by David Bryce, c. 1827–31 (RIBA Drawings Collection)

despatch 'a parcel I have forwarded to Mr Bryce — a folio he is in immediate want of'.<sup>26</sup> We also know that Bryce had sight of Billings's early drafts, when he and John Watson Gordon passed by the publisher's office in May 1846 and approved of them.<sup>27</sup> We know, furthermore, that the two were not merely acquaintances but friends. This is shown by a letter from Bryce unearthed by the author in the Orkney Archive: writing to David Balfour of Balfour Castle in August 1847, Bryce forewarned his client that 'my friend Billings is to go with me to take a view of your castle and the cathedral'.<sup>28</sup> That Bryce, an Edinburgh native, might have guided Billings, a Londoner, in his choice of Scottish subjects is suggested by the overlap between the content of 'Sketches' and *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*. All except one of Bryce's five Scottish subjects were taken up by Billings: Moray House; Old College, Glasgow University; Heriot's Hospital; and Argyll's Lodging (Figs 10 and 11).<sup>29</sup> That Billings's *Antiquities* became, in turn, a defining influence on Bryce's mature Scottish-baronial practice completes the symmetry of the tale.

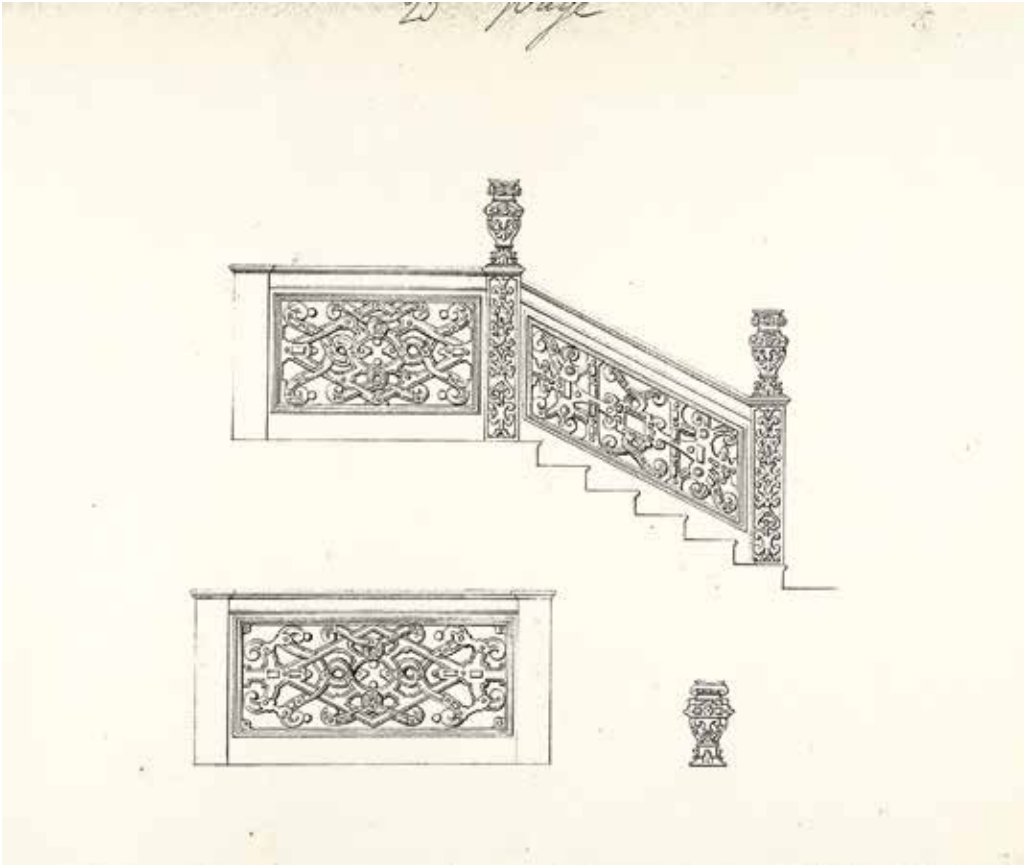


Fig. 9. Details from the staircase of Crewe Hall, Cheshire, from David Bryce's 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament', c. 1831–36, f. 26 (Washington University Libraries)

That there was a prior history to *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities* might explain why it took so long to appear. Whereas the first scholarly study of English early modern architecture, C. J. Richardson's *Observations on the Architecture of England during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, had appeared in 1837, Billings's Scottish equivalent only began to arrive in the late 1840s.<sup>30</sup> That there *was* an earlier attempt, contemporary with that of the English press, makes some sense of the thirteen-year lag between the two national efforts. It also places Bryce among the earliest architects — supported by Burn, his then employer — to take a serious, archaeological interest in early modern domestic architecture. Before 'Sketches', there had only been what Glendinning and MacKechnie called a 'romantic, rather than archaeological' effort by Walter Scott and J. M. W. Turner, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1822–25).<sup>31</sup> Bryce's closest rival in this field was a lithographer, Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789–1850), whose *Picturesque Views of Ancient Castellated Mansions of Scotland*, published in 1830, may have been

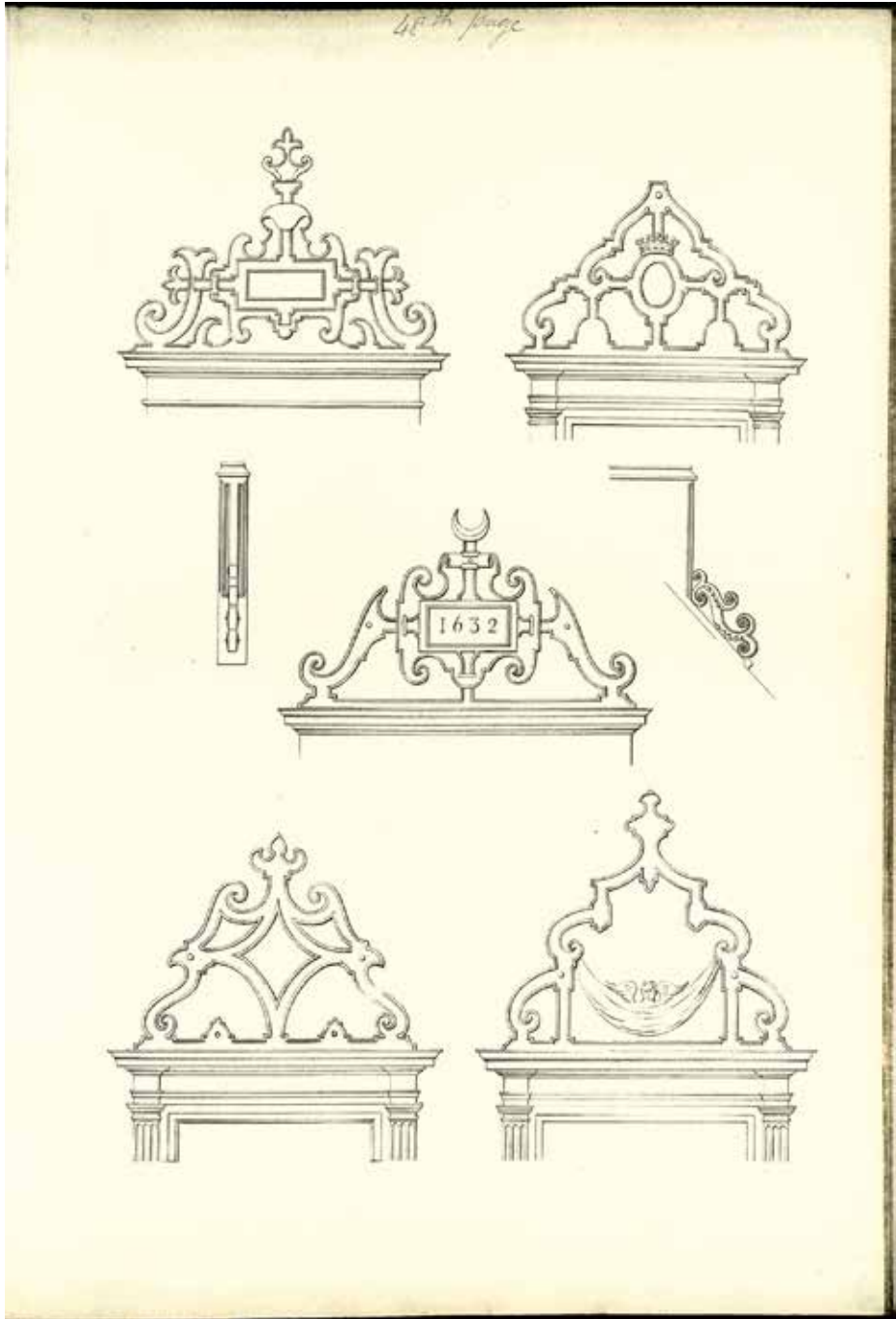


Fig. 10. Ornament from Argyll's Lodging, Stirling, from David Bryce's 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament', c. 1831–36, f. 49 (Washington University Libraries)

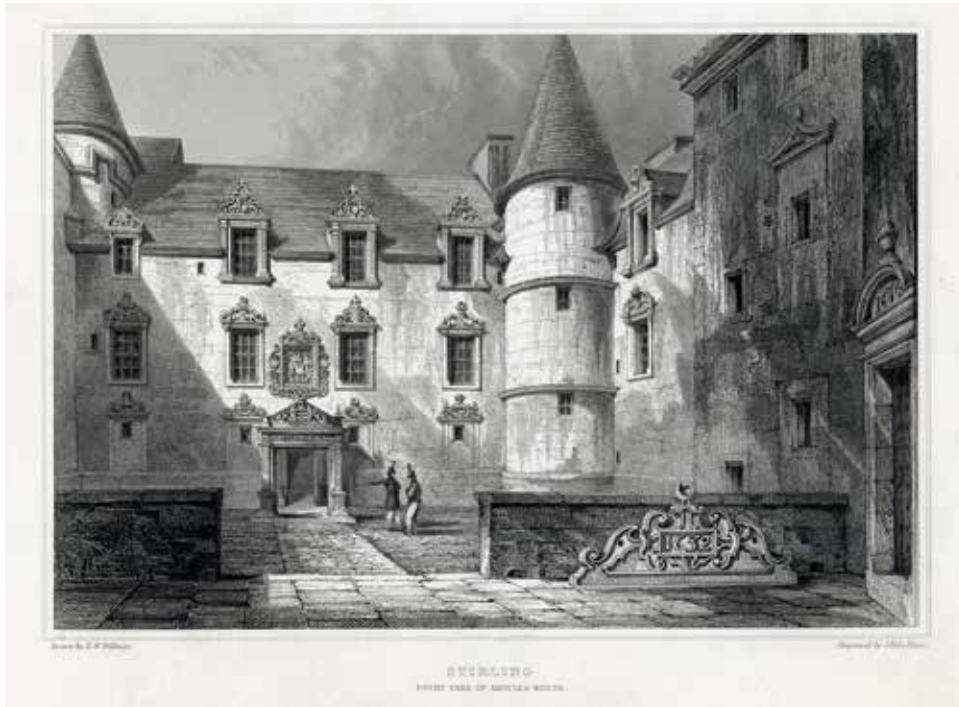


Fig. 11. 'Stirling: Court Yard of Argyle's House', from Robert William Billings's *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845–52, IV, pl. 52

begun around the same time as the BAL group (1827). As the title suggests, however, Hullmandel's work was presented for picturesque effect: its subjects were rendered in dramatically toned perspective and shown from a distance calculated to display their compositional effect rather than their ornamental detail. A handsome quarto of twenty plates, this was a smaller, less meticulous exercise than Bryce's folio, with its sixty-eight leaves of intricate, unshaded elevational details.

The reattribution of the BAL group, therefore, bears on understanding not only of Burn and Bryce, but of the Scottish nineteenth century more broadly. Given the loss of Bryce's office papers, the BAL group is an important asset: first, because it represents the only part of Bryce's book project to remain in the UK; and second, because it repositions 'Sketches', itself an underworked resource. We can now see the BAL group as the beginning of a story that stretched through Bryce's unpublished 'Sketches' and culminated in Billings's *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*. Despite being unpublished, Bryce's work stands as a precursor to Billings's publication and thus as an important moment in Scottish architectural scholarship. These were some of the earliest works to take a scholarly interest in the nation's early modern heritage and, as such, were instrumental in the revival of Scotland's national architecture.

## APPENDIX

**1. Indicative list of subjects in the BAL group**

Audley End, Essex (Henry Howard, Bernard Janssen and John Thorpe, *c.* 1605–14)  
 Bramshill House, Hampshire (Richard Goodridge, 1605–25)  
 Burghley House, Lincolnshire (unknown architect, 1555–87)  
 Charlton House, London (Nicholas Stone and others, *c.* 1607–12)  
 Charlton Park, Wiltshire (unknown architect, after 1607)  
 Crewe Hall, Cheshire (Robert Lynton and others, 1615–36)  
 Design for Harlaxton Manor (attributed to David Bryce, after 1838)  
 Duke's House, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire (unknown architect, *c.* 1610)  
 George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (William Wallace, 1628–31)  
 Knole House, Kent (Richard Dungan, *c.* 1607)  
 Lyme Park, Cheshire (unknown architect, after 1555)  
 Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire (John Burridge and others, *c.* 1620)  
 Old College, Glasgow University (John Clerk, William Riddell and others, 1654–60, 1690)  
 St John's College, Cambridge (Ralph Simons, 1598–1602)  
 Trinity College, Cambridge (unknown architect, 1601–02)  
 Winton Castle, East Lothian (William Wallace, 1620–27)

**2. Indicative list of subjects in 'Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament'**

Argyll's Lodging, Stirling (attributed to Sir Anthony Alexander and others, *c.* 1630)  
 Audley End, Essex (Henry Howard, Bernard Janssen and John Thorpe, *c.* 1605–14)  
 Bramshill House, Hampshire (Richard Goodridge, 1605–25)  
 Burghley House, Lincolnshire (unknown architect, 1555–87)  
 Charlton House, London (Nicholas Stone and others, *c.* 1607–12)  
 Charlton Park, Wiltshire (unknown architect, after 1607)  
 Crewe Hall, Cheshire (Robert Lynton and others, 1615–36)  
 George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (William Wallace, 1628–31)  
 Great St Helen's Church, Bishopsgate (unknown architect, *c.* 1640)  
 Hampton Court Palace, Middlesex (John Maynard and others, 1515–38)  
 Lyme Park, Cheshire (unknown architect, after 1555)  
 Moray House, Edinburgh (unknown architect, *c.* 1628)  
 Old College, Glasgow University (John Clerk, William Riddell and others, 1654–60, 1690)  
 Quenby Hall, Lincolnshire (unknown architect, *c.* 1615–30)  
 Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire (unknown architect, after 1606)  
 Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire (John Burridge and others, *c.* 1620)  
 St John's College, Cambridge (Ralph Simons, 1598–1602)  
 Trinity College, Cambridge (unknown architect, 1601–02).  
 Sixteen monuments in Greyfriars Kirkyard, Edinburgh, of which fourteen may be identified as follows:

Thomas Bannatyn (d. 1635)  
 John Byres of Coates (1569–1629)  
 William Carstares (d. 1713)  
 James Chalmers (erected 1675)  
 Sir Robert Dennestoun of Mountjoy (d. 1626)  
 George Fowlis (alias Foulis) of Ravilston (erected *c.* 1633)  
 Sir Thomas Henryson and others (of Chester)  
 Kincaid monument (seventeenth century)  
 John Layng (keeper of the signet, d. 1614)



Sir Hugh McCulloch of Pilton (d. 1618; erected 1706)  
 Jacobus Moravius (alias James Murray of Deuchar, d. 1649)  
 Elizabeth Paton, wife of John Cunningham (d. 1676)  
 Gilbert Primrose (surgeon to James VI, d. 1616)  
 Purves family, probably Sir Alexander Purves, 2nd Bt (d. 1730)

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am doubly indebted to Ian Gow, both for the loan of his work on R. W. Billings, and for the conversations that initiated this research. Neither he nor my doctoral supervisor, Frank Salmon, can be blamed for any of its shortcomings; these are entirely my own. Of the institutions that have supported this article, and the doctoral thesis from which it derives, I must acknowledge the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, Washington University in St Louis and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

#### BIOGRAPHY

Ralph St Clair Wade lectures in the history of art at the University of Cambridge. He has recently completed his PhD at Cambridge, as a Foundation and Graduate Scholar of St John's College. His recent projects have included lectures at the National Gallery, Wallace Collection and Royal Institute of British Architects in London, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. He is a sporadic adviser to the *Buildings of Scotland* series, and a contributor to *Private Eye* magazine. Email: rscw3@cam.ac.uk

#### NOTES

- 1 See Valerie Fiddes and Alistair Rowan, *David Bryce, 1803–1876: An Exhibition to Mark the Centenary of Scotland's Great Victorian Architect*, Talbot Rice Gallery (Edinburgh, 1976).
- 2 'Edinburgh Architectural Association' [Obituary], *The Architect*, 20 May 1876, p. 330; 'David Bryce', *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* <[scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=100014](http://scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=100014)> [accessed 29 November 2022].
- 3 See Paul Bradley, 'William Burn, The Country House' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2003), p. 441.
- 4 David Bryce, 'The Fettes College, Edinburgh' [Occasional Papers], *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 14 (1864–65), pp. 1–3.
- 5 London, RIBA Drawings Collection [hereafter RIBA DC], PB390/BURN[154]1–45.
- 6 Note on terminology: 'early modern' is used throughout to refer to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material in 'Sketches' and the BAL group. As this material is both English and Scottish, 'Elizabethan' cannot be used, and 'Jacobean' would be confusing in its absence. 'Scottish baronial' is used here only for the revivalism of the nineteenth century.
- 7 RIBA DC, 5PB390/BURN[154]8.
- 8 *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects — B* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), p. 146.
- 9 Fiddes and Rowan, *Bryce*, p. 77.
- 10 Fiddes and Rowan, *Bryce*, p. 77.
- 11 See, for example, Jean Marot, *Recueil des plans profils, et elevations* (n.p., 1738); Jacques-François Blondel, *De la Distribution des maisons de plaisance, et de la décoration des édifices en général*, 2 vols (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1737–38); H. Destailleur, *Recueil d'estampes relatives à l'ornementation des appartements aux XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2 vols (Paris: Rapilly, 1863–71); George Berry, *Catalogue of Books in Architecture and Allied Subjects which Belonged to the Eminent Scottish Architect, the Late Mr David Bryce* (Edinburgh, 1928). As a relatively informal collation of material published by others, and of unconfirmed authorship, 'Examples' lies outside the scope of the present discussion.

- 12 See *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection*, p. 120.
- 13 Fiddes and Rowan, *Bryce*, p. 77. The volumes were also shown at Washington University in St Louis, Missouri, in 1984. I am grateful to Neil Jackson for this observation.
- 14 My intention is to deposit a fair copy of 'Sketches', with the BAL group appended, in the library of Historic Environment Scotland.
- 15 Ian Gow suggests that the reversed images might equally have been produced using an early copy-reversing technique (personal communication, 28 April 2023). This is certainly possible, given the Burn office's known experimentation with copying methods.
- 16 See *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection*, p. 120.
- 17 The mounting predates their donation in June 1933 as part of two small volumes (since disbound): see *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection*, p. 120.
- 18 RIBA DC, PB390/BURN[154]12–18.
- 19 Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD152/53/4/26/13–14, William Burn, 'Letter and Drawing of the Railing for the Terrace Entrance, Falkland House 28 Feb 1844'.
- 20 See RIBA DC, PB390/BURN[154]4.
- 21 *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection*, p. 146.
- 22 I am grateful to Ian Gow for this observation.
- 23 Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845–52), I, p. 1. This work has been republished as a facsimile in two volumes with an introduction by Ian Gow: Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2008). All subsequent references are to this edition.
- 24 Aonghus MacKechnie and Miles Glendinning, *Scotch Baronial: Architecture and National Identity in Scotland* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 165.
- 25 Letter from William Burn to John Blackwood (1850), quoted in Ian Gow, 'Introduction', in Billings, *Baronial*, I, p. x.
- 26 Gow, 'Introduction', pp. xvii–xviii.
- 27 Gow, 'Introduction', p. xiv.
- 28 Kirkwall, Orkney Archive and Library, D2/15/17, Balfour of Balfour and Trenabie Papers, letter from David Bryce to David Balfour, 29 August 1847. The introduction evidently paid off for Billings because, in his volume, Balfour is not only listed as a subscriber, but singled out for special thanks. See Billings, *Baronial*, I, p. 269.
- 29 For Moray House, compare Bryce, 'Sketches', f. 51 ii, and Billings, *Baronial*, I, p. 309. For Old College, Glasgow: Bryce, *Sketches*, ff. 44–45, 51 i, 63, and Billings, *Baronial*, I, p. 397. For Heriot's Hospital: Bryce, 'Sketches', ff. 42–43, 47–48, 50, and Billings, *Baronial*, II, p. 39. For Argyll's Lodging: Bryce, 'Sketches', ff. 46, 49, and Billings, *Baronial*, II, p. 351.
- 30 C. J. Richardson, *Observations on the Architecture of England during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: John Weale, 1837).
- 31 Glendinning and MacKechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, pp. 159–60.