THE EARLOOM OF MAR

By

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This book is a sequel to my Rhind Lectures on The Province of Mar, first published in 1943. In that work I described the development of the old Celtic Province from its remotest prehistoric beginnings until it was transferred into a feudal Earldom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We now carry on the story of the Earldom down to its disappearance, as a political entity, after the first Jacobite Rising. The book is not a history of the Earls of Mar. That has been written, once for all, in the fifth volume of The Scots Peerage. It is a history of the Earldom; and, like the work which it follows, it is concerned with the territorium not the officium, the lands and castles rather than the dignity. Of the ecclesiastical history of the area, little is said, and that but incidentally, because such history forms part of the larger record of the medieval Burghs of Aberdeen, which still awaits its historian. Likewise there is no attempt to chronicle the annals of the three royal burghs within Mar and the Garioch: for the burghs also, during our period, in the main proved a separate interest.
I - The Province and the Earldom.

II - The Struggle for Independence.

III - Alexander Stewart and the "Red Harlaw".

IV - The Break-up of the Earldom.

V - Restoration and Ruin.

VI - The Castles of Mar and Garioch.

Appendix: Corgarff Castle and the "Edom o' Gordon" Tragedy.
In the work to which this is a sequel we traced the long and wonderful story of the evolution of Mar and the Garioch, and the slow growth of their pre-Celtic and Celtic civilisation, until these two ancient lands emerge as fully developed feudal earldoms during the Golden Age of the Alexanders in the thirteenth century. It is a story that begins, perhaps some five thousand years ago, when we first catch a fleeting glimpse of the Mesolithic strand-loopers gathering their simple meals of shell-fish among our coastal sand-dunes, and of the Tardenoisian squatters amid the forest clearings on the river terraces about Banchory, delicately chipping those tiny flints which are believed to have been set in handles of wood or bone so as to form composite tools of various descriptions. To these scattered bands of primeval food-gatherers there succeeded, in due course, a race of flock-masters and herdsmen, who practised a little agriculture besides - the Neolithic builders of the few long cairns in Mar, a people who, we saw reason to believe, entered our district from the north, having made their way, by the natural avenue of the Great Glen, from their original settlements upon the Atlantic seaboard. Neither the tombs nor the pottery of this ancient race found in Mar encourage us to believe that they settled in our Province in any great numbers: and the effective colonisation of what is
now Aberdeenshire began only with the immigration of the short cist or beaker folk from the Rhineland at the close of the Stone Age.

From about 2000 B.C., and for a period that probably lasted over several centuries, this remarkable and vigorous race was coming ashore, in groups large or small, all along the eastern coast of our island, from the Thames to the Moray Firth. One of their principal landfalls was the inviting beach between the mouths of Dee and Don, from which the two river valleys offered them easy lives of penetration up Mar, and by the Urie basin into the Garioch. Others of the settlers, landing further south, reached our Province through the Howe of the Mearns and up the eastern Mounth passes. In the aggregate, the settlement of the beaker folk has an intensive one, as is shown by the large numbers of their tombs recorded from our area. They were an extremely round-headed race, who inhumed their dead in short stone cists, the body being, in nearly every case, accompanied by the characteristic beaker-shaped urn which is distinctive of this people. So far as our evidence goes, they appear to have been still in the Stone Age when they settled in Aberdeenshire. The head-form of the beaker people has left its trace to this day in the skulls of the modern Aberdonians, and it is clear that this ancient race remains the basic strain in the existing population.
We cannot tell whether it was the incoming of fresh settlers, or merely the spread of new religious ideas, that led to the introduction of the practice of cremation which prevailed throughout the Age of Bronze. Of course the new site destroys our skeletal evidence: but that the short cist people were not exterminated by any new invaders is proved not merely by the survival of their physical characters today, but also by other unmistakable indications, such as the continuity of what may be called the ceramic tradition. In due course the beaker was succeeded by a more stumpy, broader and heavier urn known as a food vessel; and it is certain that this food vessel, found with some of the latest burials by inhumation, was the prototype of the larger cinerary urn in which the ashes of the Bronze Age dead were consigned to the grave. A similar continuity may be traced in the cemeteries of the two periods; and this also affords a powerful argument against any wholesale displacement or replacement of the population. For example, at Ardoe, on the south side of the Dee but within the Mounth which forms the rim of Mar, a group of short cists with beakers was discovered, and in the same sandbank also were found several cinerary urns, associated with which was a remarkable little cup of cast bronze, the date

1. Mr. W. M. Alexander has well reminded us (Aberdeen Univ. Review, vol. XXX, p. 341) that in the foundation charter of Marischal College the Mounth is taken as the southern boundary of the Province.
of which can hardly be earlier than the Hallstatt period, or transition era between the use of bronze and that of iron. The village settlement of which this was the graveyard cannot have been far distant, and it seems clear that it was continuously occupied from short cist times until the very end of the Bronze Age. In my former work we have already met with similar evidence of continuity of use in stone circles such as those of Crichie and Daviot, where burials were taking place, more or less uninterruptedly so far as we can judge, throughout short cist and Bronze Age and even down into Hallstatt times.

Thus all our evidence goes to prove the presence in our area of a population continuously settled in the same localities from the invasion of the beaker folk at the end of the third millenium B.C. At the dawn of history in Mar, this population was tending to nucleate itself into open villages like those whose remains may still be seen at Skene's Wood, Fintray, and in the neighbourhood of Loch Kinnord. These Iron Age villages are innocent of any defensive arrangements. Their keynote, like those of the same period in Wessex at the opposite end of the island, is one of "peaceful rusticity." But in Wessex such idyllic conditions failed to last; and very

2. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Maiden Castle, p. 28.
soon we find the peaceful rustics fortifying themselves in camps of refuge which do not seem to have been permanently occupied. The explanation offered for this change is that "as the population increased, partly perhaps in consequence of peaceful agricultural conditions and partly as the result of continued immigration, an increasing risk of friction found expression in the construction of refuge camps of this kind." Whatever the reason, it is clear that conditions worsened, and ere long the Iron Age population of Wessex betook itself to dwelling within regularly fortified hill-top towns. Among these the most famous is the stupendous Maiden Castle, the recent masterly excavations upon which have cast such a flood of light upon the material civilisation and the social conditions of those far-off times.

Now in Mar and the Garioch we can trace what looks like a very similar upsurging of militarism amid the "peaceful rusticity" of our Iron Age villages. Its monuments are the great stone hill-forts which cluster, like studs upon a girdle, across the waist of our Province. The problem of these hill-forts will be settled only when the same process of patient, scientific exploration has been applied to them that has produced such astonishing results at Maiden Castle. Meantime it may be said that on the face of it conditions in Mar and in Wessex do not seem to be quite parallel. The excavator of Maiden Castle reminds us that "among the Gauls, Caesar

\[^{1}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 29.}\]
distinguishes *vici* or open villages, *Castella* or, apparently, "camps of refuge" and guard posts, and *oppida* or *urbes*, which are fortified towns and nothing less." In Wessex, all three classes of site are fully represented. In Mar, the *vici* are present in the form of hut settlements like those at Kinnord and Skene's Wood, or the earth-house cluster in Kildrummy. The *castella* will be our group of hill-forts. *Oppida*, represented elsewhere in Scotland by Traprain Law, Kames Hill, and one or two more, are probably not to be looked for in a remote and relatively backward country such as Mar. But against what foe were our *castella* built? What deadly peril drove our peaceful rustics to construct such formidable engineering works like the Barmekin of Echt, or the Mither Tap fort upon the storm-beaten, mist-enshrouded crags of Bennachie? Herein lies the major unsolved archaeological problem of our area. The alternative explanations are fully discussed in my former book. Here it is enough to reproduce the summary of a reviewer, who points out a *via media* of his own, along which path it is as likely as not that one day a solution may be found:

"Of the Iron Age the noblest monuments in Mar are the great stone hill-forts. Dr. Simpson differs from Professor Childe and others who see here the strong-holds of invading chiefs of the last century B.C., built to overawe the village-dwelling natives, and ascribes them rather to spontaneous resistance of the whole population to Roman invasion. Probably both

causes worked successively; and certainly the Roman offensive, attested by four camps aligned across Mar northward, should have forced its people into greater unity."

"The Roman offensive". What a picture these three simple words conjure up in our mind's eye! Let us imagine this great imperial army - twelve thousand strong at least, as the size of its bivouacs permits us to infer - infantry and cavalry, legionaries and auxiliaries, baggage train and all, in the full pomp and panoply of Roman war, plashing through the fords of Dee at Normandykes, laying out their broad lines of bank and ditch and palisade and setting up their serried ranks of tents upon the hill brow beyond; and thence pushing on, with totalitarian ruthlessness, through Mar and Garioch, by Kintore to Glenmaillen near the Wells of Ythan:

"Thine, Roman, is the pilum; Roman, the sword is thine; The even trench, the bristling mound, The legion's ordered line; And thine the wheels of triumph. Which with their laurelled train More shouting up the shouting streets To Jove's eternal fame."

For the Roman, the laurels and the triumph. For the motive - what? Let us think of our once "peaceful rustics" huddled aloft with their wives and children, their flocks and their herds, within the stone or earthen ramparts on Bennachie and Barra Hill and Dunnideer, gazing out on the reek of their burning homesteads as it sullenly drifts across the war-blasted

\* Times Lit. Suppl., 8th April, 1944, p. 178.\*
Howe of the Garioch. And let us turn again to the most eloquent of Roman historians, and read the vibrant words which he puts into the mouth of Colgacus, the Caledonian chief who — mayhap amid these very fields — faced the invasion of Agricola:

"Beyond us is no land, beside us none are free: us hitherto this corner and secret recess hath defended. Now the uttermost part of the land is laid open: and things the less they have men within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. But what nation now is there beyond us? What else but water and rocks, and the Romans lords of all within-land. Whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seek to avoid by service and humble behaviour: robbers of the world, that having now left no land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seek to win wealth; if poor, they are content to gain glory: whom not the east nor the west have satisfied: the only men of all memory that seek out all place, be they wealthy or poor, with the like ardent affection. To take away by main force, to kill and to spoil, falsely they turn empire and government: then all is waste as a wilderness, that they call peace. His children and blood each by nature holdeth most dear: those are pressed for soldiers, and carried away to be slaves otherwhere. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced as in open hostility, are in the meantime under the colour and title of friends and guests often abused. Our goods and substance they draw for tribute, our corn for provision: our bodies and hands they wear and consume in paving of bogs and woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities ...... And as in a private retinue the freshman and last comer is laughed and scoffed at by his very fellow servants, so in this oldest servitude of the world our destruction only is sought/as being the latest and most vile in account. We have no fields to manure, no mines to be dug, no ports to trade in: and to what purpose then should they reserve us alive?"

Was it amid our tawny hills of Mar that Colgacus, *virtute et genere praestans*, thus fiercely turned to bay against Agricola? Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, in his recent Rhind Lectures, ascribes the series of marching camps across our Province to this campaign, and indeed goes so far as to place the battle of Mons Graupius somewhere to the north of Raedykes camp, that is to say, between Stonehaven and Peterculter. One difficulty in the way of this theory seems to be that Tacitus describes the battle as coming at the end of Agricola's advance. Thereafter, he tells us, the Romans retired to the country of the Boresti, who are thought to have lived in and around the Sidlaws. How then can one explain the continued line of marching camps north of Raedykes? That the whole series belongs to one campaign is rendered probable by their spacing and their nearly equal size. Therefore they may, as Professor Collingwood thought, be the work rather of Septimius Severus, more than a century afterwards. Only excavation could settle this problem; and here even excavation may fail us, for such temporary bivouacs are never likely to yield many relics, and in the digging that has been carried out at Raedykes, Normandykes and Glenmaillen nothing was found which cast any light upon their date.

Recently the problems of Roman and native in Mar have

been discussed by Mr. Ian A. Richmond with his accustomed erudition and acuteness. The points which Mr. Richmond makes are of such value as directives for future thought and research that I offer no apology for reproducing his argument in full.

He begins by warning us that the Agricolan claim of our northern camps "cannot be rejected out of hand." Should that claim be conceded, then the battle of Mons Graupius must have taken place a good deal further north than is usually imagined:

"It will be borne in mind that Collingwood's doubts as to whether Agricola's army ever penetrated so far north were closely connected with his wholly factitious association of the Mons Graupius with the Caterthuns. Nor do they take into account the fact that so slight an advance beyond the Forth fits neither the amphibious operations described by Tacitus nor, as Sir George Macdonald long ago observed, the very detailed knowledge of the coast as far as the Beauly Firth (Varar aestuarium) displayed by Ptolemy. Further, the distribution maps used by Dr. Simpson for the Bronze Age and Iron Age unquestionably define the Province of Mar as the thickest area of population and wealth in north-eastern Scotland, both before and after the Roman era. In other words, his district emerges as the centre of gravity north of the Mounth and therefore as the principal object of attack. This once perceived, it becomes virtually unthinkable that the Roman army, having passed beyond the Forth in its sixth year of campaigning under Agricola, should have claimed in the following year to have reached the finem Britanniae and yet in fact not to have crossed the Dee. This is not, of course, to say that Scurnas may not have penetrated in turn equally far: coin-hoards at least suggest his presence in Angus and the Mearns, and his observation of short nights supports, as in the Agricola, the penetration of northern latitudes. The distribution maps make it easier to understand how the penetration of Mar would break the resistance of Caledonia, to which it has been either a barbican or a point d'appui for attack throughout history.

"Dr. Simpson is thus surely correct in assigning to the Roman age the development of hill-fortresses, some of them perched upon peculiarly inaccessible and inhospitable heights. Here, however, two parallels may be of significance. Among the Brigantes, south of Hadrian's Well, hill-forts of size are of rare occurrence and all reveal, to eye or spade, traces of drastic destruction, as at Carrock Fell, Ingleborough, or Almondbury. North of Hadrian's Well hill-forts abound, but the high antiquity of their construction is uncertain. At Bingley the levelled ramparts and the Roman siegecamps tell of a destruction plainly the work of Rome. But recent work of Traprain Law and elsewhere suggests that the visible defences considerably postdate the Antonine occupation. In Aberdeenshire evidence is lacking. But the Agricola has nothing to say of hill-forts or of resistance in them after the battle of Mons Graupius; it speaks only of the scorched earth policy of the inhabitants, of deserted habitations and of no concentration of force anywhere. It would thus not be surprising if the habit of building hill-forts in frequency had not reached Aberdeenshire as early as Agricola's day; and their destruction, if carried out by Roman hands, may well have been the work of the Army of Severus. To the coherence of the district Roman geography testifies. The tribe, called the Taezali or Taexali, is tied not only to the River Dee by the place-name Devana, but to Kinnaird Head by the name Taexalum promontorium. There is thus no doubt that the tribe correspond to Dr. Simpson's Province, though no mention is made of the fact in the book."

In composing his famous indictment of his country, it is well known that Tacitus, the disgruntled aristocrat, was writing somewhat in the spirit of a modern left-wing "Pamphlet Pink" intellectual casting muck upon the British Empire. Mutatis mutandis, the same fixed ideas, the same jargon even, are there. Such performances are never savoury, even when for once they are clothed in the garb of splendid literature. Generally there is enough of substance in the diatribe to make it a caricature; yet the verdict of Tacitus is hardly that which history has
passed upon the Roman Empire. So let us turn rather to the poetry of a wiser Roman, who, writing amid the dying agonies of the Western Empire, has enshrined in immortal lines the high historic mission of his country:-

"Rome! Rome! alone has found the spell to charm
The tribes that fell beneath her conquering arm,
Has given one name to the whole human race,
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace,
Mother, not mistress, called her foe her son,
And by soft ties made distant countries one.
This to her peaceful sceptre all men owe -
That through the nations, wheresoe'er we go,
Strangers, we find a fatherland; our home
We change at will; may watch the far-off foam
Break upon Thule's shore and call it play,
Or through dim, dreadful forests force our way,
That we may tread Orontes, Ebro's shore -
That we are all one nation, evermore!"

In the southern half of Britain, after the first violence of conquest was over, Rome built up a rich and powerful civilisation during the four centuries of her ordered rule. In that civilisation our remote northern Province shared only indirectly and to a minor degree. The relics that speak to us of peaceful intercourse with the Empire are few and of small importance. A handful or so of stray coins, one scarp of Samian ware, some playing dice and a silver brooch found in a native burial of Tainland, of glass, jewelry and glasswork from another native grave at Monquhitter, a whole glass bottle near Turriff - these are the sum total of Roman objects recorded from Aberdeenshire. It is not an impressive list, and certainly it will not justify much in the way of historical induction. Yet let us not forget

1. Claudian, De Consulatu Stilichonis, bk. III, 150-9. The translation is by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, Claudian, the last of the Roman Poets, p. 55.
that the final and enduring gift of Rome to Scotland was our Christianity—though in the results of the Ninianic mission it is probable that our northern district shared only to a minor degree. But the impact of the Roman invasion, and the imposing spectacle of the coherent and disciplined world-Empire, must surely have acted as a constant impulse driving the Celtic tribes towards unity, and will have played its part in the evolution of the comparatively stable Pictish kingdom which meets our gaze when in the sixth century the dark curtain is lifted again that had descended upon Britain with the fall of the Western Empire.

Of that Pictish kingdom Mār formed one of the Seven Provinces—one of the most vigorous among the seven, if we may judge by the high and individual quality of the civilisation whose traces we encounter in our area during the early Christian centuries. In their great stone hill-forts, their crannogs and their earth-houses the natives had already given proof of their capacity for combined effort and their mastery of construction. In the realm of art, such distinctive contributions as the bronze te(n)ets and the massive enamelled bronze armlets call forth our admiration. But most of all is this aroused by the sheer beauty and the baffling mystery of the Pictish symbol stones, of which (as was pointed out in my former book) our Province was almost certainly the cradle. Those queer unearthly forms, with their firm geometrical
outlines, so satisfying to the eye; those delicious portraits of animals, like the Inverurie horse and the wolf now at Leith Hall, with their graceful profiles and the fine swinging curves which emphasise every tautly quivering muscle of the eager beast - how delightful they are, of what creative joy in the mind of the old Pictish artist do they speak to us! And when upon the later stones the Christian cross is superimposed, how lovely is the intricacy of its interlacing patterns! What could be more beautiful, what indeed more nobly impressive, than the great slab crosses from Dyce, Migvie and Kinnord? And finally let us remember what one of the foremost Celtic scholars of our time once wrote about the sculptured stones of our Province:

"The neglect with which these remarkable monuments have been treated is a signal proof of the dominance of the classical tradition among us. Had they been Greek or Roman, instead of Celtic, it is easy to conceive the care with which even the fragments would have been gathered up, and the enthusiasm with which scholars would have flung themselves on their elucidation. As it is, little is done to preserve them from destruction, and except for a few specialists or antiquaries they are for the most part unheeded. And yet, if only on the score of antiquity, their credentials are highly respectable and might have attracted more attention. To put it chronologically, the ascertained fact that our own Northern Scotland is rich in remains, the oldest of which are practically contemporary with Justinian and Sancta Sophia, is sufficiently striking."

"A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine! - From the fury of the Northmen deliver us, Good Lord": so ran the

petition that was added to the Church's litany during those terrible years in the eighth and ninth centuries when the Viking scourge was at its height. Yet neither history nor archaeology has much to tell us about Viking raids or settlements in the north-east of Scotland; and, as I have pointed out in my former work, it seems that this district lay out of the invaders' path. It was in fact not the kind of country to which they were most attracted. As our leading Norwegian authority has observed, the northern and western coasts and islands, where the Scandinavian settlement took place, beckoned to the immigrants because there they found physical conditions which most recalled their homeland:

"It was the craving for surroundings where something of the old was to be found in their new activities. They asked for sea and fiord, mountain and hill, the fowling cliffs and sealing grounds. They needed the pastures, meadows and heather to which they had been accustomed in the land of their birth, and the light summer nights which brooded softly over farm and field at home in Norway. No sentimental spirit of homesickness lay at the back of all this, but the simple fact that the whole of their mentality, fostered by the toil of countless generations before them, was adjusted to a life in which all these things were to be found. All else would be in the nature of transplanting, obliteration and sacrifice. It would deprive them of the powers which were their inheritance and their greatest asset." 1

To a people mentally so constituted, the flat monotony of Buchan, even the inland mountains of Mar, would make scant

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appeal. Hence there need be little cause for wonder that the district betwixt Dee and Spey has yielded no authenticated example of a Viking burial. None the less, it is not to be denied that there were Norse raids and Norse settlers in the north-east. For example, we are told that in the reign of King Indulf (945-62) "a fleet of Vikings were slain in Buchan": and from a Norwegian source we have a picturesque account of the doings of a noted "champion and berserk", Tryggvi Ulfkelsson, who "belonged to a family in Buchan-side, in Scotland." But the evidence at our disposal fails to warrant the extensive claims sometimes staked out for Scandinavian racial influence upon the Aberdeenshire folk. For example, it has recently been essential - on the strength merely of a pigmentation survey, since skeletal material is lacking - that the Vikings "added to the largest single ethnic contribution to the population of Aberdeenshire." To this it may well be asked: where are the graves of the Colonists for whom so extensive a settlement is postulated? It is quite true that in Western Europe generally, during the latest Pagan period, the custom of depositing grave-goods tended to fall into disuse, so that burials of this period are difficult to identify; and in Scotland as a whole the number of recorded Viking graves is small out of all proportion to the


known facts of the Norse Colonisation. None the less, if Scandinavian settlers have really "added the largest single ethnic contribution" to the modern Aberdeenshire people, it is reasonable to assume that some archaeological evidence of so extensive a penetration would have been forthcoming. On the contrary, the very period during which this mass immigration is alleged to have taken place is that which saw, in northeastern Scotland, the climax of the brilliant, purely Celtic civilisation of our Pictish sculptured stones. Equally negative is the evidence of place-names. In the regions of Scotland which the Norse are known to have colonised, Scandinavian place-names abound: the authentic Scandinavian place-names in Aberdeenshire are conspicuous only by their entire absence.

1. Cf. Bröger, op. cit., p. 115:—"It is worthy of note that in the Outer Hebrides no more than four finds from the Norse period are known. We must presume that on the whole the Norse settlement in the Outer Hebrides was much more populous than in the Inner. Since the archaeological material gives the exactly opposite impression, we are once again reminded how careful we must be not to draw conclusions from incomplete data."

2. On this important subject Mr. W. M. Alexander has been good enough to write me as follows:—

"A general survey of Aberdeenshire place-names leads to the conclusion that there is no place-name in the county which indicates the settlement there of people from Scandinavia (Norway or Denmark). There are, it is true, a number of names which at first place, and on paper, may appear to do so, but any careful examination of these goes to confirm the conclusion just stated. All such as have been brought forward from time to time in this connection appear to be fully explainable otherwise. Thus, to take one example, there is the name Deyston, on the lower Don. This has no reference to foreign incomers; an old spelling was Deystoun, and the land there belonged at one/
In fact it is from much later times, when the Norwegian Crown was endeavouring to impose its control upon the overseas settlements, that we glean our most distinct details of the Norse impact upon our Province. Thus in the summer of 1157 Eystein, King of Norway, sailed to Scotland, forced Harald Maddadsson, Jael of the Orkneys, to acknowledge his sovereignty, and, coasting along the eastern side of Scotland, captured and plundered Aberdeen. This catastrophe may have been of some importance in the architectural history of our Province, since it was perhaps after this that the earliest or Romanesque portions of the town's kirk of St. Nicholas were built. Caution, however, is needed on this point, since we are not told that the church was damaged on this occasion, or even that the town at large was burnt. The record of the raid runs thus:

2 (contd.)

one time to the Dean of Aberdeen. Similarly with certain noticeable component words which turn up in place-names and which have been vaguely referred to Norse influence; like 'dale' (Leggerdale, Slackadale) or 'holm' (Holmhead, Hogholm) The first does not mean a valley, nor is it Gaelic dail, haugh, which would have given a different word-order; it is probably old Scotch dail, a piece of allotted land. The second does not mean a river-flat; it is Scotch howm or home, meaning a smooth-sided hollow, a word still current on Deeside in this sense. The presence on the coastline of terms like 'ness' and 'hope' (the latter meaning an inlet, pronounced 'howp' by Buchan fishermen) proves nothing in particular, the existence of an abundance of cognate words on the opposite sides of the North Sea not being in question. The enquiry being whether any individual place-name affords evidence of Scandinavian settlement, the answer, so far as this county is concerned, must, I think, be a simple negative.
"King Rystein sailed from there southward along the east of Scotland, and attacked in Scotland the market town that is called Aardjón, and slew there many men, and plundered the town. So says Finur Skulisson: 'I have heard that Aberdeen's people fell; the king broke the peace; swords were broken.'" 1.

And apparently in the next year, Swein Adeifsson, "the last and greatest of the Orkney Vikings," spent a month in Aberdeen as the guest of King Malcolm the Maiden, by whom he was "well entertained."

From a political point of view, the principal result, on the eastern side of Drumalbar, of the Viking attacks upon Scotland seems to have been the emergence of the Kingdom of Moray. Its political status, acquired during the stress of Norse invasion, continued long after the Viking keels had forsaken its shores. The claims of the Normans of Moray, and the obstinate adherence of its people to their ancient independence, were a constant thorn in the sides of the Anglo-Norman Kings of Scotland during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It was mainly as an outpost against this disaffected province, and a garrisoned post on the chief artery of communication into it from the south, that Kildrummy Castle was founded by Bishop Gilbert de Moravia, in accordance with whose wise policy the pacification of the unruly region was finally accomplished under Alexander II. Not until this runt has it become really

possible to separate the annals of our Province from the history of north-eastern Scotland as a whole. Thereafter the presence of the great castle gives these an importance of their own.

If in the political scene a retrogression appears in the rise to virtual independence of Moravia, and the absolute control of the northern half of Scotland exercised by the alien Jarl Thorfinn, a similar decline may also be inferred from what we know about ecclesiastical affairs. In the words of Joseph Robertson, the Celtic Church,

"sadly fallen from the days when it called forth the glowing praises of Bede, lived only as a barren and sapless branch in the time of St. Margaret. Its chief temporal possessions had become the heritage of laymen. Its wealthier priests were an hereditary caste, living in ease and sloth, and transmitting their benefices to their children. The observance of the Lord's Day had ceased. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not only no longer celebrated even on the holiest day of all the year, but its disuse was justified by a perversion of Scripture which, monstrous as it is, still obtains, we believe, among 'the Men' in some parts of the Highlands." 1

Thus in every way Scotland was ripe for the radical changes which, after his victorious campaigns in Mar against Macbeth and Malach, and the death of Jarl Thorfinn — whose widow he married — King Malcolm III Canmore proceeded to bring about in every aspect of the national life. In this he was ably assisted, as is well known, by his gifted second wife, the good Queen Margaret. From this region the medieval period,

in its restricted sense, of Scottish history begins. The systematic introduction, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of an Anglo-Norman population and an Anglo-Norman civil and ecclesiastical system, resulted in a political and social revolution more gradual, but not less far reaching, and certainly more beneficial, than that which accompanied the Reformation.

In Mar, these processes seem to have reached their climax during the period of William, the fifth Mormaer, or Earl as he is now generally styled. It was in his time that Kildrummy Castle was founded as a chief seat of the royal power within the Province which he ruled. He succeeded about 1244, and lived until 1281. In his time we behold a notable change in the relationship between the rulers of Mar and their sovereign. Unlike any of his predecessors, the primitive Mormaers, Earl William was a great public personage, who held many important posts and played a prominent part in the national transactions of his day. He is mentioned as one of the chief nobles of the Kingdom in the negotiations resulting in the important Treaty of Newcastle, concluded with England in 1244. He was appointed Regent during the minority of Alexander III, was ousted through English influence in 1255, but reinstated three years later. Between 1252 and 1255, and again from 1262 to 1267, he was Great Chamberlain; and in 1268 he held joint command of the Army which annexed the Hebrides after the victory of Largs. In 1258 he was one of the signatories to a
treaty with the Welsh Prince, Llewelyn the Great, whereby the contracting parties pledged themselves not to make peace with the English King save by mutual consent. During the delicate diplomatic situation which arose in 1261, when the Scottish Queen, then on a visit to her father, King Henry in London, was expectant of an heir, Mar was one of the great barons to whom the English King guaranteed the safety of the child. In 1270 he was sent on a special embassy to England. On all counts, he was one of the foremost Scottish nobles of his time, and no Earl of Mar before him, and none for many years after till the days of Alexander Stewart, the hero of Harlaw wielded anything like his power. This sudden increase in influence, and the abrupt change from a semi-independent Celtic mormaer to a great feudal baron and pillar of royal authority, acquire an unmistakable significance in connexion with the appointment of Bishop Gilbert as Treasurer for Northern Scotland, the reduction of Moravia, and the founding of Kildrummy Castle. We may well suppose that, the rising of 1228 once suppressed, it was determined to make a finish of trouble in this quarter, and that Bishop Gilbert - whose duties (as we know) included the erection of Castles to extend the power of the government beyond the Mounth - was instructed to secure the allegiance of the Mormaers of Mar, and to vest in their control a royal fortress of the first rank to be erected somewhere astraddle the master way into the unruly land. The
building of the castle completed the process of Normanising the old Celtic Province of Mar, and transforming it into a feudal Earldom held in the interest of the Crown; and the result is plainly seen in the enhanced importance of Earl William.

During the whole of the transitional period whose civil history we have thus been exploring, the parallel process went on of converting the ancient Celtic Church into the fully organised Roman hierarchy. By the end of the thirteenth century its scattered monasteries had been almost wholly absorbed into the Anglo-Roman diocesan and parochial system. In the old days the little round chapels, which the early missionaries had planted all over the countryside, were supported by endowments of arable land, the usual measure being half a davach (dubhach) or 208 acres. Hence this word davach appears constantly in local place-names: for example, the ancient form of Auchindoir was Dauachyndore, or "davach among the knolls". In the Roman system, the parish churches were supported by teinds or tithes - gifts either in kind or in money, originally (as it seems) flowing from private beneficence, though afterwards they came to have all the character of legal dues exacted by the organised official Church. For practical efficiency the plan was in its conception excellent. Unfortunately it was very soon blasted by what Joseph Robertson well described as "the curse of
impropriations*. Everywhere the local magnates, in whose hands lay the adowson, found it convenient, for their souls' weal or for political ends, to grant out their patronage into the great religious houses. The latter naturally strove to draw the maximum advantage out of the endowments of the parish. Thus the spiritual care of rural districts too often came to be left in the hands of vicars, whose stipend was sometimes barely sufficient to keep soul in body. Under such circumstances, it is hardly to be wondered that all the talent in the medieval church tended to gravitate towards the cathedrals and conventual houses, while the parish priest, upon whom fell the real burden of catering for the spiritual needs of the people, degenerated correspondingly. It may be true that, at least in the earlier period of the Roman Church, there was something to be paid for the practice of impropriation. The suggestion has been made that "in exchange for a considerable share of the titles of the parishes bestowed upon them," the monasteries "received the maintenance of a Christian ministry in places where powerful landholders would not have been either regular or exact in paying their allotted proportions of what was necessary for that purpose." Yet there can be no doubt that in the end the system of impropriation was fraught with great evil to the Roman Church, and bore a large share in

the causes of her downfall. Moreover, the decline in the
parishes was not compensated by any increased efficiency,
spiritual or otherwise, in the monasteries. These soon
acquired enormous wealth by the amassed spoils of the parishes,
and finally became choked with the deceitfulness of riches -
so that their early value as centres of culture faded before
material prosperity and temporal power.

We have already glanced at this process of impropria-
tion in a number of parishes within the bounds of Mar. But
the most remarkable instance of it was the munificent gift by
which David, Earl of the Garioch, handed over every single
church in that great domain to his new foundation, the
Tiromensian Abbey of Lindores in Fife. This transaction is
such an astonishing one, and was pregnant with such important
consequences for the history of the Garioch, that we shall do
well to look into it in some little detail. The fortunate
fact that the Chartulary of Lindores still exists means that a


2. It was edited, in 1903 with an admirable introduction and
   commentary, by Bishop Dowden for the Scottish History
   Society. A number of other Lindores writs, but not includ-
   ing any concerning the Garioch, were published by the
   Abbotsford Club (Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris) in 1841.
   See also Alexander Laing, Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of
   Newburgh.
large number of documents illustrating the history of the Garioch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been preserved, casting a flood of light on the political, economic and social conditions of the district in that remote time.

According to the picturesque story narrated, and doubtless embroidered, by Hector Boece, the Earl of the Garioch, in his capacity as a vassal of Richard Coeur-de-Lion for his English Earldom of Huntingdon, accompanied that hero on the third Crusade. On his return voyage, the same storm which wrecked King Richard's vessel, and delivered him into the hands of his enemy the Kaiser, drove Earl David ashore near Alexandria, where he was detained in durance by the Saracens:-

"At length he was redeemed by certain merchants of Venice, and first conveyed unto Constantinople, and after unto Venice, where he was bought and redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his coming into Flanders, he hired a vessel at Sluys, therewith to return into Scotland; but being lost a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenly arose, that drove him, not without great danger of life, near to the coasts of Norway and Shetland."

"In the midst of this extreme jeopardy," so the story continues, the good Earl made a vow "to build a church in the honour of the Virgin Mary, if he might escape that danger of seas."

Eventually he reached calm waters in the Firth of Tay, beside Dundee, "without either rudder or tackle"; and,

"according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonly the wheat field, and dedicating it in honour of the Virgin Mary, made it a parish church. At a Parliament also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted unto him to build an abbey in
what place it should please him within Scotland, and
to endow it with lands and rents as he should think
good." 1.

The upshot was the foundation of the Abbey of Lindores,
across the Firth of Tay from Dundee. Earl David's Magna Carta
to his new establishment is undated, but can be assigned on
internal evidence to between 15th February, 1198 and 10th July,
1199. 2. A bull of Pope Celestine III, however, dated 8th
March, 1195, shows that the abbey had already then received its
royal founder's munificent gift of lands and churches in the
Garioch. This evidence is quite consistent with the chronology
of the Crusading tale; and it is also in accordance with the
latter that the Church of Dundee was among the gifts bestowed
by Earl David upon the Abbey. Yet the tale is rejected, or
all but rejected, by the learned editor of the chartulary.
True or false, it has its place in literature, not only in
the vivid narratives of Boece, Bellenden and Holinshed, but
also because it provided Sir Walter Scott with a hero for The
4. Talisman.

1. See the original narrative in Hector Boece, Scotorum Historie
1527, folio CCLXXXVI. I have quoted from the English Summary
in Ralph Holinshed, Historie of Scotland, ed. 1585, p. 192.


3. Ibid, No. XCIII. Earl David's foundation seems to have been
a renewal or enlargement of an older establishment, as at
Dunfermline. The date 1178 is assigned for the foundation of
this older house. See the discussion in Hist. Mon. Commission,
Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan, p. 219.

4. Beyond the fact that Earl David took part, or was said to
have taken part, in the Third Crusade, every other incident in
To his new foundation the pious Earl made over, in the Garioch, the lands of Lethgavel and Malind "with all their pertinents, and by their right marches". Malind, elsewhere styled Malinsyde or Mellensyde, is the place still so called (Mellenside), north of Newton House. Lethgavel or Lethgaven lay on the other side of Williamston from Wragham, and probably is represented by the modern farms of Little Ledikin and South Ledikin. In addition, Earl David gave his land of Fintray, in Formartine but adjoining the Garioch. Then follows in a stately sequence the splendid donation of the eight parish churches of the Garioch:— Inverurie, Monkegie (now Keith Hall), Logie-Durno, Premnay, Rothmuriel (Christ's Kirk in Kennethmont), Insch, Culsalmond and Kennethmont, "with the chapels of the said churches, with their lands,

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4. (cont’d.)

Sir Walter’s brave yarn is, of course, completely fictitious. So far from being a young lively-sick hero well on the right side of thirty, the Earl of the time of the Crusade was already approaching his fiftieth year, and a married man withal. And the picture which in his seventh chapter Sir Walter paints of the hostile feelings between the Scots and English, and in particular of the inveterate prejudice against his northern neighbours entertained by the stout Border chief, Sir Thomas de Vaux of Gilgand, is true rather of the sixteenth century than of the twelfth. In the latter period, no such hard enmity parted the Anglo-Norman aristocracy on either side of the frontier. Many of them, including the de Vaux themselves, possessed lands in both kingdoms, and the Garioch writs in the Lindores chartulary show how such magnates treated all their estates as one, passing between their English and Scottish manors without let or hindrance, and even, as in the case of Hugh the Breton (see infra, p. 38) exchanging property in the Garioch with property in Huntingdonshire, without the slightest hint that the lands involved were situated in different realms.

1. See the Chartulary, No. CXVI.
1. These eight churches in the Garioch, together with the parish church of Lindores (now Abdia Church), and the Church of Dundee - both also handed over to the Abbey - were, so Earl David expressly tells us in Charter IV - "all the churches which were in my gift in Scotland". Incidentally, this charter tells us that the Earl before making the gift had "caused the land of Garioch to be measured". From its founder the monastery also obtained certain other grants, including two English parish churches.

It is noteworthy that while the original charters of Earl David list only the eight churches as given above, the Magnum Privilegium of Pope Celestine III (Chartulary, No. XCIII), dated 8th March, 1195, mentions "ecclesiam de Rothket cum corpelliis suis, scilicet, Inuerurin et Munkevin". Rothkit, which the editor of the Chartulary could not identify, is evidently a blundered transcript of Rothael, St. Apollinaris' chapel, now known as Polone's Chapel. This was the first church of Inverurie. See J. Davidson, Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, pp. 19, 24. 6.32.

The site of the chapel lies on the north bank of the River Don, about a mile west of Inverurie, in the angle between the Don and the right bank of the Polnar Burn. The chapel stands on a knoll overlooking a beautiful stretch of the river, and facing the wooded slope of Roquharold Hill. The foundations, smothered in ivy, indicate a building measuring about 32 ft. 6 inches by 16 feet 6 inches, within walls of indeterminate thickness. These proportions suggest an early date, no doubt older than the thirteenth century. The orientation is 20° N.E. Within the church, at the east end on either side of the modern memorial, are a pair of old inscribed stones, rectangular in shape, and measuring 1 ft. 10 inches high and 1 foot 1 inch broad. Of the Southern pair, one has an edge roll on the top and bears the incised inscription A.F. 1660. Its neighbour has an incised double frame, within which are the incised initials and date WFL659. The two northern stones have the upper edge roll and display respectively the incised inscriptions E F 1662 and P F 1660. These are evidently memorials of the ancient family of Ferguson of Badifurrow. No other old stones are visible. The chapel has been appropriated as the burying ground of the now extinct family of Gordon of Manar, and visitors are kept out of this very interesting early Christian site by concentric defences of stone and lime, bolt and padlock, iron spike, netting and barbed wire. The people of Inverurie, whose earliest church this is, ought to make it their concern that a stop is put to this outrage.

The dedication of this Garioch church of St. Apollinaris is an extremely interesting one. He was the first Bishop of Ravenon/
Ravenon, and two of the famous early Christian churches of that beautiful city - S. Apollinane in Classe and V. Apollinane Nurvo - bear his name. The former, in the now derelict Roman port of Classis, about three miles to the south of Ravenon, is the original dedication, and here the saint is buried: the other, up to the ninth century, was under the invocation of St. Martin. The great basilica of St. Apollinane in Classe dates from the sixth century, and is one of the most famous churches in Italy. It is thrilling to think of it as the motrix ecclesiae of Inverurie. St. Apollinaris' day is 23rd July, and at Rothael "Polander Fair" was formerly held on that day. So far as I know, we have here the only dedication to this Italian saint in Britain. Perhaps his name may have been substituted by the Roman clergy for the similar-sounding one of some unknown Celtic missionary founder - in the same way as in Mar St. Luke was substituted for Mo-luig at Clova and St. Vincent for St. Finan at Lumphanan. But if there be any truth in the tale of Earl David's shipwreck and adventures, it is possible that he may have visited Ravenon during his stay in Venice. So he may have come under the influence of, or even brought back with him as his chaplain to Scotland, some Italian cleric interested in the cultus of St. Apollinaris.

Professor Wilhelm Levison of Durham University has been good enough to inform me that outside Italy there are churches dedicated to St. Apollinaris in Switzerland, in Bohemia, in France, in the Rhineland, in the Palatinate, and in Holland. The monastery at Burtzdried, near Aachen, founded by the Emperor Otto III (982-1002) was dedicated to St. Apollinaris; and Otto is known to have been several times in Ravenna and to have taken an interest in the place. Similarly it is not inconceivable that a visit of Earl David to Ravenna, during his enforced sojourn in Venice, may have resulted in our Italian dedication in the Garloch. Stranger things have happened in hagiology. In any case, the connexion between the original church of Inverurie and Ravena Felix is surely an enthralling one. Sitting on the bank of Don beneath this sequestered and forlorn kirkyard, one recalls the beautiful lines in which the great poet whose love of scenery was nursed in Mar has sung of that other lovely place behind the dark pineta on the margin of the Adriatic:

"Sweet hour of twilight! in the solitude
Of the pine forest, and the silent shore
Which bounds Ravenna's immemorial wood,
Rooted where once the Adrian wave flowed o'er,
To where the last Caesarean fortress stood,
Evergreen forest! which Boccaccio's lore
And Dryden's lay made haunted ground to me
How have I loved the twilight hour and thee!"
charter the Earl assigned to the lucky monks, a full toft in his burgh of Inverurie, as well as a noble gift of what were called the "second tithes" - i.e. tithes of rent and dues (mostly in kind) which the lord of a minor received after the first or obligatory tithing of the manorial produce.  Earl David's gift of second tithes from the Garioch is couched in the most ample terms:

"I also grant them the tithes of all gains and of all my pleas both within and without my lands beyond the Mounth, which I had at the time when I made this gift; and the tithes of all the property of me and my heirs beyond the Mounth, namely the tithes of grain and meal, of butter and cheese, of flesh and venison, of food and drink, of the skins of the animals of the chase caught by packs of hounds, of wax and salt, of fat and tallow, and of all other things which can be titled and which shall be given, or sold, or granted for a rent out of my manors beyond the Mounth."

When the royal patron set so lavish an example, his underlings in the Garioch were not backward in following suit. Between 1200 and 1207, Norman de Leslie, Constable of Inverurie Castle, handed over to the Abbey the patronage of Holie church, which seems to have originated as the private chapel of his castle there. And about the middle of the same century, Sir Simon de Garthy, bailiff of the Garioch, made over his land of Ederlang, the modern Edderlick in the parish of Premnay.

When David's son, Earl John "the Scot" died in 1237, the Cotter's eldest sister, Isabel, succeeded to the Earldom; but it seems that the lands, as distinct from the dignity, were

1. Chartulary, Nos. LXXXI-III.
2. Ibid., 150 LVI.
divided between the families of the late Earl's three sisters. Hence we now find a de Bruce in Williamston, a de Hastings in Flinder, west of Insch, and a de Balbiol in Dunnideer. The subdivision brought these families into the roll of benefactors of Lindores, and more property in the Garioch passed into the Convent's hands. Earl John had already granted them some of his Inverurie rents, as well as the half toft in that town which had belonged to Robert de Bourtie, and a couple of roods formerly held respectively by Bane and by Utting Rufus. The founder's grandson, Sir William de Brechin, in 1245 added a tract in Rathmuriel, "by the highway which goes from the ford of Urie towards Leslie." In 1261 Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, granted Boynds, near CAskieben, and Williamston - "The vill of William in Garviach" - to the Abbey, free of all liability for military service. About the same time Henry de Hastings followed suit with a gift on the same terms of Flinder. Both these gifts

1. Ibid., No. XVII.
2. Ibid., No. XVIII. These names of thirteenth century burgesses of Inverurie are interesting. Note that all are Anglo-Norman.
3. Ibid., No. LVII.
4. Ibid., Nos. CXVI-VII.
5. Ibid., No. CXXIII. The abbey had also mills at Fintray, Leslie, Williamston, Wrangham (a waulkmill), Durno and "cavellis mylne" near Easter Disblair - probably the present old mill west of Newmachar. See A. Laing, Lindores Abbey, pp. 410-5.
were in exchange for the remission by the Abbey of the second tithes on the donors' lands. Doubtless these second tithes, from their largely occasional nature, were in practice burdensome to ingather. And in 1260 Sir Josceline de Balliol, the lord of Dunnideer Castle, also in exchange for the remission of their second tithes from his holding in the Garioch, granted to the Abbot and Convent an annual sum of money, and wayleave for a mill-lade from the River Urie to the Mill of Insch, upon condition that the Abbot should pay to Sir Josceline and his heirs repair of white kid gloves every Whitsunday at his Castle of Dunnideer. Yet another benefaction coming to Lindores Abbey from our district was a gift of money made by Alan Durward from his lands of Kinnenvie, in the parish of Uby, towards the maintenance by the monks of a chaplain serving the chapel of St. Mary in the parish of Logie-Durno. And lastly, by an undated charter the great King Robert conveyed to the Abbey the lands of Kinmuck, Balbithan and Nethermick, all in the present parish of Keith-Hall and Kinkell, in exchange for the estate of Barns, in Premnay, which the abbey had received from his brother, the ill-fated Sir Edward Bruce, but which the King now resumed.

1. Note of fact at beginning of previous page.

2. Chartulary, No. LXXX. This was the chapel afterwards known as Chapel o' Garioch, which became parochial in the seventeenth century. For the Durwards in Mar, see my former work, pp.115-6

3. Chartulary, No. CXXVI.
As a result of these enormous donations, the wealthy Abbey on the Firth of Tay obtained a commanding position in the Garioch. Indeed, save for the one fact that it was situated beyond the bounds of the Earldom, Lindores Abbey was as completely the monastery of the Garioch as Deer was the monastery of Buchan and Monymusk that of Mar. The whole vast holding in Aberdeenshire was sometimes referred to as 1. "the North Abbacy of Lindores". Much later, in 1402, the church of Coldstone in Cromar was impropriated to Lindores, by gift of Isabella Douglas Countess of Mar. What have the old documents to tell us of the way in which the distant monastery managed its northern property, and what was the effect upon conditions in the Garioch?

To facilitate the administration of their lands beyond the Mounth, and for the ingathering of their teindsheaves and other dues in kind, the Abbots erected a hall and a grange on their land of Fintray. The hall was also used by the Abbot as a summer seat. It is from this that the present village of Hatton (Hall-Town) of Fintray gets its name; and the surroundings have all that air of ancient culture and well-tended husbandry, that insita sibi species venustatis which seems

1. Laing, op. cit., p. 431.
3. Coll. Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 245.
1. For Fintray see Misc. Third Spalding Club, Vol. I, pp.6-16.  
2. See Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, Vol. I, p. 375;  
4. For the detailed figures, see Chartulary of Lindores, p. xlix.  
5. Ibid, p. lxi.
The worthy priest of Kennethmont in fact had resorted to "direct action", and for three years had withheld the thirty marketable teind lambs which he should have sent down annually to the Abbot's grange at Fintray. Naturally the Bishop of Aberdeen supported his clergy against the monastic patron. The Pope appointed a commission to look into the matter, and their decision, promulgated in a papal bull issued from the Lateran on 13th January, 1257, lays down, not unfairly to the vicars so far as I can judge, the sums secured to them in each case; but the incumbents were made liable for the upkeep of their chancels, a departure from Scottish practice, whereby the rector, in this case the Abbey, was responsible for that portion of the church.

We must always remember that Lindores Abbey stood in the position of feudal superior to the tenants on its church lands in the Garioch. Naturally the obligation of military service did not apply to an abbey as it did to a large landholder, and the donors of the lands, as we saw in the cases of Williamston and Flinder, undertook this duty themselves. The only obligation which the monks had to discharge in respect of the broad acres which were gifted to them was that of praying for the souls of the granters. But over its vassals the Abbey

1. See the case stated by the monastery, Chartulary, No. XCII.
2. Registrum Episcoporum Aberdonensis, Vol. I, pp. 18-23 - an extremely interesting document. See also G. G. Coulton, Scottish Abbeys and their Life, pp. 95-6. He estimates the gross revenue of the nine churches at £176-1-4. I have taken the price of a shilling as one mark.
exercised the same rights and jurisdiction as any other feudal suzerain. We have an instance of this in a charter by which Earl David grants to the Abbot and Convent the right to set up a barony court over the tenants of their church lands in Culsalmond and Monkegie.

One thing strictly controlled by the within its impropried parishes was the erection by the landed gentry of private chapels in or near their residences. Naturally in such cases the Convent was concerned to see that the interests of the parish church were not prejudiced. So we have two licences granted (upon certain conditions) by the Abbey for the erection of a private chapel, one to Sir Simon de Garthy for his manor at Crimond, in the parish of Inverurie, and the other to Sir Bartholomew the Fleming for his manor of Wardhouse. It was as such a private chapel that the parish church of Leslie appears to have originated.

The Chartulary of Lindores also gives us some vivid glimpses of serfdom in the Garioch during the thirteenth century. One of the Founder's charters conveying the church lands in the Garioch to the Abbey expressly includes "the men and their families residing on those lands." And in 1253 Norman de Leslie grants a charter resigning to the Abbey all

1. Chartulary, No. V.


his rights of bondship over John, son of Thomas of Molind (Mellenside), and all the followers of his body. This is the very phrase used to-day in any Scottish horse market about a mare and her foal!

In my former work I have alluded to the evidence which the Chartulary of Lindores has preserved of the settlement of Flemings and other aliens in the Garioch during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Another example of this is seen in a grant made by Earl David conveying Glanderston, near Wardhouse, to Hugh the Breton. His name proves the former owner, Gillanders Buch, from which the land took its designation, to have been a native Celt.

By the end of the thirteenth century, to which we have now brought down our narrative, a large measure of internal stability and material progress had been achieved in the kingdom of Scotland. All our evidence goes to prove that Mar

1. In omnium sequam de corpore cuise exequentem - Chartulary, No. LXXXIV. This unit is dated "of the Chapel of St. Appolinaris", 12th July, 1253. Among the witnesses are three more burgesses of Inverurie, whose names are again significant. They are Henry de Melville, John Robertson, and John Fitzwalter.

2. Province of Mar, pp. 130-1.

3. Chartulary, No. CXIX. This grant was in exchange for lands in Conington, Huntingdonshire, where Lindores Abbey held the church. For the family of Bret or le Breton there, see Vict. County Hist., Huntingdonshire, reff. in index.
and the Garioch shared fully in the general prosperity. In the lower lands the population was perhaps by this time largely Teutonic in language and culture, but in the upland valleys the old Celtic inhabitants continued to live, we may guess, in a condition of sullen enmity towards their supplanters. At this period the whole of the Mar territories were held under the fully developed feudal system, and the earldom presented the appearance of a great medieval fief in its most completely organised form. Tribal ownership of the land, if indeed it ever existed in Celtic times, had given way to a system of private hereditary possession centuries before the introduction of Norman feudalism, and the tenure of land by charter which came in during the twelfth century.

We must imagine the Earls of Mar in the thirteenth century as potent rulers, exercising an almost absolute sovereignty within their vast domains, and governing through their own officials and courts. It is difficult for us to conceive the enormous authority which in those early ages was vested in the great territorial magnates of Scotland. They had the power of pit and gallows over all their vassals; could call on them for military service, except in so far as touched their allegiance to the Crown; enjoyed all the multifarious dues in money, kind or service which characterised the feudal system of tenure; and appropriated all the fines inflicted in the baronial courts, not to speak of special revenues accruing from relief, ward, marriage, non-entry, escheat, and
similar casualties or occasional incomings. They were also
the superiors of all burghs or hamlets in the earldom; and
in return for the boon which their protection conferred on
the inhabitants, took care freely to help themselves to the
proceeds of their industry.

Under the Earl were the different grades of vassals -
knights, free tenants, and tenants of will - and below these
again were the bondsmen or serfs, thirled to the soil, but
not devoid of stated rights, and by no means treated with
harshness. Slavery, in the absolute sense in which it was
understood in the ancient world, was a thing unknown in
medieval Scotland. Much progress had already been made in
adjusting the relations of these several classes in terms of
legal enactment. Acting either through the machinery of the
central government, or by means of the duplicate organisations
in the earldoms and baronies, the control of the State had by
this time attained a considerable measure of effectiveness.

For the unrestrained violence of primitive retribution, the
State was beginning to enforce the alternative of a judicial
system which - whether by compurgation, ordeal or combat -
may seem crude enough to our eyes, but marked none the less a
great advance from the lawlessness of private vengeance.

In all the foregoing developments the Church went hand
in hand with the civil power. By the end of the thirteenth
century, it is reckoned that at least one third of the cultivated land in Scotland was held by ecclesiastical corporations. As we have seen in the case of Lindores, the organisation and governance of these vast domains was as completely feudal as that of the lay fiefs. Such portions of the old tribal lands as had escaped appropriation by the local magnates appear to have been held as thanages, directly from the Crown. In far we have thus the thanages of Aberdeen, Kintore, Aboyne and Onele - the last representing the big skelp of Mar that had been peeled off by the Durwards.

Such was the state of Mar and the Garioch when, at the end of the thirteenth century, these two ancient lands encountered the desolating fury of the Plantagenet onslaught:

"Sen Alexander our king was deid,
That Scotland left in luf and le,
Away wes sons of aill and breid,
Off wyre and walx, of gamyn and gle.
The gold was changeit all in laid,
The frute failyeit on euerilk he.
Thou, succour and send remeid,
That stad is in perplexite."

On the death of Alexander III (19th March, 1286), civil strife broke out in Scotland, headed by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Annandale, grandfather of the hero, who rose in arms to vindicate his claim to the throne against that of the Maid of Norway. In his celebrated letter to Edward of England, dated 7th October, 1290, the Bishop of St. Andrews writes that "the Earls of Mar and Atholl are collecting their army, and some other nobles of the land are drawing to their party." As Atholl's seat of Strathbogie closely adjoins Kildrummy, it is probable that this concentration took place around the two castles. Mar and Atholl were acting in Bruce's interest.

A little later, we hear of a protest to King Edward, now overlord of Scotland, by Donald, 6th Earl of Mar, along with the freemen of Moray, about the unsettled condition of affairs in that Province - whence it may be inferred that the Earl, as warden of Kildrummy, was fulfilling his duty of supervising the unruly northern district to curb which the royal castle had been erected.


The summer of 1296 saw the first Plantagenet invasion of Mar. At Stracathro in Angus, near the throat of the Cairnmount Pass that offered him the last refuge which he dispaired to take, John de Balliol, the luckless "Toom Tabard", on 7th July, 1296, "in the cemetery of Stronkatterach, at the hour of vespers," gave in his abject submission to the representatives of English Edward. Thereafter Edward himself in primitive array crossed the Mounth by the Cryne Corse Pass and advanced through Mar into Morayland. His stages were: - Wednesday, 11th June, 1296, Montrose to Kincardine Castle; Thursday, 12th, to Glenbervie; Friday, 13th, to Durris, "a manor among the mountains"; and Saturday, 14th July, to Aberdeen, "bone chastelle et bone ville pur la mer". In the next few days he received the formal submission of the burghers, the Bishop and the Dean, as well as of some leading magnates of the countryside - including, from Mar and the Garioch, Sir Norman de Leslie, Sir Alexander de Lamberton of Bourtie, Sir John de Garioch of Caskieben, Sir William de Cluny, Sir Thomas le Durward, Gilbert de Mar, and Sir Reginald le Chenu Lecken of Cremond in Monkezie. On the 21st he proceeded up Deeside to the Peel of Lumphanan, where Sir John de Melville did him homage. Thereafter the King continued his northward march by Kintore, Fyvie, Banff, Cullen and to Enzie to Elgin,

the high-water mark of invasion, which was reached on the 26th. On his return journey Edward passed down through the Cabrach, and on Tuesday, 31st July, 1296, he arrived at the Castle of Kildrummy. Here he remained over the 1st August - the festival of St. Peter ad vincula it was, and we can imagine the imposing service held in the castle chapel in the presence of the conquering monarch and his staff. On Thursday, Edward resumed his journey, going on to Kincardine O'Neil, and thence over the Cairnamounth to Kincardine Castle in the Mearns. During his stay at Kildrummy, the English King received homage from a number of Scots - on 31st July Rogier Patrenostre, on the following day John Tresour, burgess of Perth, and on 2nd August Ranulf de Kelor and Thomas de Colly. On the 1st Edward was joined at Kildrummy by Anthony Bek, the famous warrior - Bishop of Durham, who had come over the mountains by another way, perhaps through Strathbogie. In the Placita Rolls of Edward's army, which preserve an interesting record of the stern discipline be enforced, occurs notice of a drum-head court-martial held at Kildrummy Castle on 1st August. Two cases were dealt with, one soldier being hanged for murder.

The English governor of Aberdeen Castle was Sir Henry de/
de Latham, Sheriff of Aberdeenshire. To him, on 11th June, 1297, Edward I addressed a letter, straitly charging him to use every means in his power to arrest and bring to justice the armed bands of malefactors and marauders who were perpetrating robberies and other enormities in his district. There was much need for the sheriff to exercise sharp oversight of the country under his charge, for next month Wallace burst into Aberdeen and, though the castle held out, set fire to the shipping in the harbour below. Latham's conduct in this crisis failed to give satisfaction to his superiors, for on 1st August Earl de Warrene, Edward's Viceroy of Scotland, writes thus to his royal master:

"We have sent to take Sir Henry de Latham, who is in your Castle of Aberdeen, and there makes a great lord of himself. But whether he is yet taken or not we cannot as yet certainly inform you, for at the departure of this latter we have as yet had no answer from any of those who went to take him; but if he be caught he shall be honoured according to his deserts."

Next year the erstwhile governor of Aberdeen Castle appears as "a rebel and adherent of the Scots."

In 1303, during his second great invasion of the north, Edward I on 17th August, received the surrender of Brechin Castle, after an obstinate defence. On the 23rd he reached Aberdeen, probably by the coastal route, and remained there till the 28th. On 4th September he was at Banff, and on the 10th he reached Elgin. On his return march the English king paused for a few days (4th - 9th October) at Kildrummy Castle, and then crossed the Cairnamounth Pass to Fettercairn, where he was on Sunday, 13th October.

It is likely that the reason why Edward made such a long pause at Kildrummy was his interest in a great piece of building that was probably then in progress. It will be recollected that the earliest work in the castle is the Snow Tower and the north curtain in the back portion of the site, and that the builders, as common sense indeed would dictate, worked gradually round the enceinte towards the south, so as always to leave an unimpeded access for their carts and building materials. The evidence of masonry and architectural detail makes it pretty clear that the work went on throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century; and the pronounced Edwardian character of the great gatehouse tells us, in unmistakable language, that this, the final stage in the programme, was completed during the Plantagenet occupation.

Despite its fragmentary condition, it is clear that this gatehouse belongs to a type otherwise unknown in the thirteenth century castles of Scotland. It conforms to the special kind forming a great self-contained unit - a "gemel tower" in medieval parlance - that is, a large isolated rectangular block with twin towers to the front, trance and porter's lodges below, and (no doubt) apartments of considerable size and distinction on the upper floors. Now this is the type of gatehouse found in the great Edwardian castles of Wales - Harlech, Beaumaris, Llanstephan, Aberystwyth, Kidwelly, and Caerphilly. It is amid these castles that the inspiration of our Kildrummy gatehouse must surely be sought. With this consideration the Edwardian fireplace so fortunately still preserved in what remains of the structure, is in entire harmony; and the special people found in the gatehouse towers, where a bell-shaped plinth rises straight from the foundations, is that normally found in the Welsh castles. But this is not all. I have elsewhere called attention to the close resemblance between the gatehouse of Harlech Castle and our gatehouse at Kildrummy. Except for one major difference - the omission of Kildrummy of the rearward stair towers - the two plans are practically identical. In each we have the oblong self-contained gatehouse block with twin-towers in front.

whose outlines pass smoothly into the walls of the trance between them, but on the other sides form a sharp re-entrant with the curtains. In each, the towers contain an apsidal chamber, behind which, in the rearward portion of the gatehouse, a larger room is formed by encroaching upon the trance wall. At Harlech, as at Kildrummy, one of these rearward rooms has a large fireplace. In neither gatehouse has the basement any vaulting. In both, the garderobes are contrived at the re-entrant angles between the towers and the curtain.

But even this is not the whole story. Our two gatehouses are not merely closely similar in their arrangements, they are almost identical in dimensions. It is impossible to believe that such a nexus of coincidences can be merely an accident.

We have therefore to ascertain whether any known links exist between Edward Ists building operations in Wales and in Scotland.

Fortunately, our documentary evidence is not altogether silent upon this point. Edward's master of work in North Wales, between 1277 and 1299, who had the building of Rhuddlan, Harlech, Conway and Beaumaris Castles in his charge, and for a time was himself Constable of Harlech Castle, was

1. At Kildrummy, vaults have subsequently been inserted in the frontal bows.
the great master-mason James of St. George. Now from a letter of Edward dated 30th June, 1302, it appears that Master James of St. George was then master of works at Linlithgow, where the famous Peel was in course of erection. And on 8th October, 1299, the roll of a court held at Linlithgow reveals that James of St. George was at that time deputy governor of the burgh, his chief being William de Felton, who, it is significant to note, had been constable of Beaumaris Castle in 1296, with James of St. George under him as master of works.

As the latter was engaged both at Beaumaris and Linlithgow in 1299, it is evident that his transference to Scotland took place in that year. Again, the master-mason of Caernaveron Castle was the famous Walter of Hereford. He appears in charge of the work there from 1288 onwards, and by 1315 had

1. See my paper on "James de Sancto Georgio, Master of Works to King Edward I in Wales and in Scotland," in Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Soc. and Field Club, 1928, pp. 31-169. Since that paper was written, Mr. L. F. Salzmen has kindly sent me two extracts from unpublished sources - P.R.O., Exch. K.R. Accounts, 485, 28 (14 Ed. I), and 482.21 (30 Edin. I) - in which James of St. George is styled master-mason. It is therefore clear that he was not simply a master of works, as I had conceived him to be from the sources available to me when writing my paper, but that he was a practical master-mason of high professional status, who was employed on many administrative duties outside his craft, as were his contemporary, Master Richard the Engineer (carpenter), and at a later time the master-mason Henry Yevile.


3. J. Stevenson, Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, vol. II, p. 393. For Will. de Felton, see J. F. Morris, The Welsh Wars of Edward I, p. 263. His connexion with Scotland appears to date from the Falkirk Campaign (1298) in which he was summoned to serve with thirteen valets. He was in command of the infantry from Anglesey, ibid., p. 287.
been succeeded by his assistant, Henry of Breton. Now in March 1304 we find that Walter of Hereford, master-mason, is working on Edinburgh Castle. From the above particulars it is clear that Edward I employed the same technical staff on his fortifications in Wales and in Scotland. Accordingly it is most suggestive to find, in our great gatehouse at Kildrummy, such unmistakable links with the Welsh Castles.

But the gatehouse is not the only portion of Kildrummy Castle in which we can recognise the handiwork of Molleus Scotorum. In the north-eastern tower are inserted double-lancet windows with shouldered lintels of the well known "Caernarvon" type. And in my account of the excavation of the underground passage I have called attention to the resemblance between the ashlar-work of the cistern-house and that found at Dunstanburgh Castle, circa 1313-1325.

3. Province of Mar, p. 153. Since that account was published I have had the privilege of re-examining these works along with Mr. H. L. Honeyman, A.R.I.B.A. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the noted authority upon the architectural antiquities of Northumberland. Mr. Honeyman agrees with me in inclining to attach significance to the resemblance between the masonry of the cistern-house at Kildrummy and that of Dunstanburgh.
Grótney, seventh Earl of Mar, succeeded in 1297, and died before 1305, leaving a son Donald, who was a minor. Hence his uncle, Bruce, took charge of his estates until the time of his majority. On 15th September, 1305, Edward I issued his famous Ordinance for the Settlement of Scotland, wherein occurs the following clause, eloquent of the distrust which the English king already entertained of Bruce's fidelity:

"Iter acorde est que comande soit au Counte de Carrik, g'il mette le Chastel de Kyndromyn en la garde de tiel homme pur qu'il melisme voudra respointre".

"Further, it is agreed that command be made to the Earl of Carrick that he shall place the Castle of Kildrummy in the charge of one for whom he shall answer." But the rapid course of events frustrated the English sovereigns plans. On 27th March, 1306, Bruce was crowned at Scone. On 26th June following his scantly band was crushingly defeated by the Earl of Pembroke at Methven. Among the captives were Bruce's ward, the young Earl of Mar, who was sent to Bristol Castle. The disaster seemed irremediable. Its first result was to drive King Robert into the wild hill country, where it was speedily obvious that the Queen and her ladies could not continue with him. It was therefore decided that the female element in Bruce's following, including his Queen, his daughter Marjory, his sister Mary and the bold Countess of Buchan who had placed the improvised crown on his head, should be sent forthwith to

Kildrummy. In command of the party was the King's youngest brother, Sir Nigel de Bruce, with the Earl of Atholl and other men of consequence.

"For thaim thocht thai mycht sekyrly Dwell ther, quhill thai war victaillit weile, For swa stalwart wes the Castell That it with strenth was hard to get Quhill that thar-in were men and mate." 1.  

Hearing the news from the north, King Edward was overtaken by one of those ungovernable fits of fury which he inherited from his daemonic Angevin forebears. "Put off his wyt he went weill ner", says Barbour. At once he gave orders for an army to march against the offending stronghold, under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford - in whose hands, we may believe, was vested the real conduct of operations. On 24th May, 1306, the English king wrote to the Earl of Pembroke, Viceroy of Scotland, saying that he is sending his son "with a strong force, and will himself follow as soon as possible." 2.  

On 11th June, the Prince received the surrender of Lochmaben Castle, Bruce's seat in Dumfries. Proceeding thence by Perth and Forteviot (1st August), Edward crossed the Mounth and sat down before Kildrummy. On his approach the unhappy Queen, along with her daughter Marjorie and the other ladies, fled to Tain, 3.

3. For the dates see Bain, vol. II, Nos. 1803, 1809.
probably with a view to making for Orkney, but was there torn
from sanctuary by the Earl of Ross, and handed over to King
Edward.

The siege of Kildrummy must be read in the splendid
verse of Barbour. Under the heroic Nigel its garrison beat
off every attempt to carry the castle by storm until the
traitor Osburn set fire to the corn store in the "mekill hall".

Barbour, whose account, so he tells us expressly, was derived
from survivors, - "as thai said, that war ther-in - "
describes in graphic language how the fire, bursting through
the "thak burd" or wooden roof of the hall, glowed, "first
as a stern, syne as a mayne", and then "our all the Castell
spred". Kildrummy fell before the 13th September, and its
heroic commandant, the young Sir Nigel, miles pulcherrimore
juantutis, died in a gibbet at Berwick-on-Tweed.

   pp. 257-8.

2. The Bruce, bk. IV, 59-176. See my The Castle of Kildrummy,
   pp. 183-91.

3. The MSS. vary between "thak burd" and "thick burd". But the
   epithet "thick" would be quite inept, and it is clear from
   the way in which the glow is described as appearing aloft,
   "first like a star, then like a moon", that the eye-witnesses
   whom the poet reports saw it first breaking through the roof
   of the hall. The point is important in view of the suggestion
   made that the hall was then a wooden structure - an idea
decisively contradicted by the thirteenth-century detail of
the stonework still remaining. See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.,
vol. LXII, pp. 137, 154-5; Province of Mar, p. 149.


5. Matthew of Westminster, in Flores Historiarum (Rolls Series),
   vol. III, p. 135.
"All a quarter off Snowdoune
Rycht to the end thai tumlit doune
Syne toward Ingland wend thar way" -

So Barbour reports the proceedings of the English after the Castle was won. Whether this refers specifically to the Snow Tower - so-called as far back as 1611, - or is a synonym used by the poet for the Castle as a whole, it is at all events clear that the burnt-out shell was partly dismantled and abandoned to ruin. It is in full accordance with this that the west curtain wall of the castle bears evidence of having been rebuilt, mostly in poor material from the somewhat incoherent, blood-red Tillybrachty sandstones, not elsewhere used to any large extent in the castle.

In the Autumn of 1307 King Albert, leaving Douglas in charge of operations in the south, himself struck boldly northward to deal with his inveterate enemies, the Earl of Ross who had seized his Queen at Tain, and the Comyns in Buchan. Until order had been taken with these the King's rear would never be secure in the main contest against England. In November Ross made his submission, and next month the King appeared in Aberdeenshire. But at Inverurie Bruce's health, worn out by hardship, exposure and anxiety, broke down, and for a time he had to betake himself to his old practice of

skulking, in bitter wintry weather, among the hills of Drumblade, where his brother Edward by skilful guerrilla tactics kept the Comyn forces at bay. From Drumblade the convalescent monarch moved to Strathbogie Castle, and thence back to Inverurie. The decisive battle with the Comyns took place at Barra, between Inverurie and Oldmeldrum, on Christmas Day, 1307. The Comyns were routed and hunted as far as Fyvie:

"Thai chasyt thame with all that mayn,
And sum thai tak, and sum war sleyn,
The remanand war fleared ay;
Quhë had good hors got best away!"

Bruce followed up his victory by the savage "hership of Buchan", a cruel devastation of the Comyn lands that was remembered for generations after:

"Efter that wele fifty yheir
Men menyt the heirship of Bouchane."

The battle of Inverurie marks the turning point in Bruce's career, and in the first War of Independence. From now onwards the initiative lay with the Scots. Aberdeen Castle fell immediately afterwards, and the whole of the north passed speedily into Bruce's hands:

"The King than till his pes has tane
The north cuntre, that humylly
Obeys it till his senyhory.
Sun that be north the Month war nane
That thï ne war his men ilkane."

The picturesque story told by Hector Boece, how the King won

1. Barbour's Bruce, bk. IX, VV. 299-300. The best modern account of the campaign and battle of Inverurie is in Barron, War of Independence, chap. XXVII.
and destroyed the Castle of Aberdeen with the aid of the
townsfolk, belongs rather to the history of the city than to
this present chronicle of Mar. With the recovery of the north
from the rule of England and of England's friends, our Province
passes out from the record of the war. Admittedly that record
is a scrappy one, and there must have been many wild doings in
Mar and the Garioch during those tempestuous times which have
left no trace either in the chroniclers of the period or in the
public records that have survived. Fortunately in one case,
the spade of the archaeologist, probing the soil of our
Province, has been able to recover a lost chapter in the War
of Independence.

In my former work something has been said of the Castle
of Coull, the chief stronghold of the Durwards, in the Howe of
Cromar. The site of the castle is some two hundred yards
south of Coull Kirk, affording a conspicuous example of the
characteristic Anglo-Norman association of parochial church
and castle. The Castle stands with its back to the Tarland
Burn, and is defended in front by a wide and deep ditch. As
now revealed by excavation, the remains indicate a pentagonal
enclosure, 110 feet in breadth and about 130 feet in greatest
depth, contained within curtain walls varying from 8 to 18 feet

1. Province of Mar, pp. 115-6.
in thickness, and flanked by five circular towers. Remains of three of these towers have been exposed, one of which, forming the donjon, is 30 feet in diameter, and still exists to a height of 14 feet. On its north side is a corbelled garderobe shaft. This tower was greatly damaged at an early date, evidently by an attempt to undermine it, and was afterwards repaired by the addition round it of a remarkable apron of solid masonry. West of the donjon is a postern. In front of the main gate was found a pit, hewn in the living rock; this had been spanned by a bridge. The domestic range, with the hall and kitchen, has been partly cleaned out. Here rich dog-tooth and other thirteenth-century moulded work, in Kildrummy freestone, was discovered.

A large assortment of relics was found, chiefly owing to the fortunate chance that the excavators came upon the middens of the castle, on which its inmates threw out their broken pottery, tools, and kitchen refuse. These relics include knives, skewers, and other implements in iron, fragments of an iron cauldron, iron hinges and bands for strengthening a door, arrow-heads, a sling-ball, roofing lead, large numbers of nails, and quantities of pottery. Valuable evidence for the lower date of occupation of the castle is afforded by the last. No pottery were found later in type than the beginning of the fourteenth century. With this ceramic

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1. For the animal bones see Province of Mar, p. 137.
evidence may be taken the fact that in the eighteenth century silver pennies of Alexander III were dug out of the ruins. One scrap of pottery shows a painted fabric which Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum thinks may be Divieto mare.

The chronological inflictions of this pottery have their bearing on the question of the ultimate fate of the castle. That its end was violent the excavations revealed abundantly. Traces of fire were everywhere found, particularly at the gatehouse, where much of the stonework was vitrified, and the charred oaken timbers and melted or twisted nails of the bridge were found collapsed into the pit, together with the burnt debris of the (mostly hazel) used to ignite it. Moreover, the solid masonry of the Castle shows signs of deliberate dismantling. In long stretches the walls are overthrown, and the towers are breached. That the catastrophe followed a siege or close blockade may perhaps be inferred from the fact that the garderobe shaft of the donjon was found choked with excrement — a condition which would hardly have arisen had the garrison been free to come outside and clean it out.

Such destruction at once suggests the War of Independence. Bruce's well-known policy was to "tumble down" castles as soon as he recovered them. We saw that at the end of 1307 the King invaded Aberdeenshire and won the battle of Inverurie, and that in the course of next year all the strongholds in English hands north of the Mounth were won back. It may be
assumed that Coull Castle was then captured and destroyed. This view agrees both with the ceramic evidence and with the absence of any notice of the Castle after that date.

At the period of the war of Independence, stone castles in Scotland were few and far between. Coull must have been one of the most important among them. Hence it is puzzling that in the records of the time there should be no mention whatever of the Castle - particularly in view of the evidence of two dismantlings that the excavations disclosed. This silence of the records with regard to Coull becomes all the more baffling when we find frequent notices of the neighbouring Castle of Aboyne. These notices may be summarised as follows.

Early in the thirteenth century the Thanage of Aboyne was held by the Norman family of de Bisset; but after their downfall, in tragic circumstances, in 1242, it lapsed to the Crown. Aboyne Castle thereafter appears as an occasional royal residence - no doubt owing to its proximity to the King's Forest of Birse. Alexander III was several times there, and a letter is extant written by him to Edward I,

1. under date 1st April, 1285. On 14th June, 1291, under the provisions of the Treaty of Brigham, twenty-three Scottish Castles opened their gates to English garrisons. Ab


one of them, and Richard de Swethope was appointed its governor. Payments to the garrison, during the years 1291-2, are vouched for in the English records. This first Plantagenet occupation was terminated by Edward's order, issued on 18th November, 1292, to Richard de Swethope, in common with all the other governors of Crown strongholds, instructing him to hand over Aboyne Castle to the newly appointed King, John Balliol. But after Edward's second invasion of Mar, in 1303, we find Aboyne Castle again held on his behalf. In 1304, Sir Alexander Comyn of Buchan, Sheriff of Aberdeen, obtained an order from King Edward placing him in possession of the castle: but John de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl, who at that time was in charge of the Castles of Aboyne and Aberdeen, with garrisons of 20 men at arms and 40 sergeants on foot in each, protested vigorously at being required to give up the former post.

The country round Aboyne, he writes, is savage and full of evil doers, and the King has no other fortress where his servants may be in safety to keep the peace. Comyn already

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2. Rotuli Scotiae, vol. I, pp. 11-12. The oft repeated story that Edward visited Aboyne Castle in 1296 and rifled its charter chest appears to have no foundation. No doubt it originated in the fact that among the documents taken to England in that year was a Charta de Obeyn - W. Robertson, Index of Many Records of Charters, p. xxv.

possesses two of the strongest castles in the country, Urquhart and Tarradale (Resculine Ross), and as Sheriff he can commit his prisoners to Aberdeen Castle if he wishes. It is therefore undesirable that the Castle of Aboyne should be made over to him. From another petition of Atholl's, dated July 1305, we learn that up to then he had expended £540 in repairing and garrisoning Aboyne and Aberdeen Castles. After Bruce's rising, Edward I on 18th March, 1307 sent urgent instructions to his Chamberlain in Scotland to repair and garrison the Castles of Dundee, Forfar, Aberdeen and Aboyne. No further record of Aboyne Castle appears to exist, and doubtless it was destroyed during the renewed intense struggle with the English which now began under Bruce's leadership. Thereafter the island Castle in Loch Kinnord - more directly in line with the fords at Tullich and Dinner, and better placed to control the entry into Mar from the Capel Mounth Pass - appears to have become

1. Bain, op. cit., vol. II, No. 1637. Atholl must have quite recently been placed in charge of Aboyne, as up to the beginning of that year he had been outwith the King's peace in Scotland, though serving him abroad. After the reconciliation, Edward made him Warden of Scotland north of the Forth. But in 1306 he threw in his lot with Bruce. So his occupation of Aboyne cannot have outlasted two years.

2. Ibid., No. 1682.


4. The strategic importance of Kinnord Castle, on the high road from the Capel Mounth to Kildrummy, comes out in the campaign of Culblean, see infra, pp. 70-8.
the military centre of the Aboyne lands. But after the advent of the Gordons, about the year 1437, we again find references to a Castle of Aboyne. About 1638 there was a "house" at Aboyne, which had a forecast, and was capable of defence. The oldest portion of the present structure is dated 1671.

I have long suspected that the references to Aboyne Castle during the Plantagenet occupation, summarised in the foregoing paragraph, belong properly to the Castle of Coull; or, to state it another way, that Coull was the only castle in the Thanage of Aboyne during that period.

The early Castle of Aboyne (castellum, or castrum de Obeyn), mentioned by Bower in connexion with the Bisset tragedy of 1242, and visited on several occasions by Alexander III, was in all probability, like the great majority of Scottish Castles at that time, a timbered earthwork. Let us now consider afresh the references that purport to refer to this early castle as a stronghold garrisoned for Edward I in 1291-2 and in 1304-5. Very significant among them is Atholl's petition

1. See Records of Aboyne, pp. 3 (capitall messuagio dictarum terrarum, 1460) and 2½ (castrum nostrum de Obyne, 1484.)

2. Blackhall's Narration, pp. 58, 68, 79-86. A gentleman's seat is marked at Aboyne on Gordon of Straloch's map, 1654.


of July 1305, whence it appears that the Earl was authorised by the King to draw rents from Aboyne and Coull. In other words, in that year both these contiguous territories were in Crown hands. For administrative purposes, it would seem, the lands of Coull had now been annexed to the Thanage of Aboyne. This must have happened since 1299; for in that year we find that the lands of Coull still went, as in the old Durward days, along with Lumphanan—both being held by Joan de Clare, the widowed Countess of Fife, who, with King Edward's consent, assigned them to Sir John de Hastings to be held by him of her, at a suitable rent, in payment of a debt due to Hastings by the Countess. But it is doubtful if Sir John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny and Seneschal of Aquitaine, was ever near Coull, and his interest in the lands would not prevent King Edward using the Castle for a royal garrison. Indeed it is unlikely that Countess Joan's assignation ever became effective; for within five years (as we have seen) and while both she and Sir John were still alive, the lands of Coull appear as divorced from Lumphanan, annexed to Aboyne, and with the latter in royal lands. Moreover it is in this very year 1305 that we find Atholl receiving an order from Edward to hand them over to the Countess, who clearly up to this moment had

exercised no authority over them. Throughout the whole series of transactions the effective control by Edward over the lands both of Coull and of Aboyne stands out as the one constant feature. And that the usufruck of, or power of intromission with, the rents of a demesne did not carry with it control over its Castle is seen from the state of mothers during the first English occupation in 1291-2, when Donald, Earl of Mar, is found administering the thanage, collecting the rents of the lands of Aboyne, and paying out of them the salary of Richard de Swethope, the royal governor of the Castle. On the assumption that there was then merely an earthwork castle, probably derelict, in the Thanage of Aboyne, but a powerful stone and lime Castle, as a going concern, two miles away at Coull; and considering that both the thanage and the lands of Coull were then in Edward's hands, and that the rents of both were drawn by the governor of what we are expressly told was then the only castle on the lands - nothing, surely, is more likely than that this Castle, if it was Coull, should be, quite naturally, referred to by the English as the Castle of Aboyne.

Aboyne was a thanage, a big and important one. Coull, after the disruption of the vast Durward lordship, must have been a comparatively minor pendicle, in which its great stone

castle would be utterly out of scale. That Aboyne was always the local centre of population is proved by the abundant traces of prehistoric settlement in the valley and on its sunward slopes; by the presence, at the old parish church, of one of the finest of our Celtic sculptured stones; and by the important ferry at Bonty - that gave its ancient name to the village afterwards christened Charleston. What is therefore more probable that the English, occupying the Thanage of Aboyne and the adjoining lands of Coull, with their garrison in Coull Castle, should speak/the latter as the Castle of Aboyne? 1. Atholl's memorial of 1304 explicitly states that Aboyne Castle was then the only fortress on this land. As the spade has shown that the Castle of Coull was undoubtedly in full occupation at this time, we seem fairly driven to the conclusion that this was none other than the Aboyne Castle of our records.

Exact parallels are available from England. Thus it has long been recognised that the Castellum Warham of Doomsday Book is really Corfe Castle - Wareham being the local centre of population, four miles away. Similarly Tickhill Castle in Yorkshire is often called the Castle of Blyth, a town in Nottinghamshire from which Tickhill is distant four miles.

1. The Formaston ogham stone, see Province of Mar, Plate 58.
And in Scotland itself, at the very moment of which we are writing, Balvenie Castle appears as the Castle of Mortlach - Mortlach, a long mile to the south, with its ancient church of St. Molway and its sculptured stones, being the early nucleus of population.

In his Memorial of 1304, Atholl states that he had carried out repairs upon Aboyne Castle. If our contention be granted that this is Coull, may we venture to recognise these repairs in the sealing up of the breached donjon? In that case, Coull Castle will have been attacked and injured, perhaps during the Aberdeenshire disturbances of 1297.

Whatever may be the truth about these matters, one thing at least is certain: that the excavation of Coull Castle has recovered a lost chapter of the struggle for Independence. And I for one can never visit these grey ruins set amid the purple hills without picturing in my mind's eye a wild night, perhaps, of long ago, when the farmers of Cromar rose in their scores to expel the hated SouthAon, when darkness was turned into lurid day by the flaring castle - when black against the fire the bodies of its garrison swung limply, with twisted necks, from makeshift gallows, while a savage peasantry, goaded to madness by long oppression, and now drunk besides with the heady wine of victory, danced their uncouth measures round the blazing ruin.

2. See above, p.
The triumph of King Robert Bruce led to important changes in the landed ownership of Mar and the Garioch. From the ample royal demesnes at his disposal in the Province the King made large territorial grants to those who had supported him in the critical days of the struggle. So early as 1309 the royal forest of Kintore (except the park) was conferred upon Sir Robert de Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland. Keith had at first taken to English side, but at Christmas, 1308 he entered Bruce's service, and the grant of the royal forest of Kintore seems to have been the speedy reward for his desertion of Edward II. It will be remembered that on the field of Bannockburn Keith's brilliant cavalry charge, which scattered the English archers, contributed not a little to the victory. As its name implies, the grim square tower of Hallforest was the capital messuage of the royal hunting estate. King Robert is said to have erected the tower, and a number of old writers refer to it as a royal seat. Thus, in a History of the First Earl of Kintore it is mentioned as "Halforest in the paroch of Kintore .... ane old castle, mly, famous by being built by King Robert Bruce, who, while he made war against the Cumins, had much residence their." And Alexander Keith, in his View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, 1732, speaks of 'Halforest, an old ruinous castle, said to have been

1. W. Robertson, Index to the Missing Charters, p. 2. No. 41.
built by King Robert I for a hunting hall." Elsewhere this writer enumerates our castle among nine royal strongholds in the Diocese, namely, one at each royal burgh (Aberdeen, Kintore, Inverurie, Banff, Cullen), and Kildrummy, Dunnideer, 1. Hallforest and Kindrochit. On the other hand, the tower may have been built by Keith after the grant of 1309, as in Bruce's time there already existed the royal castle of Kintore. This castle, which (as we saw) was visited by Edward I in 1296, was a motte or palisaded earthwork, and must not be confused with the Tower of Hallforest. Kintore Castle was not included in the grant of the royal forest to Keith, who would thereafter erect himself a place of strength as the capital messuage of his new fief. Whatever its precise date, the Castle of Hallforest is certainly a structure of the early part of the fourteenth century, and as such is one of our oldest specimens of the rectangular stone tower-houses that came into vogue during the Wars of Independence.

In 1323 followed two grants of great importance in the history of Deeside. On 1st February in that year King Robert conferred the eastern or principal part of the royal forest of Drum upon his secretary and armour bearer, William de Irvine, of the family of Bonshaw, in Bruce's lordship of Annandale;

2. See Province of Mar, p. 129.
and on 28th March following, the western part of the forest, known as the lands of Leys, was granted to Alexander Burnet, of the Farningdoun Burnetts in Roxburghshire. Both these neighbouring families, the Irvines of Drum and the Burnetts of Leys, have continuously held their estates ever since, and share the proud distinction of being the two oldest landed proprietors on Deeside. It is pretty certain that when the Irvines arrived at Drum they found already on their new demesne the ponderous square tower which still forms the nucleus of Drum Castle, and the date and affinities of which will come up for discussion later on in this book. The Burnetts built their place of strength on the crannog in the Loch of Leys, and it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that they deserted this damp and inconvenient spot and commenced the building of the stately Castle of Crathes, their present seat.

At the same time another south-country family, the Frasers, also destined to play a large part in the history of our Province, makes its appearance in Mar. Sir Alexander Fraser, an early and staunch adherent of Bruce, and the husband of the King's sister, was already Lord of Cluny in 1325, on the 18th June in which year he received a royal

1. See infra, pp. 152-5.
charter of the lands of Cardney, now Cairnie in the parish of Skene, together with the fishing pertaining thereto in the
Loch of Skene.

Though it does not properly fall within the scope of this book, mention should also be made of King Robert's famous charter, in 1319, conveying the royal forest of the Stocket, on the western outskirts of Aberdeen, to the burgesses of that good city. This and other marks of his favour were doubtless intended by the monarch as a reward to the citizens for their courageous support of him during the critical year 1308-9.

Popularly it is no doubt supposed that the struggle for Scottish independence was decided, once for all, on the field of Bannockburn in 1314. No greater misreading of history could well exist. The Treaty of Northampton, which closed the First War of Independence, was not sealed until 1328; fourteen years of weary bloodshed remained yet after Bannockburn. Moreover, the death of the great King Robert, a year later, was the prelude to a second bitter struggle with unresting Plantagenet imperialism - championed now, with a vigour not unworthy of his grandsire, by the third Edward, the most brilliant monarch of his line. At one moment in the

course of this second war, Edward III achieved a much greater measure of control over Scotland than his grandfather had ever enjoyed. None but children in their games, says Wyntoun, dared call David Bruce their King.

The crisis came in the autumn of 1335. At that time, Wyntoun tells us, only five castles in Scotland - Dumbarton, Loch Leven, Kildrummy, Urquhart, and Lochdoon - still flew the bright St. Andrew's Cross. All these strongholds were in a state either of active siege or else of more or less strict blockade. In particular, Kildrummy was hotly assaulted by David de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl, who, like many other Scottish nobles, adhered to the English interest: from his mother, a Fersoun, he inherited that ill-used family's mortal quarrel with the House of Bruce.

Within the citadel of Mar was Dame Christian Bruce, sister of the late King Robert, and wife of Regent, Sir Andrew de Moray. We may well believe that as she looked out from its guarded walls her feelings will have been of the most poignant kind. For thirty years all that she held most dear had been bound up in the cruel struggle against the Plantagenet. In the darkest hour of Scotland's agony her youngest brother, the heroic Nigel, had given his life in defence of that very stronghold of which she herself now held the keys in face of the foe. Three more brothers had perished in the same long and savage war: the sole survivor had been spared through countless hazards to become the saviour of his country.
Her previous husband had been yet another victim of *Malleus Scotorum*; and now she herself was called upon to play her part in the last act of the mighty drama, and upon the very spot consecrated to all futurity by the undying glory of her youngest brother's death. And this time there was no Osborn within the walls. Animated by her gallant example, the garrison, under its Captain, John of the Craig, made a most determined resistance, repulsing all assaults, and making successful sorties against the besiegers' camp.

When the news arrived that Atholl had laid siege to Kildrummy, the Regent's headquarters were in Lothian. So serious was deemed the danger to the great northern castle that a special effort for its deliverance was resolved upon. Should it fall, all Scotland north of the Mounth and east of the Great Glen would be lost to the national cause. Moreover, knightly honour and conjugal duty, with an emphasis which only those who know the Age of *Foissant* can appreciate, went hand in hand with strategic requirements in pointing the need for a bold intervention in War.

And so the Regent, accompanied by the Earl of March and the famous Knight of Liddesdale, Sir William de Douglas, gathered round him the chivalry of Lothian, and - drawing in the local levies of Strathmore as he marched - passed with the speed of life and death through Scotland, and crossed (as seems most probable) by Tarfside and the Fir Mounth Pass into Cromar.
The Howe of Cromar is the cockpit of Aberdeenshire. Here converged the great trunk roads which crossed the western half of the Mounth and thence made their way north through Mar towards Strathbogie and Morayland. It was thus no accident that the decisive battle of the Second War of Independence should be fought under the shadow of "Morven of Snow."

On the evening of 29th November, 1335, Moray pitched his camp at the Hall of Logie-Ruthven, a place which, as the late Mr. G. M. Fraser pointed out, is represented by the homestead moat still visible on the east shore of Loch Davan. Meantime Atholl, warned of the Regent's approach, had raised the siege of Kildrummy and marched with all speed south, hoping to gain the Capel Mounth Pass and so to be at a retreat into his own country of Atholl. On the same evening when Moray reached Logie-Ruthven, Earl David pitched his camp at the opposite end of Loch Davan, astride the old drove road leading from Tarland, through the overflow channel between Culblean and Cnoc Dubh, to Tullich - whence either the ford at Cobletoun, or perhaps the bridge at Invermuick, would lead him across the Dee and offer access to the Capel Mounth Pass.

A modern strategist, viewing the situation on the shores of grey Loch Davan that eventful evening, will doubtless comment that it was still perfectly possible for Earl David, with its

2. Province of Mar, p. 135.
waters between him and his enemy, to outmarch the Regent and
gain the Capel Mounth in safety. But a medieval general
could hardly view the position in that light. Under such
conditions knightly etiquette demanded a battle, and there is
no hint that Atholl wished to shirk the issue. We are told
that his army numbered about 4000. As to the Regent's, it is
recorded that he had with him 800 knights, which by the
ordinary proportions of a fourteenth-century army would argue
a total strength of some 4000 men. So the rival armies lay
that night over against each other amid the circle of the wine-
dark hills, with their watch-fires balefully reflected between
them in the black waters of Loch Davan.

In those days, and for centuries later, the hillside
of Culblean, now a bare moor, was thickly covered with timber.

At this critical juncture, who should march into the
Regent's camp but the gallant defenders of Kildrummy -
"three hundredth nicht men and hardy!" At their head, John
of the Craig, who now would show that he was not merely "a
bonnie fechter" on the embattled walls of a castle, but also
that he was a tactician of genius with a keen eye for ground -
and in particular with a thorough knowledge of the topography
of the present scene of operations. For John of the Craig
assured the Regent that he knew of a forest path whereby
Atholl's position could be turned and a disastrous attack

1. See Province of Mar, Plate 43.
launched against his flank. Eagerly the gallant Moray caught at the bold proposal. In the darkness of the autumn night the columns of assault were quickly and quietly formed. One, under Sir William de Douglas, was to deliver a frontal attack. The other, under the Regent in person, guided by John of the Craig, would make the flank march and fall upon Atholl's army pinned to the battlefield by the attack in front. Both columns, knights and all, marched on foot, as indeed the nature of the ground demanded.

For success, a combined attack of this sort demands above all things accurate timing. The tactical synchronisation must be perfect. Otherwise either column may be attacked in detail by superior force and destroyed ere the other can come to its aid. It must have due to John of the Craig's complete knowledge of the ground that in this case no mistake was made. Having the larger distance to go, Moray's column would move off first, timing its march so as to reach the flank position just before day had fully broke. On the morning in question, 30th November, 1335, the sun rose over distant Mount Battock at ten minutes to nine o'clock. Holding to the north from Logie-Ruthven, Moray and John struck into the old cross-country road that led, and still leads, from Davan by the south side of Mill of Logie and Mains of Logie to a point west of Logie Kirkyard. Hence two ancient hill tracks, one below and one above the 600-foot contour line, pass southward across
the eastern slope of Culblean. These are the "umast way" and the "nether way" of Wyntoun's narrative. Wheeling south, the flanking column at first took the "nether way", and then struck up to the right in order to gain the "umast way" and the higher ground from which to descend upon Atholl's left flank.

Meantime the other column, under Sir William de Douglas, advancing directly along the Tarland-Tullich road, crossed the March near Burn and, as dawn broke over the waters of Kinnord and Davan, revealed itself to the enemy's outposts. At once Atholl alarmed his troops and led them down to meet his foe. With consummate coolness the Knight of Liddesdale, skilled in all the plays of Border warfare, shrank back behind the burn, and by this show of irresolution, no less than by the evident prowess of his rankers, enticed Atholl to come forward and attack him. Here at the March near ford a hand-to-hand conflict developed, in which one of Atholl's knights, Sir Robert de Brady, fell. Suddenly the Regent's column, crashing through the undergrowth with levelled spears, broke in with irresistible weight upon Atholl's exposed left flank:

"With that Schir Andro of Murraif
Come in on side sa sturdely
With all thaim of his cummyng, as thai say,
He baire doune buskis in his way."

Atholl himself was slain, fighting gallantly to the last -

"Thare be ane aik deit Erll Davy."
With grim appropriateness he fell by the hand of Alexander Gordon, of the family that had succeeded him in his forfeited lordship of Strathbogie. The rank and file of Atholl's host fled incontinent as soon as the flanking column burst upon them, and hid themselves in the wooded fastnesses of Morven and Culblean. One of our sources hints that treachery played its part in their defeatism. Those who stayed to fight it out were soon dispersed. A remnant found shelter with Sir Robert Menzies in his island castle in Loch Kinnord, where next day they surrendered, and took the oath of fealty to King David I. Bruce.

The battle of Culblean, fought on "Sanctf Androñis day", 1335, was the turning point in the Second War of Independence. It is true that next July Edward III, after his romantic dash to relieve Atholl's widowed Countess beleaguered in Lochindorb Castle, penetrated as far north as Kinloss Abbey, and, returning past Kildrummy, whose well-manned walls he forbore to tempt, fell upon Aberdeen and gave the city to the flames. But raids of this sort could not affect the issue. The pretender Edward Balliol withdrew to England, and in the following years (1339-42)

1. The detailed evidence for the foregoing reconstruction of the campaign and battle of Culblean, and a full discussion of the topographical problems involved, will be found in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. LXIV, pp. 201-11.

the three great citadels of Perth, Edinburgh and Stirling passed back into national keeping. And the outbreak of the Hundred Year's War put an end for ever to English hopes of the Conquest of Scotland. Plantagenet imperialism, like the Hohenzollern and Nazi imperialisms of our own times, had drawn upon itself a Zweifrontkrieg, and all three perished in consequence.

John of the Craig, the hero of Culblean, seems to be the earliest recorded laird of the Craig of Auchindoir. As a vassal of the Earl of Mar he would be called upon to bear his part in the defence of Kildrummy Castle. According to Wyntoun, he had been captured by Atholl earlier in the war, and had been liberated upon promise to pay a ransom which fell due the day after the battle was fought. So the canny John had a most excellent motive to exterminate his creditor not later than St. Andrew's Day! One likes to think of his picturesque figure, at the head of the survivors of his gallant three hundred, riding back to his timber castle on the motte of Auchindoir, with his undisbursed money-bags jingling at his saddle bow.

As soon as things began to settle down, David II returned from France on 2nd June 1341, he landed at Inverbervie, with his Queen Joanna. On 20th June he visited Kildrummy, where his Aunt, the heroic Lady Christian, made her home —
probably she had a different of the Castle from her first husband, Earl Gratney. David was again at Kildrummy in April, August and November, 1242, in which year notes of his Queen's expenses are entered in the Exchequer Rolls. In September, 1361, the King besieged and took the castle—Thomas, ninth Earl of Mar, having, it is said, incurred the royal displeasure at a tourney. An English writer asserts that David captured the Castle "because of the extortions which the Earl of Mar and his men had wrought upon the people of the district, as was alleged against him by the King." Wyntoun gives as the reason that Mar had absented himself from the realm without the King's knowledge. Sir Walter Moyne and Ingelen de Wyntoun were appointed Constables of the Castle, and the former was still in office in 1364, when the Exchequer Rolls contain an entry for payment of salt for the garrison.

The King was much at Kildrummy during the September and October of 1361, and again in September 1365. Before August, 1369, the Castle had been restored to Mar. David further

2. Sir Thomas Gray, Scolachronica, pp. 201, 203. 1. 2. 2. 2. 2.
sighed the renewal of his favour by granting Earl Thomas a charter of confirmation to himself and his heirs of the lordship of the Garioch, to be held as freely as David, Earl of Huntingdon had held it of William the Lion.

Earl Thomas was the last male representative of the old Celtic Mormaers of Mar. Before the 21st June, 1374, he was dead, and is said to have been buried in the chapel of his castle. Quite possibly the fine fourteenth century cross slab, still to be seen there, may once have covered his grave.

During the reign of David II the settlement of new families in Mar and the Garioch, begun by his father, continued apace. A son of Bruce's brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Fraser of Cluny, married the heiress of the ancient family of the Bissets of Aboyne, and so brought that important Thanage into the expanding territories of the Frasers; but by the middle of the century another heiress carried all the Fraser lands to her husband, Sir William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, the lord of Hallforest. During these same years, moreover, a family which (so far as we know) was purely native to Mar was slowly and quietly building up a territorial position on middle Donside which was soon to enable it to assume a commanding influence in the affairs of the disintegrating Earldom. This

3. Province of Mar, Plate 83.
was the House of Forbes, which took its designation from the place of that name, on the left bank of the Don between Kildrummy and Alford. Picturesquely situated just at the mouth of the gorge where the Glen of Brux opens out into the Howe of Alford, the ruined ivy-clad Kirk of Forbes stands close to the Don, which here makes a fine sweeping bend, overhung on the far side by the long shaggy and beetling crest of Cöllievar. The whole scene, with the broad, curving, tree-lined river, murmuring in its rocky bed, the flat rich haughs, and the dark circle of enclosing hills, having the snug farmstead and the grey ruin in its midst, breathes a quiet peace and seclusion unmatched even on Donside. This is the cradle of the Forbeses who, whencesoever their remoter forebears came, were settled here so early as 1271. Although the parish of Forbes was in existence in the thirteenth century, the present church does not seem to be older than the period immediately preceding the Reformation. Beside it

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2. The church measures 38 ft. 8 inches by 15 ft. 2 inches, within walls 2 ft. 9 inches thick. It has crow-stepped gables, a door and two small barred windows to the south, another window in the west gable, and no openings on the north. The gables are high-pitched, with curved skewstones and plain finials. Both doors and windows are square-headed, with a broad chamfer; the windows, which are grooved for glass, have deep splayed bays, roofed with wood, and rebated for a casement or shutter. All the dressed work is in Kildrummy freestone. In the east gable an arched door, now built up, had led to the gallery - marks of the external wooden stair could be traced before the ruin was repaired in 1907, when also the joistholes, which had become a swallows' nesting place, were built up. In the north
doubtless was the timber aula or homestead of the early Forbeses, but of this no trace now remains. In 1306 John de Forbes and his neighbour, John de Moray of Drumminor, had taken sides against Edward I, and had incurred the forfeiture of their estates. For both holdings, Robert Chival put in a claim; and, for those of John de Forbes only, a rival claimant appeared in the person of William, brother of Master John Comyn.

2. (contd.)

wall, near the east end, is a small aumbry. Beside it to the west a large ragged recess may indicate the position of the pulpit, as in the eighteenth century arrangement of the neighbouring Kirk of Auchindoir (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. LXIV, p. 69). In the south wall, near the east gable, a patch seems to show where a piscina has been pulled out.

In the early years of the fifteenth century a notable outlaw named John Forbes, known as "John Cut-with-the-Sword", a bastard brother to the first Lord Forbes, lived upon Callievar and committed "great extortion" on the countryside. A local tradition tells how he stole the bell from the Kirk of Forbes and hung it from a tree on the hill, where he jangled it in derision every time he spied a funeral wending its way to the graveyard below. Eventually, as narrated by Matthew Lumden, news of his doings "came to the King's ears, who wrote to Sir Alexander Forbes of Drumminor (afterwards Lord Forbes) to put remedy therein, and if he would not, he would charge others to the same effect." Drumminor was not in the least backward in dealing with his brother. His "remedy" was short and sharp, "Upon this writing, Sir Alex. Forbes took him at the Kirk of Forbes and strack of his head, and cause yerd him behind the church, and sett his grave about with tippet stones, wher it remains as yet to testifie the same." (Genealogy of the Family of Forbes, ed. 1819, p. 52). Matthew's words are as true now as in his own day. The "tippet stones", or three of them, still peer up through the turf about twenty-five feet due north from the east gable of the Kirk.

Loyalty in due course brought its reward, and already in
King David's reign the process of expansion had begun which
was to carry the name and fame of Forbes widely throughout
the bounds of Mar and far beyond, and in the seventeenth
century the family chronicler could claim that

"from the year 1371 till Flowdonne in the year 1513,
the said Lord Forbes had the whole guiding of his
Maj' tie's affairs, both properties and casualties,
betwixt the Cairne of Mounte and the Bush of Kaitness......
as likeways they were Sherriffs of Aberdeen, and
Bailies to the Earl of Mar, to the Bishops of Sanct
Andrews, Brechen, Aberdeen and Murray, to the Abotes
of Lindores, Aberbrothick; likeways they were herit-
table Colonells of the shire of Aberdeen, and defenders
of the priviledges and matters of Dee and Don, as their
evidents testifie, so that it seems they have been very
great." 1.

On 3rd July, 1364, David II confirmed a charter granted by
Thomas, Earl of Mar, to John de Forbes, lord of Forbes, of
the lands of Edinbanchory and Craiglogly, at the upper outlet
of the Glen of Brux. His son, also John, received the
honour of Knighthood before 1391, and held the offices of
Justiciar and Coroner of Aberdeenshire. But the real great-
ness of the family was founded by the latter's son, Sir
Alexander, first Lord Forbes, at whose career we shall have
to glance in the next chapter.

In the Garioch, even more than in Mar, great changes in
landed ownership were taking place throughout the fourteenth

1. Wm. Forbes, Preface to Matthew Lumsden's Genealogy of the
   Family of Forbes, p. 3.

century. These have been so thoroughly investigated and
set forth by Dr. Davidson that it is unnecessary here to do
more than glance at a few of the more salient facts. Among
the newcomers we may begin by noting Sir Robert Erskine, High
Chamberlain of Scotland, one of the leading men of his time in
Scotland, who in 1358 received a charter from the Earl of Mar
of certain lands in the Garioch, including Balhaggardy,
Conglas, Inveramsay, Drumdurno and Pittodrie. It was his son,
Sir Thomas Erskine, who married Janet Keith, a great-grand-
daughter of Gratney, seventh Earl of Mar, and so laid the
foundation of the claim of the Erskine family to the Earldom
of Mar, a claim of which we shall have much to say later.

Next we may mention the holies of Balquhain, one of the longest
lasting and most distinguished branches of that prolific
family. The first of them, Sir George Leslie, a younger
brother of Norman Leslie, the last Constable of Inverurie,
is said to have obtained the barony of Balquhain from David II
in 1340, in recognition of his services to the House of Bruce
during the struggle against England. The Castle of Balquhain
is still an imposing ruin, but no part of the existing structure
seems to be earlier than the sixteenth century. About the

1. See Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, chap. II.
Papers, Supplementary Reps., pp. 6-7
3. Colonel Leslie, Historical Records of the Family of Leslie,
same time the family of Leith, which had been settled at Edingar Abstract since before the War of Independence, acquired new importance through the marriage of William Leith of Barons and Ruthrieston, Alderman or Provost of Aberdeen from 1351 to 1355, and again in 1372-3, to a daughter, perhaps illegitimate, of Donald, the eighth Earl of Mar. Leith was a remarkable man, and a great benefactor of Aberdeen, to which in 1351 he gave the two famous bells, Laurence and Mary, which hung in St. Nicholas steeple until its destruction by fire in 1874. In addition to Barons and Ruthrieston, William Leith also owned Drumrossie, in the parish of Insch, by purchase in 1369 from the Barclays of Gartly. Finally, we may note that Stephen de Johnston, "clerk" or secretary to Thomas, the last of the Celtic Earls of Mar, married Margaret de Garmach or Garioch of Caskieben and so became the founder of the distinguished family of the Johnstons of Caskieben, of whom Arthur Johnston, the celebrated Latin poet, was a member. Caskieben is now Keith Hall, the seat of the Earls of Kintore; and behind the stately Renaissance front erected by the First Earl there still stands, intact, the picturesque "three-stepped castle of Johnstons. Hard by to the north of the mansion is a low circular flat-topped mound, about 55 yards in

1. For Provost Leith see A. M. Munro, Memorials of the Aldermen, Provost and Lord Provosts of Aberdeen, pp. 7-11. The monument in Drum's Aisle of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, wrongly labelled as being that of Provost Leith, is really that of Robert Blinsell, provost in 1482.

2. For Keith Hall, see infra pp. 344-9.
diameter, raised only a few feet above the surrounding ground, and enclosed by a ditch about 70 feet in breadth and some 1 3/6 ft. in present depth. This child is still in places waterlogged, and probably in early times was filled from a little stream, now canalised, which flows past on the north. A more perfect example of a homestead moat could hardly be found: and here will have stood the palisaded tower or hall of the de Garriochs and the earlier Johnstons. To the north of the Kirk Hall policies is Ingliston, the tun or township of the English community who settled in this Celtic countryside under the protection of the Anglo-Norman castle. In other words, it could be said that the long struggle for independence had a disastrous effect upon the prosperity of Scotland; and that Mar and the Garloch, like other districts of the realm, shared in the devastation caused by the war we know from a variety of evidence. For example, in 1364 the Bishop of Aberdeen enacted that one vicar was to be in charge of the churches of Kildrummy and Clova, because their revenues had been so much reduced owing to the fact that these two parishes had been "time and again devastated by war."
Even more striking is the case of Matthew Goblauch, the smith of Auld Bourtie, who in 1342 had to sell his holding in order to keep himself alive, having become, so the piteous record tells us, "totally impoverished by mischance of war." 1. Doubtless his was not the only such case. Yet it is easy to exaggerate the ill effects of the wars, or to underestimate the power of rapid recovery of which the relatively primitive society and rural economy of the Middle Ages was capable. In the field of architecture, for example, while it is certain that in the fourteenth century there was no longer the volume of church building which in the Golden Age made men remark that "preaching could not be heard for the sound of the hammer and the trowel", it is likely that the decline was due to causes other than post-war depression; and certainly the building works of the fourteenth century which we have in our Province show no falling off in standard from the great undertakings of earlier times. Thus the Church of Kincardine O'Neil, which to judge by its style must have been erected, or at least reconstructed, in the first half of the fourteenth century, shows masterly work, full of vigour and grace. 3.

1. The Gaelic word goblauch means "fork". Probably Matthew was "long in the fork". The nickname offers a hint that Gaelic was still current in the Garioch in the fourteenth century. 2. "paQ guerrarum distinguish maxime deseroenpetus" - Ant. Aberdeen and Banff, Vol. III, p. 417. 3. Province of Mar, pp. 116-21.
And at Aberdeen Cathedral, throughout the century, building work was steadily in progress, and the surviving portions of the noble minster which are assignable to this period are of the highest quality. The great sconsion capit0l which undoubtedly came from Bishop Cheyne's choir is part of a work splendid in conception and heroic in execution; and as to the massive compound piers of the crossing, with their capitals so richly carved with foliage and figure sculpture, it may suffice to quote the verdict of Sir Gilbert Scott, who wrote that this work "is of the finest character of the fourteenth century, the foliated capitols being of very great beauty." Nor let us forget that the Brig o' Balgownie was built, if our oldest authorities were rightly informed, while Bishop Henry Cheyne was in exile in England — that is, at some time between 1314, when the Bishop was still in favour with the King, and 1318, when he received a formal remission of the royal "rancour" against him. And it was Cheyne's successor Alexander Kynimund (1329-40) who built himself a summer residence at Fetternear, of which the remains, uncovered towards the end of last century, were pronounced by the late Dr. Kelly to be "of the finest kind, and the mouldings even more beautifully profiled than the fragment attributed to Chein's choir."

Of the ordinary parochial church work of the fourteenth century we have a good specimen in the north door of Tullich Kirk, near Ballater. Its pointed arch is enclosed by a bold hood moulding springing from corbels, of which that on the east side may perhaps have been a human mask. The mouldings, which are continuous on arch and jambs, consist of two deep hollows enclosing a large flattened ogee-roll which carries a very broad fillet. The work looks like that of a local mason, yet one who was well abreast of the craftsmanship of his time. Of lay building in the fourteenth century, as represented by the few castles assignable to that period, we shall speak in our last chapter.

Minor archaeological material from our Province, assignable to this period, is not available in any quantity, if we except the relics recovered during the excavation of Coull Castle. The pottery found at the Doune of Invernochty suggests that the occupation of this great earthwork castle did not much outlast the struggle with England; and the same evidence perhaps justifies a similar conclusion in respect of the Bass of Inverurie - though here the period of inhabitation may have extended farther into the fourteenth century than in the case of the Doune. The Doune has yielded one relic of

1. See The Deeside Field, 1922, p. 18.
first-class importance, namely a gold "Annunciation brooch" of a type current in Scotland about the year 1300.

As in the later Roman Empire, so in the Middle Ages coin hoards may be taken as a proof of disturbed conditions. The large hoard of silver pennies, mostly of Henry III, found at Tom Fuaraich in Strathdon, must have been concealed about the time when the troubles started. It will have been about the middle of the fourteenth century that some wealthy but timid burgess of Bon Accord buried in his garden in the Upperkirkgate a bronze pot containing about 100 ounces of silver pennies, over 12,000 in all, mostly of the three Edwards, but including a small proportion of Scottish and foreign pieces, among the last being one coin of Henry, Archbishop of Cologne, struck in 1325. And to about the same period must be dated the hoard dug up in Lumphanan kirkyard, reported thus in the Aberdeen Journal on 22nd May, 1750:

2. Ibid., p. 173.
3. See Alex. Walker, In a Bronze Pot and What was in it; also his An Aberdeen Relic of the War of Independence. The discovery was made on 31st May, 1886, in Ross's Court, Upperkirkgate. There were "11,767 coins of Edward I, II and III, which had been struck at Berwick, Bristol, Bury St. Edmunds, Chester, Canterbury, Durham, Exeter, London, etc.; 132 Scotch coins of Alexander III, Robert the Bruce, and John Balliol. There were 140 coins of Northern Europe, and 228 were corroded, illegible, or broken."
"Sometime ago, as some Workmen were digging for a new Entry to the Church of Lumphanan, they found an earthen Pot full of old Pieces of Silver Coin. A good many of them were so consumed with Rust, that they easily mouldered away. Those on which Characters are legible are Coins of King Robert and David of Scotland, whose Heads they bear, and have been struck at Edinburgh, Perth and Aberdeen. The Revd. Mr. Francis Downie, the Minister of the Parish, sells those at Perth and Edinburgh at five shillings, and those at Aberdeen at ten shillings, for the Benefit of the Poor, whatever is found within the Churchyard being their Property."
In the heart of the bustling village of Braemar stand the neglected ruins of Kindrochit Castle, the most westerly fortalice in Mar. The Castle occupies a very strong position on the east brink of a rocky gorge formed by the Water of Cluny, and on the other side is defended by an ancient mill-lade, taken off the Cluny above the Castle, and rejoining it below, so as to complete the insulation of the site. In the name of the Castle, which signifies "bridge-head", is enshrined its early importance as a fortified post guarding the passage across the Clunie Water of the great north road from Atholl and Strathmore into western Mar. Our map clearly indicates how the significance of this strong castle is to be found not in the east-to-west or blind-alley strategy of the Dee Valley, but rather in the north and south or transversal strategy of the ancient trunk routes leading over the Cairnwell and Tolmounth Passes northwards across the Mounth, and so by the head waters of the Don towards Strathspey and Morayland.

In the reign of Robert II the Castle of Kindrochit springs suddenly into prominence as a royal residence during the hunting season. The Register of the Great Seal contains a series of charters granted by this King from Kindrochit, and

1. The so-called "Castle" of Inveruy, six miles further up the valley, is nothing but an uncastellated laird's house of the later seventeenth century. See infra, pp.

in the Exchequer Rolls are noted the expenses of the Court while in residence here. Charters are dated from Kindrochit on 10th July, 1373, 26th July and 26th August, 1377, 4th July and 20th August, 1379, 1st August, 1380, and 30th August, 1382 (two charters). A charter granted to "Glenschee", 27th June, 1376, was doubtless executed at the Spital there during the royal progress to Kindrochit. The charter of 26th August, 1377 is of particular interest because the names of witnesses give us a glimpse of the distinguished company assembled in the royal entourage at Kindrochit. It is witnessed by William, Bishop of St. Andrews; John, heir apparent (afterwards Robert III); Robert, Earl of Fife; William, Earl of Douglas; Master John of Peebles, the King's Chancellor; and Sir James and Sir Alexander de Lindsay. The well known charter conferring the lands of Rubislaw in free burgage upon the citizens of Aberdeen was granted by King Robert from "Kyndrocht in Marr" on 20th August, 1379. This charter also is witnessed by a distinguished gathering: William, Bishop of St. Andrews, and John, Bishop of Dunkeld and Lord Chancellor; John, heir apparent, Earl of Carrick and Seneschal of Scotland; Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith; William, Earl of Douglas and Mar; and Sir James and Sir Alexander de Lindsay.

1. For these writs see Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1306-1424, pp. 92-9, 131, 143, 164, 165, 171. No. 442, 575, 579, 657, 658, 734, 738, 758.

In addition to these charters under the Great Seal, there is also extant an interesting precept, dated "at Kindrocht in Marre", 29th August, 1378, conveying a yearly pension of 20 solidi out of the burghal rents of Aberdeen to the poet John Barbour. Doubtless this was in recognition of his great epic of the deeds of Bruce, which the poet tells us was completed in the early spring of 1376.

The Exchequer Rolls contain frequent notices of expenses incurred by the King while hunting at Kindrochit. They are entered in the accounts of the Clerk of Liverance, who controlled the provisions supplied to the royal household. Outlays at Kindrochit are noted under the years 1371, 1376, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1384, 1387 and 1388. Usually there is a bare entry without specification, but in 1381 and 1384 £65.3s. 8d. and £69.13s. 4d. are paid to Robert Rolloc, baker, the latter entry being in respect of expenses incurred in Glencongglas as well as at Kindrochit. In the former year there is also an entry of 53s. 4d. for the carriage of a jar of wine sent to Kindrochit for the King's use.


2. The Water of Conglass flows north-westward through a narrow glen in Kirkmichael parish, Banffshire, joining the Avon below Tomintoul.

We have already noted that Thomas, last Earl of Mar in the old Celtic line, died in 1374. He was succeeded by his sister Margaret, married to William, first Earl of Douglas, who (as we saw) witnessed two royal charters granted at Kindrochit in 1377 and 1379. This earl was a mighty warrior against the "auld enemy" both on his own marchlands and in France, where he suffered hurt at Portiers (19th September, 1356). Their son James, Earl both of Douglas and of Mar, was slain in the moment of triumph at Otterburn, on 19th August, 1388. He was with his mother in Kildrummy Castle on 15th August, 1384, when his seal was affixed to a writ by her conferring a grant of land upon the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Garioch - founded before 1357 by Dame Christian de Bruce, Lady of the Garioch, the defender of Kildrummy Castle in 1335, in memory of her husband, the victor of Culblean. This shifting, during a number of successive summers, of the centre of political gravity across the Mounth to Kindrochit is interesting when we reflect that the arrangements for the Otterburn campaign were matured at a conference of barons, unknown to the King, held in Aberdeen.

1. An interesting memorial of this connexion between the two great houses of Douglas and Mar may be seen to-day at Lincluden College, where one of the heraldic shields in which this beautiful ruin abounds displays the Mar arms (a bend between six cross-croslets fitchie) quartered with those of Douglas (a heart, on a chief three mullets).

"The dead Douglas who gained the field" was succeeded by his sister Isabella, who entered into the enjoyment not only of the Earldom of Mar and Lordship of the Garioch, but also of the vacant Douglas estates. Countess Isabella married Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother-in-law of Robert III, and according to Wyntoun,

"A manfull knyght, batke wise and war".

On 10th November, 1390 King Robert at Methven granted a special licence "to our dear brother Malcolm de Drummond, Knight, to build a tower or fortalice on the lands of Kyndrocht with their pertinents in the Earldom of Mar." The excavation of Kindrochit Castle has shown that the surviving remains belong to two distinct building periods and schemes of plan, with an apparent hiatus between them. The later period is represented mainly by the powerful oblong tower-house, 64 feet in length by 43 feet in breadth, over walls 10 feet thick - the fifth largest of its kind in Scotland. This great building can hardly be anything else than the tower for which Sir Malcolm Drummond obtained the royal licence in 1390. Now the tower has been intruded into the flank of an older structure set on a


2. Sciatis quod concessiunus dilecto nostri nostro Malcolmo de Drummond militi licenciam nostrum specialem ad edificandum turrem/in terris de Kyndrocht cum pertinentias infra comitatum de Marre" - Ant. Abdn. and Banff, vol. IV, p. 162. The original document is stated to be at Drummond Castle.
different alignment. This older Castle must surely represent the building in which Robert II lodged during his almost annual summer visits to Kindrochit between 1371 and 1388. The plan of the older castle shows a great oblong hall, nearly 100 feet in length and 30 feet in span, raised upon invaulted cellerage, and having quadrangular towers at the corners. The plan of this older castle is an extremely interesting one. It belongs to a type known specifically in Scotland as "a house built palace-wise", or more briefly as a "palace" (palatium = hall) - a house, that is, in which the hall not the tower is the main element in the design. The significance and import of this type of plan, not previously recognised, were first set forth by Dr. Mackay Mackenzie, who assigns its origin to the fifteenth century; but our example at Kindrochit must belong to the century before. Dr. Mackenzie points out that there was a standard of dimensions, 100 feet by 30 feet, for Castles on this hall-plan, derived apparently from the refectories of monastic houses. It is interesting to note that the Kindrochit "palace" fully conforms to this rule.

In the summer or autumn of 1402 - perhaps while still engaged upon the construction of his mighty tower at Kindrochit - Sir Malcolm Drummond was surprised by a band of unknown ruffians.

1. See The Mediaeval Castle in Scotland, chap. V.

2. For the chronology see Ant. Shires Aberdeen and Banff, Vol. IV, p. 164, note 1.
cast into durance vile, and so mishandled that shortly he died. This outrage was supposed to have been instigated by Alexander Stewart, a natural son of the notorious "Wolf of Badenoch," who in 1390 had wrought his fell vengeance on the noble fame ofEdgin. The son was like the father in character and aims. Under the circumstances, people were, perhaps, not greatly surprised to learn that in the summer of 1404 Stewart had stormed Kildrummy Castle at the head of a mob of outlaws. More startling was the news that the bold adventurer had not only perpetrated the double atrocity of murdering Sir Malcolm and seizing his Castle, but had also completed his programme by marrying his victim's wife, the Countess Isabella, and having received from her a charter, dated at Kildrummy on 12th August, 1404, was now comfortably established as Earl of Mar and lord of the Gariocht!

Excitement was extreme. The usurper therefore fell back upon a most extraordinary manner of legalising his crimes. It is vividly described to us in a contemporary official record. On 9th September, 1404, there was a notable gathering at Kildrummy. The Countess Isabella herself, accompanied by the Bishop of Ross, "Red" Sir Andrew Leslie, the robber baron of Balquhain, Sir Walter Ogilvy, and other magnates, along with a numerous concourse of the lesser tenantry, assembled in a

field outside the great gate of the castle. For some time the party stood there, engaged in conversation. Suddenly Stewart appeared at the gate, and, coming forward, solemnly renounced everything that he had taken, including the Castle of Kildrummy with all the furniture, precious metals, jewels and rich vestments which it contained, and all the charters and evidents in its strong-room. He then gave the keys into the Countess's hands in token of this grand and high-minded deed of renunciation. The second action of the drama took place when the Countess, handing back the keys to the usurper, with equal solemnity "before all our tenants" declared that of her own free will and subject to no restraint of person, "outside our Castle of Kildrummy, not shut up or detained in the same", she chose Alexander Stewart to be her husband, conferring on him in lawful matrimony the Earldoms of Mar and the Garioch, together with the Castle of Kildrummy and everything therein, but reserving the descent to her own nearest heir should the marriage prove unfruitful!

Let us try to picture this extraordinary scene. In the background the frowning Edwardian gatehouse, streaming with banners. Between its massive towers the deep-recessed portal, in front the drawbridge and the long trestled gangway

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spanning the wide, palisaded ditch. Beyond in the field is the little group of brilliant figures, principal witnesses of the strange transaction, with the Countess herself in the middle; the grave faces of the ecclesiastics, the busy clerks, and the lowering peasants and retainers, looking with scant favour upon the bold usurper. Dominating everything and everybody is the haughty figure of Sir Alexander Stewart himself, as clad in shining mail, he crosses the bridge, superbly confident, and bends the knee in solemn mockery as he delivers over to his unhappy victim the keys of her castle. It is not improbable that Isabella, feeling her insecurity as a defenceless woman amid so many reckless chieftains, was motived mainly by desire of a stalwart lord who, in return for the glittering prizes she could offer him, might be at least her protector in the troubles by which she was encompassed.

This act was legalised by a charter dated 9th December, 1404, which on 21st January following received the endorsement of the weak King, Robert III. Thus the seal of the law was set upon one of the most lawless acts of which even Scottish history bears record. It must not be forgotten that Sir Alexander's uncle was the Duke of Albany, the then all-powerful arbiter of Scotland - a fact which doubtless secured the usurper immunity from the fate he so richly deserved.

The Countess Isabella survived these nefarious proceedings barely three years.
Certainly there was no lack of interest in life in Strathdon during those early years of the fifteenth century. In or before 1409 the long standing feud between the Mounts of Abergeldie and the Camerons of Brux reached its dramatic climax, which resulted in the establishment of the rising family of Forbes in the latter property. About the year 1365, John Cameron had obtained from the Earl of Mar a grant of Brux and Wester Drumallochy on the occasion of his marriage with Helen Mount; and it may be that upon this grant the Mowats may have based some claim on the lands of Brux, such as might lead to a feud between the two families. If we may believe a tradition that has been current for generations on Donside, the feud culminated in a set-piece battle between the two families, fought at the western outlet of the little glen which divides Drungoudrum Hill from Callievar. According to the tale as written down in the eighteenth century, each party covenanted to bring twelve horse to the scene of combat, but the treacherous Mowat appeared on the field with two men mounted on each steed. Pride forbade the Donside men to decline the unequal strife, which resulted in the death of the Laird of Brux and all his sons. His daughter, Kate Cameron, fled for refuge to her feudal suzerain, the Earl of Mar in Kildrummy Castle, whence she issued a cartel promising her hand, and the estate of Brux, to the man who should avenge the

slaughter of her father and brothers. The challenge was taken up by Alexander Forbes, known as Alaster Cam, a brother of the first Lord Forbes, who slew Mowat in single combat at Badenyon, near the head of Glenbuchat, at a place afterwards marked by a boulder known as Clochmuat, Mowat's Stone. The substance of the tale was known to the family historian of the Forbeses, Matthew Lumsden, in the latter half of the sixteenth century; and it is certain that Alexander Forbes married Catherine Cameron of Brux and was in possession of the latter estate in the year 1409. It is noteworthy that Matthew Lumsden implies that Mowat of Abergeldie was a supporter of the Earl of Mar, and perhaps the Deeside chief may have been one of his associates in his early enteran days.

About eighty years ago Alexander Walker, gardener at Castle Newe, a shrewd and keen student of local antiquities, made some digging around Clochmuat, and unearthed a dagger, which is now in the Banff Museum. The dagger, which measures 10½ inches in length, has a blade diamond-shaped in section, short quillons bent downwards and terminating with bulbous ends, and a slightly elongated wheel pommel. There is evidence that the tang has at one time protruded through the pommel. This particular type of dagger, with drooping quillons of bulbous form, wheel pommel and blade of diamond

section, can be dated with confidence to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The London Museum contains a quillon dagger, found in St. Saviour's Dock, Southwark, which might be the twin of our specimen from Badenyon; and in the Catalogue attention is called to the close resemblance between this Southwark dagger and one shown on the effigy of a knight, circa 1380-90, at Chalgrave in Bedfordshire. So the date assignable to our Glenbuchat dagger corresponds well with that of the Homeric contest, and there does not seem any reason against its being a genuine relic of the affray. It is remarkable that the Banff Museum possesses another quillon-dagger from Strathdon, stated on the label to have been "found in 1859 at the Pedlar's Cairn, supposed to be that with which in 1700 a pedlar was killed in the course of a fight with a rival in trade." I have not been able to locate the Pedlar's Cairn. This dagger is smaller than the one from Glenbuchat, and has straight quillons, which indicates a slightly later date, say early in the fifteenth century.

1. London Museum, Medieval Catalogue, p. 41, B.325; Plate VI, No. 2 and compare Fig. 8, No. 1.

2. I am indebted to the Curators of the Banff Museum, through Dr. William Barclay, for kindly depositing these two daggers in Aberdeen University Library for examination, and to the late Mr. Arthur J. H. Edwards, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, for calling my attention to the almost identical specimen in the London Museum.
The site of the old Castle or Tower of Brux, which came into the possession of the Forbeses under such romantic circumstances, is one of lonely beauty, on the west side of a little ravine that runs up into the hill of Callievar. A tiny burn — as good an example, on a miniature side, of a "misfit" as a geologist could desire — hurries down this ravine, and below the castle site is joined by another burn, descending from Drumgoudrum on the west. This second burn supplied the laird's mill, which stands immediately west of the castle. The position commands a lovely view of the River Don, where it sweeps in a fine bend round Ardhuncart Hill. Through the gap between Ardhuncart and Drumgoudrum is seen the rich Kildrummy basin, with the ancient church conspicuous on its knoll, and beyond the long sweep of the Clova Hills, and the Buck of the Cabrach rising over all. The site of the Castle is now represented by the derelict farm of Mains of Brux. Some venerable plane and ash trees still outline the old park and garden. A green road, ascending the glen, passes through the silent farmyard, and another, branching off to the right, leads up to the old mill, now a sorry ruin, and beyond it to the choked-up mill dam. On a door of the mill is incised the date 1711. Both here and at the Mains may be seen some freestone jambs, showing a broad chamfer. These will have come from the

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old castle; and so no doubt did a lintel and two corbels now
made up into a fireplace in the farmhouse. The lintel has a
quirked roll and hollow moulding, wrought frontally and not
on a splay as in the Gothic manner. It is not likely there-
fore to be older than the latter part of the seventeenth
century. On the opposite side of the little glen, and some-
what further down, is the Howff or old family burial enclosure,
showing the monogram of Arthur Forbes, ninth laird of Brux, and
his wife, Elizabeth Murray of Auchinhove, whom he married in
1696.

In the north wall of the ruined chancel of the ancient
Kirk of Kildrummy is a large arched recess which now contains
a slab showing, in low relief, the effigy of a laird of Brux
and his lady. Elsewhere I have pointed out that the tombstone
is an invention into the arched recess, which, in all probabil-
ity, was originally an Easter Sepulchre. On the edge of the
slab, in raised Gothic lettering is the incomplete inscription:-

HIC IACET ARTHUR DE FORBES QUONDAM DNS DE BURCHINS ET
MARIOTA .... 2.

The inscription therefore seems to commemorate the fourth laird
of Brux and his lady, a daughter of the sixth lord Forbes.
But it is noteworthy that this inscription is too long for the

1. See The Castle of Kildrummy, pp. 259-61. The Brux stone
is illustrated in The Province of Mar, Plates 77 and 8.

2.
slab, so that the mason has not had space to finish it. Moreover, the broad flat band above the heads of the two effigies looks suspiciously as if it had been prepared for an inscription, never executed. There is a further complication that Marjory Forbes did not die either as the wife or the widow of the laird of Brux: after his death, she crossed the hills to Deeside, about the year 1567, as the second wife of Alexander Burnet, ninth laird of Leys, the founder of Crathes Castle. And lastly, the armour of the laird and the costume of his lady are not in the least like those of the mid-sixteenth century: both mail and robe belong properly to about the year 1400. The warrior has a basinet with plume: a huge camail or cowl of chain work envelopes his neck and shoulders; while the rest of his body and limbs are clad in complete plate, the cuirass being indrawn at the waist, and the thighs protected by a skirt of traces or overlapping iron strips. He ears one sword, but on his right side is a quillon-dagger which, so far as the worn sculpture allows us to judge, is not at all dissimilar to the one from Badenyon. The lady has a long gown, close round the body and fitting tightly at the neck, and a flowing coif. Upon duly weighing all the circumstances, it seems reasonably certain that the tomb slab is an by the fourth laird and his lady in preparation for their older one which may have been re-used; and having regard to the date of the armour and dress, it is not improbable that in

the two figures we have the veritable effigies of the first Forbes laird, the gallant Alaster Cam., and his wife, the renowned Kate Cameron. Perhaps it is not without significance that Laing, writing 1828, calls the tomb-recess Cameron's Aisle.

During the Christmas season of 1410, the Castle of Kildrummy was the scene of great festivity. Here the upstart Earl entertained a large and distinguished company, including his brother Sir James Stewart, Gilbert de Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Henry de Lichtoun, Rector of Kinkell Church, and afterwards Bishop successively of Moray and Aberdeen; and Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, a boon-companion of the Earl. In all probability there was more in this gathering than the mere celebration of Yuletide. It has been suggested that the Earl was already making preparations to meet the threatened onslaught of Donald, Lord of the Isles, the claimant of the Earldom of Ross against the Earl of Buchan. His invasion of the Garioch, and the deadly


2. List of witnesses of the Earl's charter granted at Kildrummy Castle, 26th December, 1410, in *Ant. Shires Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. IV, p. 452


fang of the "Red Harlaw", in which the Highland onrush was stemmed by the gentry and their tenants of Aberdeenshire, the Mearns and Angus, and the stout burghers of Bon-Accord, led by their gallant Provost, form one of the most famous episodes in the long history of our Province. Few events have suffered more, in the judgment of posterity, from a false historical perspective. The great battle has often been depicted as a death struggle between two irreconcilable races, as the critical and cardinal contest which for ever decided the supremacy of Teuton over Celt in Scotland. Yet Harlaw had its origin in a purely feudal dispute about an earldom - a dispute turned to good account by the English King, so that in its broadest aspect the battle may be properly viewed simply as "an incident in the uneasy relations of England and Scotland."

It was a mere chance that one of the claimants to the Earldom of Ross should be a Highland chief who sought to enforce his claim at the hand of a Highland host: a circumstance which gave the battle its special character as in some sense a conflict between the races, but which does not warrant us in depicting it as a landmark in the intersecular struggle of Celt and Saxon on

1. Thus John Richard Green (Short History of the English People, chap. VII):- "So pitiable seemed the state of the kingdom that the clans of the Highlands drew together at last to swoop upon it as a certain prey; but the common peril united the factions of the nobles, and the victory of Harlaw saved the Lowlands from the rule of the Celt."

British soil. And even the racial character of the struggle may easily be exaggerated. Not all the Earl of Ross's followers were "wild Scots", as the Celtic Highlanders were styled by their lowland neighbours: while there must have been plenty of Celts, or men of Celtic ancestry, among the army of the Earl of Mar. To the burgesses of Bon Accord, at all events, when they turned out in defence of their city, the issue appeared a very simple one: the thirty upon whom the lot fell are tersely recorded in the Council minute as having been "chosen to go forth against the cateran."

Of the battle itself we possess no accounts more detailed than the notices in John Major's and Boece's histories, and the curious narrative poem - as distinct from the ballad - which was first printed in Allan Ramsay's Ever Green in 1724. Major's story is as follows:

1. For all this see Dr. William Mackay on "The Battle of Harlaw: its True Place in History", in his Sidelights on Highland History pp. 281-302. We need not of course follow Dr. Mackay in all the details of his exuberant statement of the Highland case in the Harlaw quarrel. He turns Provost Davidson himself into a Highlander - Raibeart Mac Dha'i! And in the teeth of every ancient authority from Bower onwards, he contends that there is "not a scrap of evidence" that the gentle Donald ever "threatened Aberdeen". The burgesses who were chosen "to go forth against the coterin" must have wondered why they were troubled.

2. Electi ad transqundum contra Kãthrans - see the list in Noval Clyne, Ballads from Scottish History, p. 128.

"In the year fourteen hundred and eleven was fought that battle, far famed among the Scots, of Harlaw. Donald, Earl of the Isles, with a valiant following of Wild Scots ten thousand strong, aimed at the spoiling of Aberdeen, a town of mark, and other places; and against him Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, and Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, gathered their men, and at Harlaw met Donald of the Isles. Hot and fierce was the fight; nor was a battle with a foreign foe, and with so large a force, ever waged that was more full of jeopardy than this; so that in our games, when we were at the Grammar School of Haddington, we were wont to form ourselves into opposite sides, and say that we wanted to play at the battle of Harlaw. Though it be more generally said among the common people that the Wild Scots were defeated, I find the very opposite of this in the chroniclers; only, the Earl of the Isles was forced to retreat; and he courted amongst his men more of slain than did the civilised Scots. Yet these men did not put Donald to open rout, though they finally strove, and not without success, to put a check upon the audaciousness of the man. They slew his second-in-command, Maklane, and other nine hundred of his men, and yet more were sorely wounded. Of the southerners six hundred only lost their lives, of whom some were gentlemen, William Abernethy eldest-born and heir to the lord Saltoun, George Ogilvy heir to the lord of that name, James Skrymgeour, Alexander of Irvin, Robert Melville, Thomas Muref, knights; James Luval, Alexander Stirling, with other gentlemen of lesser fame. But inasmuch as very few escaped without a wound, and the fight lasted long, it is reckoned as hot and fierce."

It is eloquent of the unsatisfactory state of our authorities for the battle of Harlaw that the narrative poem should be the fullest account of the affair which we possess. This poem is known to have been in existence in 1548, and it bears internal evidence that its author was familiar with Hector Boece's

1. **Campiductor.** Cf. the German General-quartier-meister, the old title revived in favour of Ludendorff as second-in-command to von Hindenburg. Bower styles Maclean armidocor (Scotichernicon, bk. XV, chap. XXI. The translation "dull-master", given by W. Constable, is meaningless.
Scotorum Historiæ, published in 1526. According to the poem, Donald of the Isles assembled his host at Inverness, and marched through Morayland, the Frenzie, Boyne and "fair Strath-bogie land" into the Garioch. Whether he entered our Province by its western gateway, under Dunnideer, or over the Foudland Hills, we are not told. In describing the mobilisation of the Lowland host, the poem gives us a vivid picture of the wide regions that started to arms at the call of the potent Earl:

"To hinder this proud Enterprise,
The stout and mighty Earl of MARR
With all his Men in Arms did rise,
Even frae Curgar'f to Craigyvar,
And down the syde of Don richt far.
Angus and Mearns did all concane
to fecht, or DONALD cam sae nar
The Royall Bruch of Aberdene."

Of the numbers engaged in the struggle we can form no reliable computation. It is as absurd to accept Bowers' statement, repeated by Major, that Donald brought ten thousand men down into the Garioch, as to believe with the poem that the Lowland army faced odds of "Ten to Ane". The poem tells us that Mar drew up his battle army in two lines. His vanguard was led by Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff-principal of Angus, Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee. It therefore evidently included most of the men of Angus. The rear-ward, or main force, under the Earl himself, comprised the contingents

led by Sir William Abernethy of Saltoun, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, Sir Alexander Straton of Lauriston and Sir Robert Maule of Panmuir. We may conclude that in this, the second line, fought Mar's own tenantry and certain contingents from Angus and the Mearns. In the second line also were the Aberdeen burgesses under their Provost. Boece, followed by the poet and later writers such as Sir Robert Gordon and James Gordon of Rothiemay, gives him the rank of an eques auratus:

"And gude Sir Robert Davidson Quha Provost was of Aberdene"

No other ancient record makes any mention of this dignity, and Bower expressly excludes Davidson from his list of the valentes armigeri who fell. If Boece was not misinformed, we may surmise that the knighthood was conferred upon the Provost by his patron, the Earl of Mar, on the eve of battle.

One remarkable thing about the battle, which does not seem to have been sufficiently appreciated, is the fact, that contrary to all the rules of Highland warfare, it was Mar who attacked. This is clear both from the poem (see below) and from Boece's narrative, in which we are told that the Earl of Mar, without waiting for his full forces to assemble, joined battle with his adversary. During the battle, it appears, the remainder of Mar's troops came up, and through gross

1. Earldom of Sutherland, p. 63.
negligence were allowed to become involved in the fighting before their ranks were fully dressed, with the result that very heavy losses were incurred. As Boece tells us that the reinforcements were taken by surprise, it seems clear that the battle fell into two separate actions. The Highlanders were encamped at Harlaw, awaiting attack:

"Presume and on their strength and Pryde
Without all Feir or ony Aw,
Richt bauldie Battil did abyde
Hard by the Town of fair Harlaw."

As a defensive position their camp was extremely well chosen. It stood on the summit of what was then a moorland plateau, secured on the right flank by the deep valley of the Urie and on the left by the marshy hollow down which flows the Lochter Burn, and assailable only up the long toilsome slope on whose brow now stands, and has stood since long before the battle, the farming township of Balhaggardy. Here in the thirteenth century the Urie was spanned by a bridge, probably at Howford;

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1. Marius comes ad Hairlaw/(victae est pugna mox ibi gesta convexit eummo congressus est. Qae re factum est, ut dum auxilia sine orlinibus (nihil tale suspicantia) cum magna negligentia adventient permulti eorum caesi sint." - Sextum Histiae, c. 3

2. The marshes and pools along the Lochter must have been extensive, if we may judge by the name of the farm Lochend, about three quarters of a mile to the east of the present course of the stream opposite Lethenty Castle.

3. From 1358 these lands belonged to the Prekines, the claimants to the Mar Baridom. See Acts Parl. Scotl., vol. I, p. 524.

4. Province of Mar, p. 135.
and if this still stood in 1411, by it Mar would cross, coming up from Inverurie, which, it can hardly be doubted, formed the starting point of his march. From Howford the "King's highway", still in use as a second class road beyond Balhaggardy, ran through that township and over the Pley Fauld to Harlaw, and so on to Leggatsden, of old an important posting station which is often mentioned in Spalding and others of our ancient chroniclers. Once across the river, as his forces in their advance obtained more elbow room between the Urie and the Lochter, Mar would deploy his army abreast the river in the two lines of battle, the "van guard" and the "rearward" detailed by the poet. Apparently Mar's brusque attack caught the Highlanders unawares:

"And thus the Martial Trle of MARR
Marcht with his men in richt array, A/
Befoir the Enemie was aware,
His Banner bauldly did display."

The alarm once given, the Highland host, we may well presume, would pour out of their camp like angry bees disturbed in their byke. And so something like a head-on collision seems to have taken place on the summit of the plateau between Balhaggardy and Harlaw, now crowned by the monument which in 1914 the City of Aberdeen erected to commemorate its heroic dead. If we turn from the narrative poem to the ballad, we are there told that the first onrush of the Highlanders reduced their adver-

1. For the "King's Highway" see Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, vol. I, pp. 6, 17.

2. Scenery was always a weak point with a Highland host: witness Armstrong's triumph at Philiphaugh.
saries to the defensive, and indeed forced them to give
ground:—

"The Hielanmen, wi' their lang swords
   They laid on us fu' sair,
   And they drove back our merry men,
   Three acres breadth an' mair."

This reference to "lang swords" is interesting, as it seems
to be a genuine recollection of the great two-handed "claymore"
which was the Highland weapon of the period - a terrible
engine of destruction, quite different from the basket-hilted
broadsword which the clansmen carried in more recent times.
I am therefore inclined to accept this episode, as told in the
ballad, as an authentic fragment of the story of the battle,
handed down by a genuine local tradition. Now the ballad
goes on to tell a curious story of Sir Alexander Forbes with-
drawing his men awhile from the strife and bidding them "tak
your rest awhile" until he sends to Drumminor for his coat
of mail; after which they plunge anew into the fray and by
their efforts turn the scales. Is it possible that in this
story we may have a garbled version of the second stage in
the action as described by Bocce - the arrival of reinforce-
ments who are thrown into the battle at a time when the main
body of Mar's army was sort beset? It is significant that the
Forbes family traditions always represented Sir Alexander de
Forbes as having rendered quite exceptional service to the
Earl of Mar at Harlaw - so much so that the Earl "entertained
such an extraordinary esteem of him that he entered into a
noble friendship, sympathy and affection, indissoluble until the Earl's death."

But if these reinforcements really were the Forbes tenantry from Drumminor, why were they so late in joining up? Mar must have had ample notice of his enemy's advance, if he was able to assemble at Inverurie not only his own vassals "Even frae Curgarf to Cragivvar
And down the syde of Don richt far" — but also the more distant levies from Angus and the Mearns. The Forbeses were his liegemen, and would have been bound to obey his summons as promptly as all the others. If then they were the auxilia of which Boece writes, whence the delay?

May not the reason be sought in the geographical position of the Forbeses, settled at Drumminor, Edinbanchory, Logie and Brux, at the southern outlet of the Rhynie-Kildrummy gap that formed the chief medieval line of communication between Strathbogie and Mar? At the time when the Earl was mustering his forces between Aberdeen and Inverurie, he would be well informed, we may be sure, of his adversary's devastating march from the Enzie and Boyne into "fair Strathbogie land", and he would also be fully aware of Donald's avowed intention to sack the town of Aberdeen. But he would not know, until the last moment, whether the Highland host would descend


upon Aberdeen via the Garioch, or would pour from Strathbogie into Mar through the Rhynie gap and the Glen of Brux, and so attack the city from the west. In this dilemma, Mar might properly require the Forbeses to remain embattled on their own soil and cover the Rhynie gap, which he posted himself at Inverurie so as to bar the alternative approach. As soon as it became clear that Donald was advancing through the Garioch, the Forbeses would be ordered to join the main body posthaste. Presumably they would march from Drumminor by way of Clatt, Leslie, and Chapel o' Garioch, and arrived on the battlefield to find the action already begun, and that Mar's impetuosity had brought him into sore straits. The ballad was clearly written from the Forbes point of view, as it ignores the Earl of Mar altogether and ascribes the victory to the Forbes intervention. Boece on the other hand tells us that the reinforcements were flung in piece meal and badly mauled. Indeed, it is most significant that neither John Major nor Hector Boece makes any claim that the battle was a Lowland victory. So doubtful was the result, says the latter, that both sides abandoned their camps and withdrew into the neighbouring hills. So far as Mar's army is concerned, it is not easy to imagine what hills are here intended, unless the Earl retired his shattered forces across

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1. "Adeaque ambigua fuerit victoria, ut utrique si in proximos montes desertos castros vectore cedentes recederait." Mons of course in Boece may mean little more than moorland.
the Glunie to the highground of Knockingleys and Dilly Hill, west of Inverurie. At all events Donald felt he had had enough; for under cover of the short summer night, he marched away to the north, with all the speed he might, and sought refuge first in Ross-shire, and finally in his own island fastnesses.

The reconstruction which I have thus offered of the battle of Harlem is admittedly a conjectural one, and nobody could maintain that it depends upon adequate historical material for such simply do not exist. But I venture to claim this much for my thesis, that it makes some sort of sense out of the scattered hints as to the course of events which we do gleam from our various sources. Anyhow, the current idea of the famous battle, which makes the thing a kind of Waterloo, in which the Lowlanders won by dint of "hard pounding, gentlemen", has long seemed to me to be quite untenable.

In this terrible struggle the losses on both sides were so heavy that George Buchanan, writing in the next century, could declare that more men illustrious by their birth and deeds had fallen on this single day than in any of Scotland's

1. Perhaps the best exposition of what may be called the popular view of the battle may be found in the New Statistical Account, vol. XII, pp. 566-9. Dr. Davidson's Imaginative reconstruction (In Glunie and the Earldom of the Garioch, chap. III) is sound on the crucial point that it was Mar who attacked. But his picture of three columns converging on the Highland camp by widely separate routes, through an impressive instance of Moltke's precept, *gutrennt marschieren, vereint schlagen*, is a pure flight of fancy, unsupported by any evidence.
contests with a foreign foe over a long period of years.

"The caronach's cried on Bennachie
And down the Don and a'
And hieland and lowland may mournfu' be
For the sair field of Harlaw."

Upon the lowlands in particular the impression which the day's carnage made was peculiarly lasting and bitter. And although we cannot regard the struggle as a decisive trial of strength between Celt and Saxon, Mar's victory, such as it was, certainly was felt by the Scottish government of the day to have been a national deliverance of no ordinary kind. On this matter, there is no escape from the conclusion drawn by John Hill Burton:-

"It was a practice in Scotland to favour the heirs of those slain in the great national battles against England, by exempting them from the feudal taxes on the succession to their estates, including the rights enjoyed by the superior during the minority of his vassal. The records of northern land rights show that this was extended to the families bereaved at Harlaw, and that the battle was even in this formal way treated as a national deliverance."

Among the gentry of Mar and the Garioch who fell on the Red Harlaw none was more sincerely mourned than

"Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit Laird of Drum,
Nane in his Days was better sire,
Quhen they war semblit all and sum;
To praise him we sould not be daun,
For Valour, Witt and Worthyness,
To end his Days he ther did cum,
Qahnis Ransom is remedyless."

1. Hoc enim praelic tot homines generis factisque clari
disderati sunt, quot six ullus adversus externos conflictus per
multos annos absumpsisse remoratur" - Rerum Scoticarum Historie,
bk. X, chap. xviii.

Historians have hardly grasped the full impact of the conflict between the Scottish Crown and the Macdonalds of the Isles which bulks so large in Highland history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In their aggressive policy towards the House of Stewart, the Lords of the Isles drew upon all those proud memories of the once independent Celto-Norse kingdom of the Isles, the realm of Somerled and his masterful successors, whose dominions had been forcibly incorporated in the kingdom of Scotland by the victory of Largs in 1263. As independent princes, John of the Isles in the reign of Robert II, and his descendants for a century thereafter, comported themselves in their dealings with the Scottish Crown. With no consciousness of treason, but as one sovereign negotiating with another, they bargained with English kings; and, in the extraordinary Treaty of Ardtonish-Westminster (1461), actually concluded a pact with Edward IV for the dismembering of Scotland. It is idle to explain away such things as just irresponsible sedition. Rather should we understand it in terms of what Mr. O. G. S. Crawford has called "that struggle between east and west which is a recurrent feature of Scottish history, and probably also of Scottish prehistory" - a struggle which in the fifteenth century took the form of a head-on clash between the Crown and an insular kingdom not yet organically embodied in the realm of Scotland. It is this background which gives Harlaw its importance as something rightly felt at the time to be a "national deliverance."

Third of his honoured line, Sir Alexander Irvine in his youth had been much involved in a bitter feud with the Keiths. Marischal seated at Hallforest Castle. In one account of the family of Drum compiled by Sir Robert Gordoun of Gordontown early in the seventeenth century, we are told that "Marshall's people brunt on one of Drum's children amongst kale wort and Drum brunt ye hall forest and vested sundry of his lands in revenge of ye wrong." Years had brought wisdom, and it appears that before his death on the field of battle the laird of Drum had arranged the marriage between his son and Elizabeth Keith, the contract of which, dated less than three months after the battle, expressly bears that one of its aims was to settle "the feud that had existed between the two families." Sir Alexander Irvine was a devoted follower of the Earl of Mar, and accompanied him in his foreign campaigns. His reward was a gift, in 1410, of the lands of Auchindoir - John of the Craig's former holding. At Harlaw, Sir Alexander is said to have slain Hector Maclean of Duart - "Red Hector of the battles" - with his own hand.

Sir Andrew Leslie of Balquhain, whose castle looks out upon the battlefield from the other side of Urie, is said to have left six, or even eleven of his sons on the scene of

slaughter. Another casualty of the fatal day was William de Tullidaff, a landholder in the parish of Rayne, on behalf of whose son Andrew was made the remission of feudal dues referred to by Hill Burton in the passage quoted above. The said Andrew, so runs the record, "is a minor, yet in accord-
cordance with the statute of Parliament made in favour of the heirs of those who fell at the battle of Harlaw in defence of their country, he is deemed in this way to be of age."

Upon the good town of Bon Accord the day's work bore hard. She lost her gallant Provost - the only civic head in Scottish history, as it seems, who fell in defence of his town during his term of office. With him died not a few of the thirty burgesses who had "gone forth against the cateran".

A local poet has finely described their dolorous homcoming:--

'Twas the same bard, returning all,
The living and the dead, for there
The frequent corses to the wall
Their wounded comrades feebly bare;
And there, unvisited, pale and dead,
Stretched on his steed, where torches shed
A dim and fitful ray,
The Provost came, and o'er him spread
The town's broad banner lay."


3. The banner which the Aberdeen contingent carried at Harlaw was afterwards preserved, but disappeared in the sack of the city by Montrose in 1644 - *Description of Both Towns of Aberdeen* p. 7.
In the roll of benefactors of the Town's Kirk of Aberdeen, where Davidson was patron of the chantry chapel of St. Ann, we may still read the following eloquent tribute to the gallant Provost and the burgesses who perished with him on that fatal day:

"He was a man brave and bold, who prospered in all things, and died in the battle of Harlaw, and with him many praiseworthy burgesses, staunch and steadfast, rooted in honest principles and inured in all probity (whose names, for lack of time, and because of errors as to names, cannot now be set down as it were fitting), in defence of the town, and for the liberty of their fatherland, under the banner of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar. And the said Robert was buried before the altar of St. Ann, in the foresaid parish Church. On whose soul may God have mercy." 1.

Of authentic memorials of the famous battle there is only one about whose genuineness we may feel reasonably certain. The stand of armour in the Town House of Aberdeen, which masquerades as "Provost Davidson's suit that he wore at Harlaw", has acquired this meretricious glamour only since 1782.

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1. The original of this may be quoted as a fine specimen of the ecclesiastical Latin written in Aberdeen about the year 1500:

Et erat vir in cunctis prosperis agens fortis et audax et abijt in bello de harelaw et cum eo plures burgenses laudabiles u. invariabilis honestatibus radietl omnique probitate innociati quorum nomina propter temporis brevitatem et nominum errantium expressi non possunt ut decet in defensione ville et probatrie libertate sub vescillo domini Alexandri seneschalli comitis marrie Et septus dicitus Robertus Ante Altare sancte Anne in ecclesia parochioli predicta Camis anime misereatur Deus - Cantolarium Ecclesiae S. Nicholai Aberdonensis, vol. I, p. 18.

In any case, no portion of the armour appears to be older than the end of the sixteenth century. Grave suspicion attaches to the effigy of an armed knight, now pointed out as the "monument of Provost Davidson", which at present lies in a tomb recess at the east end of the north wall of Collison's Aisle (the north transept) of St. Nicholas Church. This tomb recess is known to be that of Provost Collison, and the effigy was removed from another tomb-recess in the opposite corner of the transept so recently as 1811. But we have seen that Provost Davidson was buried before the Altar of St. Ann, and thus was not in the north transept at all, but in the north aisle of the nave, near the east end. So we are left with the Greenlaw monument in the ruined Kirk of Kinkell, four miles from the battlefield. This fine slab, the lower part of which has been removed, shows the upper two-thirds of the incised figure of a mailed knight, his hands clasped in prayer. Round the margin runs the inscription, rendered incomplete by the truncation of the stone:

\[ \text{HIC VACTT. NOBILIS. ARMIGER. GILBERTUS. DE. GRIE. ...} \]
\[ \text{ANNO DNI. MCCCL. XI} \]

On either side of the knight's head is a heater shaped shield, of which the dexter one is blank, while the sinister shield


displays arms: a chevron between two enter-budgets in chief and a hunting horn in base. The same arms are seen on the jeepon which the knight wears. Now the water-budget is the cognisance of the Greenlaw family, so that the missing portion of the good knight's name can be restored with certainty. No doubt he was a kinsman of the Bishop of Aberdeen who bore the same name, and who was with Alexander Stewart at Kildrummy that Yuletide when (as seems likely) the Harlaw campaign was planned. The fact that the stone bears the fatal date, 1411, makes it more than probable that the gallant knight was one of the many who died on the Red Harlaw. The figure is exceedingly well delineated, and gives us a valuable picture of the armour borne by men of quality at the famous fight. He wears a pointed basinet, on which are seen the staples for securing over it the great heaume or tilting helmet. Round his neck and shoulders is a camail or houme of chain armour, with pointed tippets. From its profile it seems likely that this was stuffed inside with quilting. His arms and legs are completely encased in plate, except for the inner surfaces of the upper arms, where the chain sleeves of the hauberk appear, and the corresponding portions of the thighs, which are also covered with chain work. Below the short jupon or surcoat emerge the pointed tippets of the hauberk; and from the shape of the figure it seems that over the latter was worn a plastron-de-fer or breastplate. A broad plated girdle round the hips carries the knight's ponderous sword and his misericord, or
small dagger for delivering the coup-de-grace; and to ease the weight of the former there is a second but slighter belt, passing over the right hip-bone. It will always remain a mystery how any body was ever able to fight in such a kit!

This stone owes its present mutilated condition to the fact that in 1592 it was shortened and turned round about so as to do duty for a second grave. Round the back is thus incised:

HIC IACET HONORIE ILLUSTRI ET SANCTA MORUM PIETATI

ORNAT' IOANES FORBES D'ARDMURD' EF' COGNOS

MAE

ITABRES 4 QUE ANNO AETATIS SVAE: 66: 8 IVLII A.D. 1592 OBIT.

Rather curiously at so late a date, this inscription is in blackletter, like the medieval one on the other side. On the upper half of the back is a shield of florid Renaissance type, charged with the Forbes arms, three bear's heads couped, with a hawk's head for difference. Below is incised the Greek text, from St. Paul's epistle to the Philippians, chap. i, verse 21:

εἰρωνείας ἀλατισμῶν ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΒΑΛλΕΙΝ ΚΕΡΠΙΔΟΣ.

It is claimed that this is the earliest instance of a Greek inscription in Scotland. On all grounds it will thus be seen that our Kinkell stone is a monument of no ordinary interest. What concerns us now is that it seems to be the only authentic

contemporary memorial of the battle of Harlaw.

On the "sair field" itself, what then was a desolate, blood-battered moor is now rich farmland, heavy with crops, and the only thing that recalls the memory of the murderous strife that the place once knew is the quincentenary monument erected by the Town Council of Aberdeen to the memory of Provost Davidson and the burgesses who here laid down their lives on that mournful day. In the New Statistical Account of the parish of Chapel o' Garioch, it is recorded that

"in the year 1837, when the tenant of Harlaw was trenching a piece of barren ground, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the field of battle, he dug up the bones of about twelve human bodies...... The place in which they were found was a trench about 3½ feet deep, 4 feet wide, and 12 feet in length."

The site of this discovery is marked on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey Map, about equidistant between the farms of East and Mid Harlaw. There can be little doubt that we have here one of the pits or trenches into which the bodies of the rank and file among the fallen would be laid - or, in the case of the Highlanders, tossed - by the tenantry of Balhaggardy and Harlaw on whom, no doubt, will have fallen the ghastly task of cleaning up the field:-

"An sic a weary buryin' I'm sure ye never saw As was the Sunday after that On the muirs aneath Harlaw.

"Gin ony body speer at you
For them yet took awa,
Ye may tell their wives and bairnies
They're sleepin' at Harlaw."

All our accounts agree as to the devastating nature of the Highland onrush through Strathbogie and the Garioch. Omnia conculcans et depopulans, ac in vastotatem redigens, is the language used by Bower. Now there is extant a Papal bull, granted at Tortoson by Benedict XIII, on 26th March, 1414, in reply to a petition from Lindores Abbey, setting forth that its buildings had been ruined and its rents diminished by reason of the nearness of the "wild (silustrum) Scots. To relieve their distress, the Pontiff grants to the monks the improprition of the Church of Crud in Fife. This is a puzzling document. We have no other indication that the buildings of Lindores Abbey had suffered in any way at this time, nor does history record any Highland incursions into Fife at the opening of the fifteenth century. But the language of the writ does not necessarily imply that the Abbey itself had been damaged, only that buildings and lands belonging to it had been wasted. We have seen that the Abbey possessed much property in the Garioch, including granges, mills, and churches for whose upkeep it was partly responsible, also that it drew from that lordship the greater bulk of its rents. Having regard to the date of the bull, I am strongly inclined to suspect that we have here a sequel to the Harlaw

campaign, and that the so called wrought by Wild Scots which had so impoverished the monastery was the trail of devastation left by Donald's Islesmen through the fat farmlands of the Garioch. Which brings us back once more in conclusion to the vivid poetry of Norval Clyne:-

"Lord of the Garioch's slopes and streams,  
Rose Bennachie's dark frowning head;  
Dark, though the morning's brightest beams  
O'er the green summer woods were shed;  
Dark-frowning, for a redder glare  
Widely to northward flushed the air,  
No kindling blare of day:  
The fire that maketh waste was there,  
The spoilers and their prey!"

Alexander Stewart, the victor of Harlaw, died at Inverness at the end of July, 1435. Of him Bower remarks that

"he was a man of great achievement, who in his youth was wholly untamed, and a leader of cattan. But later he came to himself and being changed into another man, peaceably ruled the whole country north of the Mounth. He was a man of mighty deeds and vast expenditure, and his name was renowned in many lands."

He saw much hard military service in Flanders, where his reward was the Lordship of Dufflé in Brabant. On sea he appears to have been equally distinguished, and for some time he held the post of High Admiral of Scotland. It is on record that he led the Aberdeen fleet in a daring and successful raid upon the English coast. As Ambassador Plenipotentiary he

1. Chronicle of Fortingall, in Black Book of Taymouth, p. 112.  
2. Scotichronicon, bk. XVI, chap. XXV.
At present built up into the wall of the graveyard that surrounds the scanty ruins of the Greyfriars Church at Inverness there is the battered effigy of a knight clad in the armour of the early fifteenth century. The figure is on a heroic scale, and the monument to which it belonged must have been one of exceptional distinction. It can hardly be doubted that in this effigy we have all that now remains from the tomb of the Victor of Harlaw. He is represented lying on his back, and though both arms are broken off it can still be seen that the hands were clasped in prayer upon his breast. The head, from which the face has unhappily been smashed away, rests upon a pair of tasselled cushions, the upper one placed diagonally over the lower. The knight wears a printed basinet over a large, full camail of chainwork, and a cuirass with tightly indrawn waist. Over the cuirass is the jupon or short, close-fitting surcoat of the time; this has a straight-cut lower edge. His legs are cased in complete plate, with prominent and well-formed genouillères or knee-caps. The wide sword kilt, or knightly girdle, enriched with embossed square mountings, passes low round the haunches; and there is also a narrow diagonal belt, suspended from the right hip, so as to help in taking the weight of the great sword, whose hilt and quillons are gone. On the other side is the misericord dagger, slung by a small belt or strap, hanging loosely from the girdle. Both feet are broken off, but the spur-fastenings remain. The total length of the effigy, which is in a yellow freestone, is about 7 feet.
concluded peace between the two countries in 1406. In 1431 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North of Scotland in order to deal with the rising in the Western Isles, but was defeated at Inverlochy by the rebel leader, Donald Balloch, and himself sustained grievous wounds. Safe conducts given him to pass through England show that he travelled with a retinue of sixty. His brilliance set the fashion even at the Court of France, and in tournaments and other knightly sports of the day he was without a peer. One of his most remarkable undertakings was his effort to improve the breed of horses in Mar. To this purpose he imported Hungarian stallions and mares. "Thus was the countre, within few yeres efter, fillit full of gret hors; howbeit, afore his time, was nocht but small naggis in this redene."

With the burgh of Aberdeen and its Provost, Robert Davidson, Mar's relations were intimate and cordial. The Provost kept a tavern in the Shiprow, and on more than one occasion the burgh records minute payments for a stirrup-cup of Bon-Accord given on his premises at the town's expense to

Aeneas Sylvius in 1435 speaks of the poor quality of the native Scottish horses: "small ambling nags, mostly geldings, uncurried, uncombed, unbridled - Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Preface, p. XCV. A later Earl of Mar carried on the tradition of horse-breeding, see Pitscothie, Chronicles of Scotland, ed. AE. J. G. Mackay, Vol. I, p. 163. John Major remarks on the "horses of Mar, which are good in youth in their old age bad" - History, Mr. A. Constable, p. 368. For this reason, he tells us, men compared the Stewart monarchs to the heroes of Mar!
As is the way with successful publicans, the worthy Provost had business interests that were many and varied. Amongst other enterprises, he and the Earl seem to have proved a kind of limited liability company, whose business was piracy. The Provost, it appears, provided the ships, and the Earl found the men. Sometimes these activities involved the firm in trouble with foreign powers. On one occasion, the year before Harlaw, a vessel of theirs captured a Danzig merchantman on its way to Flanders. The prize crew put in with their vessel at Harfleur, where the ship was taken into custody. But as the Scotsmen put in letters of safe-conduct, the Parlement de Paris refused to hand over the stolen goods to their rightful owners. On his part, the Earl of Mar wrote a bland letter to the Senate of Danzig, saying that Dutch fishermen had committed the deed.

This pretty story failed to impress the stout burghers of Danzig, one of the most powerful of the Hanseatic towns. The upshot was a sort of private war between the Prussian city and the Earl and the Provost, which continued merrily despite the latter's death at Harlaw. On 6th July, 1412, one of the Aberdeen vessels captured a Danzig freighter near Cape Lindesness. She was laden with salt, flour and beer freighted from Rostock to Scotland. At first his captors threatened to

throw the skipper, whose name was Klaus Belleken, into the sea. Afterwards they relented and allowed him and three of his men to make off in an open boat. The rest of the crew were carried back to Aberdeen. Here, the record continues, they were sent up country and "employed in carrying stores for the building of a castle" - no doubt belonging to the Earl of Mar.

Unfortunately we are not told where this castle was. It may have been Kindrochit. We saw that Sir Malcolm Drummond had obtained a royal licence to build a tower there, and perhaps his murderer was completing the work left unfinished, we may guess, by the victim. Or the castle may have been Kildrummy, where it is known that Stewart did some building - for one of his charters, dated "at our Castle of Kildrummy", 6th December, 1425, is witnessed, among others, by John Mynuss [? Menzies], "our mason." In any event it is piquant now to think of those Prussian prisoners of war toiling and moiling in carrying stones amid the hills of Mar, five centuries ago. If the castle was Kindrochit, some of them will have had a long penance. For the dressed work of this castle is wrought in freestone brought all the way from Kildrummy. That is a good five-and-thirty miles beyond - and no doubt in the fifteenth century roads in the Braes o' Mar were anything but a joke!

Our picture of an unquiet time may fitly conclude with an account of the doings of "Red Sir Andrew", the turbulent third baron of Balquhain. We have seen that he left at least six of his sons behind him when he rode back across Urie to his castle from the field of Harlaw. Sir Andrew was a man of vigour in other respects besides in arms:—

"It is said that he had Seventy children. But most of them were unlawfully begotten. It is reported that in One Night he begot seven children in sundry places, and that all their Mothers lay in Child Bed at one time, and that his Lady sent to every One of them in Charity Half or Poll of Meal, Half a Boll of Malt, a Wedder, and Five Shillings of Money." 1.

The baron's amorous adventures reached a climax when he carried off the "Fair Maid of Strathavon", a daughter of the laird of Inveravon. For this he was outlawed, and the neighbourhood became so hot for him that, so it is said, he deserted his Castle of Balquhain and fled for refuge to the old hill-fort on the Mither Tap of Benaachie, but was eventually surprised by the Sheriff of Angus and slain at Braco, on 22nd January, 1420. His widow, Isabella Mortimer is stated to have founded a chapel on the site of her husband's death —

"For Braco might pray for Schir Andro's soul
Whose red blood did stone
For harrying Interavin's lands
And stealing the Maid o' Shadone." 2.

2. See Province of Mar, pp. 68-1. 60-1.
4. For this chapel see Coll. Shires Aberdeen and Banff, p. 527 (Account of the parish of Chapel of Garloch, 1732). Besides
She also endowed a chantry in the Chapel of the Garioch "that in both places there might be prayers made for his soul." And in 1425 Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Grand’s founded a second chantry there for the men's welfare in the next world. No doubt he would require all these aids.

"Red Sir Andrew's son is said to have been a chip of the old block, and to have imitated his father by carrying off a girl betrothed to Sir John de Forbes. From this, so the Forbes family histories aver, arose a bitter and long continued feud between the two houses. In the course of these unhappy disturbances Balquhain Castle is said to have been burned.

4. (contd.)
the two parish churches (Logie Durno and Fetternear) three chapels are noted, at Braco, at Lethenty, and at Fetternear. The chapel at Braco, we are told, was "built by Isobel Mortimer, daughter to Bernard Mortimer of Craigievar, on occasion of her husband (Sir Andrew Lesley, third laird of Balquhain) his being slain here by the Sheriff of Angus, January the twenty-second.
A.D.MCCCXX." The foundations of this chapel still exist to the southeast of the croft of Old Braco, in an elevated field on the west side of the Burnhervie Water. The site is conspicuously marked by a small enclosed enclosure with youngish ash trees and a couple of stout old oaks. The foundations of the chapel indicate a building measuring externally about 34 feet 4 inches by 17 feet 6 inches, correctly oriented. At some period (apparently when the ash trees were planted) the interior has been partly cleared and the fallen stones neatly stacked in the east end. No dressed work is visible, nor are there any monuments. The outlook from the site is fine, including a magnificent view of the Mither Tap.

The chapel is shorter and broader than usual in a fifteenth century structure, but no doubt this is because it was intended not for a congregation but simply for a single priest saying his Masses for the dead.

Assuming it to be in substance true, the record of such ongoings surely teaches us that the Highland eruption of 1411 must have had a very disorganising effect upon society in our Province, and that it was long ere the country settled down again. Nor would it add to the prospects of tranquillity that the great Earldom of Mar, and its associated lordship of the Garioch, were now on the eve of breaking up for good.
IV. - THE BREAK-UP OF THE EARLDOM.

On the death of Alexander Stewart, the Earldom of Mar was claimed by Sir Robert Erskine, the nearest relative to Countess Isabella, in accordance with the terms of the charter which that lady had granted Stewart in 1404. Erskine was the descendant of Helen, daughter of Gratney, seventh Earl of Mar of the old Celtic line, and there can be no question about the legitimacy of his claim.

"The family of Erskine appear to have derived their name from the lands of Erskine on the Clyde, of which they were in possession in the reign of King Alexander II. How their connexion with the Earldom of Mar originated is involved in some obscurity. After the failure of the Celtic Earls in Earl Thomas, and while Isabella Douglas was Countess of Mar, Sir Thomas Erskine, in 1391, presented a petition to the Scottish Parliament, claiming that after the death of Countess Isabella he would be, in right of his wife, entitled to the half of the lands of the Earldom of Mar and Lordship of Garioch, and craving that nothing should be done to his prejudice upon any resignation which might be made of the Earldom and lands by Isabella Douglas. The justice of this claim was admitted by the King and Parliament. His son, Robert, first Lord Erskine, afterwards obtained himself served heir of line and blood to Countess Isabella, and assumed the designation of Earl of Mar, claiming to be the great grandson of Lady Elyne or Helen de Mar, the eldest daughter of Earl Gratney, and sister of Earl Donald. This service was afterwards reduced on several grounds, one being that the descent from Lady Elyne of Mar could not be proved. The descent, however, may be given as follows: - Gratney, Earl of Mar, married Lady Christian Bruce, sister of Robert I, and daughter of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, by Marjorie, Countess of Carrick. By her, Earl Gratney had his son, Donald, and a daughter, Lady Helen, who married Sir John Menteith, and Sir John and Lady Helen had a daughter, named Christian, who married Sir Edward Keith. Their daughter, Janet Keith, married first Sir David Barclay, and secondly Sir Thomas Erskine, by whom she was the mother of Robert, Lord
That there was some connexion of undoubted validity seems certain from the strenuous nature of the claims the Erskines made from generation to generation to their lands, even against the efforts of the Crown to deprive them of them; and that these efforts were harsh was admitted by Queen Mary and her government when in 1565 she granted the Earldom of Mar to John, sixth Lord Erskine, and afterwards in the same year created him Earl of Mar."

King James I, however, had determined to curtail the power of his nobles, and in order to obtain this end was prepared to use all means to hand. In the words of Lord Crawford, his policy "was to break up, destroy, or annex to the Crown the great feudal or feudalised Earldoms of Scotland, especially those that were held in association with sovereign authority, or rights of regality, of the nature of

Earldom to the Crown.

The King's murder next year brought no improvement for the Ryskines; and during the minority of James II Kildrummy Castle was retained in royal possession, and entrusted by his guardians to various keepers. Extensive building works had been set afoot, and from the accounts of expenditure during the years 1436-8 it is clear that the Castle must have been thoroughly reconditioned. We have the wages of Gilbert the quarryman and two assistants engaged for six weeks in the alopiciderium de Kyndromy - now the rock garden opposite the Castle - and payments for carriage of the stone across to the Castle. Thomas Blak and one Kemlok (whom we shall meet again later) are the masons, and Ingerame is the carpenters. The chapel is re-roofed, nails and tiles being bought for the purpose. A stone chimney, or fireplace, is repaired. Iron comes from Aberdeen, and four great iron bolts are placed on the castle gate, at a cost of 8s. The mason Black gets £5.17s. for cutting 1164 feet of stone, at the price of one penny per stone; his colleague Kemlok receives 40s. for 400 feet of similar stone. There can be little doubt that part of the work then executed was the barbicón in front of the Edwardian gate-house.

1. Exchequer Rolls, vol. V, pp. 57-9. The following abstract of these accounts may be of interest:-
Throughout these events Sir Robert Erskine, with commendable moderation, had been trying to gain his end through legal channels. But the guardians of the youthful sovereign were playing a deep game; and though they always held out vague hopes of a settlement, he was thwarted at every turn, and was never allowed to enjoy possession either of the Earldom or of the Castle. An Act of Parliament passed in 1437 seemed to forbid him any prospect of success. It enacted that "na landes nor possessionis perteyning to the King be gewyn nor grantyt till my men without the anyse and consent of the thre estates of the Realme on to the tyme of his aige of xxj zeris."

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<td>Carpentry</td>
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<td>Repairing stone fireplace</td>
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<td>Carriage of stone from quarry</td>
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<td>Cutting peats</td>
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<td>Cutting 1164 feet of stone</td>
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<td>Quarrymen's wages, Pentecost to Lent</td>
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<td>Two foreman working in garden and quarry</td>
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<td>Two servants, one only at Kildrummy</td>
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<td>Purchase of iron at Aberdeen</td>
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<td>14.</td>
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<td>Smith's wages for making quarrymen's tools, ploughshares and horseshoes</td>
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<td>Nails for chapel roof</td>
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<td>Wages for two men working for six weeks in the quarry</td>
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<td>For great locks for gates of the castle</td>
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<td>Carpenter for tiling chapel</td>
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The most curious part of the business is that all the time Sir Robert Erskine appears to have been freely recognised as de jure Earl, in which capacity he issued various charters—for example one granted at Aberdeen, 26th June, 1439, conveying the whole middle part of the Wardship of Strathdee to Alexander, afterwards first Lord Forbes, the reddendo being two pennies in blench forme, payable to ourselves and our heirs, Earls of Mar, at our Castle of Kildrummy at the Feast of Pentecost.

In 1438 Erskine was at length formally inducted into possession of the Castle as the capital messuage of the Earldom. On 10th August, 1440 followed an agreement, dated at Stirling, whereby the King, "for the gude and the quiete of the land" bound himself to deliver Kildrummy to Erskine's guardianship until he (the King) should come of age; while on his part Lord Erskine bound himself to render up Dumbarton Castle to the Crown. On 12th May, 1447, the King at Stirling issued letters patent to Erskine and his son, charging them, in peremptory tones, "foralsmikle as for the gude of pece and tranquillitie of our realme and justice to be huld in the north partis of oure said realme, quhare grete rupture and transgressiounis has bene in Æym bigane, and for reformacion tharof, we adress vs God willing sudely to visy the said partis", to deliver up the Castle of Kildrummy, "whare the hiest payniss

of rebelloun, forffature, and vtheris ye may commit and inmin again owre maieste", for the King's reception when in these parts, "becaus it is a place convenient of soverte and vther-wayis for our purviaunce to be made at this tym." Sir David Murray of Tulliberdine and Robert Livingstone "our comptrolloure" were appointed commissioners to receive the keys of the castle.

The argument of 1440 seems to have failed of its effect, for on 9th August, 1442, Lord Erskine entered a complaint that the Chancellor Crichton - who is clearly the villain in the piece - had refused to place him in occupation of the castle. But his expostulations were of no avail against the all-powerful minister. The induction was never implemented, and at last, in 1442, he lost patience, and took by storm the object of his so passionate desire. Even this availed him not, for the Crown retaliated by confiscating his tower and rich estate of Alloa, and on 20th June, 1443, after protracted negotiations, he was forced to consent to an exchange. Worn out by trouble


and disappointment, Lord Erskine died in 1453, but his claims were carried forward by his son, who on 21st March of that year presented a petition to the King. A Justiciary Court, held in Aberdeen on 15th May, 1457, decided that *not* Isobel, Countess of Mar, but her husband, Alexander, Earl of Mar, had died last vested and seized in the Earldom, and that the Earldom, consequently, had devolved upon the late King, and now pertained to the present King, James II, in consequence of the bastardy of Earl Alexander and his son, Sir Thomas Stewart. Thus the claim of the Erskines seemed finally excluded; and from this time forward Lord Erskine and his descendants maintained a dignified silence, whilst the Kings of Scotland dealt with the Earldom of Mar, the dignity and the estates, the rightful heritage of the heirs of Isabel, at their pleasure - those heirs the while serving the princes who enjoyed their inheritance with unfailing loyalty and devotion.* Not until 1565 did the Crown admit the iniquity of these proceedings, and it was only in 1626 that the Erskines entered into the diminished territorial remnant of their ancient inheritance.

The collapse of the Earldom, which we have thus traced, and the removal from its territorium of a resident Earl,

naturally paved the way for the rise to a dominating position in the family of Forbes, already in Earl Alexander's time the most powerful of its vassals. If I have rightly reconstructed the events of Harlaw, it was the aid which Sir Alexander de Forbes had brought to his suzerain at the crisis of the battle which paved the way to the greatness of his family. He was a close personal friend of the Earl, and in 1403 he accompanied his chief on his celebrated expedition to England, for the purpose of taking part in a joust of arms against Edmund Holland, fourth Earl of Kent. He also accompanied his chief in his continental campaigns, and paid at least one visit to France himself, with a retinue of one hundred, including forty men-at-arms. The rewards heaped upon him by his grateful patron were not few, and included the rich barony of Alford, conveyed to him in 1423. Already in 1417 he had obtained his first foothold on Deeside, by means of a grant from the Earl of Buchan of the lands of Forest of Birse in the lordship of Aboyne. In 1425 this was followed by the acquisition of the lands of Easter Clune, lower down on Feughside. A charter of 1430

1. Wyntoun, Original Chronicle, bk. IX, chap. 27.
2. A safe conduct was issued to him, 14th October, 1421, to go to the Kings of England and Scotland at Rouen - Notuti Scotiae, Vol. II, pp. 344-5. James I of Scotland, at that time a captive in English hands, was then in the entourage of Henry V in Normandy. p. 23.
details his Donside property as then comprising the lands of Forbes, Kearn, Alford, Logie and Edinbanchory. Thus the whole middle reach of the valley from the Glen of Brux to the My Lord's Throat was already in his hands. And by this time, also, he had fixed his seat at Drumminor, in the parish of Kearn. In the charter chest at Castle Forbes there is the following interesting receipt for building work done here in 1440:

"Memorandum that John Kamloke and Wilyhame of Ennerkype has tan 22 ar fully content of ane hundreth marke 22 marke & v s. of the ij hundreth markis that thai had half had for the marke of the hous of Drumynour befor the lord of the ross & Clan of Erstken & this cont maid on the ferde day of July the yheir of our lord a thousand m cccc l & fourty yheiris. Y in the vittenis of the quhilke the said wilyhame has procawit the signet of ane honorabil an alan of Erstken to this ptensive lett eris to be put the day befor wretyn."

John Kemloke is of course our friend the royal mason who had been engaged upon work for James I at Kildrummy Castle four years previously. Kemlok or Kemloke are old forms of the name Cumnock, in Ayrshire, and no doubt the mason came from this place. His colleague hailed from Inverkip, on the Renfrewshire coast, where there still remains a fine castle, an early seat of the Stewarts, and which also has for centuries been an important source of first-class building stone.

1. The "thousand" is both written and entered numerically.
"The freestone used for the corners, doors and windows in Rothesay town is generally brought from Inverkip on the Renfrewshire coast."
Retrospectively, as often happened, sanction was obtained for this work at Drumminor by a royal licence issued on 4th May, 1456, authorising the building of "the tower and fortalice of Drymynour, commonly called Forbas." This old Tower of Drumminor must be distinguished from the present Drumminor House, which bears the date 1577. The foundations of the older castle were examined by Dr. John Leyden in 1800. "I saw the ruins of Drumminor Tower, which the proprietor had demolished. The wall is about nine feet thick, and the cement is exceedingly strong. It consists of a square united to a half square, which contains the staircase." The building had therefore been a massive tower-house on the L-plan, like that which the Gordons about the same time had built for themselves at Strathbogie, further north.

Between October 1444 and July of next year Sir Alexander


2. Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, ed. J. Henton, p. 229. Elsewhere (p. 290) he compares the plan of Drumminor to that of Craig.

3. See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. LXVII, p. 129-42. In that paper I suggested that the foundations of this, the "greate olde tower" at Huntly Castle, might have been built soon after the final settlement of the Gordons, i.e. about the end of the fourteenth century. But it is to be noted that Sir John Kemlok was chaplain to the Earl of Huntly in 1474 (Records of Aboyne, p. 12). Very probably he was a son of John Kamloke the master mason, who may have entered Lord Huntly's service after completing his contracts at Kildrummy and Drumminor. Thus there seems a real possibility that the "greate olde tower" at Strathbogie may have been built by him.
de Forbes became the first Lord Forbes. In the dispute over the Marldom of Mar he supported the Erskine claim. By the time that he died, in 1448, he had raised his family to a commanding position in Upper Donside; but its influence was soon to be challenged by a still more formidable power which was consolidating itself on the northern flank of the Forbes lands.

Scottish history has nothing more remarkable to record than the rise to power of the Gordon family beneath the Mounth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We have seen that the old lords of Strathbogie of the Atholl line took the unlucky side in the struggle for independence, as a result of which they lost that fair and ample lordship. This was bestowed by Bruce on Sir Adam Gordon of Huntly in Berwickshire - from which place the ancient Peel of Strathbogie was ultimately to receive a new name. But it was not until 1376 that the Gordons settled down in unchallenged ownership of that great northern domain, as the Earls of Atholl retained certain claims until their extinction about this date. In 1408 Sir John Gordon, last in the male line of the Gordons of Huntly and Strathbogie, was succeeded by his sister Elizabeth,

1. "His appointment, which cannot be called a creation, since no patent accompanied it, was subsequent to the similar elevation of Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, and of some other Scottish nobles, but that of Forbes is the earliest of the kind where the title has remained hereditary in the family, and not been merged in any subsequent and higher creation. This fact makes the Lord Forbes the premier Baron of Scotland" - A. and H. Tayler, House of Forbes, pp. 30-1.
who in that year married Sir Alexander Seton, one of the Harlaw heroes. In 1436 Sir Alexander is said to have been created first Lord Gordon; and in 1445 or 1449 his son, also Alexander Seton, was made first Earl of Huntly, receiving shortly afterwards a grant of the great lordship of Badenoch. Now Sir John Gordon's mother had been Elizabeth Keith, heiress of Aboyne, GlenTanar, Glenmuick, and Cluny, so that the first Earl of Huntly inherited these extensive lands in our Province, and found himself placed in a commanding position in the disintegrating Earldom of Mar. His power was still further increased by the gift to him of the hereditary office of Sheriff of Aberdeenshire. Already, moreover, the family was beginning to display its amazing fecundity in proliferation. Sir John Gordon's two sons were the famous "Jock" and "Tam", and of these Jock was settled, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in the lands of Scurdargue, just across the northern border of Mar. Here he inhabited the old castle of the de Frendraughts at Lesmoir, hard by Essie where

2. For the disputed date see Records of Aboyne, p. 383.
3. See supra, p. 84.
the Forbes had found his death. And in 1515 William Gordon, a grandson of "Jock o' Scurdargue", acquired from the Irvine of Drum, the ancient barony of Auchindoir, which brought the rising family right into the northern gate of Mar, over against the Forbes headquarters at Drumminor. Thus both from the south and from the north, the position of the Lords Forbes, who had seemed in a fair way to become supreme in Mar after the failure of the old Earls, was now being challenged by the Gordon incomers. In this way, by the dawn of the sixteenth century the stage was already set amid the hills and glens of Mar for a bitter struggle for supremacy between the two kindreds. By this struggle the whole history of our Province, throughout the politico-religious upheavals of the next two hundred years, would be determined. For where the Gordons took one side the Forbeses took the other. So it befell—speaking broadly, of course, for there were plenty of exceptions—in the Reformation; so also in the war between the factions of Queen Mary and her son; so again in the struggle between Crown and Covenant; so, last of all, in the

1. See *The Province of Mar*, p. 108,

2. For the Gordons of Auchindoir (Craig Castle) see *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. LXIV, pp. 96-106.

3. Just as in Ireland during the Wars of the Roses, the Geraldines took the Yorkist side, while their hereditary rivals, the Butlers, espoused the cause of Lancaster.
three Jacobite risings. And amid all these tangled controversies, how curious it is to note the different ethos that emerges in the rival families. In the main, the Forbeses are practical, earnest and realistic, with a shrewd capacity to judge the winning side. And in the main, the Gordons were the romantic gallants, the heroes of lost causes. They are the "Gay Gordons". As for the Forbeses, the more sober spirit of the family is enshrined in the little rhyme with which their earliest historian closes his tract:

Sem

"Gin our forbears, Lord or Knight, With manhood and wisdom keepe[d] their right, I pray to God to give us grace, Ilk man according to his place, To keep the bruit on elders wane And end with honor as they begane."

Meantime, what of the Earldom? Throughout the fifteenth century its two chief castles, Kildrumny and Kindrochit, remained in the custody of Crown constables; and it is significant of the rising power of the Gordons that on a number of occasions we find the Earl of Huntly in the enjoyment of both offices. The continued unsettlement caused by the dispute over the Earldom seems to have led to outbreaks of lawlessness, for on 7th March, 1456, King James II at Aberdeen granted a remission to Lord Huntly and his son for various deprédations, burnings and murders of which they - that is, presumably their retainers - had been guilty in the

1. Matthew Lumsden of Tillycairn. Genealogy of the Family of Forbes, see infra, p. Appendix b. 16.
lands of Mar, including the seizure of certain goods belonging to Lord Erskine.

In 1459, the King bestowed the Earldom on his infant son John; but on the latter's murder at Craigmillar Castle in 1479 the dignity reverted to the Crown, and was thereupon granted by James III to his favourite, the master-mason Thomas Cochran. In a notarial instrument of 20th May, 1482, he is described as constabularius castri de Kildrummy. It will be noted that through Cochran was Earl of Mar he is described only as Constable of Kildrummy Castle, the phraseology thus accurately defining the ancient relation of the royal fortress to the Earldom. The great nobles of the country made short work with the master-mason, and upon his murder, at Lauder Brig in 1482, the King granted the Earldom of Mar, with the Castle of Kildrummy, to his brother Albany. But the Duke, like other nobles of his time, was detected in an obscure league with England. In 1484 he was driven from the country: his estates were forfeited, and the Earldom of Mar and Lordship of the Garioch, "with the Castle of Kildrummy and all other castles and fortalices pertaining to the said Earldom", were

4. Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1424-1513, No. 1541.
given by the King, on 2nd March, 1486, to his third son John.
During the time of Earl John fresh evidence was provided of the
growing power of the Gordons by a lease which he granted (26th
March, 1491) of the Castle of Kildrummy, for a term of six
years, to Alexander, Master of Huntly.

Throughout these kaleidoscopic shiftings of fortune, it
will be noted how persistently the Crown was striving to keep
the Earldom in its own hands or those of its immediate adher-
ents. On the death of Earl John the dignity once more lapsed
to the Crown; and on 8th August, 1507, James IV bestowed a
large portion of the Mar lands upon Alexander Elphinstone of
that ilk, erecting them into the barony of Invernochty, and
fixing its capital messuage apud antiquam mareriem de
Invernochty - that is, of course, the Doune. As the lands
in question were scattered throughout Mar and the Garioch,
Elphinstone speedily resigned the whole into the hands of the
King, and an excambion was arranged of all those portions which
lay outwith the Lordship of Strathdon. The grant of the
remainder was made by James on 10th December, 1507, Elphinstone
being still designated "of Invernochty." But on 19th July,
1508, the King made a further large grant out of the Mar lands
to his lucky favourite, including now the custody of the Castle

1. Ibid., No. 1642.
2. Hist. MSS. Commission, XIIth Report, Appendix VIII, pp. 89-90:
4. Ibid., No. 3251.
of Kildrummy. Finally, on 14th January, 1510, the whole of the lands which had on different occasions been granted to Lord Elphinstone were incorporated into the free barony of Kildrummy, with the Castle of Kildrummy as chief messuage of the same. Noteworthy is the service required by the King. Lord Elphinstone is to provide "a hundred mounted men with lances for service in the King's wars and military operations against his enemies, if any such should arise." The churlions, quixotic monarch was of this time toying with the idea of leading a Crusade. But his dreams of military glory were to bring him not to Jerusalem but to Bedden; and on that fatal field Lord Elphinstone was destined to die by the side of his royal benefactor.

It was a noble heritage into which the Elphinstones had entered. While Kildrummy Castle was in Crown hands its buildings had been well kept up. From first to last, including the work of 1436–8, a total of over £324, a considerable sum in the fifteenth century, had been spent upon the fabric. The new owners carried on the good work, and are stated to have reconstructed the old solar so as to form the tall, corbie-stepped building now known as the Elphinstone Tower. During

1. Ibid., No.


their tenure, this castle of great contention was once again at the mercy of a plundering victor, John Strachan, younger of Linturk in the parish of Leochel - a most abandoned character, whose career is sufficiently illuminating of conditions in Mar at the period of the final disruption of the Earldom, that we may glance for a moment at what the records have to tell us about him.

From at least as far back as 1407 the lands of Ledynturk or Linturk, on the eastern border of #Leochel Parish, about a mile west of Tough, were in the possession of a branch of the Strachan family. John Strachan, the hero, or rather villain, of the present story, appears to have linked his fortunes with those of the house of Forbes, who since 1476 had been his neighbours in the adjoining lands of Corse. As we have seen, from the days of 'Red' Sir Andrew, the third baron of Balquhain, the Forbeses and the Leslies had been at loggerheads with each other; and in the various deeds of strife which were engendered by this quarrel the supporters of either family were involved as heavily as the principals. By their incessant brawls large parts of Mar and the Garioch were kept in continual uproar. Matters came to a head in 1526, when the Master of Forbes and Strachan of Linturk treacherously beset and slew Alexander Seton

1. See Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1306-1424, No. 926; Records of Aboyne, p. 49.
of Meldrum, an adherent of the Leslies. Either on this same or on another occasion, Strachan was also implicated in the murder of a member of another Garioch family, namely John, the heir apparent of William King of Bourtie. And some time before 1531, under circumstances of which no explanation seems to be forthcoming, Strachan had besieged, captured and plundered the Castle of Kildrummy, involving himself in a further guilt of slaughter in respect of a number of its defenders. For all these offences, serious as they were, Strachan received a formal pardon from the King, dated 21st January, 1531. But a much graver sequel was to follow. In 1537 the Master of Forbes and young Lynturk were accused of a conspiracy to shoot King James V with a culverin on the occasion of a royal visit to Aberdeenshire. The whole story is a most mysterious one, and there were not wanting those who believed that the Master of Forbes was the victim of a peculiarly atrocious plot. Thus David Calderwood, the seventeenth century historian, roundly declares that the Earl of Huntly was the contriver of a false accusation against the heir-apparent of the rival house. And other old writers carry the dark story a stage further by asserting that even the powerful Earl was himself but an agent in a diabolical project of revenge originating in the warped

mind of young Linturk. Thus one historian of the early eighteenth century tells us that about the year 1535:

"the King was alarmed with many false reports of plots against his life; and some villainous persons took opportunity to work up the King's suspicion to a belief of their horrid contrivance. The first person that was sacrific'd to that villainous revenge was John Forbiss, eldest son to the Lord Forbes, the Chief of that Name; a young man of great courage and good education, but had liv'd a vicious life, and had entertained one Straghan and a companion in his debauchery. This Straghan took opportunity to desire the gift of something from John Forbes, which not being convenient for him to give, he excus'd himself. Upon which, Straghan was so offended, that he strove to be reveng'd on him; and knowing the Earl of Huntly to be at variance with John Forbes, he went to the Earl and accus'd him of having for a long time design'd to murder the King: And by this means found false evidences to swar to what he alledy'd, that Mr. Forbes was resolv'd to assassinate the King, so that by his death the Dowglasses might be restored to their ancient possessions, titles and honour."

This story is in substance the same as that given at a much earlier date by George Buchanan in his History of Scotland, published first in 1582. Buchanan, however, does not connect the affair with the King's destruction of the Red Douglases. Yet it is significant that the Master of Forbes was married to a sister of Lord Glamis, whose wife was the ill-fated Janet Douglas, sister of the Earl of Angus, King James's inveterate enemy. It will be remembered that in 1537 this beautiful and accomplished woman was condemned to death and burnt alive on a

1. David Scott, Narrative taken from the History of Scotland, 1727, p. 344.
2. Rerum Scoticarum Historia, bk. XIV, chap. 53.
charge of conspiring against the royal person. We can scarcely doubt that there was some connexion between the two catastrophes.

Probably we shall never know the full truth about this dark and terrible incident. At all events, on 11th June, 1537 the Master of Forbes was accused by the Earl of Huntly of plotting to slay the King’s Grace "he are schot of ane small gune. or cuivering within the burgh of Abirdene." The unfortunate young man was tried, condemned, and beheaded (17th July). According to Pitscottie, the victim on the scaffold maintained that

"he was innocent off the cryme quhill they layit to his charge and accusit of; but he knew weill it was the innocent slaughter of the laird of Meldrum that causit him to die that deid, and nocht for treassone committit againis the kingis grace." 2.

It may or may not be regarded as corroborative of Strachan of Lynturk’s alleged instigation of the charge against his patron, that immediately afterwards he was himself put on trial, convicted and pardoned, on a charge of foreknowledge and treasonable concealment of the Master of Forbes’s plot. The King’s remission to the Donside gangster is dated from Holyrood house, 18 July, 1537, and binds Strachan to remove

1. See the documents connected with the trial in Pitcairn, _op. cit._, pp. 183-7. See also _State Papers of Henry VIII Vol. V_, p. 94. _Tytler_, vol. II, Note 3.

himself and remain "beyond the Wattr of Dee;" and, if the King should himself cross that river, the culprit is directed to remove himself "be the space of xij mylis" from the royal person.

This was by no means the end of the story. A quarter of a century after, we find John Strachan of Lynturk still pursuing the Forbeses with inveterate and ingenious malice. Now he is accusing Lord Forbes and his relatives of "stryking of fals conye", but without producing a shred of evidence in support of a charge which in those days, had it been proven, might have resulted in the death penalty. Moreover, other causes of complaint - many and divers grite crymes and offences - had piled up against him since 1537; and finally, in a Justice ayre held in Aberdeen in July, 1552, he had been bound over, under a penalty of £2000, "to remoue himself furth of this reigne and to remane furth of the same in all yme cuming." This, however, Lynturk had refused to do: and now at last the Privy Council took the matter in hand. Strachan was forced to appear before their lordships; and it is typical of the weakness of the arm of the law, that a kind of formal treaty on equal terms was drawn up between this choice scoundrel and his sovereign, by which he bound himself to pick up and clear out within forty days "wynd wedder and schipps servand", on condition that he now received a final

comprehensive pardon for all his many crimes, beginning with that ancient one of "the treasonable burning of the Place of Kyldrimmy". To this illuminating document the two contracting parties set their signatures - the high-minded Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, and 

A "JOHNNIE STRUCHIN of Laneturk with my hand"

- that hand red with the blood of so many slaughters, tool of a mind so charged with rancour and venom.

According to Buchanan, John Strachan withdrew to Paris and lived there many years, steeped in every sort of villainy.

Of Lynturk Castle, the cradle of so much dastard plotting, little but the site now remains. The ditch enclosing an area about 125 feet in diameter, may still be traced all round, and behind the plain substantial old farm house which now stands within the enclosure there remains one fragment of masonry, showing a plastered wall recess. Ancient stones have been re-used both in the farm steading and in the ruined Secession church, hard by, which bears the date 1762.

In the steading is preserved part of an ordinary sixteenth century gunloop, with circular orifice. Near the castle there


2. Compiuros annos Luteciae vixit, adeo foede et nequiter, ut nullum in eo grimen incrediible esset, Buchanan, op. cit., bk. XIV, chap. 53.
was formerly a chapel. Lynturk is a lush and lovely spot, and amid such natural beauty it is hard to believe that the place has been the seed-bed of so much human iniquity.

During those years took place the celebrated raids of the landward barons upon the town of Aberdeen - in 1525 that of the four Garioch lairds, the Holies of Leslie, Warde and Balquhain, and Alexander Seton of Meldrum (he who was afterwards murdered by Strachan of Lynturk); and in 1530 the attack made by the Forbeses of Brux and Pitsligo. These events, however, belong more properly to the burghal history of Aberdeen, rather than to this present chronicle of Mar. More to our purpose is the dispute which developed between Lord Forbes and the Earl of Huntly about the grazing rights on Corrennie Forest. This hill belonged, as it still belongs, to the estate of Cluny, then (as now) in Gordon hands. Some claim upon the lands appears, however, to have been entertained by William Forbes of Corsindae, who sought to enforce them by a midnight raid, involving fire raising and destruction of "poynd-faldis" and other enormities. Lord Forbes was abroad at the time, and in his father's absence the Master wrote a letter to the Earl of Huntly, dated 12th July, 1533, disclaiming all


2. For the two raids and their antecedents see W. Watt, Hist. Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 121-5.
knowledge of the outrage, and offering on behalf of the Forbes tenantry "to enter and thole ane assise in your lordships court at Cluny." Unimportant enough in itself, the quarrel is of interest as revealing how in the void that had been created in Mar by the collapse of the ancient Earldom the two great families, Forbeses and Gordons, are jockeying for position in a decisive trial of strength that could not be long delayed.

Aligning, as it inevitably did, these rivals upon different sides, the outbreak of the Reformation struggle lifted their warfare on to a higher plane. The first sign of the gathering religious storm in Mar was the burning of the Kirk of Echt, shortly before 1558. At the same time, we are told, there had been "casting down of images" at certain places within the diocese of Aberdeen, including, it would seem, the churches of Aberdeen, Banchory-Ternan, Kinnernie, Midmar, Auchindoir and Kearn. But with this solitary exception, the inhabitants of Mar and the Garioch seem for the most part to have been indifferent to the religious change, and there is no sign of the rabid fanaticism which was so conspicuous on the sunward side of the Mounth. Though Lord Huntly played a waiting game, his sympathies were with the ancient faith, and thus the whole weight of the Gordon family was thrown in on

the side of the *status quo*. Moreover, so far as greed of the
curch's lands played its part in determining the attitude of
the local lairds, in a great many cases the latter had already
obtained control of these. This happened, for example, in
the case of the only monastery within the bounds of Mar,
Monymusk. By the sixteenth century the affairs of this
Priory, as in many other Scottish convenual houses, had got
into a bad way, and the records of the years 1534-6 reveal
that Prior David Fairlie and his subordinates were parted by bitter and protracted strife. Nor were the material
possessions of the partnership in happier case. In two writs,
dated respectively 17th March, 1549 and 9th December, 1550,
the conventual buildings are stated to be "now in ruins",
and "ruinous and almost levelled to the ground." A third
document, dated 11th July, 1554, informs us more precisely
that the monastery is "alluterlie brint exceptand ane part thairof als distroyit with fyre thocht negligence of the said
Priour and his servandis." This document relates that at a
Justiciary Court held in Aberdeen, Prior John Elphinstone had
been ordered to "cause referall and bete" the desolated

documents are translated in full by W. M. Macpherson, Materials
for a History of the Church and Priory of Monymusk, pp. 169-78.
2. Collections Shires Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 179, 182.
3. Coadjutor Prior with David Fairlie from 1542.
monastery. That a certain amount of restoration had been
effected seems to be indicated by the words of the document,
which states that Prior John had been directed to "caus vpholdt
the divine service quhilk of veritie is better donne and ma
nevmer is put thait to nor wes thir ten yeris bygane."
Such a revival of divine service necessarily implies a restor-
ation of the chancel; and it is in accordance with the record
that the chancel of Monymusk Church (now the Grant burying
place) bears evidence of partial rebuilding in the sixteenth
century, including a south window of this date.

Amid these embarrassments the Austin canons had got
themselves into debt. In security for moneys advanced by
Duncan Forbes of Corsindae towards repairing the buildings,
they had pledged the lands of their monastery lying within
Monymusk parish, by a deed bearing date 17th March, 1549.
Once established in the priory lands, the Forbeses were not
to be dislodged. In 1550, Prior Elphinstone was brought to
trial for murder, theft, adultery, and violent assault upon the

2. Province of Mar, p. 110.
3. Collections, ut supra, pp. 179-80. This deed specifically
states that some restoration of the monastery had actually
taken place: "magna pecunie summa .... in utilitatem
dicti nostri loci et Monasterie sune ruinisi convirtenda
et dias cenisvae, pro edictione et restauratione evisdem."
Rector of Methlick with "roungis" and "battounis", "within the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen where he was for the time 1 celebrating matins and divine service." In or after 1584, the last Commendatory Prior, Robert Forbes, handed over the ruinous buildings to his kinsman, William Forbes of Monymusk, son of Duncan the first laird. The deed of gift recites "that the place and monastery of the said Priory of Monymusk is now almost ruined and waste, so that there is no residence or house fit for habitation for the present at the said monastery." In conveying the property to William Forbes - described as "feudatory of the lands of the manor of Monymusk" - the deed provides for the foundation and maintenance of a school (gymnasium) "for instructing boys in honourable studies and literature." It is hardly necessary to state that this laudable proviso was never implemented. Instead, Forbes is said to have built himself, partly out of the ruins of the abandoned priory, the tall and massive L-shaped tower which still forms the nucleus of the present House of Monymusk. Probably therefore it is no coincidence that an ambry in the old tower displays the defiant words LATYATISAY 3 - part of

1. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. I, p. 356. Prior Elphinstone was also Parson of Invernochty (one of the families impropriated to Monymusk), and, as such, a Canon of Aberdeen.

2. "Chartour of the ruinose hous of Monymusk be Robert Commendatour" - Collections, ut supra, pp. 184-5.

the scornful reply which, a few years later, the Earl Marischal was said to have flung in the teeth of those who criticised him for his share in the Church's spoiling. Unlike the laird of Monymusk, however, the Earl did found his gymnasium - Marischal College, of which his proud retort became the motto:

"THAY HAIF SAID : QUHAT SAY THAY : LAT THAME SAY!"

The foregoing transactions may serve as an excellent example of the way in which, even before the formal Reformation, the Church's patrimony was passing, with the connivance of Churchmen themselves, into the hands of powerful landowners. But the share which the Forbeses obtained of the loot was as nothing compared with that grabbed by their rivals. The Gordons had the advantage of being in control of the dynamo, for the Bishop of the time was William Gordon, a son of the third Earl of Huntly. The character of this right reverend prelate, and the part which he played in dissipating the revenues of his diocese, is set forth with old-time bluntness by Archbishop Spottiswood:

"This man, brought up in letters at Aberdeen, followed his studies a long time in Paris, and returning thence, was first parson of Clat, and afterwards promoted to the See. Some hopes he gave at first of a virtuous man, but afterwards turned a very epicure, spending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapidated the whole rents by feuing the lands, and converting the victual-duty in money, a great part whereof he wasted on his base children and the whores their mothers."

It is in accordance with this verdict that the Register of the Diocese in Bishop Gordon's time contains a long series of charters and assedations of kirklands and revenues, mostly to Gordons and members of the vast Gordon connexion. In this way the lands of Tillyangus passed into the hands of the Gordons of Auchindoir, and those of the Ancient Celtic monastery of Clova into the ownership of the Lumsdens, who still enjoy them. Lands in Clatt and Towie went to another Gordon, and the Kithes of these in a third. To Leslie of Balquhain were made over the episcopal place and its lands of Fetternear. Knockespock and Terpusie, both very ancient churchlands, became the cradles of fresh and vigorous branches of the prolific stem of the Gordons. And so the merry game went on. In the Garioch, the great inheritance of Lindores Abbey was dispersed in much the same way. The last Abbot was the celebrated John Leslie, of the Balquhain family, afterwards Bishop of Ross, the historian of Scotland and champion of Queen Mary. So it came about that the Leslies obtained control of Insch, Christ's Kirk, Hedderlick, and other lands in the western Garioch. In 1600 Patrick Leslie, commendator of Lindores, obtained a grant of the possessions of the Abbey as a temporal barony; and finally, in 1625 the old "northern abbacy", that is, the lands of Fintray, and those others in the Garioch not already alienated,

1. Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1593-1608, No. 1032.
were separated from the Regality of Lindores and erected into a barony which was granted to William Forbes of Craigievar, 1. the ancestor of Lord Sempill its present owner. Thus was the munificent donation of the pious Earl David dissipated and loss to the Church for ever.

The plunder of the Church's patrimony is an ugly feature of the Reformation. But in awarding blame, let us not forget how great a share of the looting was carried out on the initiative or with the connivance of high-placed dignitaries of the Church herself.

From its headquarters in Strathbogie the mighty House of Gordon was pushing its tentacles far and wide throughout Mar, powerfully aided by the control which, as we have seen, it exercised through a Gordon bishop over the lands and revenues of the diocese. It seemed as if naught could withstand the growing dominance of the Earl of Huntly, whom his

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1. Ibid., 1620-33, No. 780. 2. In 1561 the Privy Council issued a special proclamation against the indiscriminate feuing of Kirklands, which tended as the great house nocht onlie of the Queen's Majesty, but also of the pure tenants thairof" - Register of the Privy Council: Vol. I, p. 162. The author of the Pinnall of Occurrents says (p. 269): - "In all this tyme, all kirk_mennis goods and geir was spoulyeit and refr fra thame, in everie place quhair the samyne culd be apprehendit; for everie man for the maist pairt that culd get any thing pertenyng to any kirkmen, thocht the same as wele wan geir."
contemporaries saluted as the "Cock o' the North". Well might the French ambassador in 1559 advise the Queen Regent to clip the wings of this overmighty subject. And doubtless it was with this end in view that in 1562 Queen Mary raised up a counterfort to the Gordon chief on his own territory by reviving the Earldom of Mar in favour of her half-brother, the Lord James Stewart, and handing over to him such of the territories of the old Earldom, in Braemar, Strathdee and Cromar, as had not been alienated during the century or more in which the earldom had been under Crown control. The Earl of Huntly's reaction to this challenge was instantaneous. Its result was Civil War in Mar.

The circumstances under which the young Queen Mary, to whom all the Roman Catholics in Europe looked as the instrument through whom God would bring Scotland back into her allegiance to the ancient faith, began her reign by ruining her foremost Roman Catholic subject, can be understood only by some little consideration of the high state policies of the time. Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland was welcome alike to Catholics and Protestants. The former expected her to overthrow Knoxian Calvinism and restore the old Church. Her French upbringing and kinship with the Guises were taken as guarantees that she would support the Papal cause. On the other hand the Protestant party counted that the young Queen, unversed in Scottish affairs, would be forced to rely upon her

half-brother, the Lord James Stewart, the leading supporter of the Reformation. Her prospects of the English Crown, it was considered, would draw her to Protestantism. As a matter of fact, although Mary herself was an acknowledged Catholic, the latter point was the guiding motive of the policy which she had already schemed out for herself. If in the long years of her subsequent captivity circumstances forced her into the roll of a champion and finally a martyr of the Church of Rome, her attitude towards the schism seems to have been, so long as she remained free and ruler of Scotland, that of the French politiques. She valued her chance of wearing the Crown of a united British Kingdom far more than the faith of her ancestors. For the present, she would keep her intentions to herself. She would not challenge the Knoxian Reformation, though it had been carried through in her despite and with blatant illegality. Still less would she adopt an attitude of hostility to the old religion. A policy of toleration would best serve her purpose, till she had found her feet and taken the measure of the political situation.

For some time Mary persisted in her cautious attitude, despite increasing difficulties. Her Council included Protestant leaders like her half-brother, as well as Catholic stalwarts such as Huntly, 

But it soon became clear that such a via media could not be maintained amid the vast forces which were clashing around the young Queen. If she was resolved to
clear her path to the English throne, it could only be by way of Protestantism. Pressure indeed might be brought upon Elizabeth by claiming not to be her heir, but the rightful holder of the sceptre which the schismatic Henry's bastard daughter had usurped. But such a frontal attack upon Elizabeth's legitimacy could be made only from a Catholic standpoint, and would array against her rival the whole force of English Protestantism. Better for Mary to abstain from any mention of her claim to Elizabeth's throne, and to woo her favour, and the confidence of the English Protestants, by a sympathetic policy in her own realm. So the pressure of circumstances drove the Scottish Queen into an anti-Catholic attitude.

Such were the high grounds of policy underlying Mary's surprising treatment of her foremost Catholic subject. Even before she landed in Scotland, Huntly had promised her 20,000 men if she would boldly champion the ancient faith and move to restore Protestantism. After her arrival he continued pressing Mary to declare for Rome, and it soon became apparent to the young Queen that his attitude and activities were jeopardising her hopes of the English succession. Until she could prove herself disassociated from his policy, Elizabeth would turn a deaf ear to all her proposals. Another reason for Huntly's ruin was the personal hatred of the Lord James. Already Earl of Mar, he lusted after the even richer Earldom
of Moray, the title of which was vacant, while its broad acres were mostly under Huntly's control.

The Gordon chief's defiant bearing provided an easy pretext for action against him. So in the month of August, 1562, the queen and her half-brother, with most of her nobility and a powerful force, set out for the north. On the last day of the month the English ambassador, Thomas Randolph, reports to Cecil that the queen in her progress has come as far as "Oolde Aberdine", the bishop's seat and also where the University is, or at least one college with fifteen or sixteen scholars. Next day she rode out to the Castle of Balquhain, where she spent the night. It is said that on the following morning she heard Mass in the Chapel o' Garioch.

As the historian of the Garioch has well remarked:

"The royal visit formed a fitting close to the two centuries of aristocratic history belonging to the little tabernacle - erected by the heroic Christian Bruce, first Lady of the Garioch, on the high place of her regality. Its services had always been associated with the memory of the great; and of those who were ambitious of mixing among the great, though it were but in prayers for the weal of their disembodied spirits."

Meantime the Earl of Huntly had shut himself up in his strong castle of Strathbogie. By-passing the impregnable fortress, the queen and her half brother continued their march

by Rothiemay to Morayland, and to Darnaway Castle, its capital messuage, the Lord James was formally inducted into the Earldom of his desires. Inverness Castle, of which Huntly was Constable, was held against the Queen by his deputy, but was taken and its captain hanged for his pains. When this news reached Huntly, he resolved that the breach between himself and his royal mistress could be closed only by force of arms. There was, so he thought, "no other way but execute his determination, or be utterly undone." An attempt to ambush the Queen on her return journey miscarried, and on 22nd September Mary was back in Old Aberdeen. Next day she entered the New Town, where, Randolph reports, she was very honourably received with many tokens of welcome, "as well in spectacles, plays, interludes, and other as thei coulde beste devise."

Vigorous measures were now taken against the recalcitrant Earl. He was denounced as a rebel, and an attempt to seize him at Strathbogie Castle just failed: he escaped by the postern gate "without boote or swerde", retired to his Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, assembled there a body of 700 men, and with this handful boldly advanced on Aberdeen "with purpose to apprehend the queen and do with the rest at his will." On the 28th October he was encamped by the Loch of Skene, his little force having now grown to the number of 800.

2. Ibid., p. 42, 662.
3. Diurnall of Occurrents, p. 73.
On the same day the Earls of Moray, Atholl and Montrose, at the head of an army stated by Randolph to be about 2000 strong, marched out from Aberdeen against him. Resistance against such odds was hopeless, and so Huntly drew off westward and sought safety in the high ground of the Hill o' Fare. His retreat of about six miles, no doubt by Garlogie and Cullerlie, was harassed by the royal vanguard, led by the Earl of Troll, Lord Forbes, and Leslie of Balquhain, and including less than a hundred cavalry; but he succeeded in extricating himself and by the early afternoon had taken up a strong position overlooking the Burn of Corrichie, which descends from the Central saddlebank of the Hill of Fare. The scene of the battle is a green moss, through which flows the tiny stream, while round about it rise, in a giant circle of watchers, four of the principal summits of the great mass of pinkish grass into which a writer of 1725 quaintly describes as "the Hill of Fair, a very beautifull hill, and commodious for the country, having a fine soil for fewel, and stored with a great many fine wetters, that stay in it summer and winter." On this October afternoon, the placid browsings of the wetters roar were to be disturbed by the roar of battle echoing among the heat-clad hill tops.

When the royal vanguard had thus brought the enemy to bay at Corrichie, word was sent back to the Earl of Moray, who

hurried after with the main body. Most of these were levies from the Lothians, to whom this warfare amid the high and heathered hills of Mar can scarcely have been congenial.

At three in the afternoon the battle was joined, and by four o'clock all was over. At eleven on that same night Randolph sat down in his quarters at Aberdeen and sent off to Cecil his first brief account of the victory, of Huntly's tragic death, and of how his two sons had arrived in the town as prisoners. Five days later, having gathered further particulars, the English ambassador sent his chief a second letter, which still remains our fullest account of the battle. In this letter he tells us that

"They had encamped on the top of a hill, where horse could hardly come to them, and were driven by shot of harquebus into a low mossy ground where the horse dealt with them a good space, at length forcing them into a corner, where by reason of the hill and marshy ground they could not escape."

From this it looks as if the Gordons, retreating along the southern skirts of the broad mountain mass, had been forced by the ceaseless harrying of the royal vanguard to take post on top of Berry Hill (765 ft.), the nearest accessible summit, which overlooks the valley of the Corrichie Burn from the east. But the musketeers, climbing the steep slopes, so plied the enemy with shot that they were driven off the crest and down into the valley, and so at last right up it to the final cul-de-sac between Craigrath (1429 ft.) and Blackdeeds (1422 ft.), where the main action took place. The Forbeses, Leslies and

1 See the letter in *Cal. Scottish Papers*, vol. I, pp. 662-5.
Erroll men, pursuing them up the glen, were turned upon and fiercely beset by the Gordons, who drove them some way down the hill. Mary, says Randolph, cast away their spears ready to run. He hints at treachery, and this is not unlikely, as some of the northern lairds may not have wished to see Huntly pushed to extremity. After all, Lord Forbes was the Earl's son in law, and Balquhain had until recently been in his following. The charge of false play is echoed more distinctly by the author of the Diurnall of Occurrents, who roundly asserts that the purpose of the Aberdeenshire men's flight was to disorder the ranks of the Lothian troops coming up behind, "to the effect the tale of Huntlie mycht have obtainit the victorie." And in the narrative of George Buchanan the tale of dirty work is elaborated in a very picturesque fashion. The vanguard, so he tells us,

"as they were advancing towards the enemy, gave evident tokens of treachery, putting boughs of heath in their caps (for that plant grows in abundance in those parts) that they might be known by the enemy. When they came nearer, the Huntlys, secure of the success, hasten to them, and seeing the ordered army disordered by the traitors, and put to flight, that they might more nimbly pursue them, they threw away their lances, and with their drawn swords, to terrify those ranks that stood, they cried out, treason, treason, and poured in with great violence upon the enemy." 2.

1. Diurnall, ut supra, p. 74.

2. Buchanan's History, bk. XVII, chap. 40. I quote the Aberdeen translation of 1771, p. 274. In the ballad the incident of the heather whimsies is transferred to the Gordons, a large party of whom under the laird of Haddo, are represented as deserting Huntly.
Simulated or not, the flight of the Aberdeenshire levies was arrested by the steadiness of the men of Lothian, who "staid fermlie still", and when the wild surge of the Gordon charge burst upon their ordered ranks, broke it with levelled pikes. The attackers, in the vivid phrase of the Diurnall, were "put upoun thair bakkis with spieris." According to David Hume of Godscroft, the steadiness of the pikemen was chiefly due to the spirited action of William Douglas, the laird of Kemnay (afterwards ninth Earl of Angus) "No horses, my lords!" he cried, when some of the leaders looked round anxiously behind them for their mounts, thinking to save themselves by flight; "no horses and we are strong enough for Huntly!"

As the Gordons recoiled, Murray gave the order for a counter attack, and so stoutly set on the enemy, says Randolph, that "incontynente" they gave place. More than 120 prisoners were taken, and eleven score or thereabout slain. Huntly's whole company, according to the ambassador's information, was not above 500. The manner of the Earl's death is thus told in Randolph's first dispatch:-

"Withowte ether blowe or stroke, beinge sette upon horse backe before hym that ins his taker, sodenlie fawlette from his horse starke dedde, without worde that he ever spoke after he was upon horse backe."

According to the Diurnall,

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"the said erle of Huntlie was tane be ane Andro Reidpeth, one of our soverane ladies gaird, quha put him vpone his horse to have brocht him to the quenis majestie; bot howsein he was set vpoun horsback, incontinent thairefter he bristit and swelt, sua that he spak not ane word, bot deceissit." 

The gruesome sequel belongs to Scottish history. Three days after the battle, Sir John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen - according to Buchanan in the Queen's presence and despite her tears. His brother Adam, a lad of seventeen, was spared for a career extraordinary even by the standards of his family. We shall meet him more than once again in this narrative.

Upon the dead Earl's pickled body, standing upright in its coffin, the Scottish Council, solemnly sitting in judgment in Edinburgh six months later, pronounced the doom of forfeiture. So ended an unhappy story:-

"Murn, ye heighlands, and murn, ye heighlands! 
I trow ye ha'e meikle need;
For the bonnie burn o' Corichie
His run this day wi' bleid."

But now thi day maist waefu' cam!
That day the quine did greit hir fill;
For Huntley's gallant, stalwart son
Wis heidit on th' heidin hill.

1. It is said that on realising his defeat Huntly noted what the battle ground was called, and being told, cried out the name three times:- "Corrichie, Corrichie, Corrichie! God be merciful unto me!" A Highland witch had once told him he should die at Corrichie; both had taken the name to be Crichie, near Inverurie, a place he regularly passed by, and for fear of the oracle always shunned, on his way in from Strathbogie to Aberdeen. The story is told by Hume of Godscroft.

2. Regina nestrum ejus cum multis lacrimis spectavit.
Fyve noble Gordons wi' him hangit were
Upon thi samien fatal playre;
Cruel Murray gart thi waeful' quine loke out,
And see her loves and liges slayne.

I wis our quine had better frinds
I wis our countrie better peice;
I wis our lords wid na discord
I wis our weirs at hame may qoise!''

For Mar, the "weirs at hame" were only beginning, and
the full penalty was now to be exacted for the wanton destruction, by the Stewart Kings, of the ancient Earldom. That the mistake which James I had made was now being realised by the young Queen Mary and her advisers seems to be clearly shown by the fact that, though the Earldom had been conveyed to her half-brother so recently as 1562, the Queen now, on 23rd June, 1565, at long last gave legal acknowledgment to the claim of the Erskines by conferring upon John, sixth Lord Erskine, the titles of Earl of Mar and Lord of the Garioch, together with the lands of Strathdon, Braemar, Cromar and Strathdee—or what of them, we must suppose, had escaped the general alienation of the territorium of the old Province. This charter of restitution is a remarkable document. It begins by reciting the claim of Lord Erskine as the undoubted legitimate heir of the Countess Isabella, and goes on to say that his predecessors had been wrongly deprived of it, partly by the chance indictment of juries, partly by the unjust opposition and impediments raised by ill-disposed regents and royal
officials. As Kildrummy Castle, the chief seat of the Earldom, was now in Lord Elphinstone's hands, the ancient manor of Migvie was declared to be the place where sasine should be given in respect of Mar, and the Castle of Dunnideer for the lordship of the Garioch. That Queen Mary was so sincerely convinced of the injustice of her ancestors we need not too hastily assume. But the lesson of the recent rising was of plain for all to read. The power of the Earls of Huntly was only for the moment scotched; the tension between the Forbeses and the Gordons had certainly not been eased by Lord Forbes' part in the campaign; and it might well be hoped that an Earl of Mar of the ancient line, restored to his local status and endowed with what remained of his patrimony, might be a bulwark of law and order, and of the royal supremacy, in the distracted lands beyond the Mounth.

Migvie Castle, which makes the last of its few appearances in history upon this occasion, was the capital messuage of the lordship of Cromar. It occupies an important and commanding position on the east of the old north road leading from Aboyne by Boltinstone to Strathdon. The Castle is first
mentioned in a charter of William, Earl of Mar, 23rd February, 1268, granting to the church of Migvie an acre of land on the south side of the same between the church and the castle of Migvie for a manse to the vicar or chaplain serving the same. A charter of David II, 26th May, 1362, confirms a grant by Thomas, Earl of Mar, to William de Camera (Chalmers) of the land of Easter Ruthven in Cromar for the service of three suits yearly at the Earl's head courts held in Migvie. These head courts are mentioned again in a charter of 2nd May, 1435. A very interesting charter by Earl Thomas, in 1358, grants to Duncan, son of Roger, the lands of Abergeldie and others in the lordship of Strathdee for three suits yearly at the Earl's head courts "at the stone of Migvie in Cromar." In all probability this was the very fine stone with a plaitwork cross and Pictish symbols carved in relief, which was found in the walls of the old church in 1861, and now stands on the west side of the kirkyard. On the break up of the Mar Earldom in the fifteenth century, Migvie passed into the hands of the Rutherfords of Tarland. In 1452 the rents were drawn by Lord Huntly. It is very doubtful whether the formal provision

4. Province of Mar, Plate 57.
in the charter of 1565 implies that the Castle was habitable at that period. More probably, the place, like Kindrochit, the other Mar castle on Deeside, had long since fallen into decay.

The site of the castle is on top of a hillock rising from level ground to the east and south, and on the west defined by the Burn of Migvie. Northward the ground descends to a hollow through which runs the Tarland-Tillypronie road. Here lay the acre granted to the vicar in 1268. On the other side of the road stands the parish church, in its present form dating from about 1770. Behind the church, the ground rises rapidly to the long ridge of bare heathland that forms the watershed betwixt Dee and Don. To the south, the castle commands a magnificent view over Strathdee and the Howe of Cromar. The castle stance is now an elevated tump, rough and broken, covered with brown and coarse grass, amid which the foundations of the building are involved with a farm road, ditches and dykes, and in part covered by a wooden parish hall. So far as can be ascertained in such conditions, these foundations seem to disclose an irregular angled curtain wall without flanking towers. In the only place where this wall is clearly exposed, it is seen to be six feet thick, built of massive boulder facings with a core of grouted pebbles. The site does not in any way specially suggest a motte, and it is not impossible, therefore, that these remains
may represent a thirteenth-century castle of enceinte of a simple type.

Here we leave the Middle Ages behind us, something must be said about the wonderful autumnal flowering of ecclesiastical art that marked the half-century before the Reformation in our Province. It is probable that this efflorescence owed much to the school of architecture established by Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar in connexion with their great building works at Aberdeen — King's College; the central tower, the rebuilt choir and the western spires of St. Machar's Cathedral, its splendid and unique heraldic ceiling, and Dunbar's own stately tomb in the south transept; the Chaplains' Court and the Bede House in the Chanonry; the Snow Kirk; Greyfriars'; the new choir of St. Nicholas'; the Chapel of St. Ann without the Gallowgate Port; and the "noble wark" of the Bridge of Dee. In the hinterland, the artistic impulse thus generated found its chief manifestation in the richly sculptured stone sacrament houses, of which three perfect examples survive in our Province at Kinkell, Kintore and Auchindoir, with the fragments of a fourth at Dyce. Under the two prelates, the prime mover in this artistic drive was the scholarly and cultured Alexander Galloway, Parson of Kinkell and Rector of King's College; "a good man, and a priest; warm-hearted, open handed, liberal and managing; one of the brotherhood of artistic men; and a deviser of liberal things, by which
It is at this moment - just about the end of the Middle Ages - that we meet with what seems to be the earliest surviving rent-roll from our Province. It is preserved among the muniments at Castle Forbes, and is entitled:

"The RENTALE of ane Nobill and Mitty LORDE WILLIAM LORD FORBES, maid in the zere of God ane thousand five hundreth fifty two zeris, of all his Lands as aftir followis pticularlie, and to Indure for V zeris."

The names of every tenant and details of his holding and rent are given and from the title it appears that the holdings were let on a five years' lease. They are computed by "ploughgates" and "oXgangs" - that is, the amount of ground worked by eight oxen and a single ox respectively.

On entering, each tenant had to pay a "grassum", or lump sum in cash. The yearly rents were payable partly in "maill" or money, partly in kind - meal, malt, wheat, oats, cows, swine, wethers, lambs, kids, poultry, butter and peats - and partly in specified days of labour upon the demesne land. In addition to the last, "due service" was exacted in a large number of cases. By this phrase are implied such occasional works as helping to repair the lord's mill or to clean out the mill-lade, or thatching the lord's barns or byres. The very miscellaneous character of the receipts which were thus ingathered into the "laigh biggings" and coffers of Drumminor may be understood from the summary given of the rents from the baronies of Forbes and Alford:

"Sum tolis. of Forbes and Alford.

Sum of grassume fourscore aughtine £.
Mail fourscore threttene £ XV's. iiiij d.
malt fivescore three bollis.
Quauhit four bollis.
Item vj£ money for twa custome ky.
Ane swyn.
Thretty-twa veddirs."
Sax lamis.

twenty-five dosane and sax caponis.

thretty pultre.

t Twenty leitt peittis."

Some of the leases were held by what is known as "steelbow" tenure—that is, the laird found the stock and equipment, recoverable when the tenant "flitted". For example, on Bithnie (at the foot of Callievar, opposite Kirkton of Forbes):—

"Memorandum, yt ye tennentts of yis towne his of my Lordis, to ye lawboring of ye ground xxxij bollis aitts, viij bollis bere, and viij oxin, prysit to xiiij£ xv s."

In other cases, the laird advanced his tenants money to enable them to stock their farms. So in the Howe of Alford:—

"Memorandum, ye tennentts of Carnaverane ressavit fra my Lord viij£ to by oxin, and saill pay ye sam agane at yair furthpassing."

The wages and prices disclosed by this rent roll are of high interest, and would repay investigation by an economic historian. It is interesting to find that on Donside the value of a cow was £3, but only £2 on Deeside. This provides a gloss upon the ancient rhyme:—

"The river Dee for fish and tree
The river Don for horn and corn."

For the general historian, a remarkable feature is the predominantly Lowland character of the tenants’ names. Even in such an upland parish as Forbes, the names are Mitchell, Emslie, Warrack, Forbes, Wilson, Gibson, Clerk, Sheriff and Walker. Only in Abergairn, a distinctly Highland parish, do we get a mild infusion of Macalisters, Macintyres, and the like. 1.

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1. The Forbes Rent Roll of 1552 was published in the Banffshire Journal of 31st. Oct., 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th. November, 1878; reprinted thereafter in pamphlet form. It was summarised in Ant. Shires Aberdeen and Banff, Vol. IV, pp. 425-6. See also Cosmo Innes, Scottish Legal Antiquities, Vol. VI, pp. 1-6 (where the date of the rental is wrongly given as 1532).
his figure stands secure in its own niche to this day." Of our sacrament houses, perhaps the finest is that at Auchindoir, which takes the form of a monstrance. The Kinkell sacrament house bears Galloway’s initials and the date 1524. It is a remarkable composition, and appears to owe much to Galloway’s direct personal inspiration. The latest of our group is the one at Kintore, which stands at the stylistic crossroads. It is framed by pure Renaissance balusters, yet the panel with two angels displaying a monstrance is a most refined and lovely essay in the traditional Gothic.

The connexion between art and ritual needs no demonstration, and our late medieval burgeoning of Gothic art in Mar found a point of contact with the Mass of the Five Wounds of Christ, a votive Mass that had a great vogue in the north-east of Scotland in the early years of the sixteenth century. So, on a number of buildings of about this time, we find the Arme Christi, a shield displaying the Five Wounds, or the Instruments of the Passion. The Five Wounds - the Pierced Heart, the Pierced Hands, and the Pierced Feet - may still be

1. From Dr. Kelly’s study of Alexander Galloway, to be published shortly by the University of Aberdeen.
3. Dr. Kelly, ut supra.
5. In heraldic language: A Heart between two Hands expanded and wounded, and as many Feet, trunked at the ankle, and wounded in the like manner; all placed saltierwise and proper.
faintly traced on Bishop Dunbar's monument in St. Machar's Cathedral, despite the zeal of the Master of Forbes, who, on 5th August, 1640, "causit ane mesoun strik out Christis armes hewn in wark, on ilk end of bishop Gavin Dunbaris tomb . . . .
Bot this diligent collonell, maister of Forbes, keipit not place long tyme thair effer, bot wes schortlie cassiviet."

The Arme Christi are also painted on the ceiling of the chapel in Sir George Skene's house ("Cumberland House") in the Guestrrow at Aberdeen. The Five Wounds, displayed on a shield by an angel, very beautiful, may be seen on the outside of Castle Fraser; while on the northern border of Mar they occur on a corbel-cap at Craig Castle, in the parish of Auchindoir.

And in the old parish church of Auchindoir, there was formerly a shield, now known only in a plaster cast, which displays, with exceptional elaboration, the Instruments of the Passion;— the cross surmounted by the Crown of thorns in the centre, having the spear and the rod with the spurge disposed about it saltier-wise, while on either side are grouped the lantern by whose light they took Him, the whipping post and scourges, the hammer, pincers and nails, the ladder, the seamless coat, the three dice, and the cock that crowed to Peter's shame.

3. This plaster cast, now in my possession, bears a label in the hand writing of the late Professor R. W. Reid, M.D., LL.D., a son of the Manse of Auchindoir, stating that the original was in the old church there. Another plaster cast (also in
my possession), with the same label, displays the royal arms of Scotland. These shields are not now on the church, and no other record of them seems to exist. The shield with the Passion emblems closely recalls the well known one in the Chapter house of Elgin Cathedral.
V. - RESTORATION AND RUIN.

The last period of the Earldom of Mar is that in which its history mounts to a climax. Locally, that history is made up of the struggle for supremacy between Forbeses and Gordons, in the void left by the collapse of the ancient Earldom. It is true the dignity, and what remained of the lands, had been restored in 1565 to the representative of the Celtic line. But those lands were no more than a shadow of the former territorium; and the chief castle of the Earldom, Kildrummy, with an ample lordship in Strathdon, was still in the hands of the Elphinstones. Moreover, during the interregnum the Erskines had developed paramount interests in other quarters. Their chief residence was Alloa Tower, they were hereditary guardians of the Prince of Scotland, and keepers of Stirling Castle. It is true that in 1626, after prolonged litigation, the Earl last recovered Kildrummy Castle, Lord Elphinstone accepting the sum of 48,000 merks in compensation. But the Earls of Mar continued to reside chiefly at Alloa, and to be preoccupied with affairs in the south. Thus the restoration of the Earldom, and the recovery of the wreck of its demesne, did nothing to stabilise the precarious balance, in the region north of the Mounth, between the conflicting interests and policies of the two rival families, Gordon and Forbes, which had grown to power amid its ruins.
What gives this final period in our history its dramatic interest is the fact that the strife between these rivals is caught up into, and as it were sublimated by, a far vaster struggle, in whose outcome the whole future of the country was bound up. As the young King James VI grew into manhood, it became gradually clear that behind an undignified person and a mask of conceited pedantry he possessed remarkable shrewdness and a pertinacity that carried him triumphantly through his many difficulties and gave him the most completely successful career of any member of his fated house. Above all he knew what he wanted, and did not scruple about the nicety of the means by which he got it. His great desire was to make himself master of his own kingdom, as a preliminary to pushing his claim to the English succession. The first and greatest obstacle in his path was the Kirk. Rejecting Morton's "tulchan" episcopacy in the General Assembly of 1580, the Kirk under Andrew Melville's forceful leadership developed the most exalted notions of its own prerogative, and reproduced, in a greatly aggravated form, the old Hildebrandine claim of the medieval church to superiority over the State. The pretensions of the Papacy to secular control had never greatly vexed distant Scotland; but here in the bosom of the state a dualism of authority was threatened which boded destruction to society. Claiming the inspiration of God for all their utterances, the fanatical clergy asserted their right to interfere in every department of the secular executive.
Not only did the Kirk seek to withdraw itself wholly from the power of the civil magistrate, but it claimed also to exercise a superior jurisdiction even in matters entirely outwith religion. Its pretensions were stated in unmistakable language by Melville. Snatching the King rudely by the sleeve, the furious zealot exclaimed:

"Sir, as diverse times before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member. And they whom Christ has called, and commanded to watch over His Kirk and govern His spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power of Him, and authority so to do, both together and severally: the which no Christian King nor prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist: otherwise, not faithful subjects nor members of Christ."

What made the menace of this blatant attitude more serious was the fact that the Kirk, whose pretensions assailed the foundations of public order, moved to the assault with an organisation far superior to that of the civil power. In her kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods and general assembly, she possessed an instrument of government combining centralisation with local vigour, and excelling in efficiency the feeble and undeveloped machinery of state at the disposal of the Crown.

Face to face with this ecclesiastical autocracy stood

1. "Among the medieval lumber of Parliament, Lords of the Articles and Privy Council, the Kirk stood out like a throbbing power-house among tombs" - John Buchan. Montrose, p. 51. "It gave expression to the very ancient and stubborn sense of liberty in the Scottish people, and to their jealous nationalism" - ibid., p. 56.
the opposite extreme - the Stuart monarchs, James and Charles, with their theory, held with equal intolerance, of the Divine Right of Kings. Thus a conflict was staged whose uproar fills the seventeenth century. In the event it was well for Scotland that extremes were thus opposed, for each exterminated the other, and with the eradication of both the way was opened for common sense. The revolution of 1689, which hurled the Stuarts from their absolutist throne, sounded also the death knell of pulpit domination. Confined to a smaller sphere, the Kirk was destined, for another century or more, to find an outlet for its meddlesome spirit in the petty social tyranny of parochial discipline, until this died of sheer inanity in the early nineteenth century. But in the realm of high politics, Presbyterian theocracy and Stuart absolutism, like the Kilkenny cats, fought each other to the death in the seventeenth century - at a cost of untold suffering to the Scottish nation.

In this great conflict the Forbeses and the Gordons, inevitably, were arrayed on opposite sides: and this it is that lends to their local conflicts the dignity which always insta the clash of great causes. For that King and Covenant were both great causes, in which much that is noble was enshrined, no fair-minded critic, wherever his own sympathies rest, can well deny. Despite all the follies of the Stuarts, and impossible though their continuance became, the
devotion of the best type of Royalist to the ancient dynasty remains an inspiring chapter in the human record:—

"To my true King I offered, free from stain,
Courage and faith: vain faith, and courage vain."

And, once we discard the prevailing delusion that the Covenanters were fighting a battle for freedom and tolerance—things of which they had as little notion as their antagonists—we cannot withhold our tribute to the fortitude of the man who, armed often with no weapons other than their own intense conviction, stood up, as Andrew Melville stood up before James VI, and opposed themselves to the whole power of the State: and who, if in the hour of their triumph they proved as tyrannical as their oppressors, yet remained unbroken and unbreakable in defeat and persecution—and by their rugged strength of character and their sacrifice of all to ends that were not material, have added elements of abiding value to the heritage of the Scottish people.

As an overture to the main drama we have the short but savage civil war which in the seventh decade of the sixteenth century divided Scotland between the adherents of the captive Queen Mary and those of her son, the infant King James.

1. In the Historie of King James the Sext, p. 52, we have an affecting picture of the social disintegration caused by this internecine strife:—

"The hail realme of Scotland was sa divydit in factions, that it was hard for any peaceable man, as he rayd out the hie way, to profes himself oppinlie, pther to be a favoure of the
Here again, much larger issues were in conflict than appears upon the surface. As the great reactionary movement known as the Counter-Reformation, impelled by the propelytising real and disciplined organisation of the Society of Jesus, gathered momentum in its formidable assault upon Protestantism in Western Europe; France and Spain, allies now in the cause of Rome, saw in Scotland the key to England, the arch-heretical power - whose recovery for the true faith would mean, as they well knew, the end of the Great Schism. It thus became a cardinal object of the Romanist powers to restore Queen Mary to her Crown, to overthrow the Protestant establishment in Scotland, and to advance Mary's claim to the English throne, either by the deposition or assassination of Elizabeth, or, more subtly, by obtaining the Tudor queen's recognition of Mary's succession. On her side, Elizabeth was constrained, by the same mighty clash of forces, to intervene on the side of the Scottish Protestants. So on our narrow northern stage a conflict of European import was fought out; and in the Province of Mar, the battles of Tillyangus and the Crabstane, and the grim fire of Cogarff, the mere scufflings are seen.

1. (contd.)

King or Queyne. All the people wer cassin sa lowse, and war becum of sit dissolute myddis and actions, that nayne was in accompt, bot he that could other kill or reve his nychtbour. All gude policie and law, justice and equitie was bureit; as it becumis for the maist part of all common wealthis, yea evin of privat families, that when other of thayme at destitut of their laughfull and ordinar held or governor, ilk privat person rewlis as he list, or may perforce, for his awin preferment and commoditie, without regard to nyght and reasoun."
not as family rivals, but as details in the supernatural conflict between Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation. In this conflict, it was in accordance with their family tradition and historical alignment that the Gordons should champion Queen Mary and the ancient faith, while the Forbeses threw in their lot with the Reformers and the Regency.

The battle of Tillyangus was fought on 9th October, 1671. The opponents were "Black Arthur", a brother of Lord Forbes, and the redoubtable Sir Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, whose life had been spared after Corrichie, and who now, on behalf of his brother, the Earl of Huntly, was acting as the Queen's lieutenant north of the Mounth. The scene of the battle is in the parish of Clatt, on the northern skirts of the Coreen Hills, and within a couple of miles of Lord Forbes's seat of Drumminnor. Not much is known of the antecedents of the battle, but the fact that it took place where it did argues a formidable attack by the Gordons on the Forbes homeland. Of the battle itself, our best account is given by Sir Robert Gordon, writing early in the next century. He tells us how the "hid and long rooted rancour" between the two families

1. Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 164-5.
"did in end burst forth, not onlie by following contrarie factions, duuring the rebellion against Queen Marie, but chieflie, because that John Master of Forbes (the eldest sone of the Lord Forbes) did repudiat and put away his wyff Margaret Gordoun, the Earle of Huntlie his sister, which he did by the persuasion of his uncle, Black Arthur Forbesse, who mortallie hated the Gordouns. This ather was a man of great courage, ambition, and readie to undertake anything whatsoever for the advancement and reconciliation of his familie. The Forbesses, from the first time of these civill discords in Scotland, did follow the rebellis faction; but the Gordouns did alweise remayn constantlie faithfull to the quein and her pairtie, even unto the end.

"The whole surname of Forbesse, by the persuasion of Black Arthur, had appoynted both day and place, where they should assemble together, not onlie for their owne generall reconciliation among themselves, but also to plot something against the Gordouns and the rest of the quein's favorers in these parts; whereas Adam Gordoun of Auchindoun having secret intelligence (his brother, the Earle of Huntley, being then at Edinburgh), he assembled a certane number of his kin and followers, with whom he marched forworder, to circue the proceedings and aymes of the Forbesses, who wer conveined at Tuilliangus, above Drumminor .... The Forbesses understanding that the Gordouns wer coming against them, they intrenched themselves within their camp, which they had stronglie fortified, divyding their armie in two severall companies, whereas Black Arthur Forbes commanded that which lay nixt to the Gordouns. Adam Gordoun perceaving ther order, denyed his men lykwise in two companies, whereof he gave the one to his brother, Mr. Robert Gordoun, whom he commanded presentlie to invade the one half of the Forbesses army; and Adam himself, without any stay, fiercely set upon that quarter wher Black Arthur wes. Thus they began a cruel skirmish. The Gordouns, with great courage, did break the Forbesses trenches, and run desperatlie upon the spears of ther enemies. After a sharp and obstinat conflict, couragiouslie fought in a long tyme on either syd, Black Arthur Forbesse, with divers other gentlemen of his surname and familie, were glain. The rest of the Forbesses wes overthrown, put to flight, and chased even to the gates of Drumminnor, the Lord Forbes his cheif dwelling place. No man of note or quality wes killed on Adam Gordoun his pairtie, except John Gordoun of Buckie, the father of John Gordoun of Buckie that now liveth."
In his narrative of the convention of the Forbeses which preceded the battle, Sir Robert Gordon, as he himself tells us, is following Francis Thin's continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle. Then in turn obtained his material from Buchanan. A different version is given by Robert Gordon of Straloch, in his still unpublished Latin tract entitled Origo et Progressus Familiæ Gordoniorum de Huntly in Scotia. As a local historian of acknowledged scholarship and accuracy, Straloch's account is deserving of respect. According to him, Adam Gordon was on his way to join his brother Huntly, and sent the Forbeses word that he would pass through their lands without doing them any harm; but the Forbeses waylaid him and opposed his march. This certainly agrees better with Sir Robert Gordon's story that the Gordons stormed an entrenched position. Huntly we know was in Edinburgh: and as his brother was marching south to join him, the position of the battlefield suggests that he was making for the Suie Road over the Correens to Boat of Forbes (now Bridge of Alford). A late authority tells us that the battle took place on the White Hill of Tillyangus. The White Hill is a spur of the

1. Hist. Scotland, bk. XX, chap. 64.

In a plan of the estate of Knebworth, dated 1841, in Allerton Library, the little hill is given the present name of Sir John's Camp Field.

The ancient importance of this cross-country trackway may be shown by the names Drue's Hollow, Drue's Hill, and the Peepstope stone, on the Red map mentioned above.

The ground on the plain here was Helier, part land of Totten, and buckle of this charming little castle.

Cam (1699, p. 1). The highest part of the Conno, is said to have got its name from the fact that the body of Black Arthur rested on its way across to be buried in the fields. Kindred and On the other side, Groton & Bredmore was "commonly buried in the field of Reuben." Among the remains were Helierium of Bredmore, part land of Radles.

1d Birketman, No. 11, in Honey, vol. I, p. 46.

2d Sir W. Smith, Folklore, antiquities and search local information relating to former times connected with the families of Aubin, and Bredmore, p. 17. The story is not impossible, as with Drummond in the land of the foresters. The devilish foresters could not bury Black Arthur in the field of Reuben.

1f. Birketman, No. 12, p. 57.
Correens, rising to a height of more than a thousand feet, which juts northward into the cultivated land between Gordons-toun and Tillyangus farms. The battlefield lies on the western flank of the hill, between it and the Small Burn, which flows down towards Dykenook. No doubt the Gordons were making towards the Suie Road along the ancient trackway known as Mar's Road, which passes eastward over the reverse slope of the White Hill in the direction of Knockespock. According to the same late writer:

"Arthur Forbes, brother to my Lord, defended the rear in the retreat. He was a man of remarkable bodily strength and energy, and he kept the pursuers at bay, till coming to a brook he stooped down to quench his thirst and one of the Gordons gave him his death blow through an open joint in his armour."

Black Arthur's Well, or its site, is still pointed out on the north-western side of the battlefield.

Pitscottie puts the total number engaged at 2000, and says that the Gordons captured their opponents "haill munit-ioun and horsemen, and the rest fled." This does not sound sense, unless the horsemen floundered in a moss.

The Diurnall of Occurrents gives the losses of the Forbeses as 120 slain. Buchanan adds that after their victory the Gordons plundered Drumminor, and that Lord Forbes himself,

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1. History of the Feuds and Conflicts among the Clans,
3. P. 251; cf. Historie of King James the Sext, p. 95; Bramptons Journal, 1844, gives some incredible figures: plenthe 1 Forbesoos, 200; plenthe 7 Forbesos, 1829; Forbes Lincoln, 13 or 16; Forbeses, 22."
Today there are few more pleasant places in our Province than "Tilly's angus' bloody tree". And anybody who wishes to grasp the lie of an ancient countryside, steeped in history, should walk the length of the Old Main Road from Knickerbock westward across the battlefield to munchmore.
who does not seem to have been at the battle, barely escaped in time. Although it is not stated that the castle was burned, the old tower built by John of Kemlok may have sustained damage on this occasion, and possibly that was the reason that led Lord Forbes to replace it by the existing mansion, which bears the date 1577 - five years after the battle.

The Knight of Auchindoun followed up his victory by the most atrocious deed in the history of Mar - the burning of Corgarff Castle, at that time occupied by Forbes of Towie, with his lady and her household inside it. As that fearful tragedy is fully discussed at the end of this work, I content myself here with reproducing the bald narrative of the Diurnall of Occurrents - all the more impressive for its stark simplicity:

"In this same moneth" - November, 1571 - "the said Adam Gordoun send capitane Ker to the place of Towmey, requyring the ladie thairof to randr the place of Carriegill" - Corriehoul, the desmesne lands of Corgarff - "to him in the quenis name, quhilk she wold ravages doe; quhair of the said Adame having knowledge, moist in imyr to partis hir, causit raise fyre thair intill, quhairin she, hir dauchter is and vtheris personis wer distroyit, to the nowmer of xxvij or thairby."

Both sides were now received reinforcements. The Master of Forbes marched north, with a commission as Lieutenant beyond the Mounth on behalf of the Regency, and accompanied by two

Fancies and fine things, and all that is exquisite in the arts of life. The damage they had
suffered in this passage amount, near 3,000,000 pounds sterling. The Typhoons, hurricanes, and
floods, and the earthquakes that followed, were a great deal more serious, and the destruction
of the town and the island was complete. The town was destroyed, and the island was
completely destroyed. The town and the island were destroyed. The town and the island were
destroyed. The town and the island were destroyed. The town and the island were destroyed.

bands of musketeers, a hundred in each, To Adam Gordon came troops sent down by his brother from Edinburgh. The Forbeses assembling at Brechin crossed the Cairnamouth Pass and died-descended the Dee as far as the Justice Mills, on the outskirts of Aberdeen, purposing to march round the town to Old Aberdeen. But the fiery Gordon, who had occupied the New Town and laid lower Deeside waste in the path of the advancing Forbeses, sallied forth in strength and fell upon the right flank of his marching enemy. The result of these operations was the battle of the Crabstane (20th November, 1571) - one of the best known incidents in the history of the burgh of Aberdeen. This short but obstinate conflict - "cruellie focht in for the space of ane hour" in the late autumn afternoon - resulted in a second defeat for the Forbeses, who were exhausted by a night march, and "forstousit for meit" in the ravaged countryside. The Master himself was taken prisoner, and sent first to Strathbogie, and then to Spynie Castle. Thereafter the Gordons occupied Drumminor. Hostilities between the two factions ceased only with the general pacification of 23rd February, 1573, by which Lord Huntly and his party submitted to the authority of the Regent Morton. A place put into the hands of the Lords of the Articles, in 1578, by Lord...

1. The best account of the movements preceding the battle is given by Pitscottie, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 269-70. (For Edom o' Gordon's subsequent adventures in France, see Scottish Notes and Queries, 3rd ser., vol. II, pp. 107-9.)
"And now the fleet is sunk— in the sea,
And all the peacem, all the might of Spain,
One dead, a king, and out of mourning—
Never to drag at penned ropes again—
Never to know defeat, nor feel the pain
Of watchings near companions sink and die.
Death's everlasting armature to the brain
Goes this poor fool's question; let them lie."
In May, 1588, the Counter Reformation delivered its supreme blow, and failed. The battered galleons that drifted helplessly upon her storm-beaten coast told Scotland of the catastrophe that had overtaken Philip's Invincible Armada. As in England, so in Scotland a consequent exaltation of extreme Protestant feeling brought pressure to bear upon the Crown to modify the middle course which King James had so far followed. Pledged as he now was to a Protestant policy by his alliance with Elizabeth, and secure of his ground in that quarter, the wily monarch saw the wisdom of conceding something to the Kirk. Also he had begun to realise that the turbulence of the ministers might be used as a counterpoise against the power of the great feudal magnates who more than once had held him in forcible tutelage. Already he had propitiated Protestant feeling by taking unto himself a Lutheran wife, Ann of Denmark. Now in 1592 was passed the "Golden Act", which again abolished prelatic clergy, and legalised the General Assembly, provided that the time and place of its meetings were ordained by the Crown and that a royal High Commissioner should always be present. At the same time the penal acts against the ancient faith, prohibiting the Mass and the harbouring of Jesuits and seminary priests, were reinforced with added severity.

Realising from these events that James was committed to a Protestant policy, the extremer adherents of Catholicism
nerved themselves for a desperate stroke. At their head were the Earls of Angus, Erroll and Huntly, controllers of those great northern districts of Scotland to which the cause of Protestantism had as yet made scant appeal, where the people in the main held by the old religion and resented the tyranny of the Kirk and the hectoring of its ministers. An agent writing to Philip of Spain at this time thus sets forth the state of popular feeling:

"The people generally, outside the cities, are inclined to the Catholic faith, and hate the ministers, who disturb the country with their excommunications, backed up by the power of the Queen of England, by aid of which they tyrannised even over the King and nobles. They have passed a law by which anyone who does not obey their excommunication within forty days loses his rank and citizenship. This is enforced by the aid of the dregs of the town and the English ambassador. The nobles and people are sick of this tyranny, and are yearning for a remedy."

Out of this situation arose the mysterious plot known as the affair of the Spanish Blanks. Into its details we are not called upon to enter here. Amid the long continued uproar caused by its discovery there arrived at Aberdeen Father James Gordon, whom the Catholic lords employed as their agent in Rome. With him came a papal nuncio bearing a letter to King James, exhorting him to declare his allegiance to the ancient faith, and also a supply of money to aid the Scottish Catholics. When the ship bearing this incendiary freight put

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1. William Douglas, tenth Earl of Angus, was a son of William, the ninth Earl, who had been laird of Kemnay (See supra, p. 174).
in to Aberdeen, the Provost and magistrates promptly arrested the Nuncio and commandeered his money chest and mail bags. Huntly and Erroll immediately gathered their forces and threatened to burn the town unless the nuncio and his property were restored. Faced with what was in effect armed rebellion, James felt that the principle of sovereignty was at stake. However little he liked the high-flying Presbyterians with their Hebraic frenzies, he saw that the time had come when he must join forces with them so as to crush the armed challenge of the Counter-Reformation within his gates. With those two stalwarts, Andrew and James Melville, attending him to spur his purpose, James advanced towards Aberdeen. Meanwhile the young Earl of Argyll with Lord Forbes as second in command, breaking in from the west, attacked the Catholic lords at Balrinnes in Glenlivet, and was shamefully defeated (3rd October, 1594). But the arrival of the King in person was followed by the collapse of the rebellion. The destruction of Slains and Huntly Castles, and the exile of their lords, satisfied the Kirk and vindicated royal authority.

In all these troubles, our Province of course was involved. Led by Angus, son of their chief, the Mackintoshes (Clan Chattan), who had many scores of their own to pay off against the Gordons, and as vassals of the Earl of Moray might be supposed to resent the slaughter of the "Bonnie Earl" by Lord Huntly at Donibristle, descended upon the Gordon lands in Abergeldie, Glenmuick and Strathdee and
Strathdee and laid them waste in a destructive foray, in which four Gordon lairds were killed, including Harry Henry Gordon of the Knock and the old Baron of Braichlie -

"whose death, and manner thereof, was so much the more lamented because he was verie aged, and much given to hospitalitie, and slain under trust. He was killed by them in his owne house, after he had maid them good cheir, without suspecting or expecting any such reckoning for his kyndlie entertainment, which happened the first day of November, 1592." 1

According to Deeside tradition, the murder was wrought by Farquharson of Inverey; whose clan were connected with the Mackintoshes and assisted them in the foray. The tragedy is commemorated in one of the best of our War ballads:-

"What sichin' and sobbin' was heard i' the glen,
For the Barrone of Brackley wha basely was slain.
Fare the head o' the Dee to the banks o' the Spey,
The Gordons may mourn him, and ban Inverey."

According to one authority, the lands of Glenbuchat on Strathdon were also laid waste in the same foray: but perhaps Glenbuchat is only a mistake for Glenmuick. On the other hand, another source tells us that Mackintosh after the devastation of Glenmuick "past to Strabogie", where he repeated his exploits; and in that case his route may

1. Sir Robert Gordon, op. cit., pp. 207-8. This incident must not
easily have been via Glenbuchat and the Church.

In addition to Strathbogie and Slains, the chief strongholds of the Catholic Lords, two Gordon castles in our Province were ordered to be demolished. These were 1. Abergeldie in Mar, and Newton in the Garioch. At Newton, that was then described as a "gallant house" must have been pretty drastically handled, for an entirely new edifice, of seventeenth century date, now stands in its place. But Abergeldie, though an English agent reported it "cast down", appears to have escaped more lightly, since the existing tower-house is quite certainly older than 1594. It may have been merely burnt: but I suspect that it escaped altogether because of its remoteness; or, at all events, that its stonework was left untouched owing to the difficulty of transporting kegs of powder so far. "The pretence and cullor for casting down these houses", writes Sir Robert Gordon, "was, because that in them wer harbored priests and Jesuits."

For his ancestral kingdom, the period of twenty-two years during which James VI bore the sceptre of a united Great Britain must be accounted an interval of real prosperity, coming between the wars of the Reformation and the yet more desolating wars of the Covenant. Before the event of 1603,

the wily King, by dexterously playing off the Kirk against
the baronage, had secured to himself a stronger power than
any Scottish monarch had enjoyed since the days of James I.
By removing him from Scotland, where he had so often been
the shuttlecock of factions, and still more by arming him
with all the wealth and influence of England, the Union of the
Crowns enabled James still further to extend his control
over the unruly northern realm. "This I must say for Scotland
he could assure his English Parliament in 1607, "here I sit and
govern it with my pen. I write and it is done, and by a
Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could
not do by the sword." This easy control was exercised
through the medium of the Scottish Privy Council; which,
assuming the direction at once of administrative, legislative
and judicial business, was itself nominated by the Crown,
and imposed its will upon the Estates through the machinery
of the Lords of the Articles. Thus Parliament, at its best
little more than a delegation of the land owning classes, had
no opportunity of voicing a separate interest in affairs of
state. The Scottish people as a whole were vocal only in
the General Assembly of the Kirk; and indeed the services
rendered to the nation during this period by the kirk
sessions, synods and Assembly of the Presbyterian system,
in which alone the rank and file of the people could find an
opportunity for acquiring a political sense, and skill in the
transacting of public business, were of the first importance.
Yet the unbearable theocratic pretensions of the high-flying clergy had exposed the Assembly to the just hatred alike of Crown and nobility: and profiting by this revulsion, James in alliance with the landowners had made himself master of the Kirk in the General Assembly of 1597. Every rival interest having thus been conciliated or repressed, James wielded an unchallenged authority over his Scottish subjects which his accession to the throne of England amplified enormously. And as the King, true to his instincts of paternal government, was sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of his ancestral realm, his rule of Scotland must be counted one of the most fruitful periods in her annals. He tamed the rowdy Kirk, and ventured the first steps towards an approximation of it to Anglican episcopacy in a policy which, though statesmanlike in its conception, clashed with the deepest convictions of many Scotsmen, and threatened to evoke the antagonism of the lairds, who looked upon "Presbyterian parity" as the cheapest form of ecclesiastical organisation, which would leave the greatest proportion of the spoils of the ancient church comfortably in their hands. He broached the idea of complete political unity between his two realms, although their mutual prejudices forbade its achievement. Profiting by the cessation of border wars, he reduced the mosstroopers to obedience. Extending his sway with equal vigour over the Western Isles, in the epoch-
making Statutes of Iona he took the first steps towards winning the wild clansmen for lowland law and lowland civilisation. At home under his rule Scotland enjoyed material prosperity such as she had not known for a hundred years. Abroad, the enhanced authority of the King opened to Scotsmen wider fields for their expansive energy, in the plantations of Ulster and the colonies of far-off Nova Scotia. In every respect the period of King James's rule as monarch of both kingdoms stands out in Scottish history as a gleam of light between the murk of the civil wars before and after.

In no part of the country was this Jacobean prosperity more marked than in our Province. For this there were special reasons, peculiar to the north-east of Scotland. Here in the religious question a moderate spirit prevailed, which, rejecting alike the Roman Church and theocratic Presbyterianism, found a middle course in the Episcopalian system so persistently urged by the King. In the later Middle Ages the north-east had been fortunate in not a few of its bishops, and doubtless the memory of William Elphinstone and Gavin Dunbar had not been obliterated by the misdeeds of such a wretch as Bishop Gordon. And in Bishop Patrick Forbes the post-Reformation diocese of Aberdeen was fortunate in being ruled by a prelate whose wisdom, piety and moderation contrasted as strongly with the frantic bigotry of the extremer Presbyterians, as his manly independence of character
contrasted with the painful servility which so many of the Jacobean and Caroline prelates exhibited in their dealings with the Crown. Under the patronage of the good bishop, Aberdeen became the focus of what has not unfairly been described as an Episcopalian culture, combining in itself much that was noble from the heritage of the Middle Ages, as well as much of that fine flowering of the early Renaissance which elsewhere in Scotland was nipped in the frigid blast of Calvinism. Round him the good bishop gathered the brilliant group of scholars whose learning carried the fame of the northern city into every seat of scholarship in Europe, until the "Aberdeen doctors" were scattered to the four winds by the "club-law" of the Covenant. At his invitation, Edward

1. The phrase was used by Robert Burnett, Lord Crimond, in a letter to Johnstone of Warriston, anent the expulsion by the Covenanters of Bishop Sydserf: - "And alas! Brother! what would you be at, that now when you have beggared him, and driven him by club-law out of the country, would you have him reduced to despair, and will you exact that every man, yea against his conscience, shall approve your deeds, how unjust soever ..." See Lord Hailes, Memorials and Letters relating to the Reign of Charles, I, pp. 72-5. As to the dispersion of the Aberdeen Doctors, the Parson of Rothiemay writes as follows (James Gordon, History of Scots Affairs, vol. III, p. 242: - "Thus the Assemblyes errand was throughly done; this eminent dwynes of Aberdeen, either deade, deposed, or banished, in whom fell mor learning then was left behynde in all Scotland beside, at that tyme. Nor has that citty, nor any citty in Scotland, ever since scene so many learned dwynes and scollers at one tyme together as wer immediately befor this in Aberdeene. From that tyme fordwards, learning beganne to be discountenanced, and such as wer knowing in antiquitie and in the wrytttings of the fathers, wer had in suspitione as men who smelld of poperye, and he was most esteemed of who affected novellisme and singularitie most; and the very forme of
Raban, "laird of letters" as he quaintly dubbed himself, set up in the Castlegate the first printing press in Aberdeen. To its ancient Grammar School and its two universities came the sons of the county gentry, who were no more the illiterate, rough-riding, hard-hitting, turbulent characters of the days of Alexander Stewart and Red Sir Andrew, but were coming more and more under the influence of the New Learning and of Renaissance culture. Nor was it only Aberdeen which could provide such springs of nobility with the higher education. Thus Arthur Johnston of Caskieben, one of the foremost Latin scholars and sweetest poets of his day in Europe, expressly tells us, in his own polished elegiacs, that he received the groundwork of his learning in the burgh school of Kintore:

1. (contd.)

preaching, as well as the materialis, was changed, for the most part. Learning was nicknamed human learning, and some ministers so far cryed it doune in ther pulpitts, as they wer heard to saye, "Downe doctrine and upp Chryste".

Province was Sir John Skene, of the family of Raemoir, a much-travelled lawyer and diplomat whose writings are still essential to every student of Scotch legal antiquities and constitutional history. Three of his brothers were also scholars of note: one, Gilbert, became Medeciner to James VI. It would be easy to multiply other examples of learning and talent among the old county families of Mar and the Garioch.

Amid such a cultured society it is needless to add that art flourished. In those days the Aberdeen painter George Jamesone, Scotland's first great native artist, who had studied at Antwerp under Rubens, was busy with those charming portraits of the gentry and their ladies which still look down on us in their lace and frills from the walls of so many of our ancient country houses. Ecclesiastical architecture underwent something of a revival, and the churches erected or rebuilt during this period in the north-east and marked out, by their quaint belfries, in which details derived from the old Gothic styles are combined with Renaissance elements in a most attractive way. Of these belfries, our Province possesses good examples on the old church of Insch, dated 1613; at Tullynessle, dated 1604 (re-erected in the churchyard); at Kemnay, 1632, now in the grounds of Kemnay House; at Dyce; and at Kincardine O'Neil. But most of all the artistic taste of the lairds found expression in the cluster of magnificent castellated mansions built at this time,

1. Province of Mar, Plate 67.
which give our Province a leading place in the latest
development of Scottish baronial architecture. Of these
superb buildings, more will be said later on. Yet, magni-
cficent as they are, and refined in all their artistic details,
the fact that they are all furnished with gunloops, massive
iron "yetts", and iron "grilles" securing their windows,
reminds us that there was still a dark side to society in
Mar and the Garioch in the early years of the seventeenth
century. Beneath the outward polish of these new-time lands
the elemental fires yet smouldered. And thus we have the
violent feuds between the Leiths, the Leslie Leslies, the Aber-
crombies, and other families in the Garioch which have been
so vividly recounted to us by Mr. Francis Bickley, or the
gangster fraternity known as the "Knights of the Mortar" or
"Society of the Boys", - an "infamous byke" which it took the
Scottish Privy Council three years to extirpate. These were young thugs belonging to the Forbeses, Leslies and
Mortimers, whose happy hunting grounds were chiefly in the
Cluny and Midmar districts.

Such was the many-tinted pattern of society in Mar
among which, in the year 1628, John Erskine, seventh Earl of
his line, who two years before had succeeded at long last, in
recovering Kildrummy, erected in Braemar the last castle

1. The truths of Harthill, chaps. II and III
of the Earldom. It is probable that two motives mingled in the Earl's decision to erect a strong fortalice so near the head of the Dee. In the first place, like Robert II before him he appreciated to the full the superb hunting facilities offered by the Braes o' Mar and the Cairngorm Mountains. This we know from the remarkable account left to us by the "Water Poet" John Taylor, of the hunt which he attended, as the Earl's guest, in the "Brea of Marr" in 1618. Upon the Cockney visitor the tremendous scenery of Braemar made a powerful impression. It is, he tells us,

"a large country, all composed of such mountains that Shooter's hill, God's hill, Highgate hill, Hampsted hill, Bradip hill or Malvernes hill are but mole hills in comparison, or like a liver, or a gizard under a capon's wing, in respect of the altitude of their tops or perpendiculartie of their bottomes. There I saw Mount Benawe" - Ben Avon - "with a furr'd mist upon his snowie head instead of a night cap: for you must understand that the oldest man alive never saw but the snow was on the top of divers of those hills, both in summer as well as winter."

For the space of twelve days on end, so he tells us, he wandered amid these mountains without setting eyes on

"either house, corne-field, or habitation for any creature but deere, wilde horses, wolves, and such like creatures, which made mee doubt that I should never have scene a house again."

Earl John's preoccupation with the good hunting in Braemar recurs in a charter granting certain lands in Glengairn to Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum in 1633, in which part of the

1. See P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, pp. 120-3.
reddendo is that the grantee shall provide his superior with four men and hounds when required for hunting purposes, as well as put up "lunkardis" and make "tinschellis" for this purpose. "Lunkardis" and "tinschellis" are both explained to us by Taylor. The former, he tells us, are "small cottages built on purpose to lodge in . . . . the kitchen being always on the side of a banke, many kettles and pots boyling, and many spits turning and winding, with great variety of cheere", of which there is a surprising enumeration, culminating in "most potent Aquaritae". The "tinct-hall" are thus described:— Five or six hundred men doe rise early in the morning, and they doe disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight or tenne miles compasse, they doe bring or chase in the deere in many heards (two, three, or foure hundred in a heard)."

But the fact that Braemar Castle is an extremely strong and massive fortalice makes us suspect that in building it the Earl of Mar had in view something more important than a shooting-box. During the sixteenth century, the great clan of the Farquharsons, headed by its redoubtable chief, Finlay Mar of Invercauld, who fell at Pinkie in 1547, had consolidated a formidable power in the head-water glens

1. Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1634-51, No. 99. See also the Invercauld charter, preserves/co. Aberdeenshire, in the Hermitage of Aberdour; 2. Cf. Scott's Lady of the Lake, Canto VI, xvii: "We'll quell the savage mountaineer . . . As their Tinchel cows the game" and his note thereto: "A circle of sportsman, who by sur-quantities of deer together, which usually made desperate efforts to break through the Tincheal."

See also J. Macrae, Memor.
of the Dee. They had taken part, as we saw, in the destructive foray on the Gordon lands lower down in 1592. The lesson of that raid will have been learnt, and it is clear that there was every reason for a strong Castle in Braemar, corresponding to the Tower of Corgarff in Strathdon. Kindrochit Castle had long fallen into decay. Already in the reign of James V it is said to have been "neglected and let out of repair", and probably it was uninhabited when some chance visitor lost in the "pit" of Sir Malcolm Drummond's tower the magnificent silver gilt brooch, of date \( \text{circa} \ 1500 \), which was found there during the excavations of 1925. On this brooch, which measures over three inches across, is an inscription in Old French, to the following effect: "Here am I in place of a friend". When Taylor visited Kindrochit in 1618, the castle was a mere ruin: so ruinous in fact, that the Earl of Mar ten years later decided to build a new Castle on a different site; and no doubt the older building contributed largely to the materials of its successor.

Braemar Castle is very picturesquely situated on the summit of a prominent grassy knoll, with a grand background of forest and mountain scenery, close to the south bank of the Dee, about half a mile below the village of Braemar. Since it was not built until 1628, the "house of my good Lord of Mar",

where the London poet was lodged ten years earlier, must have been some building intermediate between it and the ancient royal stronghold of Kindrochit. As we see it now, the castle is a tall, five-storeyed, turreted house of the L-plan, measuring 51 feet by 47 feet over the long sides, with a large round stair tower in the re-entrant angle. We shall see that in 1689 it was buried during Viscount Dundee’s rising. Despite proposals to restore and garrison it, both then and after the "Fifteen", it remained a ruin until 1748, when the Government obtained a lease and turned it, like its opposite number Corgarff, into a military post for suppressing the embers of Jacobitism. In the British Museum Library are the engineer’s drawings for the reconstruction then made, including a very interesting view of the building in its ruined state. The turrets are shown as of the usual late Scottish type, one storey high, and between them the constricted gables are first carried up vertically and then finished with corbie-steps. The upper part of the stair-tower is gone. Two elevations, prepared for or after the restoration, show the turrets still of one storey: they and the staircase are capped with coned roofs, the gables now have flat skews, and the chimneys bear the heavy copes of the eighteenth century. The main house is drawn a storey higher than the wing. Early in the last century the turrets and stair tower were carried up a storey and finished with their present gingerbread battlements. The interior disposition of the castle have
been a good deal altered, first to suit barrack purposes and thereafter for modern residential requirements. But the original arrangements are not obscured and have been of normal type - the vaulted basement containing kitchen and cellargae, while on the first floor the hall occupies the main house, and the "withdrawing room" the wing. The door is in the "hop door in the corner" inside admits to a darksome underground "pit" or prison. Stair tower, and retains its fine iron "yett." Some of the upper rooms still exhibit the old casements on which soldiers of the garrison have carved their names.

When the Castle was reconstructed after 1748 a rectangular curtain wall was built around it, with a salient symmetrically disposed on each face, so as to form an eight-pointed star, all the flanks of which are pierced for musketry. A similar curtain was built of the same time round Corgarff Castle. In modern times the east salient has been reduced. The mock battlements date with those of the Castle. On the British Museum plan is shown a large well in the north salient.

The Great Civil War, which devastated the three British Kingdoms in the seventeenth century, began on Friday, 10th May, 1639, with an unsuccessful attack by some Royalist barons, including the lands of Gight, Haddo and Kemnay, upon the Castle of Towie Barclay, in Auchterless, held against them by the Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes. In this attack
David N Prott, a servant of the laird of Gight, was shot. He was the first person to fall in the struggle. This was followed on the 14th by the skirmish known as the "Trot of Turriff", the first action of the war. On the Covenanting side, the leaders on the north-east were the Earl Marischal, Lord Fraser and Alexander, Master of Forbes, all three magnates of our Province. The Master of Forbes soon emerged as the dominating military figure on his side. He had seen much service under Gustavus Adolpheus, in whose army he had risen to the rank of Lieutenant-General. His father, the tenth Lord Forbes, was an elderly man who seems to have taken little part in public affairs. On the Royalist side, the influence of the Gordons was wakened by dissentions within their ranks, and by the fact that the Marquis of Huntly could never bring himself to cooperate wholeheartedly with Montrose during his memorable campaign of 1644-5 - owing doubtless to resentment at the treacherous way in which Montrose in his Covenanting days had kidnapped him at Aberdeen in April, 1639. The story of the varying struggle in the north-east

1. On this matter we have the unambiguous testimony of the Parson of Rothiemay (Hist. Scots Affairs, vol. II, p. 238):-

"And for Montrosse going along with that actione, it is most certane, to the best of my knowledge (for I wrytte this knowingly), that it heede such a distaste in Huntly against Montrosse, that afterwardes when Montrosse fell off to the Kinge, and forsooke the Covenanters, and was glade to gett the assistaunce of Huntly and his followers, the Marquesse of Huntly could never be gained to joyne cordially with him, nor to swallow that indignitye. This bred jarres betwixt them in the carrying on of the warre, and that which was pleasing to the one was seldome pleasing to the other; whence it came to passe that such as wer
may be read, in ample and picturesque detail, in our three excellent local chroniclers of the time - John Spalding, Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, and James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay.

1. (contd.)

eaequally enemies to bothe (who knew it we all eneuch), wer secured, and in ende prevailed so farr as to ruinate and destroye both of them, and the Kinge by a consequent."

None of the efforts of Montrose's biographers to explain away this discreditable story carry any conviction, It must remain, as Gardiner called it, "the only mean action of his life."

It is not generally realised how fortunate is the north east in having one of the most critical periods of its history so fully illuminated by these three capital writers. Spalding, Royalist in sympathy but a moderate man who hates all unbridled action, is the prince of annalists, chronicling events great and small from day to day—well-informed, industrious and honest, a writer of limpid, homely prose seasoned with a certain dry humour and mellowed by quaintly pious reflections. Of greater stature as a historian is Parson Gordon, whose book is a full-dress record of his times, unfortunately completing no more than half a decade—though even so his work makes up three goodly printed volumes. His standpoint, like that of Spalding, is that of a moderate Royalist, but he is a man of a much higher education, graced by a wide culture, sharpened by a profound critical insight, and infused by a philosophic temper. Indeed there is something almost Thucydidean in his moral attitude to the tremendous events which he has set himself to chronicle. By contract, Patrick Gordon is the avowed and slashing partisan, a Cavalier of the Cavaliers, and a vehement defender of his chief, the Marquis of Huntly. Of the three, he is much the ablest writer. John Buchan does not exaggerate when he claims (Montrose, p. 259, note 1) that his character sketch of the gallant young Lord Gordon, who fell at Alford, "is one of the great passages of seventeenth century prose."
Here we can do no more than glance at the principal events which occurred within the bounds of Mar and the Garioch. A month after the Tort of Turriff, Lord Aboyne, to whom at this stage fell the leadership of the Royalist cause, captured and plundered Hallforest Castle, the Earl Marischal's seat near Kintore, and looted the steading of Castle Fraser; while about the same time the lands of Fintray, belonging to Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, another prominent Covenanter, were laid waste. The burgh of Aberdeen was the nodal point of Royalist resistance in the North of Scotland. The two days' battle of the Bridge of Dee (18th-19th June, 1639) delivered it into the hands of the Covenanters; and on the renewal of hostilities in 1640 the town was again occupied (28th May) by their forces under Major-General Munro. An immediate sequel, on the 2nd June, was the capture of Drum Castle, held in the Royalist interest by its lady "with sum prettie men". An attack on Fetternear was repulsed, but its laird thereafter abandoned the place. Kemnay was taken and subjected to the usual spoliation, and a similar fate befel the House of Newton in the Garioch, leading Royalists, among them the laird of Drum and George Jamesone the painter, were imprisoned and forced to pay heavy fines; drastic quarterings and levies in money and in kind were imposed upon "both Aberdeens"; and it seemed as if the King's cause in the north-east were ruined beyond repair. For years the work of plunder and harrying went on. What it meant in
practice may be realised from Spalding's vivid narrative of the second looting of Drum Castle, carried out under the orders of Argyll in the opening days of May 1644:

"Sir Alexander Irving of Drum was not at home when Argyle and the rest came: but his lady, and his gude dochter Ladie Marie Gordone, and sister dochter to Argyle, was present .... The Marquess schortlie removit the twa ladies and set thame out of yetis per_force (albeit the young ladie was his awin sister dochter) with two gray plaidis about thair heidis. Their haill servandis wes also put to the yet; but the ladeis cam intore tua wark naiges in pitifull maner to New Abirdein, and took up thair lodging besyde the good wyf of Auchhuncart, then dwelling in the toune. Then thir runagat Irish soldai eris fell to, and plunderit the place of Drum, quhair wes stoir of insicht plenishing and ritche furnitour, and all vther provision necessar. They left nothing which culd be careit, and brak doun a the staitlie bedis, burdis and tymber wark. They killit and destroyit the bestiall, nolt, scheip, ky, for thair meit. They brak up girnellis, quhair thay had plentie of meill and malt. They fand yirdit in the yaird of Drum ane trouk full of silvy plait, goldsmith wark, jewellis, chaynes, ringis and vther ornamentis of gryte worth, and estimat above 20,000 pundis, quhairof pairt wes sein in Abirdene. Thus, thir ladeis being removit with thair servandis, and all thingis plunderit by thir Irish rogues, then the Marques appointit ane capitane with 50 mvsketerris of thir people to keip this hous, and left two peice of ordinance also with them, quhair thay levit vpone the lairdis girnellis and goodis whill thai war removit, and vtheris ppt in thair place."

But the northern scene was dramatically changed by the intervention of Montrose, ever since 1640, had been growing more and more displeased with the violent extremists who had collared the Covenanting movement. In August 1944 he began his wonderful campaign in the Highlands on behalf of King

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Charles. After his first victory at Tappermuir (1st September) the Royalist leader marched north, crossed the Dee at the Mills of Drum, and, after receiving the surrender of Crathes Castle, descended upon Aberdeen. His summons to the burgh to surrender was rejected, and the drummer boy who bore it in was pistolled by some Covenanters. On 13th September Montrose gained a complete victory over his adversaries at the Justice Mills, on the western outskirts of the town, and, enraged by the murder of his enemy, allowed the town to be sacked by his wild Highlanders. Much ink has been spilt in condemnation of this episode, and certainly the story, as narrated by the

1. Its laird, Sir Thomas Burnett, was a sincere Covenanter, but a man of moderate views, and was held in much esteem by the Royalists. Spalding describes him as "a faithfull lover and follower of the hous of Huntlie, ane geyte Covenanter also" (Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. I, p. 133). For this reason, his place was spared by Montrose on the two occasions when he occupied it. This is why Crathes Castle to-day retains so much of its original "inside plenishing", whereas its neighbour, Drum, whose laird was an uncompromising Cavalier, was stripped bare of all it contained. Sir Thomas was a man of high character, culture and piety, a benefactor of the poor and a friend of learning - one of the best types of a north-country laird of his time. Although Montrose protected his castle and lands, the latter were afterwards "brunt and wasted" by the Highlanders of Upper Deeside; and the laird himself sent away all his silver, to the value of £1723 Scots, to be melted down in the cause of the Covenant (Family ofxxk Burnett of Leys, pp. 53-4). Original silver-work is therefore not among the existing treasures of Crathes. An inventory of 1760 (op. cit., pp. 295-215) fails to suggest that much had been accumulated afresh by that time.
eye-witness, Spalding, does not make pleasant reading. But it is fair to remember that, when all is said and done, the honest chronicler can muster the names of not more than 118 men killed in the battle and the two days' sack.

The breathless tale of march and countermarch which followed through the mountains belongs to the general history of Scotland. In this war of raid and refusal both sides wasted their opponents' lands and plundered or burned their houses without mercy, and the wretched countryfolk, to whom the quarrel of King and Covenant often meant little enough, suffered miserably. An incident in this dismal warfare was the harrying of the Royalist lands on Deeside by the Marquis of Argyll in September, 1644: the Covenanters, Spalding tells us, cut down the plantations, destroyed the crops, and "left not ane four fitten beist in the lands of Drum, Cromar, Auchterfoull, Oboyne, Abirzeldie, and countries about." In the strong houses of Kemnay and Pitcaple Covenanting garrisons were placed. Other seats of the leading Royalists the Committee of Estates had ordained to be destroyed, among them Abergeldie, Aboyne, Drum, Whitehouse of Cromar, and Auchterfoul - all on Deeside: "yit it pleissit God", so the chronicler quaintly remarks, "the houssis wes not cassin doun. bot yit standis still!" The beautiful little Castle of

2. Ibid., p. 395.
Terpersie, however, in the Donside parish of Tullynessle, was burned by Lieut-General Baillie during his encampment "betwixt the kirkis of Coull and Tarlan" in May, 1645. Of Covenanting properties in Mar and the Garioch, Echt, Pittodrie and Castle Fraser were burned and plundered by Montrose; but Monymusk, like Crathes was spared, and we are told that the Royalist Commander "dy nit with the ladie, the laird being absent." In those days, the Covenanters in Aberdeen fasted long and rigorously for their sins: with which penance, so the Royalist chronicler grimly remarks, "the lord of justice and mercy seemit not to be weill content, as wold appeir be the progress of this historie!"

June, 1645, found Montrose encamped at the head of Strathdon, beside the ruined Castle of Corgarff. To this remote stronghold he was anchored for the time by the recurrent malaise of his army - the departure of many of his Highlanders, eager to stow away their booty in their glens. Baillie's march north, threatening the Gordons, drew the Marquis away from his mountain fastness, without waiting for the return of Colkitto and his clansmen; and the brief

1. Ibid., p. 472.
2. Ibid., p. 423.
campaign ensued that led to the crushing defeat of the Covenanting General at Alford (2nd July, 1645). On 25th June, Montrose started out from Corgarff; and, advancing with his usual incredible speed - probably by the Lecht Road and Glen Rinnes - he made contact with Baillie's outposts south of Keith on the evening of the 27th. The Covenanting Army was strongly posted at the Kirk of Keith. Montrose did not venture to attack him here; and, as Baillie refused to sally forth, the Royalist Commander determined to draw him after him by a threatened descent upon the Covenanting lands in Angus. Marching south by the Suie Road, on the 29th and 30th he paused at Drumminor Castle, and on the 1st of July arrived at the village of Alford - not the modern vaulted, but the ancient centre of the parish two inches to the west, round the Kirk and the Hoodhouse or hostelry. Montrose himself is stated to have slept the night at Asloun Castle, a mile to the south-west.

Early next morning word was brought to the Royalist leader that his adversary was approaching the ford at Boat of Forbes (now Bridge of Alford), by which the Suie Road crossed the Don. Immediately Montrose alarmed his army, and drew it up on the reverse slope of the Gallows Hill, in such a position that the enemy could see only his front rank,

and would thus be ignorant of his strength. He then set off with his staff on a reconnaissance of the river banks, when word was brought to him that Baillie's horse and foot were approaching the ford, with the intention of sweeping round the right or east flank of the Gallows Hill, so as to intercept Montrose's retreat, under the impression that he was "in full flight". On learning this, the Royalist general hurried back in advance of his staff, and formed a new front with his army on the summit of the hill, facing probably almost east. If Baillie persisted in his attempt to march round his enemy's position, Montrose would be able from his new alignment to launch an attack against his right flank. Up to this point Baillie's plan of moving round to the east of the Gallows Hill was sound enough, since it was based on the Assumption that Montrose was in retreat. But on crossing the river Baillie at once perceived that his antagonist's change of front and obvious determination to accept his challenge rendered his proposed turning movement impossible. Accordingly he halted irresolutely in the low boggy ground — probably round about the crossroads at Cornerstone House and Woodend, where there were extensive marshes until a comparatively recent period. He was now in a position of extreme peril, for his own army was sprawled in a bog, while his enemy was crouched on the higher ground. As to numbers, Wishart says that there were 2000 foot on each side, with 250 horse

1. It was, in fact, precisely the strategy which Caesar had adopted with such success against the Pompeian generals in the operations round Acra.
under Montrose and twice that number with Baillie; but Baillie estimated his enemy as "a little above our strength in horsemen, and twice as strong in foot." Probably Gardiner is right in regarding this as "the exaggeration of a beaten man." Montrose's army was drawn up in the usual fashion of the times, with the cavalry on either flank - Lord Gordon on the right, Aboyne on the left. In the centre Nathaniel Gordon led the foot, while the Master of Napier was with the reserve behind the crest of the Gallows Hill.

According to Wishart, it would seem as if, in view of the altered circumstances, Baillie would rather have declined the battle, but "was forced into this engagement much against his will by the rashness of Lord Balcarres, who commanded a regiment of horse, and precipitated himself and his regiment into the very danger Baillie sought to avoid, so that he could not be extricated without risking the whole army." Baillie himself states that he was "necessitated to buckle with the enemie." Balcarres's squadrons were on the left of the Covenanting line, and therefore nearest the enemy, and it is probable that their Colonel was still endeavouring to carry out the original intention of turning the Royalist right. At all events, it was on this flank that the decisive blow was given by Montrose's right wing of Cavalry.

under Lord Gordon, which broke Balcarres—owing to a
tactical blunder on the part of his reserves, Baillie says.
"The Lord Balcarres's horsemen were divided in three
squadrons; himselfe charged gallantlie with two of them
upon the enemie's right wing, where their horse were; but
the third, appointed for reserve, when I commanded them to
second my Lord, and charge the enemie's horse on the flank,
they went straight up in their comrades reare, and there
stood until they were all broken." The Covenanting General
proceeds to tell us that the victorious Royalist troopers
now wheeled to the left and charged his infantry in rear, a
movement which finally broke up their resistance, as they
were already sorely beset by Montrose's infantry in front.
"One foot stood with my selfe and behaved themselves as became
them, "he reports with soldierly precision, "until the
enemie's horse charged in our reare, and in front we were
overcharged with their foot; for they having six in fyle,
did overwing us, who to equall their front had made the
half rants advene, and so receaved the charge at three deep."
According to the Clan Ranald MS the flying Covenanters were
"closely pursued and continuously killed;" but Wishart seems

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1. A. Cameron, **Reliquiae Celticae**, vol. II, p. 195. This
Gaelic account of the battle gives us a participant's
vivid recollections of the fury of the struggle:— "By this
time the armies were in close conflict with each other, the
cavalry seizing each other's heads with their left hands and
striking one another on the heads with their pistols, and the
foot forces did not know what to do for the raging of the
horse. Alaster, son of Ranald, son of Allan, is a witness to
to imply that the pursuit was to some extent impaired by the death of Lord Gordon, who was shot from behind as he chased the disordered fugitives eastward down Don:

"There came a ball shot from the west,
That shot him thro' the back;
Altho' he was our enemy,
We grieved for his wrack.

"We cannot say 'twas his own men,
But yet it came that way;
In Scotland, there was not a match
To that man where he lay."

The suggestion of treachery conveyed by the ballad is reinforced by the lines which Patrick Gordon quotes as having been placed on Lord Gordon's grave:

"And at his back, O cursed hand! for this
They damn'd saule is deprived of endless bleisse
Had his bright eye on thy intention fell
His very looke had frighted the to hell."  

The death of the gallant young noblemen turned the victors' joy into mourning. On the evening of the battle Montrose marched down Donside to Cluny Castle, and thence over to Craigton near the old battlefield of Corrichie, where he

1. (contd.)

that, for he and Allan Og, the grandson of Alaster, were the officers of the Clanranald in the battle, and the grandson of Alaster himself was in the troop guarding Montrose. Alaster, son of Ranald, says that he himself was for a time and the point of his sword to earth, not knowing on whom he would strike a blow, not knowing a friend from a foe. They continued in that manner until the active officer Major Lidas called out in the English language to withdraw all the horse, and every horseman who heard that command brought at his own horse from among the foot. From that foot many men was at liberty to use his hand and his blade as best suited him."

* Britane's Distemper, p. 134.
remained for some time in a fenced camp, the remains of which, known as "Montrose's Trench", are still visible. From here he accompanied the body of Lord Gordon into Aberdeen, where, amid every sign of grief, it was laid to rest in the family burying ground in the north transept of St. Machar's Cathedral. No stone now marks the grave of the brave boy, who thus heroically closed his life "befor time or nature had granted him the ornament of a beard."

If Patrick Gordon is to be believed, the Covenanting army left "sixteen hundred of their best men dead upon the place, while "to the Royalistes in this battell there were but seven in all slaine." It sounds too good to be true. By Gilbert Gordon of Salloch the number of the Covenanting dead is put at no more than seven hundred. Coming within three weeks after Naseby, the news of Alford fight did something to cheer up poor King Charles. In fact, the importance of the victory was much exaggerated at the royal headquarters. "It is certain", wrote Lord Digby to Prince Rupert on the 28th, "that the King's enemies have not any man in the field now in Scotland." Kindly farmland, and, alas! the ravaged policies of Haughton, now replace the moor and bog

1. See Dr. George Duncan's paper in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, iind ser., vol. IV, pp. 140-1, 145-6.
over which Royalist and Covenanter so fiercely strove on that July day, three centuries ago. Of Asloun Castle, Montrose's headquarters, a single tall, ivy-clad round tower is all that remains. In the quiet kirkyard, no headstone or table-slab marks the valiant bones of Mowat of Balquholly and Ogilvy of Milton of Keith, two Royalist lairds who fell on that day and are buried here. The granitic slab known as the Gordon stone, where it is said the young hero fell, lies, half smothered in heath and blackberry, on the south side of the Turnpike road a quarter of a mile before the twenty-sixty mile-stone: it therefore occupies a position where it is quite possible the catastrophe may have occurred. But the only authentic memorial of the battle seems to be a fine inscribed Andrea Ferrera broad-sword, with a basket hilt of steel, which was dug up on the field, and is now in the Marischal College Museum. Some four miles to the south-east, in the parish of Tough, are the Bluidy Faulds, where it is said some of the flying Covenanters were overtaken and slain. Here, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, was found, sunk in a marsh, a human skeleton, with a pound and a shilling of Queen Elizabeth.

After the disaster of Philiphaugh Montrose made for the north. In October he reached Drumminor and thereafter moved

west to Kindrochit, hoping to join forces with the Marquis of Huntly, who was then at Gordon Castle. Had these two noble-men, the great soldier and the potent feudal magnate, been able to work together, the Royal cause in Scotland might even yet have been saved. But Montrose was tactless and Huntly was touchy, nor could he ever bring himself to forget his treatment in 1640. So they parted company; and while Montrose wasted his energies in a fruitless siege of Inverness, Huntly concentrated his forces at Inverurie. Meantime the Covenanter besiegers and took Tilquhilly Castle and established a strong garrison in Aberdeen under Colonel Barclay. After a skirmish at Kintore, in which the Royalists got the worse, Huntly advanced upon Aberdeen and on 14th May, 1646, he stormed the town. This was the last success for the King's arms in the North. The remaining Royalist garrisons in the North were reduced by General David Leslie, including Wardhouse in the Garioch, and the island fortress on Loch Kinnord, in which a Covenanting garrison was established, who speedily made themselves cordially detected by the

2. Upon 25th inst./March, 1647, so Leslie tersely reported to the Committee of Estates, "Wardhouse wes reduced without much disput, wherein were fourteen Irish and a Captain, all which I caused to be put to death, and left a sergeant there with twenty-fyve men" - Sir W. Fraser, The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and the Leslies, Earls of Leven, vol. II, p. 96. cf. W. Gordon, History of the Ancient, Noble and Illustrious Family of Gordon, 1727, vol. II, pp. 530-1. He gives the number of Irish hanged as 16. A traditionary account of the siege is given by Dr. John Davidson, Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, p. 290. For the castle, see Proc.Soc.Ant.Scot., vol. LXIX, pp. 465-6, 469-70.
fines and exactions which they levied on the neighbouring loyal gentry and their tenants. Eventually, on 8th June, 1648, an Act of Parliament was passed, at the instigation of the Marquis of Argyll, by which the fortifications of Loch Kender "are ordered to be slighted."

The triumph of the Covenanters stained by the cold blooded slaughter of its prisoners. In this way the gallant young gentlemen from the Garioch sealed their devotion to their King with their lives. They were William Gordon of Newton and Patrick Leith, "young Harthill. "The work goes bonnily on", gleefully remarked the Reverend David Dickson. Other observers thought differently. Writing to Cardinal Mazarin on 12th November, 1647, Jean de Montereul, the French Ambassador, after giving an affecting picture of young Hart-hill's heroic constancy on the scaffold, made a shrewd comment: - "It would not be to the advantage of this Parliament to have many executions of this kind to perform, for such Royalist martyrs cannot but greatly advance the cause of monarchy in this country."

2. Bishop Guthry's Memorials, ed. 1702, p. 166. One recalls the incredible slogan of the Covenanters at Tippermuir: "Jesus and no quarter" !!! Dickson was one of the five ministers who after Inverlochy went on deputation to the States to demand the execution of the Royalist prisoners in Covenanting hands.
3. "On ne le vit pas seulement changer de couleur sur l'échafaud, et il parla au peuple avant tant de grace et d'avouerance de la justice de la cause pour laquelle il allait
Retribution was not long delayed, and it came from an unexpected quarter. "It's probable the Kirk has done their do," pungently remarked Cromwell after his victory at Dunbar. His conquest of Scotland tamed the fanatical ministers, restored peace, enforced law, order and toleration, and gave the country the most enlightened and efficient government in her history. In our Province, this tranquillity was disturbed only by the Progelist rising under Lords Glencairn and Kenmure in 1654. During the short campaign that followed, Kildrummy Castle was garrisoned by the insurgents, but was captured, on 13th February, 1654, by Colonel Thomas Morgan, who had previously routed a Royalist detachment near Loch Kinnord. More settled conditions continued to prevail after the Restoration, for the north-east was free from the fanatical extremism of the Covenanters which kept some other parts of the country in an uproar, and in consequence did not suffer from the cruel and stupid persecution with which the governments of Charles II and James II sought to repress the malcontents. Among all classes in the countryside, however, an extraordinary amount of turbulence still prevailed, and it is probable that the great civil upheaval

3. (contd.)
mourir, qu'ils ne seroit pas avantageux à ce Part d'avoir souvent de telles executions à faire et que de semblables martyrs de la Royauté n'avanceroient peu, en ce pays, la cause de la monarchie" - Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Monterent (Scot. Hist. Soc.), vol. II, p. 313.

1. See my Castle of Kildrummy, pp. 238-44.
The skirmish at Tullich seems to have been a brisk affair, and interests us because of the part played in it by the redoubted Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, whom Macaulay styled "the Ulysses of the Highlands". The Roundheads under Morgan numbered "8 companies of Foot; 6 troopes of Horse, and 3 troopes of Dragoones, with a partie of commanded Horse out of the Mearnes and Angus." Marching from Aberdeen they reached Loch Kinnord about 2 p.m. on 10th February. Here they found that Glencairn had taken up position at Tullich, while Lochiel with his Camerons held the Pass of Ballater. The Roundheads estimated their enemies at some 1400-1500 strong. On Morgan's approach, Glencairn withdrew into a bog, and Morgan proceeded to force the Pass, notwithstanding that his troops "could march but one abreast." A sharp fight thus developed around the snow-clad rocks and boulders. We are told that half of Lochiel's men had bows, which galled exceedingly the Roundhead cavalry. Eventually a detachment of Roundhead horse and foot managed to clamber up to "the top of the hill" probably on the north side of the Pass. This movement compelled the Camerons to withdraw. Colonel Lilburn describes their retirai as a "total rout", and the Roundheads claimed to have killed about 120 and taken 27 prisoners, together with their ammunition and baggage.

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1. See the Roundhead reports in G.H. Firth, Scotland and the Protectorate, p.48, and John Gwynne's Military Memoirs, p.246. The Cameron version will be found in J. Drummond, Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, pp.100-1. This skirmish appears to have been one of the last in Highland history in which archery played a prominent part: Lochiel, in the Council of War at Strone, before Killiecrankie, told Dundee that the Highlanders "have of late taken the gun instead of the bow to introduce them into action." Op.cit., p.251, and cf. p.183.
had intensified the tradition of lawlessness which had so long marred Scottish rural life. I have already referred to the astonishing violence of the feuds that sundered the Garioch families in the early part of the century; and the fierce spirit of these old-time barons is grandly portrayed in the story of the Garioch laird who wrote the following entry into the fly leaf of his family Bible:

"This day oor Jock stickit Glaister o' Glack's auldest son, Glory be to God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost!"

Even the Earl of Mar himself did not disdain, in 1664, to convene his tenantry in arms at Hallforest, quite in the fashion of a lawless feudal tyrant of the fourteenth century, and break up the Cruives of Don, which have always been a source of annoyance to the owners of the fishings on the upper part of the river. Where the great men set so evil an example, lesser folk were not slow to follow suit. The clearest picture given us of the social condition of the ordinary countryfolk at this time is to be found in the Forbes Baron Court Book, which covers the period from 1659 to 1678. During these nineteen years, the Court had to deal with no less than thirty-three cases of assault and battery, as well as with minor complaints about scolding, railing, "flying", and such like instances of failure to "keip guid nichtbourheid and live like Christianes together." No doubt these represent

a mere fraction of the current disturbances of the peace, for many others there will have been which never came before the birley-men. The laird found these incidents an agreeable source of revenue; and it is comic to note the disparity between the amounts exacted by my Lord as "blood-wit" for the offence of "defiling his ground with violent blood", and the sums adjudged to the injured party. Thus on 10th August, 1664 James Walker in Westhills had a fight with George Anderson in Newton of Auchendoir, and in the course of which he was "dung over in the water by a fall upon a stone upon the syd of his head." For this offence the forthright George was adjudged to pay ten pounds Scots to the laird and five pounds to James Walker. Westhills was evidently an un-neighbourly place, for George Anderson in his turn had a complaint against another tenant there, who had stripped the plaid off Anderson's herd bay, thrashed him soundly, "stoped his mouth with sand, and put his head under the water", besides threatening Anderson himself with a dirk. The assailant had to pay the laird five pounds, but the poor herd boy was not important enough to get anything for his lost plaid, his bruised shoulders, and his mouthful of sand. Wives, like herd-boys, were not always of importance. The laird exacts twenty pounds from Thomas McKillaime for "blooding" James Fergus's wife, but neither the husband nor the injured woman are given one bawbee. But when William
Norrie strikes Jean Wallace on the mouth and bleeds her nose, she gets four pounds - the laird gets forty! On another occasion, the laird is awarded on less than thirty pounds in the case of a vicious attack upon one of his tenants with sword and dirk, but the assailant has to pay the wounded man no more than five. Once a woman appears as the aggressor; stout Bessie Thomson in Percelli is found by the neighbours "stick fast in the said John Henderson hair and hardlie could be tacket out of his hair." For this exploit she must pay the laird five pounds, but poor James gets nothing for his ravaged scalp. When the womenfolk set about each other, it was clearly the time for drastic action. Janet Anton and Christian Lockie had a disagreement, and when three neighbours entered, they saw the said Janet Antone sitting above the said Cristian Lockie and sticking in her hair, and they were pulleing and rugeing others haires and scolding whther with opproprious language." The jury doubtless acted sensibly in finding both parties guilty, and from each the laird duly collected ten pounds. But they seem to have felt that Janet was a tough customer, for the baron baillie ordered that, if she failed again to "keep good neichbourhood", the officer was "to tirr the hous above the said Janet Antonets head and putt her away!"

From such a minute-book, compiled as it is with the seamy side of peasant life, it would be easy to draw a
distorted picture. A corrective is supplied by the Records 1. of the Exercise of Alford, which are extant for practically the same period, 1662-1688. Thus the volume covers almost the whole of the last Episcopacy; but the last Episcopacy, while it abolished the General Assembly, and imposed a Bishop as the presiding officer of the diocesan synod, left the lower courts and machinery of the church more or less untouched, so that in this Record we obtain a vivid picture of old-time Scottish Presbyterianism in daily action. We see how the Kirk Sessions and the Presbyteries were all the while busy with their great historic mission of educating the rank and file of the Scottish people, who had no real political institutions of their own, in the art of self-government. And although much of the time both of the Presbytery and of the Kirk Sessions was taken up with the administration of an inquisitorial petty moral discipline which the modern mind will feel intolerable, this must be regarded as a legacy of the bad days which time would soften and in the end obliterate. While, for the rest, it is a pleasing and a kindly picture which these old records give us of the Kirk's care for her people. Practically everything

1. Published by the New Spalding Club in 1897.

2. One thing in fairness must be said, that the Church courts were no respecters of persons. The drunken, brawling, or loose-living laird was proceeded against in precisely the same way as humbler folk. The Record of the Exercise provides us with excellent examples in the resolute way in which the Presbytery pursued William Forbes of Newe and some brother lairds in Strathdon, who had made a riot in their parish
corresponding to what we should nowadays call the social services — education, and the relief of the poor, the sick and the feeble — was the concern of the Kirk Sessions and the Presbytery. In particular, the educational facilities of the countryside were entirely in their hands. The greed of the plunderers of the ecclesiastical lands and revenues had prevented the Kirk from carrying out John Knox's noble scheme of a national schooling system; but it is remarkable how consistently, and against what discouragements, the Presbyteries and, to a lesser degree, the Kirk Sessions strove to realise this ideal. How great were these discouragements in our district, and how unflagging the efforts of the Presbytery, may be best understood from the following remarks by the editor of the Record:

"Looking at the state of matters educationally in Alford Presbytery, it would seem from the visitations of the parishes between 1675 and 1687, that of the sixteen parishes in the bounds, only seven of them, when the parishes were visited, had schools; nine were without a school. Two of the nine — Clatt and Tullynessale — report that they had had no school for a time; Auchindoir reports that these never had been a school, as the heritors could not agree where it should be placed; Cabrach reports that there was no school, because the parish was not able to maintain one. In

2. contd.

church, and in their long and finally successful struggle to bring under discipline a roaring boy, Alexander Innes of Sinnenhard. When one remarks the power which the Lairds enjoyed, the importance of this impartial justice cannot be ignored in assessing the part which the Scottish Kirk has played in promoting the study and independent character of the ordinary people.

1. * pp. xlii–iii.

1687, Glenbuchat reports that it has a school.
From what appears in our Record - of which the above is a sample - it will be seen how little the educational wants of the district were attended to. Not half of the parishes had a school. The large district comprising Cabrach, Kennethmont, Clatt, Kearns, Auchenbochail, Forbes, Tullynessle, Leochel, and Cushnie, had not a single school. The Presbytery, as it did, might bring the mother before the heritors, enjoin the minister of the parish to use every diligence to have a school established, but often all in vain. The heritors of the day might be poor. Very likely they were so. But they were also penurious, and adepts at procrastination. For one reason or another they managed to put off the providing of a school - "no maintenance for a school master", "cannot agree as to a site for the school", and so on.

One thing of interest which we learn incidentally from these Alford records is that so far back as 1665 money was being collected for a bridge to carry the Cairnamount Pass road across the Water of Dye. The existing handsome ribbed stone bridge, of quite medieval design, was built in or before 1661. But there was already a Bridge of Dye in 1652 (Family of Burnett of Leys, p. 275). Presumably it had come to grief before 1665. This road was of course of general public importance as the main highway over the Mount. In peace time, it carried an enormous volume of droving traffic, and many stories still linger of the wild adventurous life led

1. But Kennethmont had a school in 1661 - op. cit., p. 88. So had Tullynessle in 1667, when the schoolmaster was "sharplie rebuked for suffering his schollers to wear armes" - ibid., pp. 97, 98.
2. Records, ut supra, pp. 72, 81.
by the migratory cattlemen in olden days. In time of war the strategic importance of the Cairnamouth and other Mounth passes was amply displayed during the Killiecrankie campaign. Thus in April, 1689, the fiery Claverhouse sped north over the Cairnamouth, and his impetuous progress is thus recorded in the classic metre of his companion in arms and admirer, John Philip of Almericlose:

"Tamque alacres omnes, Gramo duce et auspice Gramo, Jenuinae sterillem Kerymorae invisimus urbem. Et simul Arctoi pontem transmittimus Assae; Ardus praeruptis hinc per inga Carnea saxis Scandimus, et rapidum Dei Delae tranavimus amnem. Inde per O'neali villam, quo nomine dicta est Carnea Jam Regis, traiecto flumine Donae" etc. 1.

Later in the same breathless campaign of baffling marches and countermarches, Dundee awaited General Mackay (29th - 30th April) on the brink of the Cairnamouth: but when his antagonist reached Fettercairn the astute Jacobite commander retired, and instead of crossing the Dee again at Kincardine O'Neil, he turned up the valley to Birse, as if proposing to descend upon the Lowlands by one of the higher passes. In the event, however, he forded the Dee at Aboyne and swept north via Kildrummy, Drumminor - "vacuum Forbesi ignibilis arcem" - and Strathbogie to the Bog o' Gight. The author of the Grameid has recorded the impression which the great Donside Castle made on its beholders as they cantered past its mighty

1. The Grameid, ed. A. D. Murdoch, p. 50. The etymology offered for Kincardine ("King-carne") is a remarkable effort.
walls and towers:-

"Andua ubi ingentem attollit Kildrimnea molem
Murorum."  1.

Mackay, following after, crossed the Dee at Kincardine O'Neill
and passed directly northward to Strathbogie. On the way he was joined,*

On 5th June of the same year General Mackay, marching
south from Balvanie, paused for a day upon the Suie Hill -
"the common road from the south to the north" he calls it -
and sought head and meal for his hungry troops from the
friendly house of Drumminor: but, learning that Dundee was
at Edimpleslie, moving up behind him, he faced about, and sought his elusive
antagonist beyond the Bogie. At the head of his column
marched two hundred Dutch fusilier`s, and we should give
much to know what these natives of Holland's green meadows,
with their sluggish waterways marked by the long rows of
stunted willows, thought of this back-breaking campaign amid
the tawny mountains, the rough rocks and shaggy woods, and
the brawling boulder-strewn torrents of Mar. Through the
rugged hills of Auchindoir and over the fertile Strathbogie
sped the headlong chase:-

Urget et acer iter, rapido simillimus euro
Arderea nimiferi inga transilit Achilles
Tandem parasituei Bogi de nomine vallem
Fraterit" - 3.

until the nimble Claverhouse, once again jinking his tenacious

1. Ibid., p. 52.
2. See General Mackay's narrative (Memorials of the Scots War,
op. cit., pp. 34-7)
foe, sought refuge amid the fastnesses of Cromdale.

Before the moonth was out the war had spread into the remotest recesses of Mar, where Farquharson of Inverey, threatened with the planting of a garrison at Braemar Castle, reacted against the orangemen in one of the most brilliant little incidents of the whole campaign. Let us hear it in the words of General Mackay:

"Judging the house of Braemarr a very fitt place for a garrison, because it was far advanced in the Highlands, and covered the foresaid county of Aberdeen; with all to bridle the Marr men, who had already discovered their affection to the ennemys party², he dispatched 50 horse, 50 dragoons of Barcklays, with 60 foot, and some provisions to take possession thereof, with a written order to the Captain of dragoons to push forward with the horse and dragoons, leaving the foot to follow with the provisions: and having put 20 of his dragoons in the house in passing, marched³ forward without halt, and before day, to the house of Inverey, three miles further, with all the diligence and secrecy possible, whereby he might surprise them, with several other gentlemen of note, who, upon the separation of Dundee's party, retired that way. But instead of following his order when he had got into the house, he stayed till he had refreshed his horses, whereby day surprised him before he had got the length of his prey, which escaped him nevertheless so narrowly, that he got sight of them running in their shirts to a wood near the house where they were ..... Nevertheless, tho' the neglect was of importance to the service, and the behaviour of the commanders of the party, after the missing of that prey, looked very faint-hearted,

1. Memoris, pp. 41-3.

2. Mar himself was loyal, but his tenantry "disobeyed his order to take arms for the Government" - op. cit., p. 232.

3. "To march" is meant: it is all part of the Captain's instructions.
the General judged not seasonable to take much notice of it, but dissembled his thoughts, because one of the captains was a stranger, and the other the Master of Forbes, a young youth, whom he hoped to make usefull to the service, tho' as yet bashfull befor his ennemy, having never seen any. 1.

1. Although the Master of Forbes, owing doubtless to lack of experience, cut a poor figure in this affair, he was none the less the pillar of the Government's authority in our Province, and exerted himself with the utmost vigour on all occasions against the Jacobites. General Mackay speaks repeatedly in terms of warm praise about the "singular proofs of his great zale and affection for their Majesties' service", and did what he could to advance the interests of the Forbes family with an unresponsive government. See his letter to Lord Melville, 20th July, 1689 (Memoirs, pp. 242-3). The Master of Forbes, he writes on another occasion (ibid., p. 287) "hath shewed as much affection to their Majesties' service and the present cause as any man in Scotland." And again (p. 294):— "I pray you also to be myndfull upon occasion of the master of Forbes, 'tis a family that hath been keipt at under these many yeares upon th' account that it was judged more Presbiti-ium than Episcopill, though always very moderat, as is also this gentleman, one of the most generous youths and most thoroughly ingaged for this intrest of any I know in the kingdom, without the least regarde of what may follow, resolv- ing to sink or swim with it." In December 1689 Mackay wrote again to the Secretary of State:— "I doe not know if any regarde be taken of the Master of Forbes, who, I am sure, hath done more for their Majesties service this yeare, than many that make greater pretensions, and though he be such a person as I am persuaded doth not serve this cause upon principles of self interest, when ther are nevertheless som charges to be distributed, which might help to accommodat a family which (though of a considerable following) is not of the richest, and so entirely injudged in their Majesties' interest, I am of oppinion that it wold be of good exemple such were not neglected, for I can beare him witnesse (who have had occasion to remarke men's temper in this kingdom) that from one end of Scotland to the other, none have been more through styrick and cordiall in this cause, nor made better figure (keeping all the country about him, which abounded with ill-affected people for this government, in a.) then hee, and hath been of very good use to mee when I had but feu or no forces to oppose a great multitude of rebells." On 28th June, 1690, Mackay returns to the subject, this time addressing the Privy Council, re-iterating the "great charges and pains for the service" which the Master of Forbes has incurred in the campaign, and
Innerey and his guests having escaped this snare, sent with all speed messengers out to gather the country people to take the passes before horse and dragoons, and to incommode them in their retreat, whilst they retiring after their disappointment to the House of Braemar, set their horses loose a grazing, and very securely laid themselves down to sleep about the house; whither Innerey, approaching with a few men to a rock above,2 and within a musket shot to it, wakned them with his fire, at which their horses so startled, that after much ado to have caught them, without expecting [i.e., waiting] to be attacked [they] forsook the house, and galloped all their best down the country; whereof Innerey laying hold, burnt the house to free them of the neighbourhood of the garrison."

This humiliating reverse brought back upon the scene Mackay, who had been continuing his march to the south. Braemar Castle he found "burnt, and the vaults incapable to lodge any number of men conveniently." In revenge, he gave Inverey's horse to the flames, and laid waste his lands with all the rigour of primitive war. Instead of the useless Castle of Braemar, a garrison of 72 men was placed in Abergeldie Castle: "which small number", so he contends, "kept a 1000 from doing of any considerable prejudice to the government." Yet as soon as his back was turned Abergeldie was "blockt up" by the irrepressible Inverey, so that the much-enduring General, towards the end of August, 1690, had to make another expedition into the Braes o' Mar for its relief.

1. (contd.)
concluding with a touch of asperity, unusual in so patient and correct a correspondent: - "such forward persons ought not to labour under discouragements!" (ib. ii. 330).

2. This must be Creag cheinrich, the rocky summit (1764 ft.) directly opposite Braemar Castle. The cairn on top of this fine hill was built by soldiers of the 25th Foot, when in garrison at Braemar Castle early in the last century.
Inverey was beaten off with heavy loss in a sharp engagement, and the beleaguered castle was relieved. Mackay tells us it "wold have been lost within three dayes, had it not been tymely succour'd; and to terrifie others from the lyke attempts, I burnt 12 miles of a very fittile Highland country, at least 12 or 14000 horses." Mackay was a humane soldier, in whose breast mercy rejoiced against judgment. So necessary to justify his severity in the following terms:

"Ther is no other way to deale with them or bring them to raignon, as may be seen by the late example of Strathdee, which, for 12 miles of the best Highland country in Scotland, hath been totally burnt to ashes; and now those who wold never here of delverying up their armes heretofore brings them all in upon oath with certification, that with whom any xi armes shall be found thereafter shall dye without mercy; for I had left order to permit none to rebuild but by delverying up their armes and swearing allegiance to their Majesties."

After Claverhouse's death at Killiecrankie (27th July, 1689), General Cameron took over command of the Jacobite forces, and retreated by Glenclova and the Capel Mounth Pass into Mar. "Then he marcht to Kildrummy, where they were join'd with three Hundred Horse." The Jacobite General thereafter took up a very strong defensive position upon Lord

2. Ibid., pp. 349-50.
Forbes's lands, "where", says Mackay, "he had the Highlands at his back, a wood to cover him, and free communication with his friends in the plain country of Aberdeen and Banff." From this position, which was probably on the skirts of the Correen Hills, Cannon was manœuvred out by a combined operation, General Mackay himself marching up from Aberdeen, while a regiment of dragoons under Colonel Sir Thomas Livingstone came down from Inverness. In the end, the Jacobites escaped southward by the Howe of Cromar and the Cairnmount Pass; / With the defeat of Inverey and the relief of Aberfeldie, noted above, active warfare in our Province seems to have come to an end. What such ongoings meant to the inhabitants of its more settled portions can best be understood by the following terse extract from the Kirk Session Records of Kenmav:-

"August 11, 1689. The said day the bells were tolled. The Minister was ready, but no meeting of the people, because Lieutenant General McKay with his army, the said day, was marching to Inverury, and the people of our paroch being nixt adjacent, did wait upon their corns lest by ther horses they should have been destroyed." 2.

For the Earl of Mar's Castles the campaign had been catastrophic. Not only Braemar, but Corgarff and the great Kildrummy itself, the "noblest of northern Castles", had been given to the flames by the insurgents. From a letter of the Master of Forbes, dated 27th June, 1690, it appears that

Corgarff Castle had at that date been recently burned, but Kildrummy still retained its garrison; there was also a garrison in Aboyne Castle, both of which were provisioned by the Master's care. In a memorandum of his losses, submitted to the Government, the Earl of Mar estimated the cost of repairing Kildrummy at £900 sterling: Braemar, £300, and Corgarff, £300. The details of the bill suggest that only 2.
Braemar Castle was fully furnished.

John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar of his line, was a strange mixture of brilliant intellectual ability and personal gallantry with unsteadiness of purpose and vacillation in action: and his career forms but a sorry closing chapter to the history of the mighty Earldom whose fortunes we have followed through a long succession of eventful centuries. Having at length brought himself to the decision to raise the standard of King James, Mar embarked incognito in a collier at Gravesend, and landed at Flie in Fife. Hastening north, on Saturday, 20th August, 1715, he arrived at Kildrummy Castle. His ancestral residence had evidently been patched up enough to be habitable, and within its walls the final plans for the rising were matured. On the 27th was held the famous hunting match at Aboyne, which makes the

1. Leven and Melville Papers, pp. 451-2. For the Garrison of Aboyne see also Mackay's Memoirs, p. 301.
The year 1695 opened and continued upon a note of great anxiety in Scotland. The two kingdoms were then locked in a desperate struggle with the Grand Monarque. England was in the throes of a financial crisis, due partly to an adverse balance of overseas trade and partly to debasement of the currency. The death of Queen Mary (28th. Dec. 1694) deprived the King of such claim to their allegiance as he had hitherto been able to exercise over the less extreme Tories. Thus the danger of a Jacobite venture became acute — and nowhere more so than in Scotland, seething with discontent over English hostility to the Darien scheme, and shocked by the disclosures of the Commission of Inquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe. It was amid such apprehension that the Estates, on 27th. June, 1695, passed an act to increase the armed forces of the Crown in Scotland, by reason of "the great and eminent Dangers that threaten this Kingdom from foreign Enemies and intestine disaffection, and the dangers of civil war." To meet the extra expenditure, it was decided to impose a poll tax or graduated assessment upon the whole population, saving only the poor and children under sixteen. By a piece of good luck the Poll Book for Aberdeenshire has been preserved. As it contains a complete classified list, parish by parish, of the population within the categories concerned, it forms an unrivalled source of information about the estate of our Province during the year 1696, in which it was compiled. For an example of its contents we may take the following analysis of the returns for the parish of Monymusk:

"The names are thus recorded of about 670 persons in the parish who had to pay the tax, and of those only about 64 were pollable sons or daughters, so that we have no means of knowing the population of the parish at this time. We derive, however,

some singular information as to the occupations of the people. There are 58 tenants, their holdings being of some size, 108 men servants, 56 female servants, 28 weavers, besides one man who was stocking weaver to Sir John Forbes, 3 smiths, 10 tailors, 7 shoemakers, 2 wrights, 3 millers, 2 gardeners, only 1 mason, 54 cottars not being included among the tradesmen, and 10 grass-women. One cannot help being struck with the numbers of weavers and tailors, and it is interesting to observe how they were distributed over the parish, while Sir John's stocking weaver is a man that stands out by himself, though men-servants used to get a higher fee if they were able to knit stockings. At Insch there were only 15 weavers and 3 tailors, but there were 15 shoemakers to our 7. There must have been a great many sheep kept here to supply material for so many hand-looms, and the Leochel market was noted of old as a wool-market. The tenants seem to have done nearly all their blacksmith and carpenter work themselves. The ploughs were almost entirely made of wood, and are said to have been put together in a few evenings at home - and as it was oxen that were used in them, these did not require any shoeing. The village was evidently considerably smaller than it is now, but some parts of the parish must have been populous, as if there were hamlets that have now disappeared, and the hill of Balvack then lay in heather and broom, instead of the present crafts. The valuation of the parish came to £2476 Scots."

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1 From W.M. Macpherson, Church and Priory of Monymusk, pp. 262-8 (condensed). The original of the Poll Book is in Aberdeen University Library. It was printed, in two volumes, in 1844. See Miss M.D. Allardyce in Aberdeen University Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pp. 25-35. A complete statistical analysis of the Poll Book, by an economic historian, is long overdue. The Garioch entries are discussed in J. Davidson, Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, pp. 381-7. See also M.S. Kemp, Historical Notes on the Parish of Insch.
real commencement of the venture. On 6th September, the standard of the Stewarts was formally raised on a spot now marked by a mural tablet in the Invercauld Arms Hotel, Braemar.

"The standard on the Braes o' Mar
Is up and streaming rarely;
The gathering pipe on Lochnagar
Is sounding lang and sairly.
The Hieland men
Frae hill and glen
In martial hue
Wi' bonnets blue
Wi' belted plaids
And burnished blades
Are coming late and early."

At first the rising promised success. Marching southward, the Earl captured Perth before the month was out. But thereafter luck deserted him. On 13th November was fought the tactically drawn battle of Sheriffmuir -

"An' we ran an' they ran an' they ran an' we ran
An' we ran and they ran awa', men!"

- which from a strategic point of view marks the turning point in the campaign. The arrival of the Chevalier was the reverse of helpful to the failing cause, as his cold, uninspiring behaviour effectively damped what little enthusiasm Mar's lack of energy had left in the Highland breast. On 4th February, 1716, James slunk off back to France, and thereafter the rising simply petered out. Upon its collapse, Mar followed his master abroad. The inevitable forfeiture had already taken place. On 19th January he had been attainted, and all his estates declared forfeit to the Crown. Soon afterwards a detachment of Hanoverian troops arrived at
Kildrummy, and the great Castle, whose name is writ so large in the pages of Scottish history, was finally dismantled.

"The Earl of Mar has got a scar
These forty years he'll be the waur
They've broken his ha's wi' open force
And ta'en five hundred Highland horse
Our bread is done, our brandy spent
We've got no pay since Martinmas."

So runs the epitaph of the Fifteen. The inglorious collapse is shot through with high tragedy in the ruin of Scotland's oldest Earldom.

Since the days of "Bonnie Dundee", a great change had come over the sympathies of Mar's tenantry. In 1689 they had been warm supporters of the Stewart cause, and had come out in defiance of their superior, who was loyal to the Government. Now in 1715 the Earl had to use violent means to persuade them to join him in his challenge to the Hanoverian. Here is a letter which he wrote, a few days after the raising of the standard, to his bailiff in Kildrummy, "Black Jock" Forbes of Inverernan:

"Invercald, Sept. 9th, at Night, 1715.

Jockie,

Ye was in the Right not to come with the Hundred Men ye sent up To-night, when I expected four Times the Number. It is a pretty Thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Country's Account, as I have Accounts from them since they were with me, and the Gentlemen in most of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my Men should be only refractory. Is not this the Thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these six and twenty Years? And now when it is come, and the
King and Country's Cause at stake, will they for ever sit still, and see all perish?

"I have used gentle Means too long, and so I'll be forced to put other Orders I have in Execution. I have sent you inclosed an Order for the Lordship of Kildrummie, which you are immediately to intimate to all my Vassals. If they give ready obedience, it will make some Amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my Power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by these who are ready soon to join me: and they may depend upon it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummie know, that if they come not forth with their best Arms, that I will send a Party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not - only a threat; but by all that's sacred I'll put it in Execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an Example to others. You are to tell the Gentlemen, that I'll expect them In their best Accutrements on Horseback, and no Excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all Diligence, and come your self and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your King and Country. Your assured Friend and Servant,

MAR.

To John Forbes of Inverarrow [sic] Baillie in Kildrummie." 1.

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1. A Collection of Original Letters and Authentick Papers relating to the Rebellion, 1715 (Edinburgh, 1731) pp. 13-15. The date is there wrongly printed as April 9th: the Order enclosed with the letter is "Given at Braemar the 9th of September, 1715." See also R. Patten, The History of the Late Rebellion, with Original Papers, p. 44, 1717, note 5, where the date is correct.
The Earl did not shrink from putting his threats in execution is proved by the minute of a court of justice held in Alford on 16th March, 1716. The cases of some fifteen of Mar's tenants were dealt with, all of whom had been captured at Preston. They pleaded that they "had been forced to be in the Rebellion by the threats and fine of the Earl of Marr, and those directed by him." Corroborative statements were obtained from eye witnesses, one of which is as follows:

"Compeared William Tough in Nether Kildrummy, Married Man, aged Seventie years and above, who being solemnly sworn, And purged of partiall Counsell, depones that he knowes all the persons contained in the above list, and that they all lived in the Lordship and Regality of Kildrummy, And that they were forced and Compelled to go out in the unhappy Rebellion much against their inclinatn, And that they did to be free of the same, Flee from their houses for severall dayes, And that by My Lord Marrs order, Partie's were sent, who did sett fire to their houses and cornyards, And that after they had absconded for severall dayes, They were taken prisoners by the saids parties, and were sent prisoners to Braemar, where Lord Marr then was, And that he lives in the Neighbourhood, and knows all to be true, being an ey witness of the same. And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God." 1

Mr Black Jock himself, who had been "out" in 1689, stood by his lord in fair weather and foul. He was wounded and taken at Sheriffmuir, and died of his hurts in Carlisle jail the night before he was due for the scaffold.

Although "Mar's Year" spelt the ruin of a great Earldom, yet amid all the confusions of the times, and the spasmodic agonies of the dying Stewart cause, there was a stir of better things afoot. Signs were not lacking that Scotland was moving out of that weary Valley of the Shadow of Death, between the dark mountains of civil and religious discord, through which she had toiled and travailed for so long. So, like a gleam of sunshine flashing through a wintry sky, we find that in this very year of tribulation, and by the same Black Jock who gave his life in "vain faith and courage vain", one of the finest bridges in Mar was thrown across the Don at Poldhulie - "the black pool" - in short mile above Bellabeg. The hounding out of a harmless peasantry to fight in a quarrel that was none of their making, the burning of their wretched corn homesteads and their hard-won stacks, belonged to the evil old order that was now a-dying. The building of the noble bridge looked forward to a better state of things, of which the new century would see the full meridional splendour. Such portentous conjunctions are found more than once in Scottish history: for example, the year of the Red Harlaw was also the year that saw the founding of our oldest University.

1. "There is a new stone Bridge of one Arch over Don, at a place called The Pot of Pot d'Ogilie, a little west from the church, built 1765" - Description of the Parish of St. Ninian, Invernaughtly (circa 1725), in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, vol. 1-23.

2. It is significant of the new order that bridge-building projects were much in the air in the period after the Restoration. We have already spoken of the Bridge of Dye
Of Pooldhulie Bridge a commentator of 1797 gives us the following account:

"The bridge has only one arch, of about 70 feet wide, thrown over between two precipices; it is founded on a rock, over which the water falls in a kind of cascade, into the depth below, with an uncommon noise. The hole itself is so very deep that no bottom is to be seen the clearest day; and what adds to its awfulness, is, that it is between two great heughs, and every time the river overflows, it undermines part of the heugh on the south side, which falls down and is carried along the current; and as the road goes along the top of the heugh, it is very dangerous for passengers who pass along that way when it is dark."

This was written in the eighteenth century, when Highland scenery was regarded as horrific. Contrast it with another description of the same scene, published by one of the quaintest of our local topographers in 1828, after the Author of Waverley had opened the eyes of the world to the glories of the Scottish landscape:

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2. (contd.)

In 1670 a bridge was being projected over the Don at Towie, and another over the Ton Burn, between Monymusk and Cluny, was under discussion the year later. In 1671 a bridge over the Gadie at Gyne required renewal. See Davidson's Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, pp. 339-40.

In 1662 there was a bridge across the Gavin which needed repair. Accordingly the justices of the peace appointed the fines levied upon fornicators within the parishes of Tullich, Glenmuick, Glengairn, Crathie and Kindrochit to be applied for this purpose. (Reg. Privy Council, 3rd ser., vol. I, note, pp. 146, 251). This should have assured the bridge an ample revenue.

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1. Notes by Charles Dawson to the poem Don, ed. 1797, p. 56.

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"The prospect here is luxuriantly grand, wild, picturesque and sublime. The current glides in a gentle motion, until it nears the arch, where it forces a passage among shaggy rocks, and falls under the bridge with impetuosity and noise, clothed in white spume. Leaving this, it descends to a large basin, where it performs several whirlpool motions, and then seems to rest. From this quiescent state, it flows in gentle serpentine grandeur, leaving a bank of sand on the south and a carpet of verdure on the north." 1.

1. Alex. Laing, The Donean Tourist, p. 50.
VI. - THE CASTLES OF MAR AND THE GARIOCH.

Among the material memorials which the Middle Ages have bequeathed to us in our Province, by far the most distinctive and conspicuous are its castles. In my former work, and in the preceding pages of the present volume, something has been said about our earliest castles, dating from the Norman penetration, which took the form of mottes, or flat-topped earthen mounds, crowned by a palisade enclosing a tower or buildings of wood. Akin to these mottes are such structures as the earthwork at Kimbattock in the parish of Towie, or the one which marks the site of the "Ha' of Logie-Ruthven", on the eastern shore of Loch Davan. These lack the high mound within the ditch, and belong rather to the class of earthwork known as "homestead moats". It is probable that constructions of this type may in some cases date from so late as the fourteenth century.

Accounts have also been given of our two great stone castles, Kildrummy and Coull, which belong to the period before the Wars of Independence. They consist of a courtyard enclosed by strong walls and defended by round flanking towers, - all features common to the military architecture of Western Europe in the thirteenth century.

It is a commonplace that the architecture of a country reflects, more accurately than anything else, the social circumstances of the time, whether in sunshine or in shade.
Thus in our own day, the long years of economic depression between the two World wars have left their mark in the shoddy bungalows that scar the countryside on the outskirts of our towns. Something not dissimilar in kind may be traced in the stone castles of Scotland during the lean years of the fourteenth century, filled as they were with the turmoil and sorrow of the struggle for independence. These castles are no longer ample structures on the courtyard plan. Instead, we have tall, narrow and gaunt tower-houses, each with its appended barmkin or walled court. And it is typical of the tenacious conservation rooted in the Scottish character, that this conception of a tower-house, adopted during a period of stress in the fourteenth century, should persist as the favourite design throughout the subsequent development of a separate national architecture. As time went on, improved accommodation, no less than the impact of external influences like the French Alliance and the Renaissance, would lead to numerous modifications, both in the plans and the elevations: but typically the basic conception, in the great majority of buildings, remains that of a tower-house. Nowhere else in Europe, except perhaps in Ireland, did the tower-house, as a laird's dwelling, achieve anything like such a development; and nowhere else were the changes rung upon its plan to the same extent. Even so late as 1658, when the Senatus Academicus of King's College in Old Aberdeen set out to provide
what we should nowadays call a "hall of residence" for their students, they built, not an aula or a palatium, but a great tower, for all the world like a fourteenth-century castle, six storeys high, with the traditional flat roof and open battlements.

In our Province, the starting point of the new type of castle is unquestionably the famous

**TOWER OF DRUM.**

This splendid castle stands on the south-eastern slope of *le drom*, or "back" or ridge of land forming part of an eastward extension of the Hill of Fare, between the Gormack Burn and the valley of the Dee. The fact that the Castle, originally (it would seem) a royal hunting seat, has been continuously in the possession of the same family since 1st February, 1324, when King Robert Bruce bestowed the eastern part of the royal forest of Droum upon his armour-bearer and clerk-register, William de Irwin, would alone suffice to stamp the place as a remarkable one; and lustre is added to it by the proud and honourable history of the Irvines of Drum, who for six long centuries have played a leading part, in peace and in war, in the affairs of Aberdeen, royal burgh and shire.

The tower is a lofty, massive, and finely proportioned structure, measuring 53 feet by 39 feet, with rounded angles and an open parapet, the walls at the basement being 12 feet thick, and the height to the battlements 70 feet 6 inches.
The masonry is rough partly coursed rubble of local red granite, but Kildrummy freestone is used a good deal in the dressings and in the newel stair. Externally the walls, which show a graceful batter throughout their height, are pierced only by a few ancient openings, some of which are now built up, while two large modern windows have been slapped out at the first floor level. The openings in the basement are mere slits. Their form internally is quite useless for archery, and all the defensive capacity of the tower, apart from the passive resistance of its mossy walls, is concentrated on the wall-head, from which the parapet is carried out on plain corbels, continuous at the angles. The roundway is stepped up from the centre of each face towards the angles, the battlements here being heightened accordingly. At the north-west corner a corbelled latrine is entered from the roundway.

At present, the tower contains three vaulted storeys, of which the upper two were each formerly subdivided by a loft. Over all was the usual cap-house, now replaced by a flat beaded roof. The main entrance is on the first floor, in the south wall near the east corner. It is now reached by an external stone stair, but originally access would be gained by a ladder. From the door a straight mural stair descends to the basement, and a spiral stair mounts in the adjoining angle to the battlements. The two lower vaults are of plain turned
pattern, but the upper one is pointed. In the south-east corner is the ashlar-lined well-shaft, still in use. At the well-head is a slop-drain, and in the vault near by opens a hatch to the room above. About 1845 the first floor, or common hall, was converted into a library, and its ancient features are thus obscured. The upper storey, or solar, is unaltered, and forms a splendid example of an ancient baronial hall. It has a garderobe in the north-west corner, and in the north wall is a fine arched fireplace of Kildrummy stone. At this level the spiral stair stops, and the loft in the vault, the corbels for which still remain, was reached by a straight wooden stair ascending against the last wall. High up in the apex of this wall, just under the crown of the vault, a small door, which will have been reached by a ladder from the loft, gives access to the wall-walk.

No record exists of the building of the tower. Some of its details, particularly those of the upper hall fireplace, have quite a thirteenth century look, and it seems hard to escape the conclusion that the tower was in existence before the grant of the royal forest to William de Irwin in 1324. Its strategic position - commanding the ancient Couper Road which runs northward through eastern Mar from the Cryne Corse Mounth and the ford of Dee at Mills of Drum, and the important

switch road from the lower ford at Tilbouries (the Roman passage) - no less than the uncommon size and strength of the tower, show that it must have been designed with a purpose more serious than that of a mere hunting lodge.

The late Dr. Kelly devoted a life-long study to Drum Castle, and nothing can be added to his final verdict upon the period and affinities of the tower:

"It is impossible definitely to fix the date of Drum Castle. The Forest of Drum, one of the royal forests, was erected into a free barony for William de Irvin in 1324, and it is believed that the castle existed before that date. Richard Cementarius, the King's master-mason, was in 1272 Alderman of Aberdeen - the earliest recorded name in the line of aldermen and provosts - and survived until about 1294. His work in the north of Scotland can hardly have been confined to the Castle of Aberdeen; and circumstances connected with him suggest that he may have been engaged on the old Bridge of Don, which was built from bishop's revenues in the time of Bishop Chein (1285-1328). An elevation of the bridge is very like the cross-section of the third storey of Drum Castle; and although the building of the bridge was interrupted, and not finished until long after Richard's death (and when done, it was credited to King Robert the Bruce, rather than to Chein), it is probable that Richard Cementarius built Drum Castle and began the Bridge of Don. It is true that Drum Castle might have been built by Bruce after 1314 and before 1324; but a date before the death of Alexander III in 1286 seems on the whole to be more probable. In any case, the Tower of Drum, if only in virtue of its material, seems to represent an Aberdeenshire type which influenced the technique of our later castles."

The charming mansion which was added to the ancient tower in 1619 will come up for discussion later.

Another early tower, rather later no doubt that Drum,

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is the Castle of Hallforest, the hunting seat of the old royal forest of Kintore. A third, greatly altered, still forms part of Skene House. But the largest tower-house in Mar - the fifth largest, indeed, in Scotland - is the mighty tower added in 1390 to the Castle of Kindrochit in Braemar. The persistence of the type, even after improved designs had been evolved, is well instanced by the picturesque Tower of Knock, dating from about 1600. Here the foundations of the barmkin still exist.

Probably the earliest of the improved designs, above referred to, is that known as the L-plan, in which the tower is built with a "jam" or wing attached to one side. The advantages of this design are obvious. It supplied at least one extra room on every floor - and often more than one, since the rooms in the wing, being usually private apartments, did not require to be built so lofty as the halls in the main house. Moreover, it afforded a very defensible post for the door, which in nearly all these L-towers is placed in the re-entrant angle, where it could be effectively commanded by loopholes in the two limbs of the building. It is easy therefore to understand why this L-plan became a favourite one.

2. Supra, pp.76-7.
and in its different varieties was perhaps the design most frequently employed in the numerous minor fortalice or laird's houses erected throughout the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century. A dated early example of the L-plan is the tower-house built by the master masons John of Kamloke and William of Inverkip for the first Lord Forbes at Drumminor in 1440. Another instance, dating from the next century, is Culquhony Castle in Strathdon. In some of the later examples, the design is modified by the addition of a stair tower, round or square, in the re-entrant angle, convenient to serve the rooms in both departments of the house. Of this development, our Province possesses a fine and characteristic example in the interesting ruin of

TILLYCAIRN CASTLE,

in the parish of Cluny.

This Castle belonged to Matthew Lumsden (died 27th June, 1580), whose Genealogy of the Forbes Family is of great value to historians - though in the whole course of its forty odd printed pages it is innocent of even one single date! The lands of Tillycairn were granted by Alexander Gordon of Cluny to James Forbes, son of Sir Alexander (afterwards first Lord) Forbes on 30th September, 1444, the grant being confirmed by James V on 24th February, 1539. By a charter dated 2 30th

1. Supra, pp. 143-4
July, 1548, the Queen Regent grants to Master Matthew Lumsden of Tillycairn the lands of Little Linturk and Bridgend, with the alehouse and alehouse croft, which formerly belonged to John Strachan of Linturk - the grant being partly in recompense for the spoliation in June 1544, from the lands of Tillycairn, of nineteen plough oxen, eight cows, and two steers of three years old. (This is, of course, our old friend John Strachan of Linturk, whose disreputable career has already been chronicled.) Perhaps it was as a result of this spoliation that Matthew Lumsden built the strong castle whose stout walls remain. So far back as 1722 it is described as ruinous. It has evidently perished by fire. The ends of beams remaining in their sockets are charred, and most of the lintel stones are cracked, as if by heat.

The castle is a well preserved example of the L-plan, rounded at the corners, and measuring 41 feet 6 inches by 37 feet over its longest sides, with a circular staircase tower in the re-entrant angle, where also is the low arched door, well defended by a wide-mouthed rectangular gunloop. There were the usual outer door of wood and inner iron yett, and the latter was secured by a drawbar. The loopholes on the ground floor are of an archaic pattern, cruciform with an

1. Ibid., 1546-80, No. 238.
oilette or circular expansion at the lower end: the gunloops here have all circular throats and rectangular splays. The main building was four storeys high, the wing being carried up a storey higher. In the vaulted basement are the kitchen and a couple of cellars, one of the latter having the usual service stair to the hall above. The kitchen has a fireplace 9 feet wide, with an exterior store water-supply trough, and a service hatch to the main stair. On the first floor the main building contains an unvaulted hall, 25 feet by 17 feet, adjoining which in the wing is a vaulted private chamber or withdrawing room. The hall had a large fireplace (now destroyed), in the left cheek of which is a square aumbry or "salt-cellar", checked for a shutter. In the back wall of the fireplace is an arched opening carried right through the wall, but infilled with masonry - which is evidently contemporaneous with the building. This opening, which is at a height of some six feet above the ground outside, was doubtless a mason's hole, left open during erection for the purpose of getting in the heavy timbers and other building material. At the opposite end of the hall a stone laver, with a runnel to admit water from outside, is contrived in a window sill. A finely moulded pink granite keystone, now in the Anthropological Museum at Marischal College, appears to have belonged to the vault of the private room, where a rough aperture may still be seen. As the newel stair has been destroyed, the upper storeys are now inaccessible. They
have plain fireplaces, large windows, aumbries, and garderobes. The presence of three windows in the west wall on the top flat indicates that the main house here was subdivided into that number of bedrooms. All the windows are grooved for glass and were strongly barred; some of the larger ones had opening shutters in their lower parts. The partition wall between the main house and the wing is carried right up clear of the roofs, so that the private rooms in the wing are completely isolated, and the risk of fire is thereby lessened; the laird's room on the main floor, being vaulted, was fireproof. From the foregoing particulars it will be obvious that, for its given purpose as the fencible residence of a laird of moderate means, this is an extremely well arranged, compact and convenient dwelling. It has all that satisfying air of tightness - "the container equal to the contained" - which marks a piece of thoroughly sound design. Everything is properly shaped, and filled full; there is no waste room. 

Massive boulders compose the lower parts of the building, where the walls are from four to six feet thick. Above are richly corbelled cylindrical turrets, crow-stepped gables, tall coped chimneys, and a bold embattled parapet on the two re-entrant wall-heads, for the purpose of covering the door below. These localised survivals of the traditional roundway are entered by doors from the main stair-head. The turrets are reached up short flights of steps, and have pistol-holes pierced downwards through their corbelling, the
mouldings being very carefully carved round the orifices. There are two empty panels for coats of arms, one over the door and another on the round tower. The latter has a depressed ogee-pointed arch. All the dressed work is beautifully executed in Corrennie granite. The masonry is most characteristic, consisting of large stones roughly coursed and interspersed with horizontal pinning. A lovely orange-coloured lichen now glows on the ancient walls, and adds the finishing touch of comeliness to a building of high architectural distinction.

Braemar Castle (built in 1628), which has already been described, is another example of the same plan. A third is Clunie Crichton, near the battlefield of Corrichie; it bears the date 1666. Here the stair tower is square instead of round.

As in England, so in Scotland the Reformation period was prolific in building, due to the fact that most of the immense wealth of the medieval church had now passed into the hands of lay proprietors. Another circumstance which had the same effect was the decay of the great baronial houses, owing to the hostile policy of the Crown, and the rise in their stead of a numerous class of small lairds, each of whom, like Master Matthew Lumsden of Tillycairn, provided himself with a

tower-house. In Mary and the Garioch, the failure of the ancient Earldom, the alienation and finally the disruption of the greater portion of its territory, of course enormously promoted the growth of these minor landships; and it is due to this circumstance that our Province is so rich in ancient castles to this day.

Among these later buildings, profound changes in design were caused by the introduction of firearms. This cardinal innovation, involving the supersession of the old parapet defence by defence at the ground level through gunloops in flanking towers, led to a process of lateral expansion being applied to the tower-house. Wings are run out en échelon so as to sweep the faces of the main structure. Thus arose such designs as those of Abergeldie Castle (mid-sixteenth century), Balfling Castle (dated 1556), Birse Castle (circa 1600), and Abergairn Castle (1614). These may all be thought of as modifications of the L-plan, in that the wing now takes the form of a tower, round or square, set out diagonally from one corner of the main building. But perhaps the most interesting example of this earliest form of firearms house in our Province is

PITFICHIE CASTLE,

in the parish of Monymusk; and, as this fine building has

fallen into irremediable ruin, it seems desirable to place on record a full account of one of the most important baronial edifices in Mar.

Pitfichie is now included in the Monymusk estate, but from about the end of the fourteenth century it belonged to the ancient family of Hurry or Urrie - possibly descended from the Hugo de Ure and Maulcolm de Durree whose names are found in Rögenman's Roll. In 1597 Pitfichie was sold to John Cheyne of Fortrie, whose descendants held it until about 1650, when it was purchased by the Forbeses of Monymusk. The last recorded inhabitants of the Castle were William Forbes, eldest son of the laird of Monymusk, and his wife Lady Jean Keith, daughter of the Earl of Kintore. Their household at Pitfichie is given in the Poll Book of 1696. Possibly the place was occupied as a farm house for some time longer, but in 1797 it is described as "now unroofed". There is little historic interest connected with the castle, and perhaps its chief claim to distinction of this kind consists in the fact that the son of its last Hurry laird was the famous Civil War free-lance, Major General Sir John Hurry, who was defeated by Montrose at Auldearn on 9th May, 1645, served under his old antagonist on the fatal day of Corbisdale, and was hanged

1. Good summaries of the history of the family will be found in Macpherson's Materials for a History of the Church and Priory of Monymusk, and in Davidson's Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch.

2. Don, a Poem, p. 18.
in Edinburgh on 29th May, 1650.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century a certain amount of repair work was carried out upon the ruins; but the lean years that followed on the first World War saw a rapid deterioration, and one night in the spring of 1936 practically the whole of the east wall and the south gable, above the basement vault, fell down. The Castle stands in a farm-steading, and as portions of what remains were in a parlous condition, further demolition had to be carried out for reasons of safety. The description which follows portrays the castle as it existed before this catastrophe, so typical of the fate which is overtaking Scotland's architectural heritage from end to end of the land.

The Castle consists of a rectangular tower-house, 36 feet by 28 feet, with a large round tower, 23 feet in diameter, attached to its south-west corner. The basement is all vaulted and contains a guardroom in the round tower, and a kitchen and a cellar, with a corridor of access in the main building. The arched doorway in the round tower was secured by the usual drawbar, and is defended by two large gunloops with a wide outer splay. A similar gunloop opens from the guardroom on the opposite side of the tower, and there is a fourth in the back re-entrant, looking east. The kitchen has an arched fireplace, an oven, and a service-hatch to the passage. Above this were two other storeys and a garret, with a large hall, measuring 25 feet 6 inches by
22 feet, on the first floor of the main house, and a private room, with garderobe, in the tower beside it. At the north-west angle of the main house is a square corbelled turret, provided with small gun loops or pistol holes, one of which covers the entrance. The flat skews of this turret (now taken down) were clearly alterations, no doubt replacing original crow-steps. Access to the upper storeys was obtained by a newel stair, 4 feet wide, corbelled out as a turret between the tower and the main house. This stair is lit by a series of loops, of which the lowest has been enlarged. Near its summit the turret is brought out to the square by a simple moulding, and higher up is further enlarged by an effective label corbelling to form a charming cap-house, resting on a vault over the stairhead, and reached by a narrow flight of steps from the main house garret. Like that of the north-west turret, the table of the cap-house had been altered with flat skews. Practically the whole of this delightful feature was involved in the fall of the adjoining gable.

Originally the door into the Castle was to have been in the re-entering angle not of the round tower but of the main house. It was apparently found that this would provide access too direct for safety to the main stair. Hence the plan was changed and the present recurved passage introduced, with doorway in the round tower. The alteration was ill-managed, for the passage encroaches awkwardly on both garderobe and kitchen. The original door was then blocked, and a gunloop
inserted to cover the new entrance; but its rear-arch and bar-hole remain to testify the alteration. The similarity of this gunloop to the three in the round tower, and the fact that the whole arrangement of the plan depends on the present door, with the devious passage and guardroom and staircase adjoining, seem to indicate that the alteration was effected during the building of the castle. It was clearly motived by the quest for security. Upon forcing the outer door an assailant, amid the darkness and smoke and the confusion of hand-to-hand fighting, would find himself unexpectedly up against a blank wall, and exposed to a sally on either flank.

Coming now to a brief consideration of details, the masonry is typical of the sixteenth century. Large "heathen" boulders of granite and schist have small flat stones inserted horizontally between them as pinnings. The dressings are mostly in granite, but sometimes in freestone. The walls are harled, or buttered over with roughcast, in the usual Scottish fashion; internally, they were plastered and limewashed. The core of the walls was freely grouted, but the mortar had been very poor, and no doubt to this defect the collapse was due. Near the wall-heads on the east side may be seen small openings for ventilating the roof timbers. The principal windows look westward westward, into the Castle Garth. They are checked for an internal frame and grooved for leaded glass: in the larger windows, these grooves stop half way down, the lower part opening internally with shutters.
Outside were strong iron bars. The north-west turret formed a pleasant little chamber, 5 feet 8 inches square, with a window on each face. Underneath each window was a small gunloop, and in each shoulder, east and south, were a pair of such orifices, one opening at the floor and the other about the level of the window sills. These pistol-holes, for such they must be called, measured about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The large gunloops at ground level measure externally 2 feet 6 inches broad and 1 foot high, with a throat diameter of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This is the earliest form of gunloop, with wide external splay to command a good field and disperse the smoke. It was soon found, however, that the smooth outer bevel would guide balls shot against it into the interior; so in later buildings, it became more usual to turn the gunloop round about, with the splay inside and a plain circular external orifice.

It is noteworthy that the gunloops covering the door were arranged in groups. An intruder, after entering the courtyard gate, would find himself, on coming round the tower to the door, covered by the gunloop in the tower and by that beneath the window in the north-west turret. When the door was reached, he would be under fire from another group of gunloops: namely the one in the main house on the left of the door, and the couple in the shoulder of the turret.

The old wooden door of the Castle still survives, in some decay. It is made in two thicknesses, the front
boards vertical and the rear ones horizontal, all clasped together by stout hand-wrought iron nails. Behind it is the check for the usual iron yett.

The hall appears to have had a buffet or dresser along its west wall next the entrance, and the window here is kept high so as to clear this fixture. The recess at the south-east corner was probably a garderobe. The laird's private room in the round tower was well fitted up. It had a large arched cupboard, two windows, a fireplace and a garderobe. The south window had store side benches. The fireplace lintel was carried forward on moulded corbels.

To the west of the Castle lay the usual walled barmkin, of which the gate still serves as the entrance to the farm-house garden, though its arch fell in 1920. The Castle is pleasantly situated on ground sloping away from Pitfichie Hill to the east towards a tiny burn. This area was laid out as the policies, and one or two ancient beech trees, a dwindling remnant, survive to remind us of the pleasaunce under whose shade, we may imagine, the Lady Jean Keith dallied with her lover,—as recorded in a scrap of an old ballad,

wherein she is teased by a friend:-

"Hoo dee ye like Pitfichie?
Hoo like ye there to dwell?
Hoo dee ye like Pitfichie,
Gentle Jean o' Keith-hall?"

"Oh, ye'll get wine an' wa'nuts:
An' servants aye at yer call:
An' young Monymusk to dewt ye:
Ye hadna that at Keith-hall!"
"Oh, weel I like Pitfichie, 
An' I like there to dwell;
Oh, weel I like Pitfichie,
But nae half sae weel's
Keith-hall!"

"Oh, I had wine an' wa'nuts, 
An' servants aye at my call,
An' the bonny Laird o' Fyvie
To see me at Keith-hall."

The type of building which we have been considering may be described as the "two-stepped castle"—a step having (as it were) been taken out from the area of the main building. By it, firearm defence was provided for two sides of the latter. One step is apt to lead to another, and so the transition was inevitable to the fully developed "three-stepped" or Z-plan. The Scot has always been famed for his economy, and it was speedily found that complete flanking defence could be afforded to all four sides of an oblong house if a tower, round or square, were added en échelon to each of only two but diagonally opposite corners. The result of this very ingenious device was the Z-plan, which was a very popular one throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century. Apart altogether from its defensive object, it is evident that this plan supplied much extra accommodation just at a time when, with improved social ideas, this was specially desired. Moreover, the extra accommodation was arranged in such a way as to afford the maximum lighting to all departments of the building.

In the Z-plan the Scottish "house of fence" reaches its logical climax of development. Out of some 49 known examples,

1. The device, though worked out on such a scale in Scotland, is not unknown elsewhere. The fifteenth century
16 belong to the district between Dee and Spey; and of these, 9 are within the bounds of Mar and the Garioch. Moreover, the earliest dated example, Terpersie, built in 1561, is in Mar. It would therefore seem as if this remarkable type of castle was invented, or evolved, in our Province. Here, at all events, it reached its maximum development. Our list of examples may begin with Terpersie aforesaid, where both towers are round. This very well designed and delightful little building, a tiny gem of Scottish architecture, has been allowed in the last half century to fall into hopeless ruin.

1. (contd.)

Deutschordensburg at Riga is built on the Z-plan, with a round tower at each of two diagonally opposite corners. In the Rhineland, Schloss Grops-Vernick is arranged on this plan. For Scandinavian examples, see August Hahr, "Skandinaviska Adelsborgar", in Skrifter utgivna av kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskåps Samfundet, Uppsala, vol. 24.

McNeill's zariba at the battle of Tofrik, 22nd March, 1835, shows the application of the Z-plan in fortification to modern savage warfare. See E. W. C. Sandes, The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan, p. 72:— "The plan adopted for the Tofrik zariba was to form three separate squares of mimosa thorn fence, placed diagonally like the squares on a chess-board - a large central square to contain the transport animals, followers and stores, and two flanking squares, of smaller size, to hold the fighting troops and machine guns."

*At each outer angle of the flanking squares, and at the two free angles of the central enclosures, were circular redoubts just like our Scotch turrets.*

For Z castle in Tangjënnar, see Illustrated London News, 24 February, 1846.

The same simple scheme, with round towers, recurs at Asloun Castle, at Pitcaple Castle and at Cluny Castle (dated 1604). in which last the upper works were developed into a luxuriant coronet of turrets and other ornate features, concerning which more hereafter. At Glenbuchat Castle, dated 1590, and in the original part of Keith-Hall, the towers are square, and at Midmar, Harthill, and Castle Fraser (completed in 1618), one tower is square and the other is round. In detail, no one can study this group of buildings without feeling the utmost admiration for the skill and resource with which the old master-masons rung the changes upon the theme of a thoroughly sound and functional root-conception.

As an example of a thoroughly well-designed house on the three-stepped plan, in which the requirements of habitability and defence are nicely balanced and harmonious, let us take

HARTHILL CASTLE.

This fine ruin, ever memorable for the sake of the Royalist martyr, Patrick Leith, younger of Harthill, stands on the northern apron of Bennachie, in the parish of Cynie. Except

1. Ibid., vol. LV, pp. 146-8.
for the lack of floors and roof, it remains almost intact, and hardly any building of its period will better repay a close study. The Z-shaped disposition of the balanced and écheloned towers, besides its defensive quality and its suitability for lighting, permits of a very ingenious and compact grouping together of the private and public apartments on each flat, with stairs conveniently placed to serve both. And the elevation produced by the plan, with its receding planes of building, is altogether admirable. Seen from the front, the castle appears to face the spectator like a man in a defensive posture, with one arm on guard against his assailant and the other withdrawn for a blow. This sturdy and repelling quality in the elevations, arising from the plan, is emphasised by the martial garniture of the wall heads, with their baronial bravery of turrets and corbie-steps. The moulded detail is always well thought out and refined, even in the loftiest and most inaccessible parts, such as the chimney copes. Round the whole was a barmkin or courtyard, enclosed by a wall of which a considerable portion, including the fine gatehouse, remains in a ruinous condition on the south side of the Castle. East and north is the old garden enclosure, still marked out by venerable ash-trees. A pediment now lying loose inside the ruin bears the date 1601, which is doubtless that of its erection.

1. For a full description see F. Bickley, *The Leiths of Harthill* pp. 105-20.
The main house lies north and south, and measures about 43 feet by 27 feet. At its north-east corner is a rectangular tower, about 25 feet by 22 feet, and at the south-west corner is another tower, not quite 20 feet in diameter. The round-arched door is in the re-entrant angle of the north-east tower. It was defended by the usual wooden door and iron yett, and the latter was secured by a couple of drawbars. As commonly, the whole basement of the castle is vaulted. The square tower contains a guardroom or cellar, and also the main stair; in the central building are the kitchen and a cellar, with a corridor of access; and there is a second cellar in the round tower. The kitchen is well fitted up, containing the usual arched fireplace, a service window to the corridor, a slop-drain, and an external water-supply trough. It also has a service stair to the screens in the hall above. The main stair in the square tower commences as a straight flight, and then turns into a newel stair ascending to the summit of the castle. At the diagonally opposite corner of the building an oblique flight of steps mounts in the west wall, then likewise becomes a newel stair, set in the angle made by the round tower. Like the main stair, it is continued up to the top of the house. The convenience and skilful designing of all these service arrangements are an outstanding feature of the plan.

1. At least I have assumed so for convenience in reference. The precise orientation is shown on the plan.
On the first floor the whole of the main structure is occupied by the hall, and there is a private chamber in each tower. The hall measures 30 feet by 18 feet. In its east wall is a handsome moulded fireplace, with stone benches on either ingoing, as well as a "salt-cellar" or aumbry. The hall is well lit by large windows in arched bays, from one of which a well secured door led out to a building behind the barmkin wall. At the screens end of the hall is a small laver or sink. The window here is kept high so as to clear a buffet in connexion with the service stair. The private chambers off the hall in the two towers form well-appointed living rooms, and both of them are vaulted. Between the north-east room and the hall, but opening only from the former, and without direct communication with the stair, is a large vaulted strong room.

Above this level there have been one other full storey and a garret in the main house, the arrangement on each flat being similar to that on the principal floor - one large apartment in the central house and a private room in the towers. In the main house the second floor was subdivided by a light partition into two rooms. The towers each contain one storey more than the main house, having thus four storeys and a garret in all. Main house and square tower are both finished off with the usual steep crow-stepped gables and tall chimneys; the round tower had a conical helmet. On
the two eastern angles of the square tower, and on the two free angles of the main building, are large round corbelled turrets. From the main stair-head a small subsidiary newel stair ascends to an open parapet or wall-walk along the south front of the square tower, directly above and covering the door. After serving this parapet, the little stair is carried up higher so as to afford access to a cap-house chamber over the main stair-head. The open parapet over the door is an interesting localised survival of wall-head defence in a late fortified house, in all other parts of which defence in the vertical plane has been superseded by horizontal enfilading through gunloops. We have already noted a similar local parapet over the door at Tillycairn Castle.

The castle is built of the usual rough, substantial, partly coursed rubble work, showing the free use of horizontal pinnings common in the north at this period. Quoins, corbeling, copings, gunloops, and the dressings at the various voids are all very carefully wrought in the finely toned pink Benne-granite. In the basement the large splayed gunloops are ornamental in various ways, and the smaller ones in the turrets are circular or diamond-shaped. Much finely carved detail still remains in the ruin, or built into the adjacent farm-steading.

Harthill Castle, brooding in its loneliness under the shadow of Bennachie, seems for ever to be musing apart upon the
wild deeds of the race that once it housed. Of them, and it, the end was in keeping. The last laird, having bogged himself in debt and striven with all his neighbours, set fire to his castle and watched it burn from 'Harthill's Cave', a rock shelter still pointed out on Craig Shannoch, the nearest "tap" of Bennachie.

It a category by itself stands珊瑚城堡, one of the most remarkable ruins in Mar, and one of the most beautiful. Below the steep bank on which it stands furth against a sombre background of woodland, the Burn of Corse expands into a broad lake, whose tranquil waters reflect the trees and the grey old walls in their midst. The lands of Corse, which belonged originally to the Durwards of Coull, were granted in 1476 by James III to Patrick Forbes, his armour-bearer, a brother of the first Lord Forbes. William, the fourth laird, married Elizabeth Strachan of Thornton, and built the Castle, as recorded on its walls. His son was the celebrated Bishop Patrick Forbes, and his grandson was Dr. John Forbes, Professor of Divinity in King's College, and one of the most scholarly and pious of the Aberdeen Doctors. Like others of his colleagues, he was driven overseas by the "bigots of the iron time", but was allowed to return after five years exile in the Netherlands, and died at Corse in 1648. If only for the memory of these two good
and learned men, the Castle will remain an object of veneration so long as its strong old walls endure.

Architecturally, it is a building of much importance. Its general form is L-shaped, the re-entrant angle looking north, and the two long faces measuring each about 36 feet. To this L block is attached a round stair tower, but instead of this being placed in the re-entrant angle, as at Tillycairn and Braemar, it is placed in the middle of the back or southern face. In this position it is as conveniently placed to serve both departments of the house, while at the same time the visitor has to traverse the interior to reach it. A special regard for security is thereby indicated, and this seems to be confirmed by the very narrow stair foot door. In this connexion, it is perhaps worth noting, tradition relates that the present Castle was erected after a less defensible predecessor had been plundered by cateran.

"Please God", Patrick Forbes is said to have vowed, "I will build me such a house as thieves will need to knock at ere they enter!" At the north-west corner of the Castle is another round tower, large and boldly salient. "The structure then forms a curious and uncommon combination of the L and Z plans:" it is, however, all of one date, and


that is fixed by an inscription on the door lintel, thus:-
WF. 1581. FS. The staircase tower is continued up higher
than the wall-head of the main building, and in its upper part
contained small living rooms, reached by a corbelled turret
stair. Unfortunately, the internal arrangements of the
Castle are well nigh demolished. The kitchen, with its
cavernous fireplace, is at the north end. Only a small
portion of the ground floor, in the south-west corner, was
vaulted - again an almost unique occurrence, though it is
paralleled at Loch Ranza Castle in the Isle of Arran, a
structure of about the same period. On the first floor,
lying east and west, was the hall with the laird's room in
the northern limb - where he would profit by the heat from
the kitchen. No doubt the family bed-chambers were in the
north-west round tower - again a secure position, in the
corner farthest from the main stair. It is clear that the
plan has been a clever one.

Over the door is the panel for a coat of arms, and
above this an arched niche. Some of the smaller windows
are diamond shaped. At the wallhead are round angle turrets,
carried on continuous corbelling, and tightly bound into the
walls, as was usual at this time. The gables are finished
with flat skews instead of the more usual crow-steps, and the
chimney copes are well-profiled.
An interesting feature of the later Scottish castellated mansions is the prevalent use of iron gratings, either in the form of "grilles" applied to the windows - often projected as a cage - or of "yetts" protecting the entrance, the yett usually being placed as a secondary defence inside a stout wooden door. If the door were burned or broken up, the yett would hold, and the defenders could shoot through the bars. These iron gratings/very clever examples of the smith's craft, the mode of penetration of the bars being reversed in diagonally opposite quarters. Good yetts survive in our Province at the Castles of Braemar, Cluny, Crathes and Drum.

A volume might be written upon the extraordinary variety and exuberant development of skyline features which mark on later castles. The old open parapet, as seen at Drum and partly still surviving at Tillycairn and Harthill, is now absorbed into the packsaddle roof, resting between steep "corbie-stepped" gables, and lit by dormer windows of quaint and varied design. The old open "rounds" are similarly now roofed in to form turrets with graceful pointed or gabled helmets. Corbelling is utilised in the greatest profusion, often with no reference to structural needs. The fantastic profiles thus evolved have often been set down to French influence. But the plans of the buildings are almost always purely Scottish, and the ornate upper features can all be traced back through an unbroken logical sequence to an earlier...
utilitarian or military use. The master-masons too, as we shall see, were natives.

During the reign of James VI we first begin to trace, in our northern Province, the impact of an external influence which was ultimately to lead to the extinction of the beautiful native architecture. This external influence was the Renaissance. Comparatively speaking, Scotland tardily responded to the new impulse. But once she had taken the decisive step of breaking the "auld alliance" with France, and of seeking a novel union with the hereditary foe - a union based upon their common exploration of the thorny path of church reform - the door long closed against southern influences was at last thrown open. The combined encroachment of the Renaissance and of English taste is first manifested in internal or accessory details such as plaster-work ceilings, panelling, balustrades, pilasters and pedestals of classical or quasi-classical character, and ogee instead of conical roofs on the turrets. Classical architraves or pediments are frequently found on doors and windows after the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Crathes, Castle Fraser, Craigievar, Midmar, and the addition made in 1619 to the Tower of Drum, afford a rich and fascinating field for the study of such incoming details. About the same time, also, foreign influence began to make itself felt in an increasing
desire for symmetry in plan. Of this the later work at Drum and the seventeenth century wings added to Castle Fraser are conspicuous examples; while the great fronts of Keith Hall (post 1677) and Culter House (circa 1672) attractively show what the urge towards a balanced façade resulted in towards the end of the century. Its final outcome is shown in the beautiful house built in 1725 by the Chalmers family at Balnacraig, which falls beyond the period covered in our survey.

Owing to the cessation of wars with England, and the withdrawal of the Crown to London - out of the control of baronial factions - the first generation of the seventeenth century was a period of public tranquillity; and we have seen that in our Province conditions were specially favourable. The composite style then evolved has left us in Mar a group of the choicest of Scotland's architectural gems - Castle Fraser, Craigievar, Crathes, Midmar, and the addition to Drum. Of these, perhaps the finest is Castle Fraser, which shows how the native three-stepped plan, carried out on a grand scale, and adorned with all the wealth of composite decorative detail which we have noted above, has resulted in giving us a masterpiece of which any nation might feel proud. This

1. See The Deeside Field, 1931, pp. 76-83.
2. Supra, pp. 199-206.
splendid building has been described and analysed with such profound insight and delicate appreciation by the late Dr. Kelly that it would be presumptuous for me to do more than refer my readers to what he has written. Note that it was the work of a native genius - the master mason I. Bel, who has left his modest tablet (dated 1617) on its wall. Now in the old kirkyard of Meldrum is a grave inscribed HEIR LDS GEORG BEL MEASON DECEISIT IN BALOGY ANO 1575. Ballogie is the old name of Midmar, and we cannot doubt that George Bell was the master mason of Midmar Castle. I. Bel of Castle Fraser was probably his son. Another of the family

1. See The Deeside Field, 1931, pp. 59-62. The author of Don (ed. 1814, pp. 47-8) lets himself go over Castle Fraser in the best enamelled style of the eighteenth century:

"Cast your eyes

On FRASER'S glorious pile, which southward lies;
Whose fame, whose structure, is by none excell'd,
That in our northern climes are yet beheld.
The sumptuous frontispiece on the north side,
Shines with gilt ornaments of Scythian pride.
You'll own the fabric rais'd with skill and art,
Magnificently built, exact in every part.
Around this house a spacious garden lies,
Defended from the blasts of eastern skies
By thriving trees, which to vast heights arise.
The best of fruits grow in this fertile ground,
Well fenc'd with green inclosures all around.
The hedges we in foreign lands have seen,
In beauty vie not with the holly green;
In charming order see how they appear,
With equal verdure thro' the circling year;
Some edg'd with silver, some with spots like gold,
Whose various kinds are pleasing to behold.
A chrysal fountain from a rock here flows,
Which with soft easy murmurs purling goes,
And thro' the garden leads its stream around,
Visits each plant and waters all the ground."

2. For Midmar, see Country Life, 23rd Nov. 1912: The Deeside Field, 1938, pp. 22-4.
will have been David Bell, mason at Pitfichie in 1607. So here we have a native family of master masons in our Province, of whom we know nothing more than that they were capable of designing and carrying out a group of kindred houses unrivalled for variety, picturesqueness and strength of character — for Cragievar, Crathes and Drum are all so closely related to Midmar and Castle Fraser, as well as to each other, that we must believe all five to be the handiwork of the same craftsmen. To the group we may perhaps add Cluny, the most picturesque of all; though we know it only from Hullmandet's lithograph and Skene of Rubislaw's sketches: because in the thirties of last century its glorious coronet was taken down and the despoiled stump incorporated, behind a granite ashlar facing, in the present mansion — there to remain unrecognised until the fire of 1926 revealed its continued, if mutilated, existence!


2. The barony of Cluny is an ancient one. In the reign of Robert I it was held by Sir Alexander Fraser (Ant. Shires Aberd. and Banff, vol. III, pp. 316-7), and by David II was granted in 1334-1345 to his sister Margaret and her husband, William, fifth Earl of Sutherland (Sir William Fraser, The Sutherland Book, vol. I, p. 35). Before 1437 it had passed into the hands of the first Earl of Huntly (Fach. Rolls, vol. V, p. 9). In 1468 and later the barony courts were held apud lie Gray Stane de Cluny (Ant. Shires Aberd. and Banff, vol. IV, p. 104: cf. G. F. Browne, Echt-Forbes Family Charters, p. 95, No. 39, date 1548; also Records of Aboyne, p. 225, date 1614). No doubt this is the noble monolith of grey whinstone, more than 10 feet in height, which still stands in solitary grandeur in a field north of Woodend, about a mile and a quarter east-north-east of Cluny Castle (see Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.,
2. (contd.)

vol. XXXVII, pp. 86-7). The castle lies hidden in a wide hollow which was drained at the end of the eighteenth century. Previously it was a marsh, watered by the Cluny Burn, which flows past the Castle to the east, and by the Ton Burn on the north—the two streams meeting just below the Castle. Thus the position was a fencible one, and in addition the fortalice was girt about with a wet ditch (Statistical Account, vol. X, p. 249). When the present edifice was built, in 1836-40, the configuration of the site was transferred by banking and levelling. But Hullmandel's drawing of the old castle shows it perched upon a mound, and quite likely this was a motte. This idea is strengthened by a mention of lie Peillis of Cluny in 1535 (Records of Aboyne, p. 58). A little distance to the west, in the characteristic Norman fashion, stood the parish church, rebuilt on a different stance in 1789. It was "a cross church, having one isle for the Gordons of Cluny, and another for the Frasers of Muchil [Castle Fraser]"—Coll. Shires Aberd. and Banff, p. 637.

To the south-east is the Castle Mill, which existed in 1636 (Records of Aboyne, p. 276); and beside it the Cot-town Park doubtless preserves the memory of the cotter hamlet that grew up in dependence upon the Castle. East of the policies on a brow of land is the farm of Park, recalling the Parkhill of Cluny in 1522 (ibid., p. 55). Here was the lord of the manor's plantation, whose memory lingers also in the adjoining farm of Woodend, lie Woodend de Cluny in 1636 (ibid., p. 276). Behind are the Cumming Park and Wood, the site of the laird's rabbit-warren (for these valued preserves in olden time see J. Ritchie, Animal Life in Scotland, pp. 249-51). The Mains or terra mensalis (on record in 1539, Records of Aboyne, p. 236) lies to the south-west; and the conveniences of a medieval manor are completed by the Gallowhill (521 ft.), two miles to the south-west—the highest ground in the lowland part of the parish. Few localities in Moray more fully illustrate the institutional nexus that grew up round a feudal castle.

Hullmandel's lithograph, and the sketches made before its demolition by James Skene of Rubislaw (see D. Macgibbon and T. Ross, Castellated and Domestic Architecture in Scotland, vol. II, pp. 232-7), have preserved for us the glamorous outline of old Cluny Castle. Mr. Hugh Macintosh's charming illustration (Plate 7) is re-drawn from Hullmandel. Skene's hasty sketches are by no means clear in all their details, particularly how the roofs were managed. In Plate I have re-crafted his view from the west, and by comparing this with Plate ... it will be seen how the ghost of the ancient pile has been re-embodied in its successor. In the plan, Fig. 2, is shown the ground floor of the north-
2. (cont'd.)

West tower survives intact, and a portion of its outer wall, with a splayed granite plinth, is exposed in the adjoining closet, where marked on plan. According to Skene, the hall measured 25 feet by 18 feet, which shows that it occupied the whole first floor of the main house. Up in the cap-house of the south-east tower was a secret closet, of which he gives a clear and interesting description, aided by a sketch-plan. In the present building is preserved a stone displaying the Seton-Gordon armorial bearings and motto, with the initials of Sir Thomas Gordon and the inscription THOM. GORDON A CLUNY MILES ME FECIT 1604. This date may be accepted as that of the erection or completion of the old castle, and accords with the idea that it was built by the master-mason I. Bel, who finished the neighbouring Castle Fraser in 1617.

The iron yett of the former castle now hangs in the south entrance to the garden. Though varied in different parts of the structure, the interpenetration of the bars is not reversed in opposite quarters in the usual regular way. According to the Statistical Account, the yett weighs 32 stone.

Three branches of the Gordons have successively held Cluny. For the first, originating in Sir Alexander Gordon, third son of the third Earl of Huntly, from whom he got the barony in 1539, see Records of Aboyne, pp. 229-42, and reff. in Index. Falling into debt, they had to part with Cluny in the latter half of the seventeenth century; and in 1680 it was bought by Robert Gordon, descended from the eldest son of the third Earl of Huntly. This second race of Cluny Gordons had likewise to sell the estate, some time before 1741 (see Jervise's Epitaphs and Inscriptions, vol. II, p. 130): The third and present line was founded by John Gordon, factor to the third Duke of Gordon: he bought Cluny between 1749 and 1757. For the remarkable history of this family, see J. M. Bulloch, The Gordons of Cluny (privately printed, 1911).
Of the whole group, it is undoubtedly
1. CRATHES CASTLE

that best preserves, alike in the building itself, in its contents and in its surroundings, the spirit of baronial life in the Second Golden Age of Scottish history, in a period which, so far as our Province is concerned, may not unjustly be termed a kind of Indian Summer of the Middle Ages.

A great house which has been in continuous occupation for centuries is always an inspiring sight, and one dear to the heart of all who, in these days of bustle and change and the short-term improvisations that masquerade as "progress", are not ashamed to profess their love for continuous and long-descended things. If it should chance that the house be still occupied by the descendants of those who build it; if it should retain the very furniture with which they surrounded themselves when the harl was yet damp upon its walls; and if the tinctured pomp of heraldry and the glowing imagery of medieval fancy with which they clad their walls and ceilings should still survive to greet our eyes as we

1. See The Deeside Field, 1937, pp. 64-5; Country Life, 118, 18th and 25th Sept., 1937. Dated coats of arms show that the castle was begun in 1553 and completed in 1596. There is documentary evidence that it was inhabited as early as 1588 (Family of Burnett of Leys, p. 32); and in January, 1595 "the tower, manor and fortalice of Crathes" are declared henceforth to be the principal messuage of the Barony of Leys (ibid., p. 33). The earliest residence of the family was upon the crannog in the Loch of Leys (Province of Mar, pp. 67-8). But they had a house at Crathes as early as 1481 (Family of Burnett of Leys, p. 169).
pass from room to room - then here, most surely, we have to deal with a pearl of great price among the nation's jewels.

"A house", wrote the late Marquis Curzon in one of his rare approaches to humour, "has to my mind a history as enthralling as that of an individual. If an old house, it has a much longer existence, and it may be both beautiful and romantic, which an individual seldom is." And in the biography of houses Crathes must surely take a foremost place; for to the feudal bravery of architecture and decoration and furnishings it adds the distinction of a perfect setting. In this setting also the same sweet grace of continuity is manifest. Amid all the glories of modern gardening the formal lay out of the seventeenth century still predominates. Those proud yew hedges - veritable fortifications, ten feet or more in height, clipped into fantastic shapes - and those majestic lime trees preserve the dispositions of the first baronet, who ruled at Crathes from 1619 to 1653, and by his wise and cautious policy brought his stately home unscathed through the storms and stresses of the Civil War. And so in the gardens, as in the castle, old and new are happily combined. The new life is inextricably blent with the relics of the old, and the warmth and colour of the one is strengthened by the dignity and character of the other.

The castle itself, as we have stated, is a choice gem of the final phase in our native Scotch Gothic. The tower-house is designed on a clever variation of the L-plan, and
measures 43 feet by 50 feet, with rounded angles and walls about 6 feet thick in the basement. It contains in its main portion four storeys, the uppermost being partly in the roof. A handsome spiral stair gives access as far as the second floor, and thereafter a corbelled turret stair ascends to the summit of the building. There was also a narrow service stair between the vaulted offices in the basement and great hall, also vaulted, on the first floor. Externally, this tower-house forms one of the most spectacular architectural conceptions in Scotland. Its regal coronet of round and square turrets, dormer windows with quaint finials, and gargoyles of fantastic or grotesque design, vie with the riotous exuberance of its ornate corbelling in forming a composition vibrant with élan and the joy of life. Inside, the remnants of the ancient heraldic decoration in the lofty arched hall; the elaborately painted ceilings in three of the bedrooms - known respectively as the "Chamber of the Muses", the "Chamber of the Nine Worthies", and the "Green Lady's Chamber" - heighten our admiration as we mount by narrow stairs from floor to floor, until at last the climax is reached in the lovely embowed oak-panelled gallery under the roof. Here were held the barony courts, and such a gallery would serve also as a hall of state, in which the laird would receive his guests and those who came to pay him suit - all suitably impressed by their arduous ascent into the great man's presence.
Nor are the furnishings of the Castle of lesser interest. Here is the great carven four-poster bed of the twelfth laird, Alexander Burnett, who completed the castle, and his wife, Kate Gordon of Lesmoir, proudly displaying their portraits, coats of arms and monograms, and the date 1594. Here also are their easy chairs, high and narrow-backed after the manner of France; and here is the wardrobe of Sir Thomas Burnett, the first baronet, and his wife, Margaret Douglas of Glenbervie. Among the pictures are no fewer than five Jamesones. But the chief treasure of Crathes is the famous jewelled ivory hunting horn, given (it is said) by King Robert Bruce as a symbol of tenure when the lands of Crathes, being part of the old Royal forest of Drum, were granted by him to Alexander Burnard in 1323.

Altogether dourer is the keynote struck by the charming mansion added in 1619 to the ancient tower of DRUM CASTLE.

Here, moreover, the glory of ancestral furniture is lacking - for the proudest of reasons. Though the house contains many beautiful things, there have all been accumulated since the Civil War, in which the laird of Drum sacrificed everything but his bare walls on the altar of his loyalty to his sovereign.

1. See The Province of Mor, pp. 6-7. Sir Daniel Wilson's suggestion must be rejected, for the Coroner'ship of the Garioch did not come to the Burnetts until 1613, and the horn appears on a shield at Crathes Castle dated 1553.
At Drum it is in its plan that the interest of the house resides. Here the traditional schemes of tower house or "stepped" house have been boldly scrapped, and the lay-out of the Jacobean mansion is best considered as a reversion to that alternative thesis of the palatium or hall, which we first saw at Kindrochit—modified profoundly, in the present case, not only by the new desire for more private accommodation, but also by the Renaissance hankering after a symmetrically balanced façade.

The new mansion thus consists of a long tenement flanked by a square tower at either end of the south front, or Schauffassade. The basement contains the kitchen and cellars, all of which are furnished with groined vaults. Along the north or courtyard side is a corridor of access with service doors at either end, and a small projecting wing at the east end of this side contains the main stair, of the old spiral pattern, which continues up right to the top of the house. Each of the projecting towers has also a newel stair of its own, but that in the west tower connects the basement and first floor only, while the stair in the other tower serves all floors up to the garret. A fourth over the main entrance, newel stair, links the hall with the floor above. The arrangement of all these stairs is most ingenious, and intimately associated, as we shall see, with the special

1. Supra, p.
functions of the different apartments.

On the first floor is the hall, having the withdrawing room adjoining and the laird's private room beyond that. The service stair rising from the kitchen corridor would enable the laird to dine en famille when he wished to do so. From the private room the stair in the south-east tower descends to an apartment with an outer door in the basement of this tower. Obviously this formed a business or "speak-a-word" room, in which the laird could interview a tenant or one of his outdoor servants. On the upper floor are the bed chambers. These are now served by a modern corridor, but of old there was no such convenience, and this is the reason for the three separate stairs which rise from the floor below, and are so contrived as to provide easy access to all the bedrooms. The partition separating the withdrawing room from the laird's private room is carried up massively right to the roof, from which it emerges as a crow-stepped gable; and it is probable that the bedrooms beyond this, and continued round the south-east angle up to the old tower, were reserved for the family. East and north, the courtyard is completed by enclosing walls, in part incorporated with modern buildings. The main entrance looks north, and there is a side-gate on the west front. Attached to this

1. A similar stair connects the kitchen with the laird's room at Tolquhon Castle.
front is the well-house.

The south elevation of the mansion, with its corbelled turrets, crow-stepped gables, and ornate dormers, forms a deeply interesting and most picturesque composition, in which the classical ideal of symmetry is achieved by the considered massing of features which, save for the Renaissance elements in the dormer pediments, are all purely native in inspiration. Every detail of this seventeenth century house reveals the highest mastery alike in design and in masoncraft. The modern additions and alterations, within and without, have not affected the general character of the whole, and are in sufficient harmony with the ancient work. So at Drum Castle, with its grim medieval tower dominating the quaint mansion of James VIth's time, is one of the most charming of old Scottish houses. Like its neighbour up the valley, amid its ancient and well-tended policies it has preserved the air of the past to a degree most unusual in a house that has been continuously occupied throughout generations of changing conditions.

Adjoining the castle to the south west is a small private chapel. Although modernised, this may in substance be as old as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Within it is the magnificent stone canopy that once adorned the altar tomb of the fifth laird and his lady, still to be seen in "Drum's Aisle2 of the Town's Kirk in Aberdeen."
Our galaxy of Jacobean Castles in Mar marks the culmination of Scottish baronial architecture in the second Golden Age of our stormy annals. The fair prospect was rudely blasted by the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in 1637. A generation of convulsion produced an almost complete interruption of architecture in a Province which suffered more than most parts of Scotland from the calamities of war. The ancient building traditions were snapped asunder; and with the revival in the latter part of the seventeenth century the lingering native style, which still leaves its traces in Culter House, already noted, was rapidly extinguished in the prevalent European quasi-classical architecture of the period. The triumph of the Zeitgeist is illustrated, side by side with one of the choicest gems of the old, in the plain yet dignified "laigh house" that was added to Crathes Castle early in the eighteenth century.

One of the latest and most interesting of all the Castles in Mar and the Garioch is

LESLIE CASTLE,

which, like Troupersie and Pitfichie, and others that might be mentioned, has been suffered to go to wrack and ruin in our own day. For this reason, and because of its intrinsic importance, it has seemed desirable that a full record should be preserved of a very remarkable, in some respects indeed a unique building.
LESLEY—CASTLE.

The lands of Leslie were the original home in Scotland of the great family to which they gave their name, and which was settled here in the twelfth century - Malcolm, son of Bartholf, having received a grant of the lands from David, Earl of Huntingdon, circa 1171-99. But the castle, the ruins of which now remain, was built in 1661 by William Forbes, whose father, a son of the Laird of Monymusk, had acquired the property by marrying the widow of the last Leslie proprietor. William's son John sold it to the Leiths of Leith Hall, to which family it still belongs. Though the present castle has thus no proper connexion with the Leslies, they undoubtedly had a seat here, as is proved by their taking their territorial title from the place at least as far back as the time of Norman de Lesselyn, one of the barons who submitted to Edward I at Aberdeen on 15th July, 1296.

The ditch which surrounds the Forbes mansion is almost certainly a relic of the ancient fortalice of the De Lesselyns. Laing states that William Forbes "finding the castle decaying, pulled it down and laid the foundations of a lesser building, June 17th, 1661." The site of the castle is a few hundred

2. Supra, p. 43.
3. Donean Tourist, p. 292. He also says that at the foot of the gatehouse "the ruins of the former buildings are conspicuous."
yards north-east of the parish church, which, although rebuilt in 1815, occupies the ancient stance. Here, therefore, as so often in Scotland, we see how the early parish originated in the manor of a territorial lord, the church and castle remaining side by side as the civil and ecclesiastical nuclei of the early parochial organisation. Across the Gadie Burn is the farm of Mains of Leslie, representing the demesne land of the ancient manor; and northward, behind the castle, is the Gallowhill. The church (one of those impropriated to Lindores Abbey) still retains the orientation of its medieval predecessor; and also a handsome bell-cot of the seventeenth century. In the kirkyard is the tomb of William Forbes, founder of the present castle, who died in 1670.

On approaching the ruins of the Forbes mansion the great ditch of the De Lesselyn Castle that preceded it becomes strikingly apparent. It measures about 30 feet in breadth, and is still in places as much as 6 feet deep, having a prominent counterscarp mound. The enclosure within is oblong in form, with rounded angles, measuring about 160 feet east and west by 140 feet north and south. There is no evidence of the interior space having been mounded up as a motte, and the probability is that the early manor house was a moated homestead rather than a castle of the mount-and-bailey type. The mansion of the Forbeses is built on the north side of the western half of the medieval enclosure.

This picturesque ruin is in every respect one of the most interesting and valuable specimens of ancient domestic architecture in Scotland. Its importance consists in the fact that it is perhaps the latest example of a fortified house in the country. Though erected well beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, and long after the turmoil of the Civil Wars had ceased, it still retains much of the external paraphernalia and some of the serious defences of a feudal castle, while exhibiting, at the same time, the latest improvements in domestic accommodation. In a similar way, though its architectural detail is in the main Scottish in character, it also distinctly reveals the infiltration of English and Renaissance feeling. It thus stands on the threshold betwixt old and new, combining the last lingering characteristics of a bygone age of sturt and strife and intense self-centred nationalism with the new conditions of security, increasing comfort and contact with the wider world.

The building is designed on the L-plan, the longest sides, east and north, measuring 48 feet 6 inches and 57 feet respectively, while in the re-entrant angle, looking south, is a large stair tower, 13 feet 6 inches square. In this design the military ancestry of the house is evident. The L-plan in its origin, as we saw, is simply the old rectangular tower-house with a wing appended to one side in order to provide additional accommodation, and also to ensure flanking defence for the doorway in the re-entrant. In earlier
instances of this plan, its evolution is clearly shown in the internal disposition of the building, which always contains on each flat a large room in the main portion, with a small apartment adjoining it in the wing. But here in this late example the traditional arrangement of the L-plan, recalling its descent from the simple tower, is abandoned, and the whole interior space is treated as a unit, to be broken up into apartments as required, without reference to the original plan, whose outline alone is preserved. In other words, the military ancestry of the design has been quite forgotten, and its retention in the outline of the building has become merely a matter of tradition - reinforced no doubt by the fact that the L-plan, defensive considerations being discounted, is still per se a convenient mode of arranging a house. A similar tale is told by the elevations of the castle, in which all the walls are built with a batter or inward rake. This is a survival of the old habit, universal in early Scottish castles, of building the walls thus in order to relieve the open corbelled defensive parapet. Here, although there is no parapet, and defence from the wallheads is not intended, the old fashion of building is retained as a tradition.

In the basement the walls are about 3 feet thick, and

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1. A still later example of how this fashion persisted is seen at Culter House.
are pierced with loops for light, and with wide-mouthed gunloops. This type of gunloop, with a broad horizontal outward splay, is an early survival, the later form having more usually a plain round external orifice. Gunloops of this later type are found in the turrets above. The horizontal gunloops at the ground level are wrought into ornamental shapes, and are grouped to bear upon the approaches to the entrance. They are also *redented* - that is, their smooth splay is broken by stop-ridges so as to prevent bullets shot against it getting in. The entrance occupies the south face of the square tower, and is a lintelled door with moulded architrave, much defaced, and a relieving arch above. On the lintel is incised the motto: HAE.C.CORP. l. SIDERA.MENTEM. The entrance was defended by a wooden door and an inner iron yett. Within, a short lobby gives access to the stair which fills the tower. In this stair the introduction of new ideals of comfort is strongly apparent. It is no longer the old inconvenient spiral stair, but a handsome square stair, nearly 4 feet wide, on the scale-and-platt design, consisting of alternate short flights and landings arranged round a square newel. Under the ascending steps of the first flight, space is found for a narrow guard-room, or porter's lodge, opening at the entrance. At the foot of the newel is an aperture like a small fireplace, above

1. No doubt some word like *DELECTANT* is understood.
which a flue is carried right up the newel, with narrow slits opening on to the stair at all levels. The purpose of this curious contrivance is revealed by an old description of Cassillis Castle, wherein mention is made of "a fine stone stare, turning about a hollow casement in which are many opens from the bottom to the top, that by putting a lamp into it gives light to the whole turn of stairs." A similar contrivance occurs at Strathmartine Lodging in Dundee.

From the entrance lobby access is obtained to the vaulted apartments in the basement. These comprise three cellars, with a large kitchen in the heel of the building. The kitchen has had the usual great arched fireplace, now fallen, a sink with drain, and an external rain-water trough with conduit into a recess beside the fireplace. The vault of the kitchen has collapsed, and its ruins cumber the floor. The smallest cellar - which is contracted to allow a passage of access to its neighbour - had been the wine-room, and contains the usual narrow straight mural stair to the hall above.

The main stair is now in a greatly ruined state, most of the platts (formed of single slabs) and several of the steps being gone. On the first floor are three handsome rooms - a hall in the western portion of the building, a drawing-room in the heel, and a private room beyond. The

1. R. Pitcairn, Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy, p. 168.
hall and private room are entered from the stair; the drawing-room communicates with both. The hall measures 26 feet by 19 feet. It has good large windows, a great fireplace, and a garderobe. On the massy lintel of the fireplace are carved the Forbes arms (three bear's heads [couped muzzled] with a buckle between them for Leslie, and the founder's initials, W.F. At one time the hall had been subdivided by a wooden partition, the marks of which remain on the plaster still adhering to the side walls. The drawing-room has no special features. The stair from the wine-cellar below lands at the passage between these two rooms, so that either could be readily supplied. At the stair-head a small pantry or service closet is formed. The private room is furnished with a vaulted safe or strong-room, having an inner mural locker. On the east side is an outer door, from which steps doubtless led down to the garden.

The upper floors have been similarly arranged. In the main house are four storeys, the topmost partly in the roof, but the tower has been carried up a storey higher. Its uppermost flat, above the stair-head, contained a living room, reached by a small internal mural stair, with a finely moulded corbel-base. It is not clear whether the tower had an open parapet, or (as seems more probable) was capped with a pyramidal or broach roof rising to the vent of the hollow newel.
It is in the treatment of the upper portions that the designer has found full scope for effective grouping and a picturesque commingling of styles. The wall-heads have finished in a moulded cornice. At the angles are bulky round turrets resting on finely moulded corbelings, the uppermost course of which is carved with a festooned enrichment of Renaissance character. These turrets contained well-lit oriel rooms, and their walls are pierced with plain round pistol-holes, some of them raked through the corbel courses. One of these turrets, at the north-west corner, still retains part of its tall conical, slated roof. Between the turrets the gable ends at first rise perpendicularly, as often in late Scottish work, and then are carried up gablewise with flat overlapping skews not wrought with level beds. The moulded cornice at the wall-heads is also continued up the gables. The gables are not brought into a single "lum", as usual in Scotland, but finish with a flat tabling upon which the chimney vents are set in separate shafts. These shafts are square on plan, seated diagonally. They are built with fine ashlar and have had moulded copes, but are now much ruined. The absence of corbie-stepping and the separate diagonal chimney stacks are entirely English in inspiration, while the large angle turrets and the gables at first carried up vertically between them are no less

1. As shown in our illustration, the other roofs have disappeared only in recent years.
decidedly Scottish. The result produced by this commixture of styles is altogether charming and distinctive, and reflects the utmost credit on the master-mason.

The windows have all been grooved for glass and bored for "grilles" of iron bars. One of these gratings still remains precariously in situ; another until recently lay uncared for at the foot of the wall outside, but has not disappeared. As always, the mode of intersection of the bars is reversed in opposite quarters. Some of the windows have also been provided with internal sliding shutters. The masonry is the usual rough rubble of surface boulders with small horizontal pinnings, the quoins and openings everywhere being carefully dressed. On a corner of the stair-tower is incised: FUNDED-IUN-17.1661, while near by is an empty moulded recess for a coat-of-arms. In the infilling of a built-up window on the east side is a stone carved with the initials W.F. A carved cap of pronounced classical pattern lies in one of the cellars.

The house being situated in the moated enclosure of its medieval predecessor, space is found for a court of offices and a garden. A range of "laigh bigging", now demolished, ran south from the house, dividing the ancient

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1. Laing (Donean Tourist, p. 292) states that a window bore the date 1664, probably the year the building was completed.
enclosure. The western part formed the court, and was entered from the west through a lodge or gatehouse, of which some portion was extant recently. It is stated to have borne the Leslie motto and the date 1663. No doubt a bridge spanned the ancient ditch. On the east side was the garden, reached by the outside stair down from the private room. Along the back of the castle a row of old "arm" trees still flourishes.

It is sad to have to conclude this account of one of the most original and delightful architectural compositions that bygone ages have bequeathed to us, by describing the deplorable state of ruin into which it has been allowed to sink. Large portions have recently fallen, and more are about to fall. The main vaults are rotten, all the well-heads are in a bad state, the picturesque chimneys are tottering, many of the lintels are cracked, and the outer walls in more than one place are riven from top to bottom. The entire ruin is littered with rubbish, and altogether presents a melancholy spectacle of heartless neglect.

About a score of years after the laird of Leslie had thus tentatively introduced his quasi-classical whimsies into a house otherwise so traditional in design, the first Earl of Kintore built in front of the old Johnstone Castle of Caskieben, which he had acquired in 1661, a new mansion which he styled

**KEITH HALL.**

This building is of unique importance in our survey, for it forms the earliest full-dress example of the Renaissance domestic architecture in our Province. The old castle is a fine example of the Z-plan, with square towers. It lies east and west, and in the two southern re-entrants of the towers turret stairs ascend from the ground to the top of the house. The eastern stair is larger, and was the main stair of the castle, the outer door being situated in the tower adjoining. The basement is all vaulted. At the west end of the main building was the kitchen, with a narrow and steep service stair mounting in the thickness of the north wall and turning the north-west corner into the great hall, which occupied the whole of the first floor of the main house. This was a fine apartment, measuring about 32 feet by 17 feet. The room opening off the hall in the south-west tower was the laird's chamber, and is vaulted, with a carved granite keystone pendant. On the outside of this tower, a dormer window of Renaissance type bears the date 1665, and shows that
Sir John Keith had made some alterations upon the old castle before he added his great mansion. This addition totally masks the south front of the ancient edifice, but in the courtyard behind the latter is still fully visible, and its characteristic "three-stepped" arrangement leaps to the eye at a glance.

The old castle looked north: the new work faces south, and spreads to the sun its stately front, which is one of the most imposing pieces of domestic design in the north-east of Scotland. It is crested with a classical balustrade, supporting urns, and set between square pavilions, flush with the frontage, and capped by pointed helmets of ogee profile. The elevation recalls that of Kinneil House, except that there the pavilions are salients. Originally the broad expanse of wall-face was severely plain, broken only by the three storeys of windows symmetrically disposed, with an extra row in the pavilions, and by a central doorway, with classical pilasters and broken pediment, above which rose a lofty "frontispiece" of armorial escutcheons. Unfortunately the fine clean lines of this splendid front have been disturbed by the extrusion of a couple of two-storeyed oriel windows, by the raising of the uppermost row of windows in the central part, by the renewal of the doorway and of the margins of all the voids, and by the introduction of a band of label-moulding below the uppermost windows. The original fenestration, which was masterly, may be studied in Giles's drawing, made in 1851.
Over the door are displayed the initials of the first Earl and his Countess, I.E.K. and M.C.K. with the pleasant prayer: MAY. TRUTH. AND. GRACE. REST. HERE. IN. PEACE -

above which is an Earl's coronet above the coats of arms, which appear to have been renewed, is an original carving of the royal crown, sceptre, and sword of state, in memory of the part which the first Earl played in preserving the Scottish Regalia during the Cromwellian Conquest. As he was not created Earl until 1677, it follows that the doorway, and inferentially the front of which it forms the central piece, was not built until after that date. According to the View of the

Internally, the door opens into a large central hall, with a room at either end. Opposite the door - that is to say, in the centre of the back wall of the hall - is the broad-winding main stair; but this is a work of about the year 1810, and before that time, so it is said, the only access to the upper storeys was by the neatel stairs in the old Johnston castle. Above the hall, and of the same size, is a great state room or salon, likewise with a smaller room at either end. It is noteworthy that the hall no longer now forms the common living apartment of the household as the old hall of the Johnstones did, nor is it even the dining

1. Building work appears to have been going on at Keith Hall in 1696, when the Poll Book records the presence there of the two masons, John Gray and Alexander Reid - List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen, 1696, vol. I, p. 338.

2. See p. 601 in the Addenda of 1881 to Davidson's Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch.
room. It has degenerated into a mere vestibule, though a noble one—a hall in the modern sense; and its door, instead of being placed in the screens or lower end, as it is in the Johnston hall, is now found midway in the side wall. This functional decay of the hall is a familiar feature in English houses of the seventeenth century. In Scotland, it is seen in Charles Maitland's addition to Hatton House, a work contemporary with, and in its disposition very similar to, Keith Hall. The contrast between the purely medieval arrangements of the old or Caskieben hall, and the vestibular hall of the Keiths, is most instructive. It illustrates, in one and the same building, a cardinal change in the history of the British house. To borrow the words of the late Mr. Gotch, in this new conception

"the front door was placed centrally at once with the façade and the hall. This new position, delivering the traffic with its centre, wholly precluded the use of the hall as a living room; it became in fact a vestibule. With this change the link with medievalism was severed, it marks in a striking manner the parting of the ways; the change from the old to the new; the closing of the long chapter of domestic planning which began in the early days of the twelfth century: the final abandonment of the principle which had dominated house planning for five hundred years."

With this parting of the ways, then, with this final abandonment of medievalism in design, our study of the Castles of our Province reaches its proper close. No better

concluding example could be found than Keith Hall, for here we have on one site all three main styles in the development of our theme: the moated mound of the Norman penetration, the stone castle of the later medieval period, the symmetrical mansion of the Renaissance. Around stretch the spacious landscape policies designed by "Capability" Brown, themselves heralding a new epoch in the evolution of our northern countryside. And over all, a link between the medieval past and the modern world so happily married in the fabric of this fascinating house, broods the spirit of the famous Renaissance poet who was born here, and has celebrated his ancestral home in strains whose glowing affection still warms the very cockles of our hearts:—

"Here, traveller, a vale behold,  
As fair as Temple famed of old,  
Beneath the northern sky.  
Here Urie with her silver waves  
Her banks in verdure smiling laves,  
And winding wimples by.  

Here Bennachie high towering spreads  
Around on all his evening shalés,  
When twilight grey comes on.  
With sparkling gems the river glows;  
As precious stones the mountain shows  
As in the east are known.

Here nature spreads a bosom sweet  
And native dyes beneath the feet  
Bedeck the joyous ground;  
Sport in the liquid air the birds,  
And fishes in the stream; the herds  
In meadows wanton round.

Here ample barnyards still are stored  
With relics of last autumn's hoard  
And firstlings of this year.

There/
These waving fields of yellow corn,  
And ruddy apples that adorn  
The bending boughs appear.

Beside the stream a castle proud  
Rises amid the passing cloud  
And rules a wide domain  
(Unequal to its lord's desert).

Here was I born; o'er all the land  
Around the Johnstons bear command,  
Of high and ancient line.  
Mantua acquired a noted name  
As Virgil's birthplace, I may fame  
Intint still from mine."

And so we take our leave of the hoary castles that  
form the most conspicuous memorials of the past in the  
ancient Province whose annals we have followed, in this book  
and its predecessor, through a period of some five millenia.

To the lover of the picturesque their charm is inexhaustible.  
Most of them are now gaunt and desolate, storm-beaten hulls -  
rugged, ivy-clad shells of masonry upon which wind and rain  
have exerted their fury unresisted for generations. Others

1. Arthur Johnston, De Loco Suo Notoli, see Musa Latina Aber-  
donensis, vol. II, p. 21. The translation of this famous  
lyric appeared in Alex. Johnston's Genealogical Account of  
the Family of Johnstone, Appendix, p. 13. The quality of the  
original may be gaaged from the last two stanzas:—

Propter aquas arx est, ipsi contermina caelo,  
Auctoris menti non tenem aqua sires.  
Imperat hac arvis et vectigalibus undis,  
Et famula statis distat ub urbe tribus.  
Hace mihi terra parent: gens has Ionastiona lymphas,  
Auraxue per centum missa tuest avos  
Clarssa Muroneis evasit Mantua cunia  
Me mea notolis nobilitabit humus.
again are still inhabited - Drum and Crathes by the descendants of their builders. But whether they yet defy the corroding tooth of time, or have long since capitulated and now are broken ruins, all alike are comely things. Indeed these ancient castles often gain rather than lose in picturesqueness at the touch of decay: for, as the poet has sung -

"Time hath mouldered into beauty many a tower which, when it frowned with all its battlements, was only terrible."

Not less fascinating about these old-time buildings is their historical interest. Each has its story or its ballad - sad and terrible memories, some of them, of the bad old days. And then there is the structural interest of the castle fabric: the interest attaching to its defensive and domestic arrangements; the delight of picturing these castles as places in which men once dwelt, of puzzling out their plan when blurred by alteration, destruction or decay, of clothing their desolate halls with tapestry and filling anew their piteous voids with the colourful life of bygone days.

When we look thus at our ancient castles, we remember that they were the dwelling places of our own forebears - men and women who had to face the problems of existence which beset them in their day, even as we must do now. And we gain an added pleasure in tracing how they strove to reconcile the two ill-neighboured needs of safety and comfort; how, as the country grew more peaceful, the *aspect of the castle gave place to the domestic, and the grim fortress grew into a
fair mansion.

Beyond most districts of Scotland, Mar and the Garioch are rich in such things. Here, if anywhere, we may say with truth that

"Donjons, and towers, and castles grey
Stand guardians by the winding way."

Almost every kind of Castle throughout the whole development of Scottish baronial architecture is represented in our Province, which thus offers an unrivalled field of study in ancient buildings of many types and periods, with all that historic interest and lovely surroundings can add.

"And there they stand, as stands a lofty mind
Worn, but unstooping to the baser crowd,
All tenantless save to the crannying wind.
Or holding dark communion with the cloud,
There was a day when they were young and proud:
Banners on high, and battles passed below;
And they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
And the bleak battlements shall bear no future blow."
The Castle of Corgarff is situated at a height of 1416 feet near the headwaters of the Don, amid wild, barren, and desolate scenery. Its nucleus is a plain oblong tower of the sixteenth century, which was extensively remodelled to serve the purposes of a Government post after the suppression of the last Jacobite rising. At the same time, also, low wings were added to each gable end of the tower, and the whole was enclosed by a loopholed curtain wall, rectangular on plan, with a salient on all four faces, similar in design to that erected at the same period around Braemar Castle. These Hanoverian additions give a distinctive character to the building, and its aspect of sturdy, repelling strength is in perfect harmony with its scenic setting. "Seen in summer, when the heather is awake and the sun shines on the fields that stretch upwards to the foot of its loopholed curtain wall, the castle has an awe-inspiring aspect, a lone, stern, friendless appearance. But in winter it is gaunt and cold and forbidding, like some grim monster brooding over a desolation."

Grimmest of all is its aspect in a blinding autumn rain, when the castle looks a scowling infamy, as if conscious of the horror and iniquity of which it has been the scene.

Twenty years ago I published a full descriptive and historical account of this castle in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. At that time I was able to make use, in my investigation of its architectural development, of a number of measured drawings, now in the British Museum, made by the Government.

1. Alex. Keith, in "The Castle of Corgarff" in Aberdeen Press and Journal, Dec. 29, 1934 - an article in which the ethos of this austere and lonely ruin is portrayed in language that could not be surpassed.

2. Vol. LXI, pp. 48-103. Except where indicated, the authority for all statements made in the present paper will be found in my former one.
surveyors when they took the castle over in 1748. These drawings show the condition of the building before altered, indicate clearly the words then carried out, and preserve a record of further undertakings planned but never executed. Since my former paper was written, a fresh set of Government surveys of Corgarff has turned up in the War Office; and this extra material, with some other new historical particulars that I have gleaned, appears to justify the compiling of a definitive account of one of the most interesting castles in Mar. Such an account seems all the more necessary in view of the rapid decay which is consuming the building.

I.

Commanding the passes of the Dee, the Avon, and the Don, the strategic position of Corgarff Castle was one of much importance, as indeed its history proves. In 1587 the Forest of Corgarff, together with other lands in the Earldom of Mar, was granted by James IV to Alexander, afterwards created first Lord Elphinstone; and in 1546 the second lord made over the property to his eldest son as a marriage gift. Doubtless the erection of the tower followed upon this grant: at all events there appears to be no record of its existence before that date. After the middle of the century the lands of Corgarff passed into the hands of the Forbeses of Towie, as vassals of Lord Elphinstone. Thus in November, 1571, Corgarff Castle, then the seat of the Towie Forbeses, became the scene of the terrible outrage so graphically and beautifully commemorated in the pathetic ballad of Edom o' Gordon, when Margaret Campbell, wife of the laird of Towie, was burned to death, with her family and servants, to the number of 27 in all, by a party of Gordon raiders from Auchindoun.
It has often been stated that the ghastly deed was perpetrated at Towie, but a critical examination of the evidence makes it beyond dispute that the castle burned under such tragic circumstances was not Towie but Corgarff. Documentary proof is available that no castle existed at Towie before 1618. The whole matter is fully discussed in my former paper, so that only the briefest summary of the case is necessary here.

Of the four sixteenth century writers who record the catastrophe — Bannatyne's Journal (1573); the Diurnall of Ocurrents (1575); Lumsden's Genealogy of the Family of Forbes (1580); and the Historie and Life of King James the Sixth (1596) — two, Lumsden and the Diurnall, are decisive for Corgarff. The evidence of these two writers is conclusive because (a) Matthew Lumsden is the one local chronicler, he was writing within a decade of the event, had himself suffered in the Forbes-Gordon wars, and was connected with the injured family, of which he was the historian — so that on every count it is inconceivable how his express statement, twice repeated, that the disaster took place at "the Castell of Corgarffe" could have been mistaken in regard to an event of such painful local notoriety; and (b), not having any local knowledge, the reference by the author of the Diurnall to "the place of Carriegill" — i.e., Corrierehoul, the demesne lands of Corgarff — is the more decisive, because it could not possibly be a slip.

As to the two other writers, neither of whom had local connexion of special knowledge, the "house of Towie" in Bannatyne was a natural mistake for one writing at a distance, ignorant as to the circumstances

2. See further discussion of Lumsden's testimony in Additional Note, infra.
of the Towie family and their then occupation of Corgarff; while the "Castle of Towie" in the Historie - the latest of the sixteenth century authorities - represents the final crystallisation of the error. The whole confusion has arisen from the fact that in 1571 the Forbeses of Towie was staying not at Towie Castle - which was not then in existence - but in the Castle of Corgarff. While in the circumstances the substitution of Towie for Corgarff was easy, a contrary mistake would be unintelligible.

Coming now to writers of the seventeenth century, the celebrated geographer, Robert Gordon of Straloch, in some notes which he compiled to Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church and State of Scotland, corrected the latter's statement (borrowed from Bannatyne) that the scene was Corgarff. Gordon was a local man, born within a decade of the event, and in all that he wrote a singularly clear-headed and accurate scholar. It is impossible to believe that he could have been mistaken.

Finally, from the seventeenth century onwards a continuous current of local record and tradition, clear and undeviating, which is fully discussed in my former paper, supports Corgarff. The famous ballad of Edom o'Gordon itself as recited in Strathdon up to the beginning of last century, was invariably sung of Corgarff, not of Towie. The Towie error in fact has always been purely literary, and confined to writers unconnected with the district. Local tradition and record alike have never wavered in pointing to Corgarff as the scene of this frightful outrage - one of the cruellest deeds of clan

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vengeance recorded in Scottish history. It is an old story now, yet the horror of that ghastly day seems still to haunt the lonely castle:

"O then bespake her youngest son,
Sat on the nurse's knee,
'Dear mother, gie owre your house', he says,
'For the reek it worries me.'

'I winna gie up my house, my dear,
To nae sik traitor as he;
Oam well, oam wae, my jewels fair,
Ye maun tak share wi' me.'

"O then bespake her dochter dear,
She was baith jimp and sma;
'O row me in a pair o' shufts
And tow me owre the wa.'

"They rowd her in a pair o' shufts,
And towd her owre the wa,
But on the point o' Edom's speir
She got a deadly fa.

"O bonny, bonny was her mouth
And chirry were her cheiks,
And dear, dear clear, clear was her yellow hair,
Whereon the reid blood dreips!

Then wi' his speir he turned her owr
O gin her face was wan!
He said, 'You are the first that e'er
I wist alive again.'

He turned her owr and owr again:
O gin her skin was white!
He said, 'I might ha' spared thy life
To ken some man's delyte.' "

On May, 1607, the "fortalice of Torgarffa" was captured by Alexander Forbes of Towrie, at the head of some Highland cateran, who broke the door open with "grate geistis, for hammerius", and other instruments, and thereafter "fortified it as a house of war."

Probably Forbes had a grievance against the Elphinstones after their usurpation of the property. In 1626 the lands and castle of Corgarff were recovered from Lord Elphinstone by the Erskines, as representatives of the ancient Celtic Earls of Mar. In June 1645 the Castle
became the headquarters of Montrose, before the campaign of Alford.

At that time it was in a dismantled condition. In the Jacobite rising of 1689-90 it was set on fire, to avoid its falling into the hands of the Orange party. In a note of his losses, made up for the Government, the Earl of Mar refers to Corgarff in the following terms:

"In the next place was burnt to him his castle of Corgarff upon the water of Don, consisting of a tower-house and jam, three stories high, which cannot be repaired in the same condition under three hundred pound sterling."

From this account it appears that at that time the tower and a "jam" or wing attached to it - possibly one of the two annexes, each marked "hut to be removed", shown in the War Office's "plan of Corgarff Castle as it stands at present", before the alterations carried out in 1743.

During the "Forty-five" the castle was again held as a magazine by the Jacobites, but was occupied on March 2, 1746, by a detachment of Lord Mark Kerr's Dragoons, after a trying three-days' march through the snow from Aberdeen, via Monymusk and Tarland. Two years later it was taken over by the Government and largely reconstructed for use as a garrisoned post. General Bland, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, contended that Forbes of Skellater, to whom Corgarff belonged, had forfeited his estate to the Government Crown by accepting of a Captain's commission in the French service in Ogilvie's regt."

The Lord Advocate, however, took a more cautious view. "Though George Forbes was a very notorious rebel," he replied to the General, "he

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1. Supra, p. 248.
2. See above, p. 141.
3. The Duke of Cumberland's account of this expedition, in the Public Record Office, has been printed by A. & H. Tayler, Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five, p. 53.
being neither attainted by Act of Parliament, nor, upon trial, by due course of law, his estate or this castle is certainly not forfeited actually, or vested in the crown, and is therefore not at this day liable to be seized or taken possession of as such. " In the event the castle was bought by the Government, as appears by certain accounts which the late Dr. J. M. Bulloch has printed, from an Ordnance Expense Ledger in the Public Record Office, relative to the work undertaken at Braemar and Corgarff Castles between 1748 and 1752. A sum of £231:0:4d. was paid to George Forbes of Skellater for the purchase of the lands and castle of Corgarff. The accounts include mason work, the making and maintenance of beds, the purchase of stoves—upon which the extraordinary sum of £93:14:9d. was spent between the two castles— and the provision of sanitary conveniences. The mason work at Corgarff, from June 1, 1748, to September 30, 1750, amounted to £124:1:5d. The mason was John Adam, and it is interesting to note that one of the overseers was the celebrated Charles Tarrant.

In 1802 the Government contemplated giving up the castle—a circumstance in harmony with the fact that in 1749 the old Statistical Account describes the garrison as consisting only of "two or three invalids." The late Mr. Charles Christie, Factor, Strathdon Estates, had in his custody a draft lease, dated April 9, 1802, between the Barrack-Master General and William Forbes of Skellater. The preamble bears that:

"The Barrack and Military Post of Corgarff situated in the parish of Strathdon and County of Aberdeen and appurtenances thereof belonging to His Majesty for a number of past years used as a Military Station for the use of the Troops has been judged proper for the present to be discontinued."
The Castle is described as:

"All and whole the Castle of Corgarff inclosed by a wall built with Stone and Lime having a Kitchen and Guardhouse as wings to the Building, with a park computed at Eleven acres or thereabouts annexed and adjoining, and Small House within the park, all as formerly occupied by the Deputy Barrack Master and a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops as a Military Post and at present in the occupation and possession of the said William Forbes, Esq."

A ninety-nine years' lease was proposed, subject to the right of the Crown to resume possession in case the castle were again required for the service of the Government. The lease however does not seem to have been executed. In 1818 one Andrew Macpherson was resident in Corgarff Castle, probably as caretaker, and was cited as a witness in a complaint of trespass brought against Sir Charles Forbes of Newe against Duncan Stewart, residing at Deldunan, parish of Strathdon. A charge in the excise laws led to a great recrudescence of smuggling in Strathdon. Accordingly between 1827 and 1831 the Castle was again garrisoned by a captain, a subaltern and 56 men. In the Inverness Courier for 25th. July, 1827, it is stated that a party of the 25th. Foot occupied Corgarff to stop smuggling, while a party of the 74th. Foot was stationed at Castleton of Braemar for the same purpose. We may guess that the resumed occupation was in part a sequel to an outrage committed in the early morning of Monday, 17th. July, 1825, when "a legal distillery at Corgarff Castle, in the parish of Strathdon, in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire, was wilfully set on fire and destroyed." The Government by proclamation dated from Whitehall, November 3, 1826, and signed by Sir Robert Peel as Home Secretary, offered a reward of £100 for discovery of the perpetrators.

The two picturesque if insalubrious old women who, in the early days of this century, were the last occupants of the castle, according to a letter which I had from the late Mr. John J. Mowbray of Delnadamph, had squatted there without permission and refused to leave, so that Mr. Mowbray felt himself unable to take in hand the repairing of the castle, which he had intended to do: and the First World War supervening put an end to the project. Since my former account the deterioration of the castle has steadily continued. The lower two flights of the wooden stair have disappeared, so that the upper floors are inaccessible. The main lower door and the doors on the first floor, labelled "Officers No. 1" and "Officers No. 2", are gone. Worst of all, rabbits burrowing in the loose earth inside the tower have undermined its foundations. This has led to the fracture of the vaulting, and a catastrophe cannot now be long delayed.

II.

The additional surveys of Corgarff Castle that have come to light since my former study, are contained in an extensive collection of drawings of fortifications, barracks, and other undertakings of the Hanoverian Government in Scotland after the Forty-five. These drawings are the property of the Army Council, by whom they have been deposited in the National Library of Scotland. The Corgarff sheets are titled as follows:

Ref. No.

"Plans, Section and Elevation of the Barrack at Corgarff" 1752 23/35.
"Sketch of the ground about Corgarff" 1748. 23/35.
"Corgarff Castle, as it stands at present" Edinburgh, Apr. 25, 1748. 23/37.

1Photostats of all the subjects within the Parliamentary Area of the University of Aberdeen contained both in the War Office file and in the British Museum, have been obtained for Aberdeen University Library, and are shelved in the Macbean Jacobite Collection.
"Old Plan of Corgarff Castle, showing repairs made in 1748."

"Plan of the Ground Storey of Corgarff Castle, with the New Additions."


Taken along with the British Museum drawings dealt with in my former paper, these sheets shed a flood of light upon the architectural history of the castle.

Prior to 1748, Corgarff Castle consisted of a tower-house containing two barrel-vaulted cellars in the basement; a lofty barrel-vaulted hall on the first floor, with a small and low barrel-vaulted kitchen adjoining it to the east; an entresol, also barrel-vaulted, over the kitchen; and an unvaulted upper storey and garret occupying the full area of the tower above. The main entrance into the tower opened on the south side directly into the hall: it must have been reached by a ladder, and was defended from above by an oversailing corbelled machicolation, after a fashion common in the sixteenth century, when such localised overhead protection for the door is often found, at a time when the open parapet was going out of fashion and the gabled roof of high pitch was taking its place. No doubt the tower would finish with the usual crow-stepped gables, and there is some evidence of a turret at the north-east angle. The cellarage in the basement was lit by narrow loops on all fronts; in the upper floors the windows were larger. From the kitchen a straight stone service stair, in the thickness of the south wall, led down to the cellars; while a newel stair, likewise of stone, at the south-east angle – reached from the hall by a passage across the south end of the kitchen – served the upper
floors, rising into a cap-house so as to provide access to the garret. This cap-house contained a small vaulted cubicle, reached by a flight of steps from the garret. Garderobes were available in the north wall, on the first and second floors. In so strongly vaulted a tower the fires of 1571 and 1689 would affect little but the roof and the upper wooden floors. After the latter destruction the wall-head arrangements were altered, and a plain roof built. Probably at this time the north-eastern turret was removed. A straight stone stair, ascending along the face of the wall, was built up to the door.

When Colonel Watson took the castle over in 1748, he gutted out the hall vault and the kitchen and entresol adjoining; built a stone partition wall midway across the first floor; and reorganised the upper part with a third and fourth storey, with wooden floors, the space for the extra storey being gained in what had been the upper or haunch level of the lofty vaulted hall. The stone newel stair was taken out and a scale-and-platt stair of timber inserted in its place. Plain large windows, a pair on each floor, were slapped out in the south wall; one of the surveys shows that originally a single window on each floor was proposed, and there are other indications of minor changes being made in the actual carrying out of the work. Where the old windows were not obliterated they were built up. The old loopholes on the south side of the staircase were also blocked and larger square windows opened out on the east side to replace them. The roof was reconstructed on similar lines to that built after 1690, and plain chimney stalks were set upon each gable. The old door on the first floor was retained, though with a new lintel, and an external stone stair, in two flights at right angles, was built to reach it. Subsequently a stone porch, with

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1. Fig. is an attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the tower as originally built.
a lean-to roof, was erected over the stair-head. Wings of a single storey, styled "pavilions" on the old plans, were added on to either end of the tower, and the whole was surrounded by the loopholed curtain wall with salients, the west one enclosing a draw-well.

One of the most interesting of the British Museum plans shows the scheme for an elaborate entrenched camp, with a stone revetment and bastions, which was to have been laid out on the level ground south of the castle. Along the brow of the Cockburn ravine, and, what seems to be a fire trench, parapet, and glacis may still be seen.

The house which adjoins the castle to the west, has chimney stacks of the same profile, and evidently belongs to the period of the military occupation. The farm house of Castletown, north-westward, and the little cottage to the south of the castle, seem to be more recent.

III.

At an early manorial centre the remains of the castle are commonly found side by side with the parish church - the parish being in its origin nothing else than the manor ecclesiastically considered, in which church and castle represented respectively the ecclesiastical and the civil nucleus of the early manorial organisation. Examples of this characteristic juxtaposition of the castle and church are frequent in Aberdeenshire; both in cases where the castle is the primitive earthwork Norman type - as at Auchindoir, Midmar, Kildrummy (the earlier castle), Auchterless, Inverurie, Lumphanan, Essie, Leslie, and elsewhere, and also in two cases where the castle was of stone, namely Coull and Migvie.

1. Castletown Farmhouse and steading were pulled down in 1936 to provide materials for an extension at Delnadamph Lodge. Lying among the foundations is an enormous whinstone lintel, measuring 14 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet broad and 8 or 9 inches thick.
At Corgarff, where the castle is not an early one, this characteristic association is lacking. Although since 1874 it has been a *quoad sacra* parish, in medieval times Corgarff formed part of the huge parish of Invernochty. Properly used, the name Corgarff applies to the wide district of the ancient forest, as granted by James IV to Lord Elphinstone in 1507. The castle was the capital messuage of the demesne lands of Corriehoul, and so is correctly styled the "place de Carrigill" by the compiler of the *Diurnall of Occurrents* in his account of the catastrophe of 1571. At Corriehoul—about a mile east of the castle—has always been the ecclesiastical centre of the district, with the site of St. Machar's chapel and well, and the little graveyard still in use as the cemetery of Corgarff. This old church site, hard by the river, like Machar's Haugh at Invermossat, is quite in accordance with Celtic predilection, but there are otherwise no indications whether this was a foundation of St. Machar in person or a medieval dedication under diocesan influence from Aberdeen. Celtic church foundations are usually located in districts rich in evidences of prehistoric inhabitation, but such traces seem to be absent from Corgarff. Earth houses, the most characteristic pagan remains in Strathdon, are not recorded west of Invernochty, and the only prehistoric relic that has been found in Corgarff, so far as I am aware, is a bronze spear-head, now in the Banff Museum.

I have met with no old documents illustrating the history of this chapel site at Corriehoul.

Very interesting light is shed upon the old topography of Corgarff by a map made in 1748, of which copies exist both in the British Museum and in the War Office portfolio, now in the National Library of Scotland. This map shows the course of the Don as it then
existed, exhibiting certain divergences from the modern channel. Along it are seen the little patches of cultivation, still worked on the open-field system, and the clachans or townships at Loinherry, Allargue, Milltown, Dulridge, and Castletown. A small, sparse wood is shown west of Allargue, otherwise the ground was bare moorland. This map also preserves to us the disposition of the ancient roads before the Hanoverian re-organisation in 1753-4. The road from Braemar crosses the Cock Burn well above the castle, descends its left bank past the east flank of the castle, and then, swerving right, crosses the burn again and joins the road from Aberdeen. The latter follows more or less the line of the modern turnpike, crossing the Don at Luib. Before that point it gives off northward a branch marked "road to Aviemore," which ascends the west side of the Milltown Burn. It is still in use as a hill track, and is known as the "Green Road."

In a description of the parish of Invernocht, written about 1735, this ancient road is thus referred to: - "The highway betwixt Perth and Inverness passes through the head of this parish by Allargue. It is a cross country route of great antiquity, and in the fourteenth century was used by Robert III in his sporting expeditions from Kinclochit, as shown by a note of expenses incurred hunting in Glenconglas in 1384."

As is well known, the military road, laid out between Braemar and Corgarff in 1753, did not descend on Tornahaish as now, but held north-westward by Carn Lead Saighdeir to Corgarff. This portion is now used only as a shepherd's track joining the turnpike at Boghead; but its origin and former consequence are still indicated by the three small military bridges - all now in pitiful ruin - crossing the tributaries.

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2. Supra, p. 94.
of the Don. The old bridge by which the road crossed the Don itself at Allargue, before the turnpike road was made along the river thus far in 1836, is shown in Gordon's view of Corgarff Castle, published in 1795. This bridge, and the Cock Bridge that carries the road across the Cock Burn, below the castle, are thus mentioned in Charles D'Anson's notes, written in 1805, to the poem "Don":

"A little below the castle is a stone bridge of one arch, over Don, on the road that leads from Edinburgh to Fort William etc.; and another one on a small rivulet that falls into the Don, a little below the bridge, called Cock Bridge. . . . When the above road was made, the King built three two bridges, and a mason in Edinburgh has an allowance from government to uphold them, for the benefit of the soldiers that are marching from the northern forts to or from Edinburgh."

The rectangular camp, marked on the 25 inch O.S. Map on the rough ground behind Boghead, is still faintly traceable. It is not impossible that this earthwork may have been thrown up by Montrose to shelter his baggage when he camped at Corgarff in June, 1645 - like "Montrose's Trench" which still marks his encampment at Craigton, on the Hill o' Fare, after Alford fight. More likely, perhaps, this earthwork represents an encampment of a working party of the Hanoverian soldiers during the reconstruction of the castle.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Matthew Lumaden's Account of the burning of Corgarff Castle.

The original manuscript of Lumaden's Genealogy is not now known to survive. The first printed edition of the work, edited by Major R.A. Duff of Muirton, was published at Inverness in 1819, and re-issued in 1833. This, however, is not the Genealogy as Lumaden wrote it, but a

1. i.e., the bridge over the Don.
recension made in 1667 by William Forbes of Leslie. In his Preface Forbes twice describes the nature of his operations upon the manuscript as he found it. "I have", he says in one place, "at the desire of my Chief, William Master of Forbes, carried on Mr. Matthew Lumsden his work from the foresaid year 1580, till this present year 1667." And again: "I being tied only to prosecute Mr. Matthew Lumsden his work, which I suppose I have put to some better methods, not altering the substance," etc. This statement perfectly clarifies the exact nature of his work. He did not alter Lumsden's text but rearranged it and brought it down to date. These additions were not appended to the work as a whole, but were inserted in their due place in the deductions of the various branches of the family. Hence the traces as worked over by Forbes still ends with Lumsden's quaint valedictory rhyme

"Now have I written this with my hand
At John maister of Forbes command
That thing he promised me I have won
One good hand bow or one long gun
Seh our forebears lord and knight
With manhood and wisdome kepeth ther right
I pray to God to give us grace
Ilk man according to his place
To keepe the bruit our elders were
And end with honour as they begane."

A third version of Lumsden's work was embodied by Walter Madfarlane in his Genealogical Collections, and bears the following title:—

"The GENEALOGY of the Name of FORBES composed by Mr. Matthew Lumsden of Tillicarno Anno 1580 And carried on from thence to 1667 by William Forbes of Leskie and continued by a friend of that Noble Family and Name to the Year 1706."

1. Not Professor William Forbes of Glasgow, as stated by the editor of Madfarlane's Genealogical Collections (Scot. Hist. Soc.), vol. I, p. vii. Professor Forbes "improvements" are quite a different thing, and are printed in vol. II, p. 471-2. Lumsden's original work brought the narrative down to 1675 - 1bid. p. 278.
2. The Preface to the Reader, by Mr. Wm. Forbes". (id. 1819, pp. 1, 5).
3. Text as in the Bryndlie MS.
This version, in addition to the continuations of the various branches, includes important extra matter at the end. There are also a few notes added in Macfarlane's hand.

The manuscript used by Duff of Muirton for the 1819 edition does appear now to be known. In addition to the one in Macfarlane's Collections (now preserved in the National Library of Scotland \(^1\)), I know of two other manuscripts of the Genealogy. One is contained in a volume of family histories, compiled in the early eighteenth century, also in the National Library. It bears the title: - "A Genealogical Account of ye Famillie of ye Lord Forbes & of the hail name yrof compiled by Matthew Lumaden of Tilliekerne in anno 1580." This manuscript is of special interest because it bears no trace of the additional matter contributed by William Forbes in 1667, and therefore has all the appearance of being a transcript of Lumaden's original work. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, and breaks off before coming to the burning of Corgarff.

The other manuscript belonged to the late Mr. J.C.M. Ogilvie Forbes, M.A., of Boyndlie, and is meantime deposited in the Aberdeen University Library. It is of great importance because it is undoubtedly the original one of William Forbes, the continuator of 1667. This is evident because it contains at the end a series of jottings of memoranda about further points which Forbes wished to clear up. The manuscript is in bad order, and Forbes' preface is wanting, but there is a reference to it added by a later hand on a subsequent page. The text of the 1819 editions varies in sundry minor details from the Boyndlie manuscript, which clearly was not the one that Major Duff used.

\(^1\) There is a copy of the earlier part of last century, in the Aberdeen University Library.
In the Boyndie manuscript the two reference to the Corgarff tragedy are as follows:—

"John Forbes of Towie married grant handughter to John Grant of Bandallach who did bear to him ane son who was unmercifullie murthered in the Castell of Corgarff, and after the decease of Bandallach's daughter the said John Forbes married Margaret Campbell daughter to Sir John Campbell of Calder " etc.

"the rest of the said Margaret Campbell's bairnes with her selve were unmercifullie murthered in the castell of Corgarff."

There is not the slightest need to doubt that these emphatic statements are Matthew Lumsden's own words. It has indeed been contended that William Forbes in 1667 may have substituted Corgarff for Towie. But why, if the tragedy had really happened at Towie, he should have taken such a liberty with his author's text, is a point which those who have made this bizarre suggestion have never condescended to explain.

In the 1706 recension (Macfarlane's Collections) the entries are as follows:—

"JOHN FORBES of Towie Married Grant of Bandallach his Daughter who Bear to him a son murdered in Corgarff" ...........

"ALEXANDER FORBES of Towie Married Elspet Forbes daughter to Monimack but his Eldest brother by Bandalloch's daughter his Mother Clay'd Willie and many More was murdered in the Castle of Corgarff by Adam Gordon of Auchendoun who put fire to it and burnt them all to ashes."

And in Professor William Forbes "improvements" the following marginal gloss is added to Margaret Campbell's name:— "This is the gentlemen lady that was burnt with 27 persons in the House of Corgarff by Adam Gordon brother to Huntly in 1572."

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2. Ibid., MS. account of the Family of D. Lumsden, etc., item: "From the MS of the House of Forbes by Lumsden and improved by William Forbes, Professor of Law in the University of Glasgow", p. 19. For some reason the name Corgarff is omitted from the entry as printed by the Scottish History Society. (Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, vol. II., p. 483)