

THE BOOK OF BUCHAN

A SCIENTIFIC TREATISE, IN SIX SECTIONS, ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BUCHAN, PREHISTORIC MAN IN ABERDEENSHIRE, AND THE HISTORY OF THE NORTH-EAST IN ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN TIMES, BY TWENTY-NINE CONTRIBUTORS

Edited and Arranged

by

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PETERHEAD
THE BUCHAN CLUB

1910

Preface



THE BOOK OF BUCHAN is a conjoint work by twenty-nine writers, and is at once a scientific and a territorial publication. It endeavours to present to the reader a large mass of facts, scientifically classified, about that portion of the county of Aberdeen which has been known since the first centuries of the Christian era by the name of BUCHAN.

The book has been written primarily for the folk of the North-East, and treats of the North-East country and its people—the natural features of Buchan and the history of the indwellers there—past and present. While, from first to last, the territorial idea has been kept in view, no attempt has been made to treat Buchan as a unit living an independent life. This would be contrary to fact. It has rather been considered as a distinct and a somewhat isolated integral part of Scotland, firstly, with respect to its internal history and development, and secondly, in its relations with the adjoining ancient divisions of North-East Scotland, namely, Mar, Moray, Formartine, the Garioch and Strathbogie. In other words, the reader is presented with a limited collection of facts about Buchan and the adjacent country.

A few words to the lay reader respecting *The Book of Buchan* as a scientific publication may not be out of place. There is beyond question an ever-increasing interest in research among all classes throughout the country. There is evidence also of a revival of the historical spirit, in particular among the more cultured of the community. This interest in research should continue and should develop. The publication of a volume, such as *The Book of Buchan*, should aid in quickening this

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interest in the region it specially appeals to, because it will bring home, by local illustration, the all-embracing objects of science. In the case of those engaged in the research or trained in the scientific method, it is quite needless to refer to the scope or general utility of science or to its power of adding interest to life, even though it fails, as it does fail, to explain it. It might, however, be helpful to those (perhaps they are few) who fight shy of science and things scientific, to remind them how science spreads itself over every field and, in particular, how intimately it is mixed up with every-day life and experience. It is one of its claims that it is limited only by the bounds of the Universe as we know it—by the field perceived by our senses. This claim is a just one, for the object of science is to ascertain, collect and classify all facts—from whatever quarter they come—all observations made by man, and to give a description of them free from individual bias. Such a description would be true for all normal individuals, no matter what the subject is, or from what quarter of the globe it comes. This is our first point.

It frequently happens in connection with some investigations that different results or different conclusions are published under the name of science. In that case one must conclude that there is somewhere error in observation or defect in description and, therefore, that the results are inconclusive or the conclusions doubtful. But one must not assume that these conflicting results modify or stultify the aim or object of science—they simply show that the writers or combatants have, as yet, been unable to arrive at a description of the facts which is true for all individuals. In short, the object of science must not be confused with the results of scientific workers. This is our second point.

We do not now have to fight for the right of science to investigate all phenomena as our fathers had to fight. This right is now conceded to us. But we do still occasionally hear it spoken of, or even jeered at, as something apart from every-day life and experience—in brief, as something like the special preserve of the professional scientist. Against this view, every scientific man emphatically dissents. Not only so, but every

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individual who grasps its object joins in protest. And why? Just for the reason, already stated, that it embraces in its scope the whole known field and all recorded time. The business man, to be successful in his business pursuits, must classify his facts in an orderly fashion—must *know* his business—that is, he must employ the scientific method. The farmer well knows that not only must he seek the aid of science to suppress destructive parasitic life, but also that he must employ the scientific method in rearing stock and in growing crops. The fisherman must *know* the fishing grounds—he must classify his experience of the habits of fish relative to weather conditions and food supplies. The historian must collate the recorded facts bearing on social customs and conditions. Without denying the right to others, every successful man can claim to have used the scientific method. It is now quite generally held to be erroneous to suppose science to be a thing apart from every-day life. On the contrary, as a means to an end, for success in life, besides the advantages of training and of culture which follow from its use, the scientific method is now recognised as the only safe one for the individual, the class, or the State to use. The fact that science is not a thing apart from every-day life and experience, but rather is a means of classifying all life and all human experience is our third and last point.

As the title implies, *The Book of Buchan* treats of a definite geographical area, namely, the ancient Mortuath, the old Earldom, the modern district, of Buchan. This plan of including all kinds of facts about a definite area is on its trial in this volume. It is hoped that territorial treatment will prove interesting to local readers, will stimulate other workers to engage in local research, and will develop and spread over the whole country. Buchan folk and the folk of the North-East want to know about Buchan and the North-East generally, because they love the land of their birth. Attachment to the land of his birth is strong in the Scot—none is prouder of his origin than the Aberdonian. One need not go quite so far as to concede the limits of good stock and great deeds to an area within twelve miles of the historic city of

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Aberdeen.¹ Even if one did, there are no *a priori* grounds for supposing that a spontaneous generation of good stock took place within the magic circle! One should rather, on the other hand, think it safer to postulate an invasion of the "twelve mile" area from without. Until the problem has been scientifically handled, the provincial Aberdonian will hold this view and will seek for the origin of the notable qualities of the men and women of Aberdeen in the surrounding country, namely, Mar, Strathbogie, Moray, Formartine and BUCHAN. But whatever the origin, and whatever the qualities of the inhabitants of these divisions, the inhabitants themselves are deeply attached to the North-East, and most of them are intensely interested in its history. This book will therefore appeal to them, for we have not confined ourselves exclusively to Buchan. On the contrary, while keeping it well before the reader, we have found it necessary, in dealing with literature and history in particular, to treat the North-East as a whole.

Readers will note that *The Book of Buchan* frequently supplements the information given in Pratt's *Buchan*, but they will further note that in no sense whatever is this volume a rival publication. "Pratt," now a classic, is a historical account of the parishes, at once useful to the native and to the interested outsider. *The Book of Buchan*, on the other hand, treats of Buchan as a whole, and considers it, firstly, with respect to its natural history; secondly and thirdly, with regard to its prehistoric condition and ancient history; fourthly, as to its history in medieval and Stuart times; fifthly, as to its burghal contents; and, finally, with regard to modern conditions.

This work is presented to the public as an introduction to the study of the district. It is not encyclopædic in character. Had an encyclopædia been attempted it would have had to run into several volumes. Most of the original memoirs in the *Transactions* of the Buchan Club and many

¹ "Tak' awa' Aiberdeen an' twal' mile roon', an' far are ye?" (Take away Aberdeen and twelve miles round it, and where are you?)—the proud query of the native of the city of Aberdeen.

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others from divers sources would have had to be reproduced or extensive extracts and long summaries made of them. Instead, the reader is presented with a series of articles grouped, according to the nature of the material, into six sections. This classification has been adopted for the purpose of giving a perspective view, both with regard to time and to space. In short, an outline is given of the evolution of Buchan from primeval times to the present day. I shall now briefly indicate what each section contains.

In the first section we consider the *making* of Buchan. The geologist, countless ages after the events had taken place, pictures in his mind, as the result of his investigations, the structure and composition of the crust of the earth from the earliest solid stage to recent times. He is able to show how science can unravel the mystery of the making of continents and of seas. In particular, he can account for the present contour of Buchan and, from an investigation of the constituent parts within and a knowledge of others without, he can reconstruct much of its history before and after the advent of life within its bounds. This reconstruction of the Buchan of the remotest past has been given by Dr. A. W. Gibb. We are reminded by Dr. T. F. Jamieson of the severe climatic conditions which must have prevailed in, geologically speaking, recent times. He gives a short account of the geology of the surface in the third chapter. When the last ice sheet finally melted away, owing to the gradual change to a milder climate, and Buchan was a bare wilderness, vegetable and animal life slowly crept in from the North-East and South. Now, in common with contiguous regions, it is teeming with all forms of life. It is Professor J. Arthur Thomson's unpleasant task to tell us the plain fact that we have as yet done little in a systematic way to identify and tabulate animal life in the district. He gives us a general idea of the origins of our fauna, and indicates a line of study for local workers. He reminds us of Horn's *Mammalia of Buchan* and the *Birds of Buchan*, and of Serle's work on the avi-fauna. What is wanted, Professor Thomson points out, is an

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extension of these valuable but limited surveys, in the form of a Regional Zoological Survey. A historical account of Pearl Fishing, together with some remarks on the formation of pearls in general, by Mr. J. J. Simpson, completes our consideration of the fauna. Professor J. W. H. Trail shows what remains yet to be done with respect to our flora. The reader, desirous of following up his suggestions, would do well to refer to the *Flora of Buchan*, Professor Trail's great survey of the district, the results of which are published in the *Transactions* of the Buchan Club. Dr. R. N. Rudmose Brown expounds the principles of botanical surveying and cartography in the last chapter of this section. The reader will note that the first or Natural History section of *The Book of Buchan* is instructive and suggestive. An endeavour has been made to keep clear of any attempt to furnish lists or catalogues. The object has rather been to place principles before the reader and to sow seed which may develop into further work in this great field.

In the second section, we consider the first *peopling* of Buchan. Mr. J. W. Tocher gives a general view of prehistoric conditions. Professor Reid describes the Stone Cists in Aberdeenshire and their contents. He gives a table of measurements of the remains of human skeletons found in these cists, and shows that the first inhabitants were much smaller and shorter people than the present day inhabitants. We do not know *when* the Short Cist Man lived, nor do we know his origin. Such evidence as we have leads us to think that probably he occupied Buchan 4000 years ago, that is, in the later Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages. The Hon. John Abercromby shows that the prehistoric pottery belongs to the Early Bronze Age. He describes in detail twelve beakers and two cinerary urns found in the district, and reckons that the beakers belong to a period 1300-1100 B.C. He states that cinerary urns probably lasted down to about 200 B.C. Sir Norman Lockyer supplies some notes on the Stone Circles of Aberdeenshire. These circles have long been a puzzle to archæologists. Sir Norman Lockyer, from his measurements on the circles, shows that the "same ideas which had dominated the

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construction of the stone circles and avenues in South Britain had been present on the minds of the old Aberdonians." His view, from the evidence, is that the stone circles were primitive clocks, enabling the observer to construct a seasonal almanac. Local archæologists are invited to study this chapter closely. By repeating and extending the observations made, it seems highly probable that this knotty problem will be at last finally solved. The section on "Prehistoric Buchan" concludes with an extract from a paper on "The Peat Mosses of Buchan," written in 1876, by the late Rev. James Peter. The print is very scarce. With the consent of The Club of Deir, we reproduce the table and the list of antiquities recorded by Mr Peter.

In the third section we gather together the threads of the earliest *written* history of Buchan. Claudius Ptolemy, a geographer living in Alexandria in 150 A.D., constructed a series of 26 maps, one of which was a map of Britain. In this map he shows Scotland with a twist to the east, but as part of the mainland and not as an island. The mistake of showing Scotland as a separate island was perpetrated by his successors for hundreds of years after his time. The extreme north-east of Scotland, corresponding to Buchan, is called by him Taexalon, *i.e.*, the land of the Taexali. About three hundred years later we find, in the *Book of Deer*, Buchan mentioned for the first time in history. We trace the connection the North-East had with the early history of Scotland in the first chapter of this section. In the second we tell the story of the *Book of Deer*. In the third that of the early Church. The last chapter is devoted to Gaelic Place-Names, and is written by Dr. John Milne. As is well known, the whole of the North-East is full of Gaelic names, and the trouble hitherto has been to give accurate derivations and meanings to them. Dr. Milne concludes his chapter by giving a few place-names from the parish of Peterhead. We do not contend that the derivations are in each case accurate. The chapter is suggestive, and is intended to stimulate research in this interesting and difficult branch of science.

In the fourth section, we consider the effects of the *colonising* of

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Buchan and its general history from the end of the Celtic dominion to the extinction of the Stuart dynasty. The Saxon tongue gradually took the place of the Celtic. Norman barons married into the old Celtic stock. The feudal system gradually replaced the old Celtic institutions. For a hundred years Buchan was held by the most powerful family of Scotland at that time, the Comyns. They were Normans of Royal Celtic stock on the female side, and held the highest offices under the Scottish crown. But for Robert the Bruce, they might have succeeded in founding a Comyn dynasty. All was lost at Inverurie and Aikey Brae. At Bannockburn the last direct descendant fell fighting on the English side. Descendants of this great family, although uncommon, are still with us in the North-East.

The first Earl of Buchan, William Comyn, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Deer. Professor Andrew Lawson supplies an account of this interesting abbey from its foundation to its absorption by the Keiths at the Reformation. Mr James Ferguson of Kinmundy follows with a general review of the chief families of Buchan, namely, the Comyns, Keiths, Hays, Frasers, Forbeses, Gordons, Fergusons and Arbuthnots. These families are indissolubly associated with the Castles of Buchan, an account of which is given by Mr. Robert Anderson.

"There was a day when they were young and proud,
Banners on high, and battles pass'd below."

But that day has long since passed away. The offspring of their owners, however, have not passed away but are with us at home and abroad, here and beyond the seas, testifying, by their deeds, that there is still grit in the old stocks, whether plebeian or patrician. We get a glimpse of Ellon before and during the Reformation from the pen of Mr Thomas Mair, who has not lived to see his last article through the press. We mourn the loss of a valued contributor, an accomplished student of local history and our chief authority on the records of Ellon. During the whole of the period considered under this section, the Church was the most dominant factor in public affairs. We have from the pen of Mr John Malcolm

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Bulloch a sparkling account of the difficulties experienced by a Presbyterian divine in getting inducted into his charge at Old Deer. The incident is known as the "Rabbling of Deer." The conflict took place between the lairds' men and Episcopalians, on the one hand, and the representatives of the law and order, in the shape of the local Presbytery, on the other. Dr. James Middleton brings under review the literary figures of the North-East from John Barbour to Dr. John Arbuthnot, Queen Anne's physician. A chapter on the Traditional Minstrelsy of Buchan by Mr. Gavin Greig concludes this section.

In the fifth section, we trace the history of *burghal* life in Buchan. No Royal burgh now exists within Buchan proper, but several ancient Royal burghs are found in the North-East. Dr. Peter Giles gives some vivid sketches of life in these burghs before the Reformation. The early history of Peterhead is told in the succeeding chapter. New matter, hitherto untapped by the local historian, has been introduced. Mr. J. A. Fairley contributes a chapter on the harbours of Peterhead, while Mr. J. T. Findlay writes on famous visitors. The chief of these were James, the Chevalier; the last Earl Marischal returning to his lost heritage; the famous Duchess of Gordon; Beattie, the author of the *Minstrel*; General Wolfe, the hero of the Plains of Abraham; Robert Burns; Hutton, the geologist; T. H. Huxley; Prince Napoleon; and Ernest Renan. Mr. Robert Anderson contributes the chapter on Fraserburgh, and Mr. P. J. Anderson tells the story of the stifling, at its birth, of the University of Fraserburgh. The concluding chapter in this section is devoted to a short account of modern Ellon by Mr. A. J. Raeburn.

In the sixth and final section we consider some aspects of *modern* Buchan. The reader is given a choice of its western boundaries. The modern district of Buchan is only a section of the ancient province or Mortuath. Even in the reign of James VI. Buchan bordered Elgin and the Garioch. Now it is the portion of Aberdeenshire north of the Ythan and east of the Deveron. As a connecting link between the Stuart period and modern times, we have a sketch of the life of the tenth and

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last Earl Marischal (the elder brother of Field-Marshal Keith)* from the pen of Dr. Alexander Bruce. Some notes on the Buchan dialect, by Rev. Dr. James Forrest, follow. Dr. James Middleton resumes his account of the literary men of the North-East, among whom may be mentioned William Meston, John Skinner of Linshart, John Buchan Pratt and William Alexander. Educational development receives treatment at the hands of Mr. James Will, while Rev. Andrew Chalmers gives some reminiscences of Buchan over 50 years ago. The concluding chapter of the section and of *The Book of Buchan* is devoted to a review of the progress of agriculture, and is from the pen of Mr. R. B. Greig.

Some remarks fall to be made with respect to the Appendix. It is rather voluminous and is made up of a series of reprints of interesting old documents bearing on the lands formerly held by the Abbey of Deer and by the Earls Marischal—in particular, on the lands of Peterhead. These charters are reproduced here because of their historic interest and because of their usefulness as data for the philologist and the antiquarian. I have to acknowledge with thanks the assistance of Mr. Henry Paton, M.A., Register House, Edinburgh, who has furnished the translations of the Latin deeds (Nos. II. and IIA.). I have also to convey, on behalf of the Council of The Buchan Club, our best thanks to the Board of Feuars' Managers of Peterhead for a donation of £35 in aid of the printing and publishing of the Deeds in this volume. In order to save space and to make a distinction between the book proper and the Appendix, the matter in the Appendix has been set solid.

Messrs. Taylor & Henderson, His Majesty's Printers, have given great care and attention to the production of the book and to its accompanying illustrations. My best thanks are due to Mr. Robert Anderson, for aid in reading the proof sheets of a considerable portion of the volume; to Mr. A. McD. Reid and Mr. J. Donald for comparing the Latin portions of the Appendix with the originals; to Mr. Robert Gray and Mr. Robert

* A biography of Field-Marshal Keith, from the pen of Mr. Robert Anderson, has just been published in the *Transactions* of The Buchan Club.

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Mackie for a similar service with the Feuars' Deeds ; to Mr. J. A. Fairley for suggestions bearing on the illustrations ; and to the members of Council of The Buchan Club for their cordial approval and support of the project which is now realised in *The Book of Buchan*.

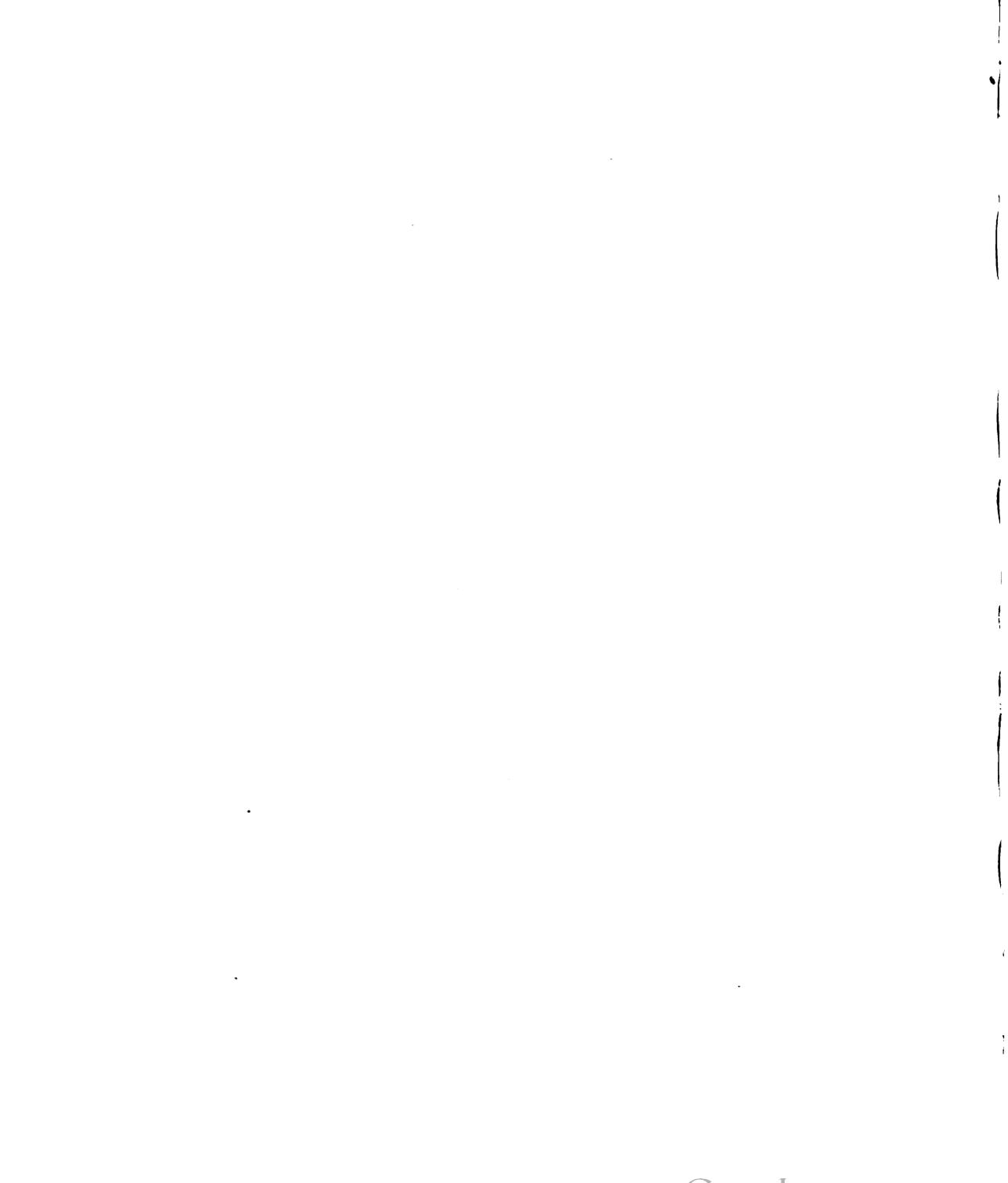
If there was one thing more than another which induced me to suggest and to carry into effect the publication of a book embracing recent researches on Buchan and the main outlines of its history it was this. Firstly, Buchan has been, to a considerable extent in the past, a land apart. It is, indeed, as a distinguished contributor to this volume on a memorable occasion sang of it,

“ The little land, withdrawn
Beyond the hills and flanked with friendless seas.”

Secondly, this little land has a history, prehistoric, ancient and modern, worthy of record. Lastly, I felt convinced that men could be found who would be willing to join with me in writing the main portion of that history. Now it is written, for the folk of the North-East to read. They are asked to take on trust only just as much as they wish. Let the rest be submitted to criticism, to verification, or, if necessary, to demolition. It is one of the national traits of character to incline towards the disbelief of *ex cathedra* utterances. To be sceptical, but interested, is to be scientific. To be scientific is to pass all statements through a refiner's furnace. Truth, like gold, remains. Time will tell what gold there is in *The Book of Buchan*.

J. F. TOCHER.

PETERHEAD, 10th October, 1910.



Contents and List of Contributors

Articles by the Editor are unsigned.

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Number and Title of Chapter.	Initials.	Name of Contributor.
I. GENERAL AND INTRODUCTORY.	—	EDITOR.
II. THE GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF BUCHAN.	A. W. G.	A. W. GIBB, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer on Geology, University of Aberdeen.
III. THE SURFACE GEOLOGY OF BUCHAN.	T. F. J.	T. F. JAMIESON, LL.D., Ellon.
IV. THE FAUNA OF BUCHAN.	J. A. T.	JOHN ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A., Professor of Natural History, University of Aberdeen.
V. PEARLING IN BUCHAN.	J. J. S.	J. J. SIMPSON, M.A., B.Sc., Entomological Research Committee (Tropical Africa).
VI. THE FLORA OF BUCHAN.	J.W.H.T.	J. W. H. TRAIL, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Botany, University of Aberdeen.
VII. BOTANICAL SURVEYING AND CARTOGRAPHY.	R.N.R.B.	R. N. RUDMOSE BROWN, D.Sc., Lecturer on Geography, University of Sheffield.

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III. THE PREHISTORIC POTTERY OF BUCHAN.	J. A.	THE HON. JOHN ABERCROMBY, Edinburgh.
IV. SOME NOTES ON THE STONE CIRCLES OF ABERDEEN- SHIRE.	N. L.	Sir J. NORMAN LOCKYER, K.C.B., D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, London.
V. ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE PEAT MOSSES OF BUCHAN.	—	EDITOR.

Section III.—Ancient Buchan

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II. THE BOOK OF DEER.	—	EDITOR.
III. THE EARLY CHURCH IN BUCHAN.	—	EDITOR.
IV. THE GAELIC PLACE NAMES OF BUCHAN.	J. M.	JOHN MILNE, M.A., LL.D., Aberdeen.

Section IV.—Medieval and Stuart Buchan

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II. THE ABBEY OF DEER.	A. L.	ANDREW LAWSON, M.A., D.D., Professor of English Literature, University of St. Andrews.

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IV. THE CASTLES OF BUCHAN.	R. A.	ROBERT ANDERSON, formerly Editor, <i>Aberdeen Journal</i> , Aberdeen.
V. ELLON BEFORE AND DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD.	T. M.	The Late THOMAS MAIR, Ellon.
VI. THE RABBLING OF DEER.	J. M. B.	JOHN MALCOLM BULLOCH, M.A., Editor of <i>The Graphic</i> , London.
VII. MEN OF LITERATURE IN THE NORTH-EAST DURING THE STUART PERIOD.	Ja. M.	JAMES MIDDLETON, M.B., C.M., Peterhead.
VIII. THE TRADITIONAL MINSTRELSY OF BUCHAN.	G. G.	GAVIN GREIG, M.A., F.E.I.S., New Deer.

Section V.—Burghal Buchan

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II. LIFE IN THE NORTHERN BURGHS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.	P. G.	PETER GILES, M.A., LL.D., Reader in Comparative Philology, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
III. PETERHEAD: EARLY HISTORY AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT.	—	EDITOR.
IV. THE HARBOURS OF PETERHEAD.	J. A. F.	JOHN A. FAIRLEY, Edinburgh.

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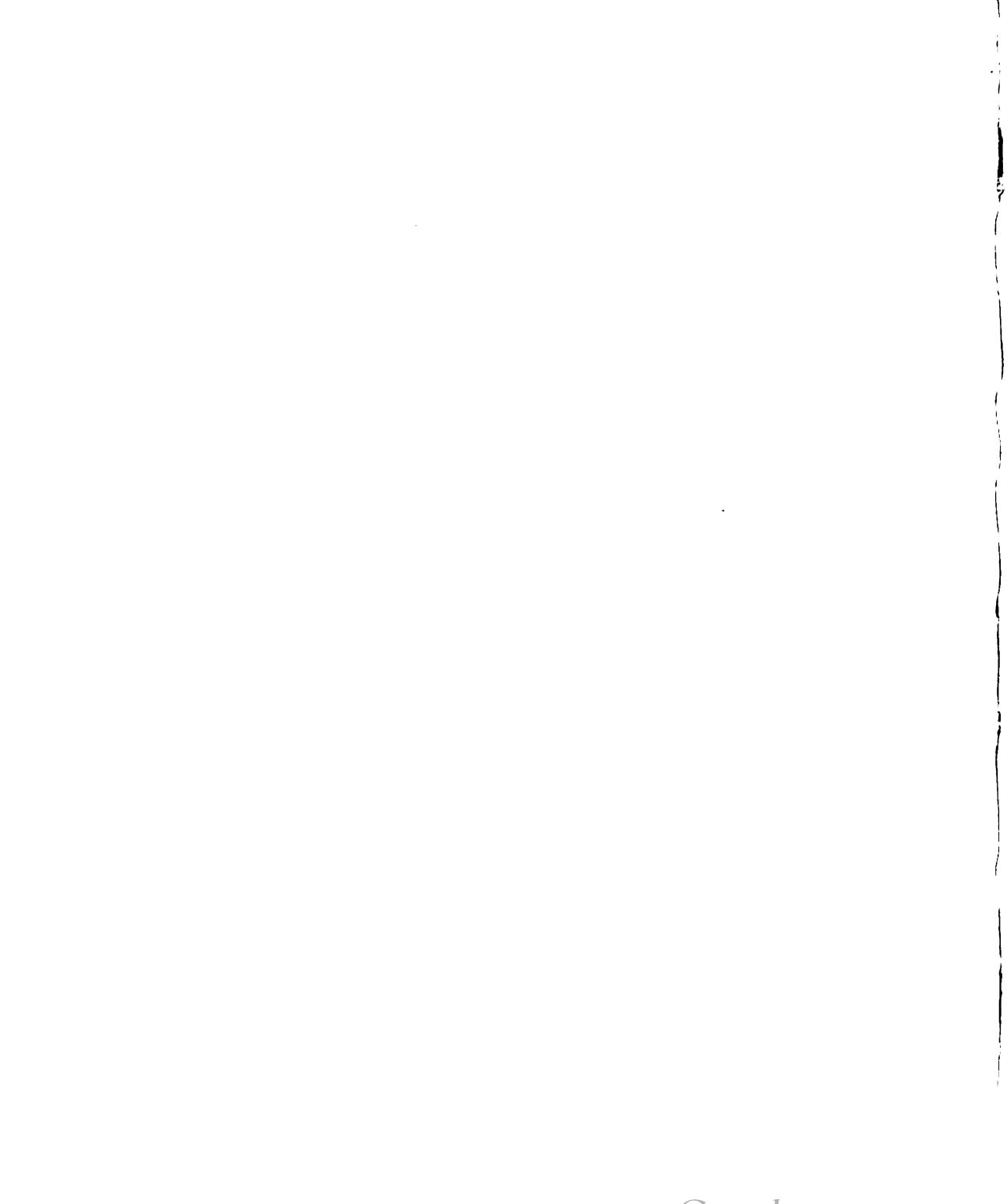
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VI. FRASERBURGH — FOUND- ATION AND HISTORY.	R. A.	ROBERT ANDERSON, formerly Editor <i>Aberdeen Journal</i> , Aberdeen.
VII. THE UNIVERSITY OF FRASERBURGH.	P. J. A.	P. J. ANDERSON, M.A., LL.B., University Librarian, Aber- deen.
VIII. THE BURGH OF ELLON.	A. J. R.	A. J. RAEBURN, M.A., LL.B., Town Clerk, Ellon.

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III. THE BUCHAN DIALECT.	Ja. F.	Rev. JAMES FORREST, M.A., D.D., The Manse, Lonmay.
IV. MEN OF LITERATURE IN THE NORTH-EAST IN MODERN TIMES.	Ja. M.	JAMES MIDDLETON, M.B., C.M., Peterhead.
V. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOP- MENT IN BUCHAN.	J. W.	JAMES WILL, M.A. F.E.I.S., New Pitsligo.
VI. BUCHAN IN MY BOYHOOD.	A. C.	Rev. ANDREW CHALMERS, Wake- field.
VII. AGRICULTURE IN BUCHAN.	R. B. G.	ROBERT B. GREIG, F.R.S.E., formerly Lecturer on Agricul- ture, University of Aberdeen.

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Section I.—The Natural History of Buchan.

CHAPTER I.

General and Introductory.

THE Natural History of Buchan, which is the theme of the first section of this book, is introduced to the reader in seven chapters. The section has been written for the purpose not only of adding to the sum of our knowledge of Natural History in the widest sense of the term, but also of stimulating workers to further research in this interesting field. It is not claimed that all the ascertained facts bearing on Buchan's natural features are recorded in this section, but references are given so that the records of the facts may be found. A large number, however, of interesting records of facts of general interest are brought together for the first time. These are stated in as simple language as possible, so that the general reader may have the less difficulty in following the purely descriptive matter and in grasping the meaning of such theories as may be put forward to explain the phenomena observed.

The general outward aspect of Buchan first claims our attention. Its former and present boundaries are indicated in the first chapter of section VI. (see also map opposite page 349). Here, as a foreword to the first section, one must briefly consider the actual configuration of Buchan. To a casual observer the configuration of the landscape may seem permanent, but in reality it is gradually changing and has in the past undergone a series of changes. The Buchan of to-day is not the same in outward appearance as the Buchan of even four hundred years ago. The past and present form of the Loch of Strathbeg may be cited as one of the striking facts which prove that changes have taken place. Two hundred years ago the loch had direct communication

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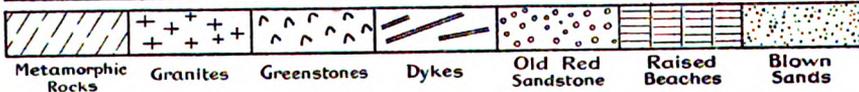
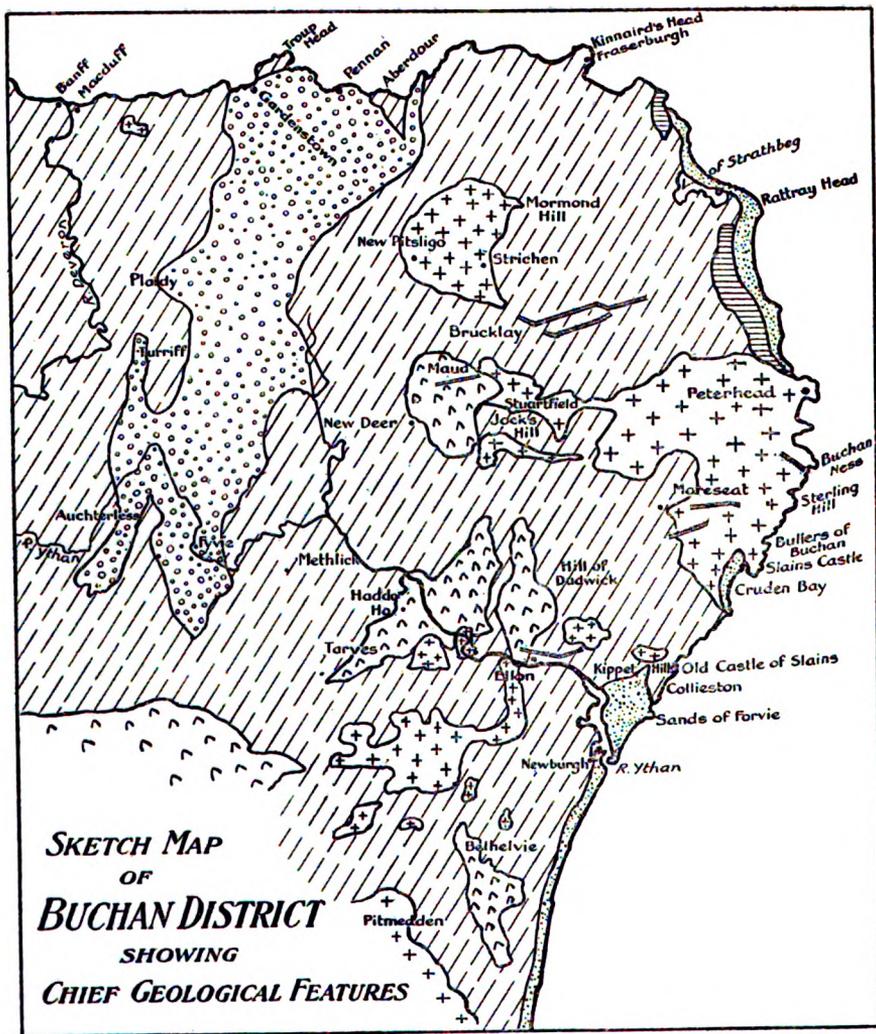
with the sea “so that vessels of small burden could enter it”—so runs the Old Statistical Account. A furious east wind blew away in one night a sand hill which stood between what is called the castle-hill of Rattray and the sea, and this drift stopped the communication between the loch and the sea by forming a sand-bar. Thus, up to 1700, the Loch of Strathbeg was an arm of the sea. For two hundred years it has been, and at the present day it still is, an inland loch. Many examples are found in Buchan of both slow and relatively quick changes in the configuration of the landscape. Erosion of the coast has taken place, changing its outline. The slow disintegration of granite by sea water is mainly responsible for this series of changes. The obliteration of the parish of Forvie by sand is an example of relatively rapid transformation of a portion of the surface of Buchan.

The undulating surface of the earth with its hills, valleys, rivers and plains, and the great open sea seem, to the observer for the moment, a perfectly natural and permanent configuration. “As old as the hills” and the “everlasting hills” are phrases as trite as any we know in our language. But can we speak of the hills as everlasting or as really being old? When we examine the site of any ancient dwelling of man, the first fact forced on our notice is that the dwelling has to be dug out—it has been slowly buried. The recently-discovered Roman City of Corstopitum in Northumberland is an excellent example of such a site. It lies buried in a plain which is now fully given up to agriculture. Yet the evidence is clear from the material dug up from that interesting site that 1,600 years ago the Romans occupied the area comprising the city at a considerably lower level than the present surface. The city after its abandonment by the Romans had become a ruin and the uninhabited and desolate waste had gradually become covered—blown over and altered in outward appearance, until at last it was submerged by the accumulation of material—the detritus of centuries. Geologists speak of such changes as belonging to the Recent period—the period of geological history identified with Man. A geological period of time (a period which may cover many changes in hill and valley and in river and sea) is somewhat indefinite as to duration. It certainly cannot be confined to centuries or even to a few thousand years. Even the Recent period itself, which, judging from the nature and depth of the deposits, is much the shortest of all the periods, must be reckoned in many thousands of years.

General and Introductory

Thus such deposits as those of Corstopitum fall within most recent times, geologically speaking, and lie within the range of the records of history.

In the next chapter an idea is given of the vast periods of time which separate the great geological epochs, and of how far Buchan conforms to and differs from the rest of Scotland in its geological structure. Far back in time, compared with known historic events, though not far back in time geologically, Buchan was merely a vast ice sheet. We are told that this period must have just preceded the Recent period. How do we know? From the evidence supplied by great beds of glacial clay and ice-worn stones accompanying the clay. After the recession of the last ice sheet, it seems highly probable that Great Britain formed part of the Continent. Not only has abundant evidence of post-glacial forests been discovered in many parts of Scotland, including Buchan, but also in the North Sea, where the remains of pine and oak, together with the succeeding moss covering, have again and again been found. The North Sea is shallow—so shallow that an elevation of the sea bottom of 300 feet would be sufficient to bring the old land surface into view. That being so, a gradual and general submergence must have taken place since the recession of the most recent ice sheet, with the result that the North Sea became much extended, the English Channel sprang into existence and Great Britain was transformed into an island with a general outline pretty much as we know it to-day. The general configuration of the north-east is thus of comparatively recent origin. The more we study the earth and its contents the more we see that there is nothing so permanent or so constant as change. The general outward aspect of Buchan with its solitary hill of Mormond standing as sentry, and its familiar coast line—the curvature of which resembles a printer's mark of interrogation, with the city of Aberdeen sufficiently detached to constitute the terminal dot—is merely a passing phase in the history of a portion of the earth's surface, just as each generation is merely a passing phase in the history of Man. It is the object of the succeeding chapters of this section to give an idea of the various past phases of such a history—that is, to give a brief summary of our knowledge of the Natural History of Buchan and its relations to Scotland and to Europe generally. Necessarily, we begin with the geology of the district.



CHAPTER II.

The Geological History of Buchan

THE Geological History of Buchan begins in a past that is very remote, even as geologists count time. When the rocks were made which form the foundation stones of this far-off corner of Britain, the lands and waters of the globe were not the continents and oceans with which we are familiar to-day. The great mountain ranges of the modern world had not begun to be folded, and the long procession of the unnumbered, unremembered tribes of earth had little more than commenced to pass across the stage. The changes that have followed one another through countless æons since then have left their marks upon the face of the Buchan peninsula. But the history is a very fragmentary one. The records are in large measure lost.

If we could lift the covering of soil that lies like a loose blanket over the surface of Buchan, what might we expect to see? Standing on some imaginary height that commanded a bird's-eye view of the north-east corner of Scotland, we should see a succession of ribs of rock, like the "rigs" of a ploughed field, stretching across the country from the north-east to the south-west. The ribs are not equally broad, and the lines are very irregular. Here and there, too, the continuity of the lines is abruptly interrupted by shapeless masses of rock, much in the same way as larger boulders in a field might break the regularity of the furrows of the plough. The arrangement of these rocks into rudely parallel bands can be traced far beyond the limits of Buchan right across central Scotland to the west coast. For, geologically, Buchan is not a self-contained area. In its fundamental structure, it is merely a continuation of the structure of central Scotland, and its rocks are essentially the same as those that form the bed-rock of all Scotland to the north of the Forth and Clyde valleys. The problems of Buchan geology are therefore the problems of Scottish geology, only localised; and the geological structure of Buchan must be interpreted in

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its relation to the wider question of the structure of Scotland, by which it is linked to that of Britain and the world at large.

It is now-a-days a commonplace that the Earth carries its history written on its face. The rocks belonging to successive ages have characters which distinguish them the one from the other. A knowledge of these characters enables us to arrange the rocks of any area in the order of their formation, and so furnishes material for writing a history of the area. For convenience of reference the several periods have received special names, sometimes rather distracting to the unscientific reader. The subjoined table gives the principal sub-divisions recognised in British rocks, and indicates the members of the series that have representatives in the Buchan area. The table should be read from below upwards, that is to say, the oldest rocks are lowest down.

	British Strata.	Representatives in Buchan.
Cainozoic { Post- Tertiary Tertiary Meso- zoic Palaeozoic Pre- Cam- brian	Recent	Beaches, mosses, &c., and deposits now forming
	Quaternary	Deposits of Ice Age
	Pliocene	wanting
	(Miocene)	wanting
	Oligocene	wanting
	Eocene	wanting
	Cretaceous	"Greensand" at Morescat, &c.
	Jurassic	Clays at Plaidy, Whitehills, &c.
	Triassic	wanting
	Permian	wanting
Carboniferous	wanting	
Devonian (Old Red Sandstone)	Beds at Gamrie, Turriff, &c.	
Silurian	wanting	
Ordovician	wanting	
Cambrian	wanting	
"Dalradian"	All "metamorphic" rocks	
Lewisian, &c.	wanting	

Igneous rocks may be of any age,
and are not included in the
table.

Those in Buchan—Granites, Green-
stones, Porphyries, &c.—mostly
very ancient.

The sequence of events in the geological history of Buchan will be best appreciated by considering the rocks in the order of the above table.

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It will be seen from the table that the fundamental rocks of the district are the ancient crystalline "metamorphic" rocks, which we may provisionally call, adopting Sir A. Geikie's non-committal term, Dalradian—non-committal, because the term is merely a convenient label, signifying no definite age. The most difficult problems of British geology are focussed in these perplexing rocks. The largest area of them in Britain lies in the northern half of Scotland, and the greater part of Buchan is made of them. In actual extent they occupy over two-thirds of the whole area of Buchan, though for the most part they are hidden by soil and other surface deposits. They vary so much in appearance that no general description can be given of them. The extreme types are highly crystalline and granitic in appearance; the less extreme types are hardly distinguishable in appearance from ordinary sedimentary beds—a bedded structure is, in fact, one very common character in them all. The varieties found in Buchan would yield material for long study. There are elegant types, like the lustrous silvery-spotted slate found near the Old Castle of Slains; and there are types whose interest is scientific rather than æsthetic, like the rock quarried as a road-metal north of Hilton, near Ellon, which is full of garnets and the rare mineral called Cordierite. But they cannot be discussed here in detail.¹

Wherever these metamorphic rocks are found—for they are not confined to Scotland, but attain an enormous development in North America, Northern Europe, and elsewhere—their structure and their history have proved excessively difficult to unravel. Even within the narrow limits of Scotland, it is clear that they have not all the same age or origin. In the north-west Highlands, those known as "Lewisian Gneisses" are the oldest rocks anywhere found in the British Isles. But not much further south on the same coast, in the island of Rum, metamorphic rocks occur which closely resemble the Lewisian Gneisses in many respects, but which have actually been formed as recently as Tertiary times.² Thus all metamorphic rocks are not the same in age, and they differ in origin; and in spite of all the laborious work that has been done upon the

¹ For fuller accounts of rocks v. Memoir of Geol. Survey: Explanation of sheet 87.

² A detailed description of these was published by the Geol. Survey during 1908. Memoir on sheet 60 (Scotland).

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group, here and elsewhere, the rocks of central and eastern Scotland still await a final explanation.

It will be asked, why should the geological history of metamorphic rocks be always so involved in obscurity? The answer lies in the word "metamorphic." The one thing certain above all else about these rocks is that they are not what they once were. And the mode of their formation is a much more difficult thing to picture than that of any other familiar rock type. We can see the formation of a sedimentary rock, or of a volcanic rock, going on before our eyes at the present day, and we know that corresponding ancient types of these must have been similarly formed. But no one can watch the formation of a metamorphic rock; it is an operation that may require hundreds or thousands of years to complete. Neither can we intimate artificially the conditions under which it has been produced; that would demand pressures and temperatures and time that we have not at our disposal. We have therefore to fall back upon studying the characters displayed by these rocks in the field and endeavouring to reach inductively a satisfactory explanation of their origin and history. Considering the extraordinarily difficult nature of the problem, the wonder perhaps is that so much is known about them as is already the case.

There can be no doubt whatever that most of these metamorphic rocks of Buchan and central Scotland were at one time normal sediments. The quartzite of Mormond Hill was once an ordinary sandstone; the knotted mica-schists and andalusite-schists from Strangle's Point to Kinnaird's Head, or from Cruden Bay to Collieston, were once clays and muddy sediments; and there are indications at Strichen, Auchnagatt, and other places, that thin beds of limestone were associated with the sands and clays. Manifestly, therefore, they were once upon a time a set of ordinary sediments, accumulated on an ancient sea-floor precisely as beds of sand and clay and limestone have been in all geological ages since then, and as similar beds are forming at the present moment. That they really *are* altered sediments has been shown quite conclusively, because, however unlike sediments they may sometimes seem in parts of Buchan, it is found that as they are traced southwards into Perthshire and thence towards the west coast, they pass quite gradually into comparatively unaltered rocks, the sedimentary origin of which no one would ever think of doubting. We must therefore assume that since their first formation they have

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somehow been subjected to forces which have baked and pressed and heated them, under conditions which we, as yet, but imperfectly understand. This drastic treatment has induced upon them changes structural, or textural, or chemical, or all three together, according to the nature and intensity of the deforming processes. In brief, they have undergone *metamorphism*, which is a convenient term for summarising much that we know about them, as well as for covering a good deal that we do not know. It is probable, indeed, that they not only were metamorphosed, but that they were folded into some ancient mountain range, of which they are now the wasted wreck, for the folds and fractures that they show are similar to what may be seen in mountain ranges of the present day. Yet their age, and how they fit into the general scheme of geological history, is still an unsolved problem. It may be that the shrewd guess of the late Professor Nicol, of Aberdeen, that they are altered Silurian rocks, will yet prove correct. Evidence has indeed been of late years collected by the Geological Survey that seems to point to that possibility. On the other hand it is equally possible that they represent rocks of more than one geological period which have all been affected together by agencies of metamorphism and rendered no longer recognisable. One good fossil would solve the whole problem. But no characteristic fossil has ever been gathered from them. Long ago Hugh Miller recorded, on the authority of a local geologist, the occurrence of a well-known species of marine zoophyte, called Graptolites, in the slates of Gamrie; but either the wish was father to the thought or there was some error in identification. At least we have looked for the Graptolites, but without success.

Whatever the age of the "Dalradians," one thing is clear, they are the oldest rocks in Buchan. What they rest upon we do not know. But subsequent to their formation, and probably before the profound earth-movements had ceased to which they owe their present metamorphic character, they were invaded from below by intrusive masses of molten igneous rock, which not only affected the geological structure of Buchan, but whose presence has in no little measure also influenced the industrial development of its people. For geological environment is a factor in national development that is almost too obvious to require enforcement. It has often been pointed out that the distribution of the industrial population of Britain is intimately related to the distribution of

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the geological formations. And in this respect Buchan is no exception. Take away Peterhead granite, and—need we finish the sentence?

We have spoken of granite as an *igneous intrusion*. The statement requires some amplification. What do we mean by calling granite igneous? Why an intrusion? How was it formed? When was it formed? The answer is not one that is self-evident. For a long time the origin of granite was a much debated question. It used to be regarded as a chemical precipitate from a primæval ocean. No one ever saw granite formed by an active volcano, as we see a typical igneous rock like basalt. No product of any volcano we know bears the faintest resemblance to granite. Why then call it igneous at all? Yet most geologists are now agreed that it *is* igneous, and intrusive. The question was answered for all practical purposes in 1785 by James Hutton, the greatest of all Scottish geologists. In a walk up Glen Tilt that has become famous, Hutton, who had long pondered the origin of the rock, saw some features in the Glen Tilt granite that so filled him with delight that the guides who were with him thought that he must have discovered a vein of silver or gold. Had it been Hutton's lot to be born in Buchan, he would have seen evidence of a very similar kind, without so long a walk or the expensive assistance of guides. Now that our eyes have been opened to it by Hutton and others, we can see the evidence everywhere; for we know much more about granite now than was known in Hutton's day. Wherever granite occurs, its junction with adjoining rocks is a torn, ragged, irregular one, as if it had violently forced its way in amongst them. It sends out from the main mass narrow veins of its substance which penetrate the neighbouring rocks. The veins must have been in a molten condition to find their way in. And the other rocks are generally found to be fused or baked or blistered, as if by the action of some intense heat; and the more affected they are, the nearer they lie to the granite mass. These are suggestive facts. The features are no doubt best seen where granite has invaded quite unaltered sediments, as the Skiddaw granite does, for example, in the north of England. But even among the crystalline rocks of Buchan, the same phenomena may, though with more difficulty, be detected. The irregular junction, the injected veins, are abundant in Buchan; and quite a series of rock beds northwards from the Old Castle of Slains, (to mention only one locality,) show knots and pellets of new minerals which are doubtless due to the heat of the

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intruded granite mass near by—much as blisters might arise on the back of one's hand by the application of a hot iron. The intrusion of these igneous masses has, indeed, been an important factor in the metamorphism of the ancient sediments.

But if granite is of igneous origin, why is it so unlike all the rocks that form at volcanoes at the present day? It is mainly a question of environment. When a lava issues from a volcano, its heat is free to dissipate into space, its moisture separates out in clouds of vapour, it consolidates under normal pressures. But if a molten rock commences consolidation thousands of feet or many miles below the surface, its gases cannot escape freely, its heat will be retained for a very long time, it is under inconceivably great pressure. The conditions are totally unlike superficial ones, and the deep-seated rock assumes characters totally unlike the surface product. And yet it is just as truly an igneous rock as is the surface lava.

One other thing is obvious: deep-seated rocks can only appear at the surface at all, as they do in Buchan, if all the rocks that overlay them at the time of their formation have been subsequently worn off them by eroding agents; and it gives one an impressive idea of the enormous space of time during which the promontory of Buchan must have been in existence when one tries to picture the amount of waste that must have gone on to bring about the exposure of these deep-seated igneous masses.

Granite is only one type of deep-seated (or "plutonic") rock. Another type common in Buchan is a dark greenstone, mapped by the Survey under the general name of Diorite. Both granites and greenstones occupy a considerable tract of country. The largest granite mass is that of Peterhead, which forms the coast line for over eight miles and covers an area of forty-six square miles: masses of less extent occur between New Pitsligo and Strichen, between Brucklay and Stuartfield, at Jock's Hill, near Haddo House, and about Pitmedden, and there are numerous smaller patches here and there over Buchan. The rock is variable in colour and quality. It is characteristic of all plutonic masses that they vary in character from point to point, and a collection of a score of granites from different localities in Buchan might show slight variations in composition, colour, grain and texture by which they could all be distinguished with a little practice. There seems to be no institution in the north

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that contains a really representative collection of the granites or other rocks of Buchan. [The Arbuthnot Museum contains only 13 specimens of Buchan granite, specimens of Aberdeen, Alford and Kemnay granite, and 35 others.]

The greenstones occur in two principal masses. One ranges from Nethermuir to Brucklay, and from Maud to New Deer. The other, an irregular disjointed mass lying to the north-west of Ellon, is intersected by the Ythan and Ebie waters. Though they may belong to the same intrusion as the associated granites, they represent a part of the intrusive mass that was chemically much richer in iron-bearing constituents. They can only be spoken of under the name of Diorites in a general way, as a closer examination shows that they consist of different types. The rock, for example, exposed at Maud Station, is what is now known as a Hyperite, and variations of the same general type occur at numerous other localities within the area (as at Towie Wood, Brucklay Station, near Kirkhill, etc.). The variation in mineral composition is, however, so delicate and subtle that it can only be properly appreciated by the use of the microscope.

The larger igneous masses are accompanied, here as elsewhere, by narrower dyke-like masses of rock that have welled into the fissures produced in the district by the force of the intrusion. Such dykes may run enormous distances across country. Some in Perthshire have been traced, in a straight line, for distances running from 40 to 70 miles. The longest of the Buchan dykes has been followed for a distance of about five miles—from near Strichen to the St. Fergus Moss. The dykes in Buchan are usually small, but they are numerous. They are generally of finer-grained material than the corresponding "plutonic" masses, owing to their more rapid cooling and less perfect crystallisation. They commonly consist of rocks like Felsite, Porphyry, and varieties of granite. Such a dyke is the beautiful Porphyry of Buchan Ness, which would be worth its weight in gold if it could be procured in workable quantity.

Some few of these dykes, such as the dark-green Dolerite that runs out upon the coast line near Buchan Ness, are quite unlike the typical dykes of Buchan. There is not much available evidence to indicate when or whence they came there, but it is possible they correspond in age with the large numbers of Dolerite dykes in central and western Scotland. These are

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commonly—perhaps too confidently—referred to eruptions as late as Tertiary Times, the period, that is, when the volcanic scenery of Staffa and the western isles was in the making. If that be the case, those in Buchan represent much the most recent manifestation of igneous action to be found in the district.

An enormous gap in time now abruptly breaks the continuity of Buchan geology—an interval not only beyond all counting, but beyond all imagining. From this time forward, indeed, till we reach quite recent periods, nothing remains to tell the story of Buchan through a protracted succession of ages but a few scattered patches of the later formations. The rocks which tell the geological story in most parts of the world where the record is readily legible only *begin* with the next, the Cambrian, series, and yet from this point onwards the history of Buchan is almost a lost record. But there is just enough to rouse interest and stimulate curiosity.

Of the early fossiliferous strata, the Cambrian, Ordovician, and Silurian Periods, Buchan contains no trace at all, unless, of course, the metamorphic rocks already described, are metamorphosed representatives of these. The succeeding period, the age of the Old Red Sandstone, a typically Scotch formation, is represented in Buchan mainly by a strip that occupies most of the coast line from Aberdour to Gardenstown, and runs inland to Fyvie and Auchterless. This deposit attains a considerable thickness, estimated by the Geological Survey at 1,350 feet. In the neighbourhood of Turriff it is quarried as a building stone, and the town of Turriff is entirely built of it—an unusual type of building stone for Aberdeenshire. It consists, as usual, of beds of sandstone and conglomerate, for the most part unfossiliferous. But at the little Tynet Burn, near Gamrie, a bed of calcareous grey clay has yielded abundant fish remains, enclosed generally in ovoid concretionary nodules, like the famous fish nodules of Cromarty. Over the rest of Buchan, the Old Red Sandstone is scarcely represented at all. Yet, there is just an indication that there must at one time have been more of it. Some patches of Old Red “breccia” are known on the coast of Cruden, and it also appears in isolated fragments in Belhelvie. Dr. John Milne has shown¹ that unexpected patches of Old Red have recently been disclosed in quite a number of localities within the city of

¹ Trans. Edin. Geol. Soc., 1902.

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Aberdeen, and it is possible that a more careful search will disclose yet other remnants of what is here a wasted formation. The question has a bearing, not only on the ever-recurring problem of the origin and distribution of the Old Red itself, but also on the vast denudation to which this area has been subjected, and its investigation may throw some sidelight on the removal of the still more problematical Greensand and Chalk deposits of Aberdeenshire.

Another long interval follows, a period momentous in other parts of Britain as being the time—the Carboniferous Epoch—during which our coal supplies were stored ; but in Buchan it is a blank.

The still greater lapse of time represented by the New Red Sandstone (Permian¹ and Triassic) has also left no record in Buchan, though in a neighbouring county the Elgin sandstones help to fill the gap. Elsewhere in Europe the period is represented by massive deposits, which tell us that at this time the earth was passing through a critical transition stage in its history, when ancient types of life were giving place to forms more nearly allied to modern, and when the race of mammals in particular made their first timid entry on a stage on which they are to-day the prominent actors. But in Buchan, either the record was never inscribed, or it has been destroyed by the ruthless hand of time. Indeed, of all the Mesozoic Period of geology—Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous—we should learn from Buchan not a syllable, were it not for the occurrence, in an enigmatical way, of some tattered fragments belonging to the last two periods. These deposits form one of the strangest chapters in Buchan geology. The special interest of them lies in the fact that they belong to periods of geology relatively recent—recent, that is, as compared with the other rocks of Buchan ; yet, here they are found lying on very ancient rocks, while the intermediate periods—Cambrian, Ordovician, Silurian (Old Red Sandstone), Carboniferous, Permian, Trias—which continue the record of geological history in other parts of the world, are dropped out altogether. What does it mean? Where have these fragments of later formations come from? Perhaps it would be as correct to ask, where have the rest of the deposits gone to?

¹The writer has been struck with the similarity of some pebbles found in Aberdeenshire clays to the magnesian limestones of Permian times ; the same idea has also been suggested by Dr. Jamieson.

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Of the periods referred to, the Jurassic is represented by a patch of clay about Plaidy, which was exposed during the cutting of the Banff and Turriff railway. It is rich in Ammonites and characteristic fossils of the Jurassic period. Other deposits of a similar nature occur along the coast line, notably one that is worked as a source of clay at Whitehills, near Banff. But all these masses are commonly regarded as having been transported.

The Chalk deposits have attracted a good deal of attention. Fossils of Chalk Age were collected on the Hill of Dudwick by the late Rev. Dr. Longmuir, of Aberdeen, and discussed by him in the Edinburgh "Witness" as long ago as the forties; and they were no doubt known before that. A more exhaustive account of the deposits was given by the late Mr. Wm. Ferguson, of Kinmundy, before the Geological Society of London in 1857, and they have been the subject of study by a Committee of the British Association, as well as by English specialists in rocks of that age, and by a number of ardent local workers. The facts are so well stated in papers written by Mr. Wm. Ferguson, Mr. Mitchell and others, and summarised in the Survey Memoir¹ on the district, that a brief account will suffice here. Over a ridge of high ground, stretching south-eastwards from near Stirling Hill to the Hill of Dudwick, are found great numbers of rolled flints, which are proved by the abundance of fossil impressions they contain to belong to the upper Cretaceous or White Chalk period. Indeed, though chalk itself nowhere occurs *in situ* in Buchan, it is not an uncommon thing to find bits of white chalk in the later clays of the district. One piece, of nearly a square foot surface, and markedly glaciated, found in the clay at Strabathie Brick Works, Belhelvie, lies in the Geological Museum of Aberdeen University. But this is not all. In and about Moreseat, that is, in the very same district, a stratified deposit occurs that is of equal significance. It alternates between a brownish clay and a soft sandstone. Though no good sections are at present exposed, it has been traced for several hundreds of yards, and it has been found, in artificial openings, to be in places at least 30 feet thick. It has yielded hundreds of fossils, mostly indifferent sandstone casts, the general character of which points clearly to beds of upper and lower Cretaceous, perhaps also upper Jurassic, Age. Sets of the fossils from this Moreseat "Greensand" are preserved in the British

¹ Explanation of Sheet 87.

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Museum, in the Peterhead Museum, and in Aberdeen University Geological Museum. Up to the present, however, it has not been proved that the deposit is *in situ*, consequently there are conflicting opinions as to whether these strange beds were formed where they lie, or whether they represent material drifted from elsewhere. There is something to be said for both views. Dr. Thos. Jamieson, of Ellon, who has a wide knowledge of North of Scotland geology, regards these as having been transported by moving ice, and as not native to the district at all. On the other hand it cannot be forgotten that there is undoubted evidence of Jurassic and Chalk strata on the west coast of Scotland (Skye, Muck, Eigg, &c.), and that beds of Jurassic Age of greater extent occur in eastern Sutherland from Brora southwards, that is, just across the Moray Firth from Buchan. As recently as the year 1908 sandstone beds containing lower Cretaceous fossils were discovered in Caithness,¹ though whether *in situ* or not has again not been determined. And the possibility of the beds having once been in Aberdeenshire and subsequently washed away would be quite in keeping with the evidence we have of the extensive denudation of the Old Red Sandstone and other formations of the district.

In the succeeding, the Tertiary, Epoch, the fragmentary character of the geological record in Buchan is strikingly illustrated. There is perhaps no part of geological history of which fuller records have been preserved over the world generally. Some of the great mountain ranges of the modern world, the Alps, the Caucasus, the Himalayas, were upheaved in Tertiary times. On the west coast of Scotland volcanic outpourings on an unprecedented scale were taking place, giving rise to the striking scenery of the Giant's Causeway (in Ireland), of Staffa, of Rum, and the small isles, of the Faeroes and Iceland. In other parts of the Old World, but specially on the new American continents, stratum after stratum has revealed the remains of a great series of vertebrate races, specially Mammalia, which rose, culminated, and became extinct again within this period. Yet of all this drama, Scotland as a whole yields almost no trace, and in Buchan the period is represented by a total blank, except it be for the problematical remains of shells, found in some abundance in the curious mounds of the Kippet Hills, which Dr. Jamieson believes to be traces of a Pliocene (later Tertiary) formation.

¹ Trans. Edin. Geol. Soc., Nov. 1908.

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Only when Tertiary Time merges into Quaternary are the broken threads of history caught up again in Buchan, and from that time on to the present the record is a tolerably full one. These deposits will be only briefly summarised here, as they are more fully dealt with in the succeeding chapter. They are still geologically so recent, though, humanly speaking, ancient enough, that they are as yet unhardened into solid rock. The deposits of the Ice Age, when the climate of Scotland became Arctic in character, and heavy masses of ice crept over the face of the country, are richly strewn over the surface of Buchan. Since the disappearance of the ice, surface changes not a few have taken place. Beds of marine and estuarine clays, sometimes of considerable thickness, are found in many places along the coast line; old sea-beaches, now far above high-water mark, point to movements in the level of the land; stretches of alluvial flats have been laid down along the banks of such streams as Buchan can boast of; peat-mosses have grown in the more marshy hollows; and along the shelving coastal reaches, the sea has smoothed out the debris of the land into some fine stretches of yellow beach sand, "the dust of continents to be." On the exposed coast line the sands have been drifted by the on-shore winds and piled into long billowy dunes, which run for miles along the sea margin, and attain at times a height of 60 feet or more. This destructive, though scientifically interesting, type of deposit, reaches its climax in the weary wastes of Forvie, where drifting sands, still in constant motion, have overspread a whole parish and converted an agricultural countryside into a miniature desert.

And the story is still incomplete. The same unwearied processes, which made the Buchan of the past, are operative on the Buchan of to-day—some of them working unobtrusively from within, others acting superficially, and chiselling the surface into landscape. But the surface sculpture of Buchan is not impressive. Inland, especially, the relief is never accentuated; there is an absence of vigorous stream action, the prominent hills are few, and there is, besides, a dearth of natural woodland, so that not even the most patriotic inhabitant of Buchan would claim it as one of the beauty spots of Scotland. Yet there are bits of unpretentious pleasing scenery, too, like the Braes of Gight and the Burn of King-Edward, the Dens of Peterhead and the Howe of Fyvie; and all over the district one lights on pleasant surprises, all

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the more agreeable that one does not expect much. It is the coast line of Buchan, however, that has most claim to picturesqueness. An admirable section of the rocks is laid bare along the coast from Rattray Head westwards towards Banff, and southwards towards Slains. On the cliffs eastwards from Banff the slaty members of the metamorphic rocks are seen to be bent into a series of close folds, and these are succeeded by the impressive headlands, attaining a sheer drop of nearly 400 feet, formed by the schists at Troup Head and by the massive beds of the Old Red Sandstone at Gardenstown and Aberdour. Southwards from Peterhead a long coastal section exposes the granite and affords illustration of how its jointing yields to the beat of the sea in the fine scenery of the Bullers, the rocks of Dunbuy, and the Twa E'en at Slains; while southwards from Slains the metamorphic rocks have been gnawed along their divisional planes into an endless succession of caves and havens and coves till they ultimately are covered up from the attack of the waves under the shelter of the wind-blown sands of Forvie.

A. W. G.

CHAPTER III.

On the Surface Geology of Buchan.

THE covering of loose material that overlies the hard rocks of the country, and from which the soils and subsoils of our fields are derived, was accumulated for the most part during the Glacial Period, when the land was covered with snow and ice. The progress of Geology during the last 50 years has thrown a flood of light on this subject, and some particulars regarding the district of Buchan may be of interest.

During the Glacial Period the snow and ice lay heaviest upon the west side of Scotland. The explanation of this is to be found in the difference of climate that obtains between the two sides of the country. The amount of rain along the west coast is two or three times what it is on the east. The fall of snow we may therefore suppose would be in like proportion; and as snow is the mother of ice, the result would be a heavier covering of the latter substance on the western region. There is, however, another result which is not at first so obvious. Rain when it falls runs off the surface, and the rivers soon carry it back again to the sea. Snow, however, when it does not melt, lies where it fell, and is gradually converted into ice. The unmelted residue every year is thus stored up, and in course of time grows to an immense thickness in those regions where the fall of snow is heavy, while in those where the fall is light it may be entirely dissipated during summer. In this way the ice during the Glacial Period attained an enormous thickness in certain regions, so that it spread out from each of these as from a centre, and invaded the neighbouring parts where the snowfall was light. Take two adjoining districts where the snowfall was as two to one. Say that in the course of a year 20 measures of snow fell on A and only 10 on B, and that the annual loss by melting and evaporation amounted to 10 measures on each of them. The result would be that on A, 10 measures of snow would be left for conversion into ice, and on B

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none at all ; so that although the fall of snow is as two to one, the growth of ice would be as ten to nothing. Let this go on for hundreds and thousands of years, and it is easy to see how the ice will grow upon the one and gain upon the other. Put A for the west coast and B for the east, and this will show how it came to pass that there was such an excess of ice on the former. It was the cumulative effect of this storage of the surplus going on for many ages that led to such strange results, not only in Scotland but also in Scandinavia and North America. The Scandinavian ice in fact spread out over all northern Europe, and seems to have advanced across the shallow bed of the North Sea even to our own shores, as Dr. Croll first indicated.

Now the northern part of Aberdeenshire appears to have been one of those places where the local ice was thinnest, and where consequently it came to be over-run by the thick ice from the west and north-west. The Glacial Period is now known to have been broken up by two or three intervals of milder climatic conditions, owing to the transference of cold conditions from the northern to the southern hemisphere, resulting from those astronomical movements indicated by the precession of the Equinoxes. The upshot of the whole was the recurrence of Glacial conditions two or three times, separated by intervals during which the ice melted and disappeared. In Buchan we accordingly find evidence of two or three invasions. During an early one of these the flow of ice from the N.W. seems to have brought with it those shoals of chalk flints which we now find along a belt of land extending for many miles westward from the coast near the Buchan Ness. These flints are much water-worn, and are always accompanied by a quantity of much water-worn quartz pebbles ; but the granite and schistose rocks on which they lie are not thus water-worn. These flints lie thickest perhaps in the Den of Boddam, or rather on the ground immediately north of that little ravine ; but they are very plentiful all along the top of the ridge which runs from Stirlinghill to the Bog of Ardallie. The curious mass of Greensand debris at Moreseat was probably brought there by the same agency, and about the same time.

That the ice which invaded the north of Aberdeenshire came from the west and north-west is shown by the extensive drift of stones and boulders derived from the Morayshire district. These are scattered eastward all over the country on to the coast north of Peterhead ; and at the Hill of Mormond

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the tract of granite, lying to the west of its base, has given off a lot of fragments which have been carried eastward up over the hill, some of them on to the very top. Mr. John Milne, when in the farm of Atherb, made a remarkable collection of stones from that neighbourhood. These showed the same direction of transport, some of them being apparently derived from the far-off West Highlands.

But along the east side of Aberdeenshire, to the south of Peterhead, we find a drift of stuff from a totally different direction. We there meet with an extensive deposit of a reddish clay nature, which has powerfully affected the agricultural character of the country in the parishes along the coast. It covers most of Slains and Cruden as with a mantle, and ranges north past Peterhead into the parish of St. Fergus ; it is likewise spread over much of Ellon, Logie-Buchan, Foveran and Belhelvie. It was some time before I could make out the history of this red clay, and where it had come from. My first idea was that it might have been derived from the red granite of Peterhead, but I soon saw that this idea was untenable. I had not then realized the extent of the deposit, which is out of all proportion to the area occupied by that granite. Moreover the granite doesn't give rise to a clay such as this, which is just like what one meets with in a district of the Old Red Sandstone. At length I observed that stones, apparently derived from the rocks of that formation in Kincardineshire, occurred wherever this clay was met with. Some of the large round reddish pebbles from the Old Red conglomerate can almost always be found. At Collieston they are so numerous that the bigger ones have been used for coping some of the stone dykes there. These pebbles have often a character that cannot be mistaken. They have been squeezed and cracked by some enormous pressure while embedded in the rock, and the pressure has recemented them after being fractured. Occasionally it has forced them to knuckle into one another when partially softened, causing a dimple or indentation on their surface. Many such pebbles may be seen in the conglomerate at Dunnottar near Stonehaven. Now specimens of the very same sort can often be found in the red clay of Buchan. We also find numerous stones of a mineral nature identical with the volcanic beds which are associated with the Devonian rocks of Kincardine, but which do not occur in the north of Aberdeenshire or to the west of it. These stones are very

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plentiful in some of the Cruden clays. An agate likewise may now and then be discovered, but is rare. In the excavations for the convict prison and harbour of refuge near Peterhead, blocks of sandstone were often met with in the red clay, some of them ice-marked, showing that Glacial conditions had existed at the time. Along the coast from Kincardineshire to Peterhead similar marks by the ice have in a few places been discovered on the solid rocks themselves, showing that there had been a movement of ice parallel to the coast, and coming from the south or south-west. Many other facts are known which go to prove that there had been a drift of mineral matter in the same direction at the time the red clay was laid down, and as it can be followed continuously along the coast from Peterhead into Kincardine, there is every reason to think that the Old Red Sandstone of that county was the source from whence the red sediment had been derived, although it may have been reinforced as it came along by contributions from any sandstone strata that may possibly exist underneath the sea to the north of Aberdeen.

Along the Banffshire coast there is a different clay, of a very dark blackish-blue colour. This dark clay extends from Tochineal, near Cullen, to Banff, and then eastward across the north of Aberdeenshire to Fraserburgh, turning round the corner there to Inverallochy. From St. Fergus to Peterhead there is a stretch of ground where the two clays intermingle. The dark blue clay is a drift from the west, and contains Jurassic fossils derived from the Moray Firth district. The red clay on the other hand is a drift from the south or south-west, and contains mineral debris from the red sandstone of Kincardineshire. There is every reason to think that both clays belong to approximately the same stage of the Glacial Period, and the way in which they are occasionally interstratified and mixed together, between St. Fergus and Peterhead, seems to show that sometimes the one drift prevailed and sometimes the other. An irregular seam of the dark-blue clay occurs among the red as far down the coast as Cruden; while a mass of the red stretches well into St. Fergus, alongside the blue clay of that locality. During the time these clays were laid down the districts where they occur must have been under water and the ice melting away. The Arctic character of the mollusca found in them at Gamrie, King-Edward, and other places, shows how cold the water must have been. There was, however, a recurrence of more Glacial conditions afterwards, during

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which the land-ice returned in considerable force. This caused a denudation of the clay beds, and covered them here and there with gravelly debris and coarse stony mud. Floods, resulting from the final thaw, produced those banks of gravel which we now find along all our river valleys, and no doubt washed away some of the clay also.

I have alluded to the approach of the Scandinavian ice during the time of the red clay. There is some reason to think it may have even impinged upon the coast of Buchan in the neighbourhood of Slains and Cruden, for we there find some far-borne stuff which is difficult to account for upon any other supposition. This consists of gravel debris containing sorely-worn remains of shells from what is known as the Crag formation, accompanied by numerous fragments of yellow limestone, apparently derived from strata of Permian Ages. No Crag shells have been found in any other part of Scotland, and geologists were at first loth to believe me when I announced their occurrence in Slains, but the decision of the late Mr. Searles Wood, our chief authority on these fossils, settled the point. The only question was, where could they have come from? Now the Scandinavian ice, in its onward march hither, had to pass over Crag strata on the coast of Belgium, and no doubt in other parts of the shallow bed of the North Sea, so that it is quite possible it might have transported the wreck of some of the strata to our shore. The strange mixture of stones and mineral debris on the coast of Buchan led some one to remark that it looked as if the riddlings of Creation had been flung down here.

In Buchan the red clay ranges up to a height of 300 feet above the sea, but most of it lies below the 200 feet contour line. At one time it must have extended over a greater area, for outlying patches occur here and there, much beyond its present boundary, showing that it has undergone a considerable amount of denudation. To the south of Ellon, in Logie-Buchan and Foveran, the red clay reaches further west, especially along the hollows in which run the little streams that come down to the coast. The dark-blue clay of the Banffshire coast ranges up to a like height, and has suffered denudation in the same way. These clays, both the red and the blue, are often hidden beneath the debris left upon them by the last sheet of ice before it melted away. This stuff consists generally of coarse earthy matter mixed with some stones, a sort of gravelly earth, which covers the greater part of the district beyond where the

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finer clays extend. Between Banff and Aberdour the coast is too high and rocky for much sediment to have lodged, except at Gamrie bay, where there is a deep mass of it ; but at Aberdour the ground lowers, and the last stream of Glacier ice that came along the coast from the west, seems to have struck inland there, in a south-east direction towards Rathen and Lonmay, where it appears to have melted away. The ridge of gravelly debris, known as the Sinclair hills, was probably accumulated along the margin of this last ice-stream, which was much inferior in depth and extent to the earlier one.

The boulder clay and gravelly earth, which cover most of the interior of the district, give rise to soils whose good qualities depend very much upon their dryness and freedom from bottom water. Patches of a whitey-blue clay often occur in hollows, and have been produced from washings of the grey boulder clay. This pale-bluish clay is one of the worst subjects for cultivation, and one that is very difficult to drain when naturally wet. Clays of all sorts require the drains to be made very close, not exceeding 18 feet apart, and not deeper than three. The pipes should not be less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 3 inches would be better.

The superficial masses of clay, sand and gravel, which cover the solid rocks of the country, have therefore been produced during the varying phases of the Glacial Period. Since that period came to an end, those peat beds have been formed which are so largely developed in many parts of Buchan. They deserve more study than they have yet received. The flint ridge, which runs inland from Stirlinghill to the Bog of Ardallie, is covered with peat along most of its length, sometimes very deeply. On Mormond also there is, or was, a thick mass of it in the hollow northern bosom of the hill ; but it is of course in the lower ground that the deeper beds occur. More than 30 years ago, the Rev. James Peter, then minister of Old Deer, drew up a careful and interesting account of the peat mosses of Buchan, which he presented to the Club of Deir, who published it in 1875. A tabular statement is therein given of the extent and depth of the principal mosses. Buchan in fact is, or rather was, remarkable for the great extent and depth of its peat beds. The reason of this is to be found in the nature of its soil and climate. A moist climate, cold but not too cold, is that which is most favourable for the growth of peat. Now Buchan has about the coldest summer of any part of Britain of like elevation. This is due

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to the fact that it projects so far into the cold waters of the North Sea. We have also much cloud and sometimes fog, but little sunshine compared with many other places. This proximity of the sea, although it cools the summer, softens the winter, so that the result is a more equable temperature all the year through. Then as to moisture, although the total amount of rain is not large, its frequency is great, and that is of more importance for the growth of peat. Heavy torrents wash the surface and soon run off, but if there are dry sunny intervals between them, the ground is not kept so constantly wet as it is under a frequent although lesser fall. Then as to soil, a retentive one is, of course, that which is most suitable for the production of peat, as it holds the water and allows it to stagnate, which promotes the growth of the peat-forming mosses. Buchan, therefore, abounding as it does in clay, supplies this condition.

T. F. J.

CHAPTER IV.

The Fauna of Buchan.

(1) THE ORIGINS OF THE FAUNA.

THERE have been in past years not a few keen observers who have studied the birds and fishes, the molluscs and insects, and even the zoophytes of Buchan, but the absence or shortness of published records of their industry makes it difficult—especially for an outsider—to enter into their labours. This fact, and the lack of opportunity on the author's part to make as yet more than a few excursions, may explain the shortness of this note on "The Fauna of Buchan." It is hoped that what is here set down may serve as a preface for some subsequent studies.

What we wish to do is to inquire where the Buchan fauna came from, and the general answer must be—by migration in relatively recent times.

In regard to the faunas of long distant ages—faunas which *might have had* abundant representation in Buchan as in parts of the country not very distant—we must remember that many of the more ancient fossils belong to lost races which have no *direct* descendants now living, and that, in any case, it is but rarely that we can directly affiliate a type now living to Palæozoic or Mesozoic predecessors. So that even if Buchan had been rich in fossil-bearing rocks—such as old red sandstone and coal measures—we should not be greatly helped thereby in our attempt to understand the origin of the present-day fauna.

At a date very distant when compared with the Norman Conquest, but very recent when compared with the time when the Scottish coal measures were consolidated, Scotland was bound to Scandinavia, just as England was bound to France. This was in the late Tertiary Epoch (the union continued until after the Glacial Periods), when the British fauna included lion and elephant, rhinoceros and hippopotamus, and such like, when the Scottish fauna included reindeer, mammoth, and brown bear.

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Then the ages of horror—the Ice Ages—set in, when whole faunas shuddered and disappeared. It is likely that the Pre-Glacial terrestrial fauna was entirely blotted out. “We must believe,” Geikie says, “that all the hills and valleys were once swathed in snow and ice; that the whole of Scotland was at some distant date buried underneath one immense *mer de glace*, through which peered only the higher mountain tops.” If this be true, then the terrestrial fauna of Buchan is almost wholly, if not wholly, Post-Glacial. There has been a relatively recent re-peopling of old haunts.

Thus, in thinking of the fauna of any area such as Buchan, we have to recognise that most of its components came by ordinary terrestrial migration from the North, the South, and the East, while Britain was still imperfectly insulated. The problem narrows itself to this—can we refer the members of the fauna to their original continental headquarters? It is interesting, also, to inquire which immigrants came first, and which last.

We have also to consider how the fauna of Buchan, as formed by Post-Glacial migrants, has been decreased by competition, human influence, changes of climate, and so on, and has been increased by further migration after insulation had come about,—migration, that is, by types that can swim or fly, or can be transported in various ways. For passive diffusion may come to the same result as active migration.

It is a great matter to get the general position of affairs clear, so that isolated facts may begin to get into order, and so that lines of much-needed enquiry may be suggested. As regards the present-day fauna of Buchan, the very ancient fauna counts for almost nothing, the Pre-Glacial Tertiary fauna counts for little, the Post-Glacial migrations are all important. But after the insulation of Britain was accomplished, considerable changes have come about, and are still going on—especially, we regret to say, in the direction of loss.

If there was a fresh colonisation after the severities of the Ice Ages were past, the problem is, Where did the migrants come from? The answer to this is based upon the conclusion that particular kinds of animals have had definite headquarters or centres of dispersal, and this conclusion is, or should be, the result of laborious induction from the facts of geographical distribution. To take an obvious case, we know that the brown rat (*Mus decumanus*) had its centre of dispersal somewhere in Central Asia, or perhaps in Mongolian China.

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In certain cases, present-day or relatively modern migrations may give us a clue as to what may have occurred long ago.

The general result of careful investigations (see especially Scharff's "History of the European Fauna," 1899) has been to show that the British fauna includes three sets of animals which arrived along different routes—from the North, from the South, and from the East. Doubtless they came gradually in some cases, very rapidly in other cases; doubtless the migratory streams, now trickling and again rushing, often merged as they flowed. In a general way it may be said that a contingent came from Scandinavia and the far North, a contingent from Central Europe and Siberia, and a contingent from the region of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Balkan Range.

The *Northern* contingent may be illustrated by three mammals—the mountain-hare (*Lepus variabilis*); the reindeer, which was common in Scotland in pre-historic times; and the lemming, which abounds in Scandinavia, and occurs in many of the later cave deposits in Britain. The harp-seal or Greenland seal (*Phoca groenlandica*) is an occasional visitor from the North to the Buchan coast.

The red grouse (*Lagopus scoticus*) is peculiar to Scotland, where it probably arose as a species, but we may take it in illustration of the Northern contingent, since it is first cousin to the Scandinavian willow grouse (*Lagopus albus*). Another northern bird is the ptarmigan (*Lagopus mutus*), and there are many migrants from the north that are familiar in Buchan,—from the great northern diver (*Colymbus glacialis*) to the snow bunting (*Plectrophanes nivalis*). The sticklebacks, the Salmonidæ, the bullheads are northern fishes, and the list can be continued among molluscs, spiders, insects, and so on.

The *Eastern* contingent migrating from Central Europe, and further east, may be illustrated by the polecat (*Mustela putorius*), whose half-domesticated breeds are commonly known as ferrets, and by the harvest mouse (*Mus minutus*), both of which are common in Central Europe and Siberia, though absent from the extreme north and south of the continent. The black rat (*Mus rattus*) came from the Far East, and the same is true of the brown rat which has ousted its predecessor. The brown rat is believed to have crossed the Volga in 1727, and to have reached Britain about two years afterwards.

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Dr. Scharff states that "no less than 26 species of Siberian mammals penetrated as far west as the British Islands," and nine of these, *e.g.*, the common shrew (*Sorex vulgaris*), the stoat or ermine (*Mustela erminea*), and the field-vole (*Arvicola agrestis*), still inhabit Britain. The common adder (*Pelias berus*) is a typically Eastern animal, and perhaps the same may be said of the sand-lizard (*Lacerta agilis*) of the South of England. A large number of migrant birds strike our shores every year in a westward flight, which eventually curves southwards, and the well known invasions of Pallas's sand-grouse (from Mongolia, N. China, the Caspian, Lake Baikal, etc.), which were dispersions rather than migrations, may illustrate what is meant by the Eastern contingent.

The *Southern* contingent, often called Lusitanian, which came from the south-west of Europe, is now represented almost exclusively in the south of the British Isles. Yet, we cannot see the rabbits on the links without being reminded of the Lusitanian contingent, for there is every reason to regard the rabbit as a native of South-Western Europe. The date of its colonisation of Buchan is quite uncertain, but this is a case where literary research would probably yield some interesting information. The common pied wagtail is said to be a Lusitanian bird by origin, and the same may be said of a number of Invertebrate animals, such as the black slug (*Arion ater*), the carnivorous slug (*Testacella*), and various spiders and beetles.

We believe, then, that in the distant past—though after the Ice Ages—the Buchan area was peopled by immigrants from the North, the East, and the South. The evidence consists in referring members of the fauna to their *most probable* continental headquarters, or centres of dispersal. This kind of argument, which varies in conclusiveness in different cases, is to some extent corroborated by colonisations which still continue. Here, indeed, is part of the interest of noting the occurrence of stragglers who appear unexpectedly in a district.

(2) SUGGESTION OF STUDIES.

There are many lines of study in Natural History open to observers in Buchan. There is much to do in regard to habits, inter-relations, and life-histories, and here every worker can find his own corner and follow his own

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bent. But it is also necessary to face the preliminary task of making an annotated census of the animal population of Buchan. This can only be done co-operatively, and it should be associated with making the collection in the Peterhead (or any other) Museum adequately representative to begin with, and complete eventually. A card-catalogue should be started for the convenient registration of precise information in regard to the occurrence of this, that, or the other animal in Buchan. It would also be well to have an inter-leaved copy of Sim's "Vertebrate Fauna of Dee" in which to enter records of the occurrence, not only of rarities, but of common animals as well. It is only by having the humility to be methodical, and the patience to take pains, that a reliable census of the fauna of Buchan can be compiled. The secretary of the Field Club should also have a portfolio entitled "Regional Survey—Zoological" in which to collect well authenticated items of information, so apt, as everyone knows, to fade out of recollection. To such a portfolio everyone with a sense of accuracy can contribute, and the results can be periodically edited as they accumulate. Some illustrations of what is desirable may be permitted. It is many years since Horn wrote on "The Mammalia of Buchan"; we wish his list re-edited. What mammals have become rarer? What cetaceans have been stranded on the coast? What bats are to be found? and a dozen similar questions might be reasonably asked. Horn also wrote on the "Birds of Buchan," and he has had able followers. But is there any complete list, or is there anything more than the beginning of a record of migration-movements? Or, to take a striking case, is there any readily available record of the extremely interesting fact that Mr. Andrew Murray shot the American Kildeer Plover (*Aegialites vociferus*) at Peterhead in 1867? To register the dates of the annual arrival and departure of the puffins at Dunbuy would be a simple matter, and it would be very interesting; but if it has been done, we do not know where to find its publication. Buchan abounds in birds, and from the *Transactions* of the Field Club and otherwise we know that more interest has been taken in Ornithology than in other branches of Natural History. There are not many woods, but they are well peopled; the haughs of the Ythan and Ugie are favourite places; the sands of Forvie have their characteristic tenants; and Dunbuy, for instance, is a fairly typical "Bird-berg." As the Rev. W. Serle pointed out in an interesting paper in the *Transactions* for 1895, Buchan forms a prominent corner

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projecting into the North Sea, and this may explain why it is a notable halting place for migrants. Mr. Serle gave a list of nearly 200 birds recorded for Buchan, and many items in the list are very interesting. We do not refer so much to the greater rarities—the occasional stragglers—such as golden oriole, waxwing, hoopoe, roller, bee-eater, quail, ruff, and so on, but rather to the lingering presence of birds that used to be much commoner, such as raven and bittern, and to the occurrence of attractive birds like stock-dove, rock-dove, whimbrel, water-rail, little grebe, and Iceland gull.

To suggest another chapter in the desired faunistic survey, we may recall Mr. Serle's interesting communication (1899) to the Field Club on the study of bird-migration at Peterhead. He pointed out that the prominent corner is "a kind of first land to be sighted by birds" flying across from north-west Europe, that another favouring circumstance is the low elevation of the coast, that the links of Buchan afford quiet resting places. "Craigewan is a little oasis in the desert for waders; and that it is fully taken advantage of, can be seen any day from the little flocks of turnstones and redshanks and the sombre plumaged rock and meadow pipits, not to speak of oyster-catchers, ringed plover, sanderling, purple sandpiper, and the occasional Temminck's stint and curlew sandpiper." But while millions of birds pass, "comparatively few come down in their flight and rest in the region." There is too little shelter and too little food either on land or shore. On the other hand, perhaps the migrants are more easily seen here than elsewhere, just because shelter is so scanty.

Notes for two months may be quoted from Mr. Serle's paper—simply as samples of the kind of bird-calendar that anyone with time to observe can build up for himself.

In September most of the southward bound finches arrive, large flocks of foreign ring-doves congregate about the bean stooks, gannets are seen diving off Craig Ewan, and "an occasional Richardson's Skua driving through the air after some unfortunate gull." The lovely grey wagtails are often seen as migrants a fortnight after the numbers of pied wagtails are at their largest proportion.

In October there is a great increase in the representation of the thrush family, of robins, of pipits, and starlings. "Large flocks of turnstones, ringed plovers, dunlins, redshanks, and occasionally golden plovers, halt for a little and then pass south."

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Arbuthnot appended to his Historical Account of Peterhead, some notes on the Natural History of the Fishes found on the coasts of Buchan. Prof. Alex. MEEK gave a provisional list of about sixty in 1894, including such interesting forms as the Angel-fish, the garpike, Banks' oar-fish, the boar fish, Müller's top-knot, and Ray's bream. The late Mr. Sim published well-sifted records in his "Vertebrate Fauna of Dee" (1903), and there are other trustworthy sources of information, e.g., in the "Scottish Annals of Natural History." But if time and energy were available, it would be easy to edit a reliable list of local fishes (including those of fresh water) and of rare occurrences.

What we have indicated in regard to the Vertebrate animals is even more marked in regard to the Invertebrates—that the available information for Buchan is needlessly scrappy and incomplete. There are doubtless individual workers, who know much about the molluscs or the insects or the crustaceans of Buchan, but it is desirable that their knowledge should become available in a co-operative regional survey.

The point of these suggestions may be illustrated, in conclusion, by taking a particular case. In 1902 Mr. W. J. Caird communicated an entertaining and useful paper on zoophytes, with especial reference to the Buchan Coast. The paper records a number of forms, such as *Tubularia indivisa*, *Hydractinia echinata*, *Sertularia rugosa*, *S. pumila*, *Obelia geniculata*, but what is wanted is that Mr. Caird should give a full list with localities, and should deposit the corresponding specimens in the museum, so that we may know what we have, and so that any one who finds an interesting form may be able to identify it, as a first step to understanding it. It may be suggested that the museum collection of zoophytes should be in triplicate, (a) a dry specimen mounted on paper like a sea-weed, (b) a small piece well expanded and preserved in spirit in a test-tube, and (c) a microscopic slide.

As already indicated, there are other lines of Natural History study besides the compilation of a regional survey, and in urging the need for this we do not for a moment fail to appreciate inquiries into habits, inter-relations, and life-histories, or minute studies of particular animals, or detailed observation of well-defined haunts, such as the Loch of Strathbeg or the Sands of Forvie. But when we consider the utility of a careful zoological census to all workers—

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both experts and beginners, and remark how badly the records of the Fauna of the district compare with those of the Flora, we feel justified in pressing the Field Club to start its Record-book, its Card-Catalogue, its Portfolio for animals both high and low, so that the "Regional Survey—Zoological" may be ready, in its first edition at least, for the *next* Book of Buchan.

J. A. T.

CHAPTER V.

Pearling in Buchan.

THE industries of Buchan are divided almost equally between land and sea ; agriculture on the one hand and the herring fishing on the other would to the commercial mind sum up the economic aspects of the two industrial classes of Buchan, those inland and those on the seaboard. It is true that, at present, the largest revenues are now drawn from these two sources, but time was when the latter was unknown, and the former not yet emerged from infancy, when Buchan was one vast expanse of waste. Yet at that time the Privy Council of Scotland was enacting laws to make Buchan a royal preserve. And why? The land was considered valueless, the products of the sea incapable of development as a source of revenue, but to the rivers the eyes of kings were directed as a source not only of revenue beyond the dreams of avarice, but as a means whereby royal vanity might be gratified.

The history of pearling in Buchan is inextricably mixed up in the literature of centuries, but in the earlier records the term "British" was considered sufficient, so that, except in a few authentic cases it is doubtful how far Buchan participated in the industry at its inauguration.

It is certain, however, that Britain's renown for pearls had reached the Roman Empire over two thousand years ago. Frequent references to them occur in the Roman writings of the first and second centuries of the Christian Era. The influence of the pearl in the march of civilization may be inferred when it is remembered that the biographer Suetonius, in his "Lives of the Cæsars," after dilating on the high admiration which Julius Cæsar held for pearls positively affirms that their occurrence in Britain was an important factor in inducing the first Roman invasion in 55 B.C. If this be so, the British empire owes a vast debt of gratitude to this industry in bringing its ancestors in contact with Roman civilization, for the influence thus exerted on the world's

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history has been greater than even that of the most famous of the Oriental fisheries.

Numerous other references occur in Roman literature and of these two are certainly worthy of note. The first is by the naturalist Pliny (23-79) who, while discussing pearls, stated that "in Brittain it is certain that some do grow; but they be small, dim of colour and nothing orient." Following this, in his "Vita Agricola" the historian Tacitus noted that the pearls from Britain were dusky or brownish (*sub-fusca ac liventia*).

Coming to more modern times, we hear that in 1560 "large handsome pearls" were sent from Scotland to Antwerp, while in 1620 a great pearl was found in the Kellie Burn in Aberdeenshire. This was brought before the notice of King James by the Provost of Aberdeen, who was recompensed with "twelve to fourteen chalders of victuals about Dunfermline and the customs of Merchant's goods in Aberdeen during his life."

Royal interest was thus evoked and in 1621 the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation that pearls found within the realm belonged to the crown; conservators of pearl fisheries were appointed in several of the counties including Aberdeenshire. It was the duty of these conservators, amongst other things, to nominate experts to fish for pearls during July and August "when they are at chief perfection." The conservators and fishermen were compensated by selling those pearls of ordinary quality, but "the best for bignesse and colour" were to be remitted to the King. It was reported to the Privy Council that the conservator of Aberdeenshire did exceedingly well in the first year. "He hath not only taken divers Pearls of good value, but hath found some in waters where none were expected."

The Rev. Jas. Brodie, Fife, in an article on "The Pearls of the Ythan, Aberdeenshire," in the proceedings of the Royal Physical Society, relates the following anecdote with regard to a famous Ythan pearl, which tradition says is one of the gems which adorns the Scottish crown:—

"Many years ago, before the coinage of Scotland was assimilated to that of England, two farmers were returning from market. When they came to the banks of Ythan, one of them dismounted, the other retained his seat, and holding the bridle in his hand stooped forward to let his horse drink. While in this position, he observed near the place where his companion was standing

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a very large mussel, and called to him, 'I say, Tam, rax in the crookit end o' your stick, and get me that muckle clam-shell; it will be a famous thing for our Kate whan she scrapes her sowans' pot.' The comrade did as he had been requested, and the clam was consigned to the farmer's capacious pocket. On opening it when he got home, he found that it contained a large and beautiful pearl. This he carefully preserved until an opportunity should occur of getting it disposed of to advantage. Some time after he had occasion to go to London, and took the pearl with him. While there, he went to one of the principal jewellers in the city, and, showing him the gem, he asked what he thought of it. 'It is very beautiful; it is one of the finest pearls I have ever seen. Is it for sale?' 'Ou aye, if ye will gie me a lang eneuch price.' After some further talk, the farmer said, 'Fat dae ye say to a hunner pun?' He meant pounds Scots. 'A hundred pounds, sir!' exclaimed the jeweller. 'It is a beautiful pearl, a very beautiful pearl, but a hundred pounds is a very large sum; and ——' 'Aweel,' said the Aberdonian, who saw from the manner in which the jeweller spoke that, if he stuck to his demand, it would be granted, 'that's the price, tak' it or want it,' After a little hesitation the bargain was made, and the farmer got a hundred pounds sterling, instead of the 'hunner pun' Scots, equal to eight pounds six shillings and eightpence, which he asked when he went into the shop. The jeweller afterwards sold the pearl to the King." ¹

Buchan thus became historic in the annals of pearling and, in an official report on the industry, is referred to as the "rich rig of Scotland." For over a century it maintained its high reputation, and is mentioned by the zoologist, Thomas Pennant, in his "Tour in Scotland."

Sources of Mussels.—The chief sources of pearl-mussels in Buchan are the Ythan and the Ugie. The Ythan has long been renowned for its pearls, and mussels seem to occur almost universally throughout the lower reaches. The mussel is found chiefly in the vicinity of fords, and usually on a pebbly bottom. A superabundance of sand is detrimental to their existence as there is great danger of their becoming silted up after heavy rains when the currents are rapid, and the bed of the river is greatly disturbed. They occur usually

¹ A slightly different version of this story is given in Dr. Skene Keith's "Agriculture of Aberdeenshire." The finder is there described "as one Mr. Tower, a merchant in Aberdeen."

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scattered or detached, but "beds" sometimes exist where the water is still and deep.

In the Ugie the chief sources are in the vicinity of the fords near Ravenscraig, but between Middleton of Rora and the Mains of Buthlaw "beds" also exist. The junction of the North and South Ugies is also a happy hunting ground, but heaps of opened shells may be seen as far up as Baluss Bridge, Mintlaw, on the South Ugie, so that they thus exist over a considerable stretch of the river.

Mussel.—The Scottish pearl, unlike the Oriental, is found in different species of fresh-water mussels, which occur in lakes and rivers, whereas the latter is extracted from mussels (commonly known as oysters) which live in the waters fringing the tropical shores.

By far the commonest pearl-bearing species is what is popularly known as the fresh-water mussel (*Unio margaritifera*). It has two shells, or valves, which are thick and coarse, and are from 3 to 7 inches in length and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the umbo, or hinge, to the lip. The internal surface which constitutes the "mother of pearl" is generally bluish or pinkish, but the outer non-calcareous surface is of a dark brown. Except for its pearl-bearing qualities the mussel is of no economic value, unless for fishing bait, but it is very little used for this purpose.

Another pearl-bearing Mollusc is the Swan-mussel (*Anodonta cygnea*), but not only is its occurrence rare, but the pearls found within it are few and far between, and are of little value. The chief cause for this is the thinness of the shell and the nature of the layers deposited. There is very little mother of pearl and, consequently, the pearls are poor, as will be shown later.

Fishery.—Pearl-mussels are usually sought for in the summer and autumn months, when the waters are low, as at these times, places, otherwise inaccessible, may be exploited. At one time pearl-fishing in Buchan was a recognised industry, and many there were who thus devoted the whole summer to this pursuit. Of late years, however, the work has been carried on more spasmodically; there are very few regular pearl-fishers, and, in fact, the business is now practically in the hands of vagrants. The consequence of this is that mussels of all ages and sizes are annually destroyed, many of which, if left to mature, might give a fair yield of good pearls. There is no doubt, however,

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that if some attention were bestowed on existing "beds," and methods adopted whereby only mature shells were opened, the fisheries, which at one time were so lucrative, might again be placed on a sound financial basis. The demand for Scotch pearls is constantly increasing and it is a pity to see such a fruitful source of supply being spoiled through lack of attention.

There is little mystery in the search, and the apparatus is simple. When the surface of the water is rough a "water-glass," which consists of a square box, the bottom of which is made of glass, is sometimes used. This is depressed beneath the surface so that the refraction caused by rippling is minimised; the bottom is thus rendered more visible and the mussels easily located. A long stick with two pieces of flexible iron placed so as to form an inverted V is depressed over the mussel which is then easily extracted. If, however, the valves are open it is not necessary to envelop the shell because, if one of the thin iron bands be inserted, the mussel voluntarily closes its shell and grasps the rod firmly. By this means it can easily be raised to the surface. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty mussels may be considered a good day's catch, and lucky is the fisher who gets a really valuable pearl. The best pearls are usually found in old, contorted or damaged shells, and, consequently, these are most eagerly sought for. The chief reason why good pearls are not found in a larger percentage than now obtains, is that the great majority of the shells taken out are immature. Five to seven years is now regarded as the profitable age for Oriental mussels, and it is more than probable that the same age may be the most profitable also in the case of fresh-water mussels, as it is now generally believed that this is the period necessary for the deposition of a fair sized pearl.

Skill does not always avail in the search; men, women, and children are rewarded or disappointed indiscriminately, while a few of the best pearls have been obtained by sportsmen who have accidentally "hooked" a mussel when seeking the more sportive and elusive finny denizens of the river.

Pearl-fishing throughout the world is a game of chance in which the stakes involved are high, and it will always have its votaries; the gambling spirit can never be eradicated.

Causation of Pearls.—Many fanciful views have been, from time to time, put forward to explain the nature and causation of pearls. Some of these are

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extremely interesting and are well worth recording here. An early Hindu tradition relates the belief, which is still entertained in certain parts of India at the present day, that at night or during heavy rain the mussel ascends to the surface of the water, opens its shell to the air and takes in drops of water which then become consolidated as pearls. Pliny and others suggested that pearls were caused by drops of dew which enter the gaping shell at dawn and reflect the first rays of the sun while still uncovered by the sea. Still more fanciful is the view that pearls were produced by a lightning flash entering the opening shell.

More modern, however, and with some degree of truth, is what is known as the irritation-theory. The causation of pearls is thus referred to grains of sand, or such like, which enter the shell and set up an irritation, the result of which is a pearl.

Hugh Miller in "My Schools and Schoolmasters," says, "I found occasion to conclude that the *Unio* of our river fords secretes pearls so much more frequently than the *Unionida* and *Anodonta* of our still pools and lakes, not from any specific peculiarity in the constitution of the creature but from the effects of the *habitat* which it chooses. It receives in the fords and shallows of a rapid river many a rough blow from the sticks and pebbles carried down in time of flood, and occasionally from the feet of men and animals that cross the stream during droughts, and the blows induce the morbid secretion of which the pearl is the result."

Recent research has however proved, beyond doubt, that the nucleus in over 90 per cent. of pearls is organic, and in the great majority of cases is a small worm. This minute animal enters the shell and settles down to an external parasitic existence. The irritation and inconvenience cause the mussel to respond in some way; unable to resist the onslaught of the worm, or to rid itself of the opposing evil, the oyster exercises the power given it by a beneficent nature and deposits around it layer after layer of calcareous matter. The result is the entombing of the parasite and the formation of that symbol of all that is pure and beautiful—the pearl.

This power of depositing layer after layer of "mother of pearl," common to all shell-bearing molluscs, is not restricted to the formation of pearls. Any substance, organic or inorganic, as well as any organism which produces

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irritation within the mussel, may induce this deposition. Several very good illustrations of this are seen in certain Oriental mussels. It sometimes happens that a small fish (*Fierasfer*) finds its way between the mantle and the shell of some bivalve. Egress is barred, and the mussel covers it with a thin layer of "mother of pearl." So quickly and so completely is this accomplished that, in some cases, it is possible to identify the species of fish through this layer. The limy deposition is so thin and uniform that even the markings on the scales are clearly delineated, and it is quite evident that the decomposition of the fish had not set in before complete encasing was accomplished.

This phenomenon has been taken advantage of, for centuries, by the Chinese and Burmese, who insert, between the mantle and the shell of any oyster which deposits good "mother of pearl," small images of a Joss or Buddha. These they leave for some time until covered with "mother of pearl," when they are extracted and exact nacreous replicas of the original image are thus obtained.

The long mysterious "secret process of Linnaeus" for the artificial production of pearls (or *margarosis*) is now known to have consisted of inserting, within a mussel, small glass spheres united by a thin silver wire. These formed the nuclei of pearls, but the results never equalled those of parasitic origin.

Worms and such like, boring into a shell from the outside, also produce an internal irritation which results in an excrescence, technically known as a "blister." These are of commercial value and are greatly used for "setting," in brooches and such like where it would be too expensive to use a large pearl on account of only one-half being necessary, and also on account of the fact that, when a pearl is cut, its value decreases proportionately.

So little is known with regard to the pearl-inducing parasite in the fresh-water mussel that the case of the Oriental pearl-mussel may be cited in the hope that it may stimulate some member of the Buchan Field Club to investigate the life history of the former.

Numerous minute, free living, worm larvae may settle down inside a species of pearl-bearing mussel. Some of these become encysted and form the nuclei of pearls, and thus their existence comes to an end; others may escape this doom only to die within the mussel. Lucky are those which are

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devoured along with the mussel by some predaceous fish, for only by this means can they attain maturity. Within the stomach of their vertebrate host they develop and give rise to other larvae which pass out into the sea, and after passing a period of free existence, may either die or reinfect some fresh bivalve. The vertebrate hosts in the case of the Oriental mussel are now fairly well known but no such information with regard to the fresh-water mussel has so far been forthcoming.

Professor McIntosh has suggested that the Eider Duck and Scoter may be final hosts of the parasites which form the nuclei of pearls in the edible mussel, and Dr. Lyster Jameson is of opinion that otters, for instance, may be the final hosts, as it is stated that, like the raccoon of North America, they occasionally eat mussels. This is mere conjecture, however, but investigation would well repay the trouble.

A few details of the method in which this investigation might be carried out may with advantage be given. The first question to be solved is, "What is the nature of the parasite which constitutes the nucleus of the pearl"? To solve this problem completely it would be necessary to examine a large number of mussels and identify all *external* parasites found thereon. These are generally situated on the mantle and the gills, but naturally they may be found on almost any part of the animal. Some or all of these species *may* form the nuclei of pearls, but to confirm this it would be necessary to decalcify a number of small pearls and see if they contain remains of worms which could be identified with any of those found. If this were so, then the first stage in the investigation would be complete; one could definitely say that certain species were pearl-inducing.

The next question for consideration would be, "At what stage in their life-history do these parasites infect the mussels"? In other words, are they larvæ or adults? It will in all probability be found that they are in the larval condition, so that it is now necessary to find out the nature of the adult, and the animal in which this stage is passed. This is more difficult, however, but careful observation of the animals which devour the mussels, and an examination of the stomach contents of these, may result in the discovery of the adult stage. A start in this part of the investigation might be made with the predaceous fish which inhabit the waters where the mussels are found.

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Having thus obtained a series of stages in development both in the mussel and the adult host, it only remains to find the free living stages, or, in other words, those stages passed in the water between the time of leaving the adult host, and that in which they settle down in the mussel. For this purpose a series of tow nettings may be taken during different times of the year, and an examination of the organisms found therein may result in the formation of a connected series of the different phases in the life history of the pearl-inducing parasite of the fresh-water mussel. Such a study would form not only a valuable biological contribution, but might lead to the perfecting of means whereby the pearl-fisheries of Buchan might once more be raised to the status of an economic industry.

Pearls.—Pearls or other pearly concretions are deposited in the same manner, and by the same part of the animal, as the shell; consequently they partake of the characteristics which are peculiar to the species in which they are found. It naturally follows, therefore, that, in contrast to Oriental pearls, which are formed by an animal which deposits a very white, iridescent mother of pearl layer, Scotch pearls, occurring in a species with a shell which is predominantly bluish or pinkish, will themselves have these particular tints. Another feature which influences the colour of a pearl is the position in which it is formed. Those which occur near the edge of the "mantle," *i.e.*, the part which forms the limy deposit, will partake of the nature of the shell in this region, and will consequently be more opaque.

Ten shillings to thirty shillings is a not uncommon price for pearls in Peterhead, but such records as £20 and £50 are extremely rare. These prices, however, were given by an Aberdeen jeweller for two Ythan pearls, the dearer of which was found a few years ago, was perfect in shape and lustre, and weighed 25 grains.

The pearls found in the Ythan and the Ugie show a great variety of colours, most of which are practically valueless on account of the absence of orient or lustre; for one pearl possessing a white pearly lustre, fifty are of a dull colour and devoid of value. Many of the opaque pearls are dark, lustreless brown, greyish, milky or of a bluish-white tinge; they are of value only when they are characterised by excellence of shape or purity of skin. Sometimes, however, the pearls have a beautiful pink tint, and as these are

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exceedingly rare, they are of great value. The best, however, are those having the sweet, pure white light which constitutes the inimitable loveliness of a pearl.

It must be remembered that pearls are unlike precious minerals and stones, which continue their existence for all time, and only await the hand of man to unearth them. Like cereals on land, the pearl harvest must be gathered when it is ripe, otherwise the organism may die and the gem, which is the result of pain converted into glory, and which requires no lapidary's art to enhance it, may pass for ever beyond the grasp of man.

The poet Gray, in his "Elegy," very aptly expresses this:—

“ Full many a gem of purest ray serene

The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear ”;

for, when once a pearl has been deposited on the bed of the ocean, through the dying and decaying of the mussel, there is small chance of its ever being rescued from the deep.

J. J. S.

CHAPTER VI.

The Flora of Buchan.

DURING the 21 years since the formation of the Buchan Field Club, Botany has been represented in its *Transactions* by several papers. Some of these have been of a general nature; and such are helpful in arousing an interest in plants and desire to learn more of their true being. Others of the papers have sought to extend the knowledge of the flowering plants and fern-allies in Buchan. Even in the first volume of the *Transactions* appeared a valuable "Flora of Buchan," by Mr. Robert Walker, embodying his own observations on the higher plants, chiefly of the district around Peterhead. Short notices of the more interesting and rarer plants of the localities visited by the club are occasionally given in the records of the excursions, *e.g.*, on the "Flora of Gight" in volume I. (pages 225-226) in 1890.

Turning for a moment to records of the Plants of Buchan, previous to 1887, we find that these are not extensive. A few of the notices of parishes in the New Statistical Account contain brief lists of such plants (often the cultivated species) as were regarded by the writers as of peculiar importance. Few of them are of much assistance, and one or two are very untrustworthy. Of more value are the pages of "The Botanist's Guide to the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine," issued in 1860, by Professor George Dickie, A.M., M.D., on his return from Belfast to Aberdeen, when the chair of Botany was founded in the University of Aberdeen.

Unfortunately, Professor Dickie had little personal acquaintance with the district of Buchan; but he obtained information from various sources, especially for the larger plants, from Mr. Cow for Crimond and its neighbourhood and Slains, from Dr. Shier and Rev. G. Gairdner for the north-west of Buchan, and from Mr. Alexander Murray for Cruden. The marine sea-weeds of Buchan were more fully recorded in the "Guide," collections having been

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made and communicated to Professor Dickie by the Rev. James Yuill, Mr. Bell, Rev. W. Gregor, and Mr. C. Peach.

A request by Mr. Tocher, at the close of last century, that I should prepare for publication by the club a revised "Flora of Buchan" was agreed to by me on the understanding that it should consist of a compilation of what I could find on record with regard to the vascular plants, and of such information as I could obtain from the collections of local students of the flora. To elicit information a short paper of "Notes" on forms that were believed to be peculiarly in need of investigation was prepared by me, and communicated to the club in April, 1900. The preparation of the "Flora," begun in the belief that compilation would suffice, very soon showed how very incomplete was the information from even the best known localities, and proved the need of a new investigation of Buchan in every part of its area; and in this work every day that I could give to it during 1900 and 1901 was spent, visits being made to every parish in Buchan, and notes prepared of every species of apparently wild plants (native or escaped from cultivation) observed in each. Although these visits were necessarily brief and very insufficient to permit of a thorough survey, they added greatly to previous records, and permitted of my promise being fulfilled much more effectively than it could otherwise have been.

In the hope of furnishing a beginning, to which additions could readily be made, the distribution as far as previously recorded was fully given in a paper in the *Transactions* in 1901, followed by tables of the species observed by me in each parish. In 1902 followed a discussion of the flora in its relations to man, to its surroundings, etc., with additions to the previous records, based on work done in 1901, chiefly in Aberdour and adjacent parishes, and on collections seen by me in 1901. A few subsequent records have since been added. I am glad to say that a few dwellers in Buchan have taken up the study of their local floras, and have kindly let me see examples of plants found by themselves or by their pupils; and I have been able myself to add a few records to the various parish lists, but the progress has been very local. For most parishes of Buchan there has been not a single addition to record since the issue of my papers, which still may be taken to represent what is known about the Vascular Plants of Buchan.

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Let us pass from what is known to what awaits investigation, taking the great groups of plants in succession from the higher forms to the lower.

Despite what has been put on record, very much remains to be done before the distribution of even the flowering plants and fern-allies in Buchan can be regarded as well investigated. Brief visits cannot do more than disclose the common plants of a locality with a part of the more local or rarer species. Numerous others must remain undetected until careful search is made through each limited area by resident botanists; and new knowledge will reward such investigations even where the ground has been traversed frequently, and at all seasons of the year. The critical examination of allied and variable forms will also repay the care devoted to it, and so will the study of plant-associations and the mutual relations of the various species to one another, and to their environments. There is much to be learned still from the careful study of any one species however familiar it may be; and in these days of nature-study there can be no better training for a teacher than to seek to discover all he can about one or two of the common weeds. He will soon realise how much there is to be learned beyond what books contain, and also how few of the problems that present themselves can be answered by even the most honest and earnest efforts. Each step forward may open up some new subject of investigation, and the interest only grows stronger and more keen as one goes on. But, if there is much to be done in the study of the higher plants of Buchan, this is still more true of the lower groups. Seaweeds, or marine algæ, have been sought for, largely owing to the personal influence of Professor Dickie, with the results briefly indicated above. But since the publication of the "Botanist's Guide," in 1860, very little progress has been made, locally, even among the seaweeds. There is great need for a revision of the records, and a careful investigation of the marine algæ of Buchan in light of the information gained during the past 50 years as to these algæ on northern coasts elsewhere; and a rich harvest may be confidently expected to reward the work.

As to the mosses and liverworts, the fresh-water algæ, the lichens, and the fungi, both large and microscopic, they unfortunately require but a brief reference, for practically nothing has been done in any one of these groups in Buchan, except that a few of the *Characeæ* are included in my papers on the

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flora. Each of these groups offers an almost untouched field to anyone disposed to assist in this side of the work of the Buchan Field Club.

The study of the fungi, especially of the microscopic species, necessarily implies an acquaintance with the injuries caused by so many of them to many other plants, and with the partnerships in which others live for the mutual benefit of themselves and of the plants on which they grow.

The effects on plants due to insects are of no less interest than those due to fungi; and the injuries due to both and to other causes of disease are of such practical importance as to make their careful study most desirable. In this field, again, there is much to repay the student of nature, and it has scarcely been touched in Buchan.

It will be seen, even from this outline, how little has been accomplished, and how much remains to be done in the study of plant-life in the district of the Field Club. There is little need to fear for it that its labours will leave no new realms to conquer within its own limits.

J. W. H. T.

CHAPTER VII.

Botanical Surveying and Cartography.

THERE is still some confusion prevalent as to what is meant by botanical survey, and this despite the botanical surveys of certain districts of Scotland which have been published in recent years. Consequently it may be of interest to the members of the Buchan Field Club to have some indication of the principles of botanical surveying and cartography. The tendency remains to confuse botanical surveying with the compilation of floral statistics. Now that is exactly what it is not, and though floral statistics are of great use to the botanical geographer, they form only the basis of his work ; one might say they are the crude materials which, along with others, he employs in his survey. In fact the essential principle of botanical survey—indeed of geographical botany generally—is that it deals with vegetation and not with species. A flora of a district is a catalogue of the individual species which occur within the limits of that district, generally nowadays with notes as to habitat, exposure, and so forth, and yet too often lacking in these essential details. Every species, common or rare, finds a place in the flora, and a floristic map shows the exact distribution over the country-side of each species: it is only concerned with individual species. On the other hand, when we speak of vegetation we are not concerned with individual species as such ; we look at the general aspect of the plant-life and notice whether it is forest land or grass land, or, at a nearer view, whether the wood is an oak or a pine wood, or whether, on a closer examination, the grassland does not prove to be either a heather moor or perhaps a peat moss. A vegetational map similarly will show the distribution of the more striking communities or associations of plants, and is not concerned with the presence or absence of single species, still less if they are rare.

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A floral survey deals with individuals ; a vegetational survey with communities. The first is analytic, the second synthetic, and consequently must be the later development of the science. Before we can map the communities of plants the analytic botanist must have determined what species constitute a community, so that it is possible to formulate its limits with some approach to accuracy. To take a concrete illustration ; the plants of sandy shores and dunes form a characteristic association, and include *Thalictrum minus*, *Cakile maritima*, *Cerastium tetrandrum*, *Arenaria peploides*, *Sagina maritima*, *Plantago coronopus*, *Scirpus maritimus*, *Carex arenaria*, *Ammophila arundinacea*, and many others. These species find similar conditions of environment in soil, moisture and exposure the best adapted to their wants, and can live side by side without crowding out one another in competition. They therefore form a natural association, and whether or not all are present is of no importance to the botanical surveyor. He looks for the dominant species only and the general *facies* of the association, and entirely neglects the absence or presence of rare species or of stragglers from other associations.

Again, take the case of a pine wood which constitutes one of the more characteristic and clearly defined plant associations in the north of Scotland. The dominant species are *Pinus sylvestris*, *Betula verrucosa*, *Pyrus Aucuparia*, *Vaccinium Myrtillus*, *Calluna vulgaris*, *Vaccinium Vitis idea*, *Galium saxatile*, *Luzula campestris*, and many other species.¹ The majority of these will always be found, as they characterise the association, but, if one be wanting, it matters nothing : the association is still the same. While the occurrence of rare species such as *Linnaea borealis* or *Corallorhiza innata*, though of great interest to the systematist, does not concern the geographical botanist. Even the total absence of a species in one part of the country which is common in an association in another part, does not really alter the association. *Goodyera repens* is absent from the pine woods of southern Scotland and quite abundant in those of Aberdeenshire, but that does not make the two pine woods any the less comparable.

¹ For the lists of species cited I am largely indebted to the surveys of Robert Smith, W. G. Smith, and Marcel Hardy, hereafter mentioned.

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These examples will be sufficient to illustrate the unities in which the botanical surveyor deals. He is a geographer, and it has been said with much truth that geography is the study of distributions in their relation to one another. The botanical geographer has to deal with the distribution of vegetation, and his aim is first to find those plant communities which are the most natural expression of their whole environment, and then to represent graphically their distribution. Since the geographer deals with factors in themselves complex, his science has developed relatively late, in fact it is but in its years of infancy ; and so the botanical geographer cannot carry out his survey in any detail until he has some knowledge of the geology and climate of the country, as well as extensive floral statistics. In these respects we are well off in Scotland, for we have accurate geological maps, and a fairly precise knowledge of the climate, and, thanks mainly to the labours of Professor Trail, a most exhaustive knowledge of the distribution of the flora of Scotland. Dr. Trail's "Topographical Botany of Scotland," and more especially his "Flora of Buchan"¹ are two pieces of work that will be invaluable to the future botanical geographer, and save him much preliminary labour. Plant associations, however, are not always so obvious at first sight as those which we have instanced above. They are often disguised owing to the natural vegetation having been altered by man's influence, and it is then necessary, as far as possible, to trace them by their characteristic species, many of which linger on in secondary formations, but often in so subordinate a position that careful searching and compilation of statistics is required before the original association is recognisable. Of course this process of alteration by cultivation, drainage, &c., has often gone so far that there is little hope of ever unravelling the puzzle as to what was the original vegetation, at least as far as the higher associations, those in which trees predominate, are concerned. In these cases we must be content in the meantime to map the crops of cultivation, as Robert Smith did in his sheet of Edinburgh district, showing the regions of cultivation with wheat and the regions of cultivation without wheat, in which oats predominate. These are not the primal associations, and though they are quite natural ones, dependent on soil and climate, they are not strictly comparable to the truly spontaneous associations which have suffered no interference on the part of man. This or

¹ *Trans. Buchan Field Club*, viii. pp. 1-56.

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that kind of cultivation depends to a great extent upon the choice of the farmer and the demands of the market. These factors introduce new complications into the botanical survey, and, moreover, involve the consideration of heterogeneous elements. In a perfect map we must deal only with homogeneous elements : that is so obvious as to require no explanation ; and "culture-plant" associations determined by physical environment and by the arbitrary demands of man, are not homogeneous with spontaneous associations determined alone by environment without the introduction of the human factor. In a spontaneous plant association the various elements maintain a natural biological equilibrium among themselves : in cultivated lands this equilibrium is not maintained if man once withdraws his influence. Therefore, at the best, vegetational maps which show cultivated areas as such are makeshifts towards an ultimate map in which the primitive vegetation will be shown. But they are very important nevertheless, and until botany, surface geology and history have succeeded in reconstructing the original vegetation of a country, we cannot hope to make the ideal map of the botanical geographer. Consequently in lowland and cultivated areas we must regard our maps as tentative, but they are none the less valuable as a step towards the end.

In the compilation of a flora an author generally takes the boundary of a county as the limits of his field of work. His scientific frontier is made to coincide with the administrative one, but it is in no sense a natural one. However, in the case of such an analytic work as a flora this matters little, since each entry has no relation with the others and stands more or less independent.

But the very reverse is the case in such a synthetic work as a botanical survey. Just as the relations of the species to one another are important in forming an association, so, on a higher plane, are the relations of the associations one with another to form those larger divisions which geographical botanists know as groups of associations and vegetations. The geographer divides the world into natural regions, unities determined by structure, configuration and climate. These are his units, as individual animals or plants are the units of the zoologist and botanist ; and it is just as important for a geographer to deal with a natural region as it is for a botanist to deal

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with an entire plant. We cannot monograph a plant from a fragment, and no more can we interpret a region if we have only a fragment such as is cut off, quite arbitrarily in many cases, for administrative purposes. The divisions used by the geographical botanist are (to follow Prof. Flahault of Montpellier, the father of botanical survey) in order of increasing analysis, region, domain, sector, district, sub-district and station. These are geographical units of different orders of importance, but each is a perfectly natural division whose limits are determined quite irrespective of political and administrative frontiers. A few illustrations will make this clear. Great Britain is politically divided into three, Scotland, England and Wales, but with the exception of Wales, these are hardly natural regions, and the geographer makes other divisions. He recognises the south-eastern plains lying to the east of a line drawn from the Severn to the Tees, the hilly region of Devon and Cornwall, the mountainous land of Wales, the northern uplands including the Pennines, the Lake district, the southern uplands of Scotland, the central lowlands between the latter and the Highlands, and lastly the Highlands themselves.

But the great region known as the Highlands itself comprises several minor but quite distinct regions, such as the western Highlands, the north-western Highlands, the Grampian region, the plains of Caithness, the lowland agricultural country of Buchan and northern Morayshire, and so forth. Or again in a single Highland region we can generally distinguish lowlands, consisting of carse, strath and glen, and highlands, comprising sub-alpine slopes and alpine crags. Areas such as these should be chosen by the botanical surveyor, but he should keep in mind the fact that a small area such as a glen or even a strath only contains a very limited number of plant associations of the first order, and consequently unless he seeks to represent smaller and more obscure associations, his map will contain few illustrative features: it will in fact be so simple in its two or three or less divisions, that it will hardly scientifically repay the mechanical work entailed. On the other hand, the drawback in choosing too large an area to be surveyed is obvious. The only alternative is to sub-divide the larger associations into smaller ones, and to map them all; but that is not a course to be encouraged. To fill the map of, say, a glen with graphic representations of a score or more of small and very local plant associations would tend to obscure the vision at least of the

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writer himself, and there would be every chance of his falling into that direst of scientific perils, the quagmire of uncorrelated details, neither understood nor intelligible.

The region known as Buchan is rather too small and certainly too altered in its vegetation to form a suitable area for botanical survey if taken apart from the adjacent country. "Nowhere," to quote Professor Trail, "is the elevation such as to pass above the limits of cultivation, although exposure and the neighbourhood of the sea render agriculture unprofitable over considerable areas, especially on the low hills such as Mormond (769 feet) and on certain ridges. On none of these does one find plants even suggestive of an alpine type." It would perhaps be better for an intending worker to choose a larger area, though, provided that he keeps his work on the same scale as that of other workers in the subject, a survey of Buchan alone cannot fail to be of value. On the map of two miles to an inch, with plant associations of major importance alone represented, a survey of even a small and relatively uniform area such as Buchan would be of great value. It would ultimately fit into the whole botanical map of the British Isles which one day will be complete, and, in the meantime, it would be strictly comparable with the published sheets.

The plant associations once determined, all that remains is to represent graphically their distribution upon a map. That is a relatively simple matter, but, as in all such cartographical work there is scope not only for artistic presentment but a certain measure of ingenuity.

Here again the work of Robert Smith may well be taken as a guide, and it would be most satisfactory if his well chosen colour scheme could be followed in future surveys. The colours are not chosen at random but in some degree are symbolic. This greatly facilitates the use and interpretation of the map. Without any verbal explanation, a map so coloured must convey much to anyone of ordinary perception, and the mental image of it retained interprets itself. The maritime region of links and dunes is coloured a sandy brown; regions of cultivation are coloured various shades of yellow, that with wheat appropriately being of a richer colour than that without. Green in different shades signifies mixed deciduous leaved woods and oak woods, while a more purple tinge is used for coniferous woods. Hill pastures are a light green and heather moors a fitting red-brown, while a mixture of hill pasture and heather

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is shown by a light green dotted with red-brown, and so on with other associations and other colours and shades. To distinguish further the various areas a single or two letters in red can with advantage be printed over the colour : this often saves reference to the key and facilitates the reading of the map. The built area of towns must of course be left blank.

It naturally follows that botanical survey can be carried out in greater or less detail. In broadest outlines we may divide the world according to whether forest, grassland or desert predominate. This is a useful classification for the geographer, but too general to concern us here. Nor need we consider Köppen's 23 divisions of the climates of the world, based on the characteristic vegetation. Köppen's map is extremely instructive, but is drawn up too much from a meteorologist's point of view, and moreover since Scotland lies wholly within one division his scheme is obviously of no use in considering a restricted area. Marcel Hardy in 1906 published a map (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, May, 1906) which with its text¹ published the previous year deserves to be more widely known than it is. It deals with the main plant associations of the Highlands, and twelve are graphically represented. They are :—higher alpine plateaux, alpine moors, heaths, dry grass moors, mountain pastures, marshy grass moors, peat moors, birch woods, coniferous woods, oak woods, cultivated land and sand dunes. Lastly we have the detailed sheets of four districts of Scotland, those of Edinburgh District and Northern Perthshire by Robert Smith (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, July and August, 1900), and those of Forfar and Fife, begun by Robert Smith and completed by his brother, Dr. W. G. Smith (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Dec. 1904, and Jan., Feb. and March, 1905). Owing to the configuration of the ground, the divisions differ slightly in these maps, but the associations are practically the same. There are four regions, littoral or maritime, temperate, sub-alpine and alpine, each divided into a number of characteristic associations. The temperate includes cultivation with wheat, cultivation without wheat, mixed deciduous woods, and oak woods ; the sub-alpine region includes coniferous woods of Scots pine and of larch, birch woods, hill pasture, heather moors and peat bogs ; and the alpine region is divided into pasture with grasses predominant,

¹ Esquisse de la géographie et de la végétation des Highlands d'Ecosse. Paris : Imprimerie Générale Lahure. 1905.

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pasture with *Vaccinium Myrtillus* very abundant, and alpine slopes with *Calluna* and *Vaccinium* predominant. These associations can quite clearly be mapped on a scale of two miles to an inch, which is that of Bartholomew's reduced ordnance survey. Further detail would scarcely be advisable, especially in a region where there is much cultivated land, while in a hill region it would be nearly futile to try to define with accuracy smaller plant associations. A district such as Buchan is largely under cultivation, and relatively low lying, so that the alpine and some of the sub-alpine associations would be excluded, but that would in no way mar the value of the work if anyone should feel prompted to undertake it.

Each of the above enumerated associations contains one or two dominant species, which often give the name to the whole association, and several sub-dominant species and others that are frequent. It is very desirable that the same associations be mapped in any district of Scotland that is attempted, with a view to making all the sheets comparable in the end. Of course on a larger scale, associations occupying quite small areas could be represented, but this could not be done on a "half-inch" scale without obscuring the map. The associations represented on the already published maps were determined by Robert Smith, whose early death robbed botanical survey of its most brilliant exponent. It is to his energy, following upon the stimulus given by Professors Patrick Geddes and Charles Flahault, that we owe the already published maps of Scotland, and a few sheets modelled upon his work by other workers in England. However, at present nothing is being done in Scotland: the detailed botanical survey stands where it did four years ago, despite Marcel Hardy's illuminating and suggestive work published in 1905, to which we have already referred.

In order to stimulate the work in Britain, and to ensure uniformity in methods, a Committee for the Survey of British Vegetation was formed in 1904, consisting of practically all the botanical geographers then actively engaged in survey work in the country. In addition to the sheets already published, it was then stated that other areas were under survey in England, Wales and Ireland. But even when these are accomplished, there will be plenty of unsurveyed areas for the aspiring geographical botanist to work upon—far more indeed than the very limited number of workers in the field can

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ever hope to undertake. North of Perthshire and Forfarshire no survey work on a detailed scale has yet been attempted.

But when our vegetational survey is complete and the maps are before us, may we not carry our work a step further and try to interpret the bearing of the distribution on human activity? First of all we are able to estimate the possibilities of a country, we learn what land can be afforested and what can better be put under crops. Hardy has shown how the whole of the Scottish Highlands can be divided into an eastern and a western domain by a line running approximately along the Atlantic-German Ocean divide. The western domain enjoys a moist, cloudy atmosphere, with abundant regular rainfall throughout the year: consequently it is essentially a region of pastoral land of different types depending on local conditions. The region is not a suitable one for the Scots pine, and if it should ever be afforested it would need to be with spruce and silver fir. The conditions obtaining make the western domain unsuitable for crops. The result is a scattered and very thin population, with few if any villages other than tourist centres.

The eastern domain is quite different however. The climate is drier and more extreme—ideal conditions for Scots pine and larch, which no doubt would rapidly repay planting. The low ground of the valleys is well suited for cultivation, and as a result the population is denser and villages more numerous. The two domains can in their turn be divided into distinct districts, each of which has its definite relationship to man and his activities.

Then again these botanical maps show in a very marked way the agricultural possibilities of the land. Thus on the maps of Edinburgh, Forfar and Fife we find that profitable wheat growing ceases at a certain altitude, and at a point where the rainfall exceeds a certain maximum. In general terms these limits are 32 to 34 inches of rainfall a year, and a mean July temperature below 56° F. We find that this limit is reached in the Edinburgh district at about 700 feet, or 500 feet on northern slopes, while on the more northern slopes of the Grampians the limit is 400 feet or a little more. Important considerations such as these stand out clearly on a botanical map.

After much homeless wandering, geography begins to find its place as that science which deals with man in relation to his physical and organic environment. And it becomes evident that if we are rightly to interpret and

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understand human activities in terms of environment, we can only do so by finding a synthesis of the various factors of that environment, which at once is in close relationship to man, and at the same time is the resultant of all the elements of the physical and organic surroundings. The nearest approach to this ideal synthesis that we can find will be in the various vegetations of the earth. Hence the prime importance of the study of geographical botany to the geographer.

R. N. R. B.

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Section II.—Prehistoric Buchan

CHAPTER I.

General

THE history of Man is indissolubly linked with his environment, and in endeavouring to trace Man's existence in Buchan in prehistoric times we must be guided by the facts proved by the geologist, the astronomer, the archaeologist, and the anthropologist. The relations of the earth to the sun and the planets and to its own past history must be studied, for in Northern latitudes especially, those relations have had much to do with the variations in climate, fauna and flora which are known to have occurred at different periods of the world's existence. It is well, therefore, to remember that Buchan of the present is not the Buchan of past ages, and that its scenery and geological configuration have undergone considerable changes, due to the ravages of Time. In dealing with prehistoric Buchan here, it is necessary to limit ourselves to those periods in which authentic traces of Man have been found; and such relics of bygone ages as short cists, urns, and stone circles, enable us to form some idea as to his character, conditions and development.

In endeavouring to depict Buchan of prehistoric times let us, for our starting point, take the period of the last great Ice Age. Let us briefly recapitulate the evidence. At that period Scotland shared the fate of the great part of Northern Europe. It was—geologists tell us—one vast sheet of ice connected with the Scandinavian *Mer de glace* across the present North Sea, and with the Irish ice field across the Irish Sea. This great ice field extended on the West Coast of Scotland out as far as the 100 fathom "deep" of the Atlantic Ocean. Under such conditions life was impossible in these regions, and all living things had been driven before the advance of the all-conquering ice and had taken refuge in the warmer southern climes. The climate at that period

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was Arctic, and the greater part of Northern Europe one vast wilderness of ice. As the ages rolled on another great change must be conceived to have been in progress. The great ice sheet began to recede. The land was gradually uncovered as the recession of ice progressed, and the ice fields began to decay and break down. Buchan, after the recession of the ice, had been a bleak, bare, barren land, the streams of which were roaring torrents, due to the melting ice, and which carried down with them the alluvial deposits found scattered throughout the district. The climate at that period was extreme, and in these very early days Man had not yet returned to, perhaps had never even seen, these regions.

Scotland was then part of the Continent and had no coast line. It extended into the now existing North Sea, and was continuous with Scandinavia and North Germany. Gradually, as climatic conditions improved, but at a time which must be estimated at thousands of years after the last Ice Age, large forests sprang up. The forests of Caledon, of which Tacitus speaks, had long before his time spread over North Britain, and formerly extended across the present North Sea. We have proof of this in the fact that pine, oak, and other woods have been found in its depths. Back to these forests the fauna returned—oxen, bears, wolves—the fauna and flora of the period being not unlike the fauna and flora of the Arctic regions of the present day. Tropical fauna and flora which had existed here in the periods before the great Ice Age were obliterated, and disappeared never to return. At last, through the incessant operations of Nature, Great Britain was isolated from the Continent by the North Sea, and the area which we now call Buchan gradually assumed a configuration somewhat similar to that of Buchan to-day.

After the disappearance of the last ice sheet and the advent of a new fauna and flora, Man appeared in North Britain—Neolithic Man. We have not much evidence, however, that Buchan was inhabited during the Neolithic Period, for neither chambered cairns such as have been found at Clova or Inverness, nor horned cairns, such as those of Caithness, have been found in the district. Some flat axes and leaf-shaped arrowheads have been found, indicating that possibly there had been a small Neolithic population in Buchan. In any case, Buchan must have been inhabited for at least one period during prehistoric times, for Man has left in this district tangible proof of his existence

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in the form of short cists and skeletal remains. Fifteen cists containing skeletal remains have been found in Buchan. The situations of these *preclude* the possibility of their having been buried *before* the last Ice Age, or at any period immediately following it. Their perfect condition is one argument against this, and they have been usually found in gravelly soil deposited from the great glaciers of the preceding period. It has been estimated that the interval between the last ice sheet and the short cist burials can hardly be less than 15,000 years, and that these burials had probably taken place at various times *after* 2,000 B.C.—that is during the Early Bronze Age in Britain.

What appearance had these prehistoric inhabitants of Buchan—these men of the Bronze Age? From the description given by Professor Reid we can picture to ourselves their appearance. They were of short stature, below the average stature of man in modern Buchan. They had broad, short faces, and were a very muscular people. Their skeletons show the prehensile hands and feet found frequently in races of low development, and where environment necessitates much climbing and other grasping movements, as is the case with woodmen and hillmen. We can picture them sometimes as mighty hunters hunting the ox, the wolf, and the bear in the vast forest of Buchan, clad in the skins of the victims of their hunting prowess—a rude, savage, hardy race, braving the dangers of a little known land, and keeping up a continuous struggle with Nature for existence. But we must also believe that our prehistoric inhabitants did not live solely by the chase. On the contrary, from the remains found, we must believe they possessed herds of cattle, swine, and either sheep or goats. Not only that, but they cultivated the ground a little and grew wheat. No wheat has yet been found associated with Buchan pottery, but several grains of wheat were found impressed on the walls of similar beakers found near Gullane, in East Lothian, and in the East Riding of Yorkshire. We are probably right in concluding that these individuals, whose remains have been found in short cists, had been men of the highest importance in their own tribes. They may have been the great chiefs, perhaps the captains in battle and the leaders in the chase. In one case a ring was found which, at that early period when personal adornment of that kind was the right of the men of rank, would indicate that the remains were those of some person of high standing and importance.

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The weapons used by prehistoric Man in Buchan were of the crudest possible kind. Arrow heads of flint, knives of flint with handles fashioned by chipping off pieces from the flint in its natural state, and flint axes were their implements of war and the chase, and with these imperfect armaments they had to wage war against man and beast. On these weapons we observe prehistoric Man's first attempt at ornamentation.

Thus we can picture to ourselves prehistoric Man and his environment in early Buchan. Man in this state had ample opportunities of illustrating the doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the widest sense of the phrase, for his, of necessity, was a state of perpetual warfare against the animal kingdom and the elements.

Skeletal remains are not the only evidence of the presence of prehistoric inhabitants in this district. Urns are among the most numerous relics of early Man's existence in this part of Scotland, and types have been found in the short cists along with the skeletal remains. They were made from the boulder clay deposited from the great glaciers, and the handiwork exhibited by them is very crude. They show signs of having been burned by fire in their production, and they also give us an idea of ornamentation of the most primitive kind. How laborious such processes of manufacture were can easily be imagined. In all likelihood the women of the tribe were the fabricators, as is the rule among savage peoples; probably ornamentation first suggested itself to them by some accidental marks made on the wet clay, such as imprints of the finger nails. Subsequently this adornment of their vessels was carried out by means of sharp flints or some crude stilette of wood, and the pattern became somewhat more embellished, but, of necessity, was limited by the instruments at their disposal.

That the numbers of these vessels must have been enormous can be imagined when we recall the comparatively large number of vessels found, and when it is considered that the clay was but partially fired and thus the material was very brittle. Archaeologists tell us that these vessels found in Buchan belong to the Bronze Age or the Transitional Period, and that their analogues are to be found in Central Europe, Spain, Portugal, North France and Brittany. This suggests that the art spread from these localities, where the type found is more ancient. May it not have been that the dwellers in these parts of Europe migrated to our lands bringing with them their vessels, but that the

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development of the vessels was progressing with time? It has been substantially proved that the immigrants brought the art with them, and that they did not adopt it for the first time in Buchan.

How did these vessels come to have their origin? It is probable that they were first utilised as drinking vessels, and were originally in the form of beakers. That they originated as food vessels is improbable when one remembers that cereals in these long past ages were an unknown quantity, and that the primitive form of cookery was roasting the animals slain or trapped. In later days they may have become food vessels and may have altered somewhat, both in shape and size.

A still later development must have been the placing of these clay vessels in the cists, and specimens have been found in the short cists of Buchan. This appears to have a religious significance. May these races not have conceived an ultimate destination in some paradise of their imagination, like the Valhalla of the Norsemen or the last hunting grounds of the Red Indians? If this be so, then the urn with food had been placed in the cist to sustain the departed warrior or hunter on his last long journey. Such beliefs are still held by many of the savage tribes of to-day, and the placing of food in the grave of the deceased is an item of great importance in the funeral services.

At a much later period the cinerary urn came into vogue. This type of urn has been found along with human skeletons the remains of which bore traces of having been burned. One may suggest that the urn was placed along with the remains for a similar reason, and that food or money was placed therein, as in one urn at least a gold coin was discovered. At that late period burial had lost its "cistic" character and the remains were cremated—a mode of burial probably adopted either from a religious or utilitarian view.

Thus Man in Buchan in prehistoric times has left to us evidences of his existence by his pottery, and a fruitful field for speculation as to its origin and uses. The placing of urns in these cists along with human remains suggests to us his groping after the spiritual, as is the natural outcome of human nature whatever Man's conditions may be. This period is suggestive of the dawn of religion in Buchan.

Among the most interesting clues to prehistoric Man's existence in Buchan are the Stone Circles, a typical specimen of which is to be found at Parkhouse.

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To properly interpret the significance of these circles comparison must be made with the various circles found in South Britain, Brittany and in other parts of the world.

On examining these circles astronomically it has been found that they have not been set up in a haphazard manner, but must have been built with some definite end in view. In the ancient temples of Egypt the first ceremony was the fixing of the temple axis. This temple axis was the alignment of a cord attached to two stakes towards the sun on a certain day of the year, or towards a well-known star. Thus the light of the body towards which the temple was aligned would pass along the axis of the temple. But the stone circles of this district could never have been the magnificent edifices of the ancient Egyptians. The reason is not difficult to seek. The inhabitants of Buchan at the time when these circles were erected had neither the material nor the craftsmen to erect such edifices, even if we do attribute to them similar ideas to those held by the Egyptians.

If we endeavour to trace the origin of these circles, we must pre-suppose that the idea came from Egypt. There the priests were the greatest astronomers of their time, and their knowledge and necromancy enabled them to hold great sway over the people of Egypt. Their arts gradually spread into Europe, and in Rome it is well known that the worship of Isis flourished for a considerable time among certain of its citizens. We can conceive that the study of astronomy gradually drifted towards Britain, and was taken up by the priests, who were the educated men of the time. These priests, then, may have erected stone circles for the purpose of carrying on their astronomical observations. Thus we have the first appearance of scientific work in Buchan.

If we adopt Sir Norman Lockyer's theory, what was the significance of the stone circles to the inhabitants? Did they use them as temples, or were they used only as clocks by the priests for the information of the people? In the beginning they may have been used for some primitive form of worship, such as the worship of the sun or a star. Probably these circles had been sacred ground under the sway of the priests, who had conducted their religious rites there, and at one time the people had worshipped the trees and streams in the vicinity, as well as the sun and stars. But a still greater necessity for these circles arose when agriculture became established in these regions. The priests,

General

being the astronomers, could reckon from the sun and stars the seasons of the year. This was of the utmost importance to an agricultural people, and the priest on account of his superior knowledge would be *indispensable* and a man of the highest standing among them. In these stone circles he would perform the religious rites, offering up sacrifices to the gods and offerings from the produce of the land. Great must have been the importance of these circles to Man of that period. As Man's knowledge increased, these circles became less necessary to him. They then perhaps became places of worship, but the priests probably used them for astronomical purposes as well ; and it seems not improbable that a cult somewhat similar to that of Isis had long prevailed in Britain.

In conclusion, we see that stone circles not only give us undoubted proof of Man's existence in Buchan, but lead us on to deductions as to his knowledge and understanding of the conditions necessary for his welfare. But the reader must be careful to discriminate between the ascertained facts on the one hand, and these or any other deductions made from a study of the facts, on the other hand. It may safely be said that at this period agriculture was in its infancy, and that for its successful pursuit much may have depended on the knowledge of the sun and stars possessed by the priests.

In endeavouring to trace the prehistoric inhabitants of Buchan from the threads of evidence left in the form of cists, urns and stone circles, we have to bear in mind that these may not belong to the same period, and that considerable lapses of time may or may not have to be filled in between Man as found in the short cist period, and the men who built the stone circles in this district. But the evidence as a whole tends to point to the fact that Buchan has been inhabited for at least the past four thousand years, and that Man slowly but surely developed in his knowledge and arts.

J. W. T.

CHAPTER II.

Stone Cists in Aberdeenshire.

FROM time to time in recent years remains of human beings have been found scattered throughout Aberdeenshire and interred in rude stone coffins along with objects which indicate that they belong to a people of remote antiquity.

A consideration of such interments forms an interesting and important anthropological study.

The Anatomical Museum of the University of Aberdeen occupies a somewhat unique position in that it possesses contents which have been recovered from fifteen such rude stone coffins—more scientifically termed “Short Stone Cists”—and one actual cist itself.

A minute examination of these specimens and a careful perusal of records which are now among the archives of the Museum, and which were made immediately after the discoveries of four cists, afford a good conception of the appearances and some suggestion as to the habits and probable origin of a race which dwelt in the county of Aberdeen many centuries ago.

Locality and Structure (Figs. 1 and 2).—The cists were unearthed in various parishes as follows :—Two in Old Machar (about two miles apart), two in New Machar (in close proximity), one in Newhills, one in Skene, one in Kinellar, one in Leslie, one in Auchindoir, four in Tyrie (three close together and one about a mile off), one in Aberdour and one in Foveran.

This irregular distribution throughout Aberdeenshire indicates that the cists were placed following no particular plan, and that it is likely that in future other similar interments will be found spread over the county in a like way.

In no case did external marks or monuments show the position of the cists. They lay in slightly elevated parts of ground of a gravelly nature, and were never found in damp hollows.

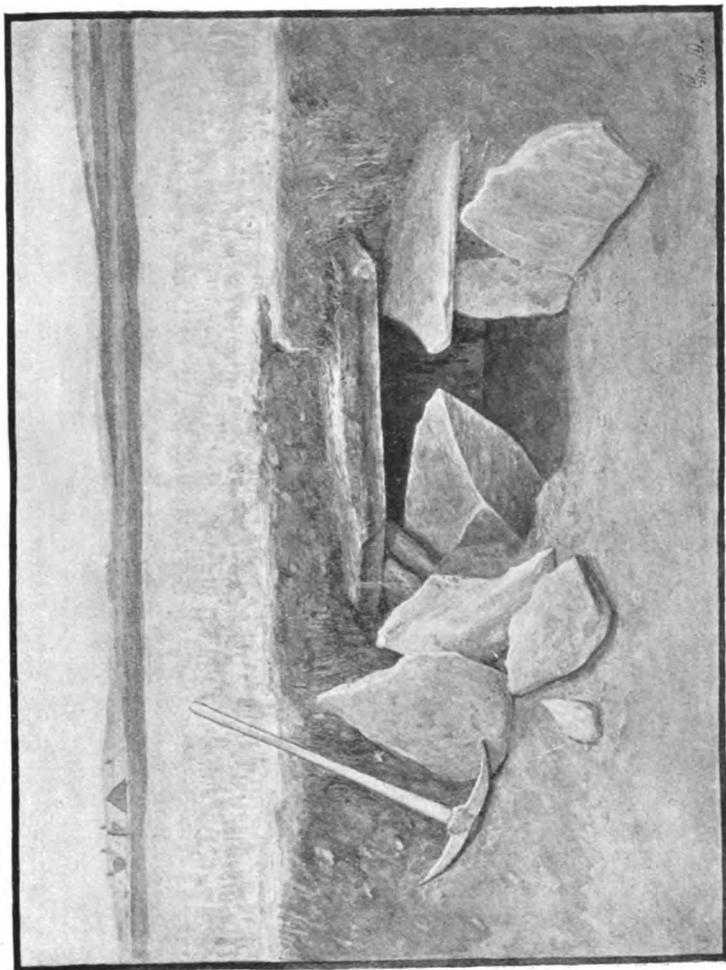


Fig. 1.

Cist at Whitestone, Skene, Aberdeenshire.

The stones of the north wall have been partly removed.

The Stone Cists

The distance between the surface of the ground and the roofs of the cists varied from six inches to two feet.

The cists were roughly rectangular, with their lengths greater than their breadths, and with their long axes following no definite rule. Some had their longer measurements directed from east to west, others from north to south, while others lay from north-east to south-west.

As regards the capacity of the cists, the average inside dimensions were:—Length, 3 feet 8 inches; breadth, 2 feet; depth, 1 foot 8 inches.

The roofs, sides and ends were composed of rough flattened stones, averaging five inches in thickness, and of a nature similar to that of the stones lying in the immediate vicinity of the parts of the county in which the cists lay. The edges of the stones which formed the walls and roofs of the cists were not regular in outline. They did not fit accurately, but showed signs that occasional attempts had been made to straighten them by chipping off the more prominent irregularities. In no case were tool marks visible.

Each end of the several cists was formed by a single stone set upon its edge. The sides were usually made by two and occasionally by one stone placed in the same way. The roof or cover consisted of one main flat stone, which, in most cases, was of sufficient size to rest upon the walls of the cist. In a few cases where it was too small to do this, the deficiency was made good by the insertion of one or two smaller cover stones. No indication of *systematic* packing of the joints between the stones by clay or other material was ever found. In some cases, however, there seemed to have been an attempt to cement the cover stones to the walls of the cists by the insertion of small pieces of clay, but never to such an extent as to make a level bed for the cover of the cist to rest upon.

The floors were formed by the gravelly strata upon which the cists stood. In one case the bottom of the cist was paved in a regular manner by small water-worn stones. In another, it was formed by a thin layer of clay, while in a third it consisted of a layer of clay with a few pebbles placed upon its surface.

Contents.—The contents of the cists were found to vary considerably. Remains of human skeletons were always present, and in most cases “urns.” More rarely implements of flint were found. Two cists contained portions of

Prehistoric Buchan

hide, which, from the appearance of the hair attached to them, were probably those of an animal of the ox species. In one cist a few bones of the limbs of a pig lay beside the other objects contained in the cist.

Remains of Human Skeletons.—In two cists in which the skeleton had undergone least decomposition, the remains were placed in a crouching position, and in such a way as to show that in one case (Fig. 3) the body had been laid upon its back, and in another (Fig. 4) that it had been put upon its left side. In both cases the knees were bent and the thighs rested upon the front of the trunk. In two cists the skull was seen lying in the north-east corner of the cist (Figs. 3 and 4), and in two others in the south-west.

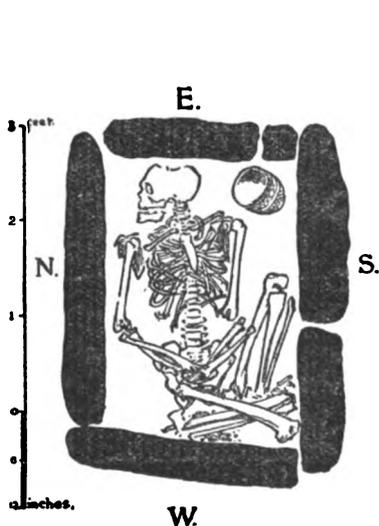


Fig. 3.
Short Cist at Blackhills, Tyrie.

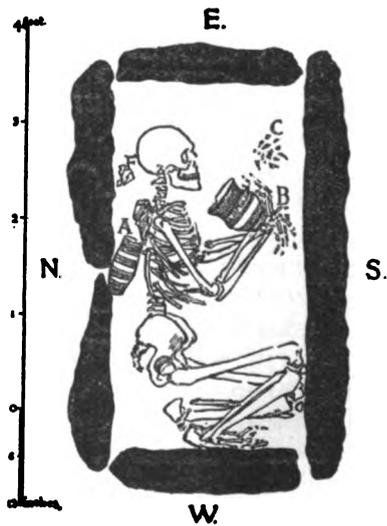


Fig. 4.
Short Cist at Whitestone, Skene.
A. and B., urns ; C., pieces of charcoal ;
F., flints.

After having examined the skeletal remains preserved in the University Museum, and having taken into account the histories recorded in connection



Fig. 2.

Cist at Gateside of Scotstown, Old Machar, Aberdeenshire.

The cover stone has been thrown over, and one of the stones from the left wall is seen lying on the floor of the Cist.

The Stone Cists

with the several "finds," it is apparent that each cist contained one individual only, except in one case where a child of from five to six years of age had been buried with an adult whose sex could not be determined on account of the disintegration of the bones.

In so far as can be made out from the broken and otherwise imperfect condition of the specimens, the individuals interred had been adult males with one exception, found in a cist in Foveran, where the remains are those of an adult female.

The height of the people is below that of the inhabitants of the county now-a-days, for after applying certain definite anatomical rules to different parts of the skeleton, the average stature reaches 5 feet 4 inches.

From an intimate examination of the skull, a fairly good idea is obtained of the living head, and when the "short cist skulls" (Figs. 5 and 6) are subjected to such an inspection, it is evident that the persons who owned them must have had heads of a very characteristic form (Figs. 14 and 15). They were round, with full foreheads and brow ridges not particularly raised. Their faces were broad and short, the sockets for the eyeballs narrowed from above downwards, the noses wide, the jaws projecting no further forward than they do in present-day inhabitants, the cheek bones fairly prominent and the teeth in most cases worn down, in all probability by the use of coarse and gritty food.

The bones, especially those of the limbs, show that, while of low stature, the people had been active and muscular, and it is interesting to observe that the remains of their lower extremities present appearances which are visible in the inferior races of mankind of to-day, whose lower limbs are shaped in order to allow of firm grasping and rapid bare-footed movements.

With the exception of a few traces of the effects of rheumatism in one spine, the remains of the skeletons show no signs of disease or injury.

Urns.—As has been mentioned already, rude vessels of clay, ordinarily spoken of as "urns," were found in most cases associated with short cist interments. From the shapes which they present they are described as "drinking cups" and "food vessels." (Figs. 7-10.)

In the fifteen cists of which the University has records, these vessels were present in ten cases—one vessel in each cist—except in the case of a cist in the parish of Skene, in which two were found. All, with one exception of the

Prehistoric Buchan

“food vessel” type (Fig. 10), are of the “drinking cup” variety; and, as regards their positions in the cists, they lay in immediate relation with the upper portions of the skeletons.

The urns are composed of a coarse clay, mixed with a sharp sandy, gritty material, and each one exhibits the effects of subjection to the action of fire. They are of a brownish colour, which varies in shade according to the nature of the clay which had been used. They are ornamented by bands and zigzag lines in such a way as to form herring bone or other angular patterns (Figs. 7-10). Upon close inspection, these bands and lines are seen to consist of a series of impressions which had most probably been produced by some kind of stamp pressed upon the clay while it was soft. The ornamentation exists upon the outside of the vessels, rarely upon the edges of the rims, and still more rarely upon the inner surfaces of the rims, as is well seen in an urn recently found in Tyrie.

Each “drinking cup” urn has got a slightly constricted neck and bulging body (Figs. 7-9). It varies from about five to eight inches in height, and its breadth is always less than its height. The “food vessel” urn which was found in a cist at Blackhills, Tyrie, has no neck, and its breadth is a trifle greater than its height. (Fig. 10.)

Nothing beyond a small quantity of sand—which has no doubt gained admission by accident—was found in any of these vessels; and, as to their meaning, it can merely be suggested that they may have contained food or other nourishment for the deceased.

Flint Implements.—Flint implements are not much in evidence among the objects forming the contents of the cists belonging to the University. They were associated with five interments only. In all cases they are small roughly chipped rude flakes, excluding one flint which was found at Scotstown, and which forms a very fine specimen of a “flint knife.” (Fig. 11.)



Fig. 11.
Flint Knife from Short Cist at Gateside of Scotstown. (Natural size.)

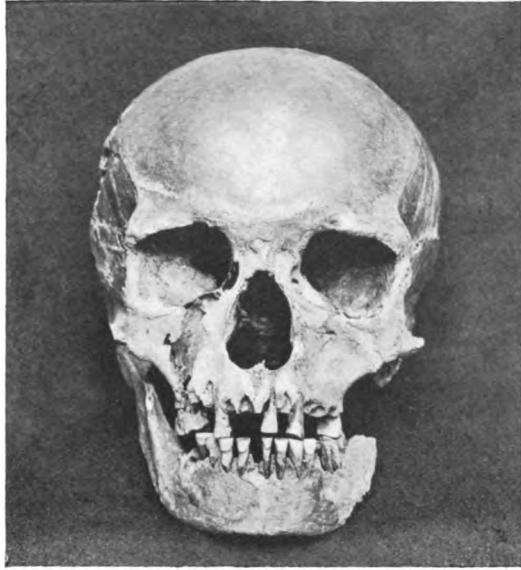


Fig. 5.
Skull from Cist at Mains of Leslie ($\frac{1}{3}$).



Fig. 6.
Skull from Cist at Mains of Leslie ($\frac{1}{3}$).

The Stone Cists

Ornaments.—The only example in the collection of any object which might be described as an ornament is a small bone ring which lay with small flint implements in a cist in the parish of Kinellar. Unfortunately, about one fourth of the circumference of the ring has been lost. Figs. 12 and 13 give a good idea of the appearance of the ring. Its inside diameter is a little over half an inch, and its outer surface is marked by three shallow grooves parallel with one another, and running all round the ring. At one part of the central groove there is an uprising of the bone through which a hole has been made, and which from its appearance indicates that it had been drilled by working first from one side and then from the other. From the presence of this hole it may be inferred that the ring was worn suspended from some part of the body as a charm or amulet.



Fig. 12.
Bone ring from the Clinterty Short Cist.
Viewed from the side. (Natural size.)

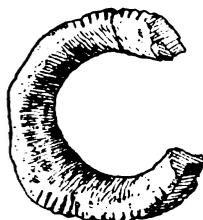


Fig. 13.
Bone ring from the Clinterty Short Cist.
Viewed from above. (Natural size.)

Charcoal.—Small pieces of charcoal were found within all the cists, and frequently in the soil immediately surrounding the outsides of the cists. Their presence leads to the supposition that fire must have entered into the funeral rites of these ancient people—not for the purpose of burning the bodies, as the bones within the cists never show any sign of having been subjected to the action of fire,—but for some other reason, such as an emblem of purification, or as a dispeller of evil spirits, &c. It is curious to notice that a cist was exposed in Fyvie, about a quarter of the size of those previously described, containing an urn of the “drinking cup” type along with ashes of bones lying loosely on the floor of the cist and not inside the urn. This interment seems

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to be an example of a transitional stage towards a later mode of burial, in which cremation was practised, and the ashes placed within an urn.

Conclusions.—The rough sketches (Figs. 14 and 15) may serve to give some conception of the characteristics of a people whose interments have just been described. Fig. 14 is founded upon a tracing of a typical “short cist” skull, and consequently gives a comparatively accurate picture. The other sketch (Fig. 15) pretends to be no more than a rough and imaginary representation of the people.

The individuals comprising this race were in height very much below the present-day inhabitants of Aberdeenshire, and distinctly below the average inhabitants of Europe as a whole. They were a broad-headed and broad-faced, muscular, and, in so far as their bones show, a healthy people. Their practice may have been to go bare-footed and to clothe themselves with skins of animals. Their teeth indicate that their food had been coarse and many times gritty, and the presence of the bones of a pig in one of the cists shows that this animal was associated with them and may have formed one of their sources of food supply. The ornamentation of the urns and bone ring points to a certain degree of culture, while the probable wearing of the ring as a charm and the use of fire in connection with their funeral rites, as well as the presence of urns in the graves, lead to the supposition that they were a superstitious people. Their implements and weapons were of the rudest kind. The flints, in many cases no more than mere flakes, may have been used to tip the shafts of wooden arrows and spears, or to act as scrapers in the dressing of skins.

When these people lived is a matter of *mere conjecture*. In all probability the time was during the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the Bronze Ages—perhaps somewhere about 2000 B.C.

Their origin is veiled in obscurity. All that may be safely said about it is that their type of head is the same as that which obtained in Central Europe in late Neolithic Times—a type which there is evidence to believe had its source or home in Western Asia. Some anthropologists consider that Short Cist Man in Aberdeenshire was derived from a people who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean, and who changed their physical type as a result of environment.

I have to thank my Senior Assistant, Dr. Alexander Low, for his valuable help, especially in the preparation of the data upon which these notes concerning this very interesting people are founded.

R. W. R.

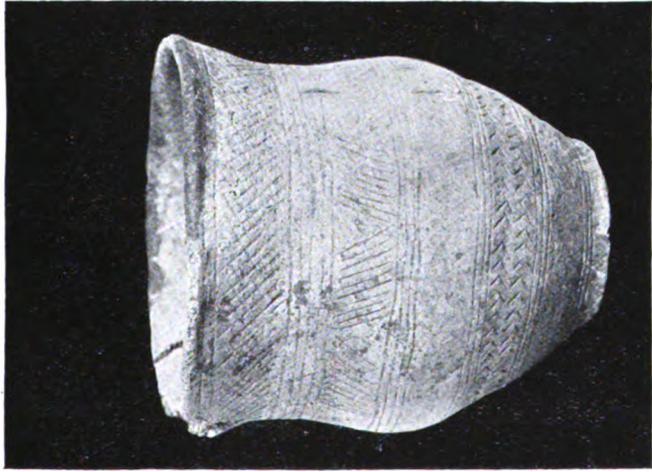


Fig. 7.
Urn from Cist at Whitestone, Skene (4).

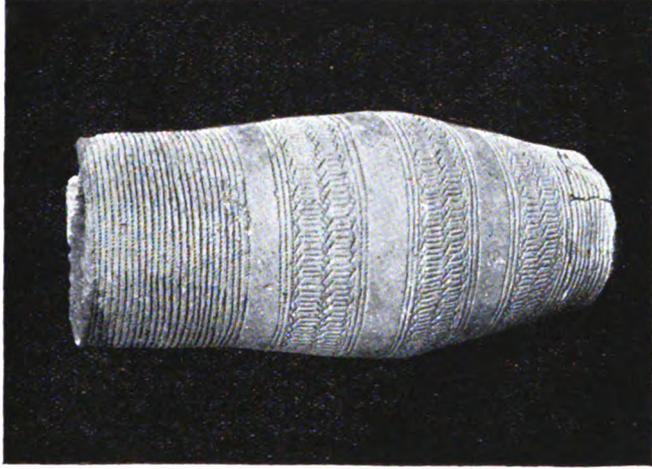


Fig. 8.
Urn from Cist at Whitestone, Skene (4).

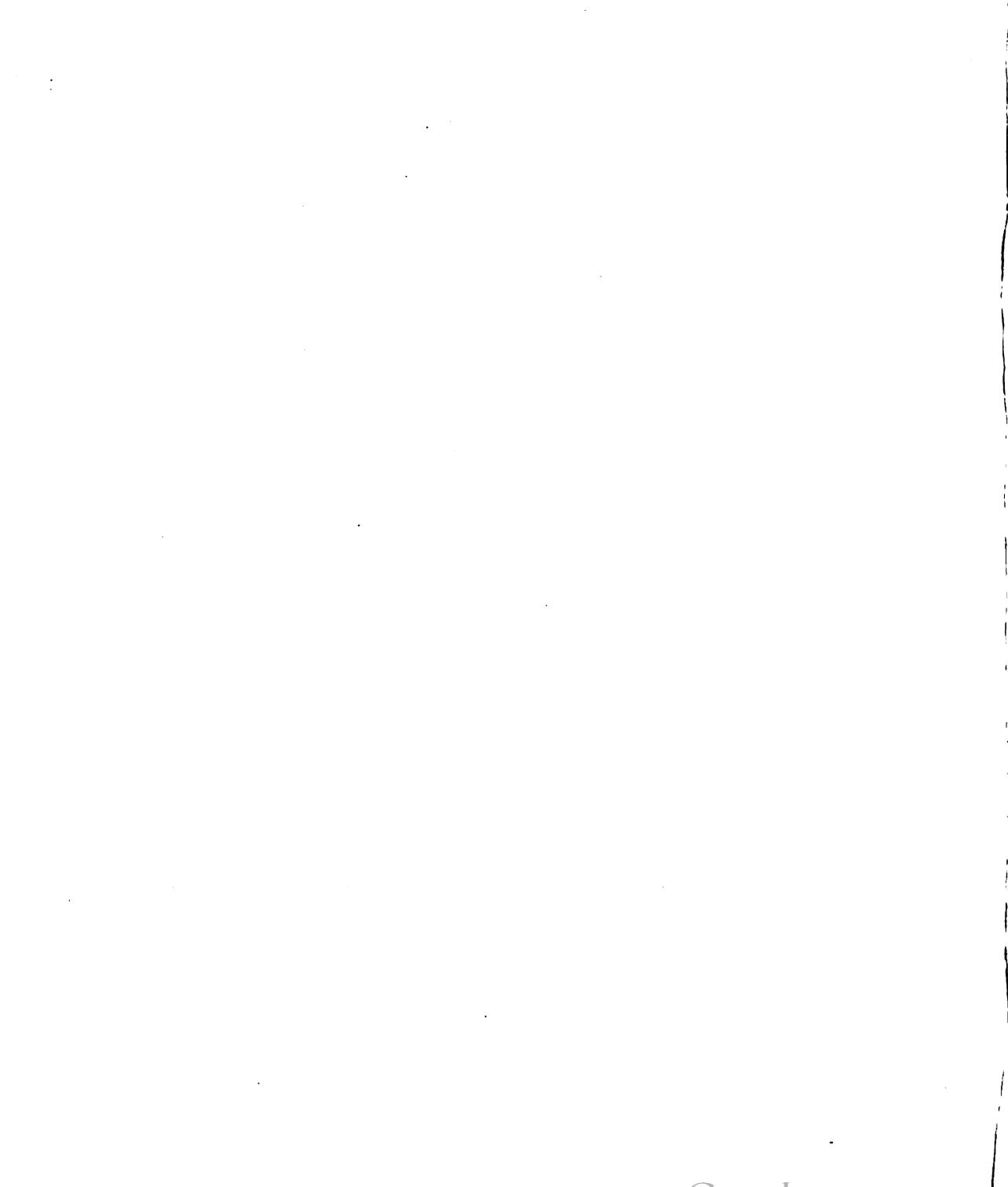




Fig. 9.
Urn from Cist at Tifty, Fyvie (A).



Fig. 10.
Urn from Cist at Blackhills, Tyrie (B).

The Stone Cists

TABLE I.
MEASUREMENTS (IN MILLIMETRES) OF SKULLS FROM SHORT CISTS IN ABERDEENSHIRE.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Park-hill. (a)	Park-hill. (b)	Stoney-wood.	Persley.	Clin-terty.	Skene.	Auchindoir.	Leslie.	Foveran.	Tyrie. (a)	Tyrie. (b)	Tyrie. (c)
Sex	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Cubic capacity	1450	..	1420 ap.	1500 ap.	..	1450	1350 ap.	1460	..	1580 ap.	1460 ap.	..
Glabella-occipital length	180	183	169	188	185	181	167	177	172	186	172	189
Basal-bregmatic height	135	148 ap.	133	146	138	136	136	136	..	144	128	143
Vertical index	75	80.9	78.7	77.7	74.6	74.5	81.4	76.8	..	77.8	74.4	75.6
Maximum breadth	153	160 ap.	156 ap.	160 ap.	156 ap.	156	142	154	135	160 ap.	150 ap.	168
Cranial index	85	87.4	92.3	85.1	84.3	86.1	85	87	78.5	81.1	87.2	83.6
Cranial circumference	524	..	510 ap.	540	523	512	494	522	500	548	502	524
Basal-nasal length	104	100 ap.	96	96	98	100	100	98	..	104	97	100
Basal-alveolar length	98	92	87	87	..	101	97	96	..	94	94	95
Gonathic index	94.2	92	91.6	90.6	..	101	97	97.9	..	90.4	96.9	95
Inter-zygomatic breadth	142	..	126 ap.	140	..	134	136	132	..	137	130 ap.	130
Nasio-mental length	108	122	107	110	..	119	108	108	..	122	..	112
Complete facial index	76	..	84.9	78.5	..	88.7	79.4	81.8	..	99	..	86.1
Nasal height	48	53 ap.	43	48	55	51	50	48	..	53	48	49
Nasal width	23	25	25	25	28	26	24	26	..	26	25	23
Nasal index	47.9	47.2	52.1	52.1	50.9	50.9	48	54.1	..	49.1	52.1	46.9
Orbital width	41	..	40	44	..	41	40	40	..	41	40	44
Orbital height	33	..	30	32	..	32	31	30	..	31	33	34
Orbital index	80.5	..	75	72.7	..	78	77.5	75	..	75.6	82.5	77.3

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TABLE II.

COMPARISON OF MEASUREMENTS OF SHORT CIST SKULLS WITH THOSE OF MODERN SCOTTISH SKULLS.

	Short Cist.		Modern.		
			Aberdeen-shire ¹	Scottish ²	
Sex	Females (2)	Males (10)	Males (3)	Females	Males
Cubic capacity	1460	1458·5	1595	1322	1478
Glabello-occipital length	172	180·4	191·3	178·7	186·6
Basi-bregmatic height	128	139·4	134·6	126	132·4
<i>Vertical index</i>	74·4	77·3	70	70·5	70·9
Maximum breadth	142·5	154·5	147	138	149·3
<i>Cranial index</i>	82·8	85·6	76·7	77·2	77·4
Cranial circumference	501	522·4	544·3	506	531
Basi-nasal length	97	99·5	103·3	95·3	101·4
Basi-alveolar length	94	94·1	100	91	96
<i>Gnathic index</i>	96·9	94·4	97·4	94·8	94·5
Inter-zygomatic breadth	130	134·6	137	121·5	132·2
Nasio-mental length . . . . .	...	112·4	131·5	108·8	120·7
<i>Complete facial index</i> . . . . .	...	83	97·9	87·8	92·3
Nasal height	48	50·3	56·5	49·9	53·5
Nasal width	25	25·1	25	22·1	23·1
<i>Nasal index</i>	52·1	49·9	44·2	44·4	38·9
Orbital width	40	41·3	39	37·4	39
Orbital height	33	31·6	34·3	33	34
<i>Orbital index</i>	82·5	76·4	88	84·6	87·2

¹ Three Skulls in Anatomical Museum, University of Aberdeen.

² Turner, Sir William, "Contribution to the Craniology of the People of Scotland," Tran. Roy. Soc. Edin., Vol. XL., 1903.

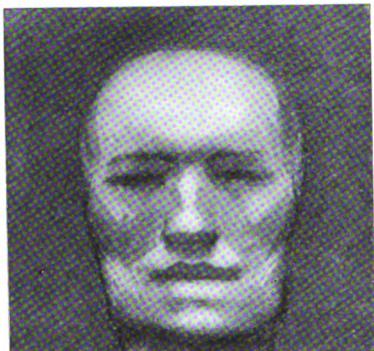


Fig. 14.
Head of Short Cist Man in Aberdeenshire.



Fig. 15.
Short Cist Man in Aberdeenshire,

The Stone Cists

TABLE III.
MEASUREMENTS (IN MILLIMETRES) OF LIMB BONES FROM SHORT CISTS IN ABERDENSHIRE.

	Parkhill (a)		Parkhill (b)		Stoneywood.		Clinterty.		Stene.		Auchindoir.		Leslie.		Foveran.		Tyrie (d)		
	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	Female.	R. L.	Male.	R. L.	
Sex																			
Side																			
Humerus	310	..	385	..	297	..	321	..	..	..	322	323	..	307	304	307	..	..	..
Ulna	252	..	..	..	..	..	256	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	251	..	..	..	..
Radius	233	..	..	..	227	222	228	..	232	235	241	242	..	..	228	..	..	..	..
Radio-humeral index .	75.1	..	..	..	..	74.7	..	..	..	..	74.8	74.9	..	..	75	..	..	..	..
Femur .— Maximum length . . .	..	..	463	472	..	453	422	..	450ap	..	458	466	..	422	408	415	458	..	..
Upper third of shaft:— Ant. post. diam. . . .	27	25	27	27	24	25	27	28	28	..	25	26	..	..	22	22	26	26	28
Trans. diam.	36	34	34	33	32	31	34	34	38	..	32	34	..	..	30	31	37	38	38
Middle of shaft:— Ant. post. diam. . . .	29	29	30	29	26	26	28	31	33	33	30	31	..	..	28	24	31	32	32
Trans. diam.	27	25	28	28	27	25	28	29	27	27	28	28	..	..	28	24	27	27	27
Platymeric index . . .	75	78.5	79.4	81.8	75	80.6	79.4	82.3	78.6	..	78.1	78.4	..	67.5	78.3	70.9	70.2	78.6	78.6
Plasteric index . . .	107.4	116	107.1	108.5	96.2	104	100	106.8	122.2	122.2	107.1	110.7	..	116	100	100	114.8	118.5	118.5
Tibia .— Maximum length . . .	327	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	356	354	..	..	330	328	..	374	374
Ant. post. diam. . . .	35	34	37	..	..	35	38	..	..	..	38	38	..	..	28	28	40	39	39
Trans. diam.	21	20	22	..	..	24	23	..	..	..	28	27	..	..	21	21	27	27	27
Platymeric index . . .	60	58.8	59.4	..	..	68.5	65.2	..	..	..	73.6	71	..	60.6	75	75	67.5	69.2	69.2
Femero-tibial index . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	74.5	74.3	..	..	80.2	80	81.6ap	81.6ap	81.6ap
Fibula	330	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	347	352	..	..	..	..	360	360	360

CHAPTER III.

The Prehistoric Pottery of Buchan.

ALTHOUGH no pottery that can be assigned to the dolichocephalic inhabitants of the Neolithic Period has been discovered in Buchan, yet several beakers of the Early Bronze Age, or perhaps of the still earlier Transition Period, have been brought to light.

The beaker, which ultimately died out in North Britain, has an ancient ancestry, and therein lies much of the interest attached to it. There are several types and varieties of the beaker on the Continent. Those that most resemble British examples are found as far south as Sicily, Spain and Portugal; in the north of Italy, in central Europe, from Hungary to the Rhine and from the Danube to the North Sea, in the south of France and in Brittany. Both MM. Montelius and Déchelette find reason to suppose that the prototypes of these vessels are to be found in the Ægean area, that great seed-bed of European civilization. In the Ægean area, these possible prototypes belong to the Early Bronze Age, which began there much sooner than in Europe, so that when they penetrated into the latter region the inhabitants were still in the later Neolithic Period. During the course of several centuries, the beaker underwent continued development in Europe, and finally, at a time approximating the Early Bronze Age, it found a last resting-place and ultimately a grave in Great Britain.

It is natural to suppose that the invaders who first brought beakers into Britain landed on the south or south-east coast, and after settling the country, gradually moved northwards. A study of British beakers leads precisely to the same conclusion. The earliest, those that most coincide in form and ornament with Continental examples, belong to South Britain, while a gradual change in both respects can be observed as we proceed northwards. By the time when the beakers that have been preserved for us in Buchan were

The Pottery

manufactured, the makers of them had lost something of the old tradition and had added to it something that was newer.

Dr. Thurnam divided the beaker class into three types, α , β , γ . The first is hardly represented north of the Tweed, and does not occur in Buchan, but there are two examples of type β and seven of type γ . There may be other examples, but unfortunately I have not heard of them, and so begin with type β .

No 1 was found in a cist on the farm of Afforsk, two miles south of Gardenstown, in Banffshire. It is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and belongs to Mr. Hugh Young of Tortola. In the greater swell of the lower curve it differs from southern examples, and approximates type γ so nearly that a very little change would convert it into an example of that type. The double lines that bound the triangles are found on an example from Argyle, and on another from Staffordshire, both of which belong to type α .

No. 2 from Slap, Turriff—now in the Edinburgh Museum—is 6 inches high. The interment consisted of the flexed skeleton of a person about 50 years of age; near it lay this beaker, which is quite plain, and a piece of flint fully $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches square, two of its sides being a little chipped. The form of this vessel is stamped with the same northern character as the last, and both may be placed in the later half of the beaker period.

No. 3 of type γ was found in a stone cist at Aldie, Cruden, about 3 feet below the surface. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and stands now in the Museum at Edinburgh. The lower part is more globose, and the constriction lies lower than in any other northern example that I am acquainted with, and on that account I have been tempted to place it in the earlier half of the beaker period. On the other hand, it has a base ring, a feature unknown in the south, so that provisionally I would now place it in the third quarter of the period.

Nos. 4, 5, were found in a cist at Ardiffery, Cruden, at a depth of 8 feet from the surface of a conical hill. The cist contained the skeleton of a man about 5 feet 7-8 inches in height, of a child of 10 or 12 years of age, and part of the skeleton of a dog. The grave-goods consisted of 7 flint arrowheads, 2 flint knives and a piece of polished greenstone (a bracer). These beakers measure $7\frac{3}{8}$ and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively, and are preserved in the Arbuthnot

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Museum. Beakers of this profile belong to the Northern area, and the fringe above and below the lowest zone of ornament on No. 4 is also a sign of later date.

No. 6 from the farm of Bankhead, Pitsligo, is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and was presented to the Arbuthnot Museum in 1887 by Mr. R. Walker. Here again the fringes which adorn the three ornamented zones help to shew that this beaker, like the last, must be placed in the second half of the period.

Nos. 7, 8, from Ellon are $5\frac{1}{8}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high respectively, and now stand in the Museum at Edinburgh. They may have been found with 4 flint arrowheads which were bought with the beakers. In form and ornament they are so similar that they were probably made by the same hand and at the same time. It will be observed that the inside groove below the rim would make it difficult to drink out of them, and the idea may have been suggested by a "food vessel," in which such an arrangement is not uncommon. The absence of a plain, unornamented zone shews that both belong to a late period, when the old tradition had died out or was much enfeebled.

No. 9 is $5\frac{7}{16}$ inches high, and was found in a tumulus at Savocho, on the Faichfield estate, in the parish of Longside. It was presented to the Arbuthnot Museum in 1838 by Mr. R. Gray. Like No. 1, this beaker is ornamented by a double row of triangles, but here the shading is partly effected with broken lines, a treatment which is not found in the south.

Food-Vessels.—This class of sepulchral pottery seems to be rare in Aberdeenshire, and I only know of three examples from Buchan, though each is interesting in its own way.

No. 10 is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and was found in a cist at the centre of a large cairn in the parish of Methlick. It is now in the National Museum at Edinburgh. As regards form, ornamentation and technique of the ornament, it is thoroughly Hibernian, and, like most Irish vessels of this type, is ornamented on the bottom with a cruciform pattern. This type of vessel is otherwise only found in Argyle, where two examples were discovered in a cairn at Duncragaig on the Paltalloch estate, on the north side of the Crinan Canal. Though rather in a weakened form, this vessel presents a new technique, unknown to the makers of beakers. The clay was impressed with a semi-circular slip of wood, or perhaps with the thumb nail, in such a way as to produce a chevron pattern

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in false relief. This technique is found on many vessels of various types in Ireland, and thence it must have spread eastwards to North Britain and the valley of the Tyne. Hibernian vessels of this type, but wider in proportion to the height, with a smaller base and probably older, have been found with necklaces composed of disc-shaped and fusiform beads of jet or lignite. The small, perforated disc-shaped beads go back to the Neolithic Period in North Britain, and have been found in three or four occasions to be contemporary with beakers in Great Britain. They belong therefore to one of the oldest types of necklace in this country, and are still made out of ostrich shell by the Bushmen of South Africa. The fusiform or cylindrical beads, which are sometimes combined with discs on the same string, are a later development, for it is difficult to understand how they could have been perforated without the use of a metallic instrument. As No. 10 is partly ornamented with an instrument leaving small square impressions, and as this technique is very commonly employed for decorating beakers, this vessel is possibly not later than some of the Buchan beakers.

No. 11, from Netherdale, Banffshire, and now in the Museum at Edinburgh, is 6 inches high. It is a fine and well-made example of the type, with a grooved shoulder, in which are two or more perforated or imperforate stops or ears. This type is common in the north-east of England as far south as Derbyshire and Staffordshire; it is not uncommon in Ireland, but is comparatively rare in North Britain. In the Hibernian examples the neck is usually nearly straight and hardly ever everted and moulded as in No. 11, and the false-relief technique is very commonly employed in the decoration of the vessel. The English examples, on the other hand, with one or two exceptions, have a moulded rim above the neck as in No. 11, and are ornamented by means of cord impressions, or with incisions made with a pointed instrument. Hence the Methlick food-vessel is clearly descended from a southern, not from a Hibernian, type.

This type of food-vessel is certainly old, for though there is no indubitable proof that it is contemporary with early beakers of type α , there is good reason to suppose that it may be contemporary. As this and some other types of food-vessel are not known in the southern half of England, and yet are found in the northern half and in Ireland, it seems not improbable that the manufacture of

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these vessels was, in the first instance, due to the descendants of the Neolithic inhabitants of Britain, who had been subjugated by the brachycephalic invaders, and were presumably of the same stock as the inhabitants of Hibernia. The pottery of the food-vessel class differs from that of the beaker class in being coarser, and though the vessels are smaller in size they are heavier, owing to their thicker walls ; the scheme of ornamentation too is quite different. These considerations, together with the fact that food-vessels are certainly contemporary with later beakers, almost forces us to suppose that this class of pottery originated with a population different from that of the invaders who introduced the beaker.

No. 12, from Blackhills, Tyrie, has recently been described in the *Transactions*. It is a small barrel-shaped vessel with a slight horizontal groove round the middle, a feature which seems to connect it with No. 10. In form it is almost identical with one from Urquhart, in Elginshire. Although the ornamental motive of two bands of lozenges reminds us of beakers, such as those from Ellon, this motive is also found on a Staffordshire food-vessel. The date of No. 12 is uncertain, but if, as I am inclined to suppose, it is descended from a bowl-shaped vessel like No. 10, it must be a good deal later, and the latest of the Buchan food-vessels.

Cinerary Urns.—In 1901, fragments of two cinerary urns and a diminutive vessel of the so-called "incense cup" type were discovered in a ploughed field on the Hill of Culsh, New Deer. One of the urns, probably both, belong to the Cordon or Hooped type, which seems to have evolved from the Overhanging rim type. This type belongs chiefly to North Britain and Ireland. A cinerary urn, now lost, but (judging from the description) of this type, was found in the ditch surrounding a tumulus at Edderton in Ross-shire. At the centre of this was a cist containing burnt bones and a bead of blue glass with three yellow spirals, which evidently is not later than the urn. According to P. Reinecke, the spiral does not appear on beads before the middle La Tène Period (250-150 B.C.) A similar bead to the above was found in a late Celtic crannog at Lagore in Westmeath, and two others were presented to the Museum in Edinburgh by Mr. H. Young, together with a bronze spear head, an iron axe and a Greek coin of Nero, all found during his excavations at Burghead. If the Edderton urn was really of the Cordon type, it demonstrates that this type of urn came down to a very late period, though its beginning may be placed a good deal earlier.

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The diminutive vessel is two inches high and of the double truncated cone type, one that is found all over Britain from north to south, shewing that it persisted for a long time.

No. 13, from Udney, is 16 inches high, and is now in the Museum at Edinburgh. It belongs to the Encrusted Class, which is found in various parts of Scotland, in the north of England, South Wales and the north and west of Ireland. In time it seems to be partly contemporary with the Cordon type, and therefore to belong to one of the last phases of the Bronze Age.

As history without dates is hazy and unreal, archæologists have constantly attempted to give approximate dates to archæological finds, and thus assign them a definite place in time. The late Sir John Evans divided the Bronze Age in Britain as follows: 1st stage, 1400-1150 B.C. (flat daggers); 2nd stage, 1150-900 B.C. (stout daggers); 3rd stage, 900-400 B.C. On this basis, the earliest beakers began about 1400 B.C., or, allowing for a period of transition, about a century earlier.

The earliest cinerary urns, being contemporary with stout daggers, belong to the 2nd stage with a central date \pm 1050 B.C. As, in the south of England, the cremation period seems to follow close on the heels of the beaker period, this may have lasted about four centuries from 1500-1100. The Buchan beakers would therefore range from about 1300-1100. The food-vessels on the whole were certainly contemporary with the later half of the beaker period, and probably survived it. Cinerary urns of different types lasted in South Britain down to about 400 B.C. or later. In the north they may be began later, about 1000 B.C., and seem to have lasted to about 200 B.C.

The date 1400 B.C. corresponds with part of the XVIII dynasty in Egypt, with the time of the heretical king, Amenophis IV., the founder of the city at Tell el Amarna, so rich in remains. As the date 900 B.C. corresponds, according to Dr. Hoernes, with the beginning of the Iron Age in Italy and the 1st period of Hallstatt, most of our cinerary urns and the later half of our Bronze Age synchronise with the Iron Age of Southern Europe.

J. A.

CHAPTER IV.

Some Notes on the Stone Circles of Aberdeenshire.

I HAVE received, with the greatest possible pleasure, an invitation to give a short statement of the results of my work on the Aberdeenshire Circles for *The Book of Buchan*. I do this all the more willingly because, at the commencement of my inquiries, Mr. Tocher, in answer to an appeal by Dr. Angus Fraser, supplied me with valuable information and sent me a volume of the local society's publications, which was very useful to me.

The first thing I have to do is to congratulate local archæologists on the fact that they are domiciled in a region so full of antiquities, and on having such a clean-cut responsibility for important work which lies at their doors. What I have been able to do, on two short vacations, 600 miles from home, is a mere drop in the ocean—a reconnaissance which, I trust, will be followed by an advance in force by the local archæologists provided with the arms of precision necessary for the new method of attack. Their 4·7 gun will be a theodolite, their rifle a little clino-compass swung like a bandoleer over their shoulder.

The question I had to put to the Aberdeenshire circles was a very simple one :

Did they, or did they not, prove that the same ideas which had dominated the construction of the stone circles and avenues in South Britain had been present in the minds of the old Aberdonians ?

I must at once point out that, to me at least, these "ideas" had been evolved and carried out in consequence of the *necessities* of a population without clocks, without almanacs, knowing nothing of the length of the year, and with agricultural knowledge confined to very few. The very few were the priests, the fathers and leaders of each little community.

I had had no difficulty in proving in South England that the various sight lines from the circles, and along the avenues, were lines which enabled the

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risings and settings of the sun at the most important times of the year, and of the stars, to be used as clocks during the night and seasonal almanacs throughout the year. I may add, in a communication to a Scottish scientific society, that they did more than this. They shewed that the year which the circle-building immigrants had brought with them was a year with the same quarter days which still run in Scotland, occurring in May, August, November, and February; a vegetation year in vogue in Lower Egypt and Babylonia before the astronomical year, with its quarter days in June, September, December, and March was invented at Thebes. This was much later introduced into Britain at Stonehenge, and the English quarter days are based on it.

All these sight lines might be divided into three *main* groups, quite distinguished from each other, and defined by the angle between them and the north point of the horizon, technically called their azimuth. There was a clock-star group N. 10° — 30° E., a solstitial group about N. 50° E., the place of the sunrise on the longest day, and a "May year" group about N. 64° E., the place of the sunrise at the quarter days, at Beltaine, and Whitsuntide.

These azimuths are good for Cornwall in lat. 50° N. They change with the latitude, so they are not good for Aberdeen in N. lat. 57° , but it is easy to compute them for that region, and this was done before I went north, so that I was in a position to compare any alignment I could find with those already made out and explained in Cornwall.

More than this, I had had the advantage of a long talk with Mr. A. L. Lewis, a great authority, not only on English but on Scottish stone monuments. From him I learned the fundamental difference in the build of the English and Aberdeen circles. In Cornwall we have a circle without a recumbent stone, and outstanding stones, chiefly in the N.E. quadrant to mark directions from the centre. In Aberdeen we have a circle with a stone *recumbent* between two of the circle stones (this is a very general statement) generally in the S.W. quadrant, and no outstanding stones.

It was quite clear then, that, in the absence of these outstanding stones, the purpose of the Aberdeen circles was different from that of the Cornish ones, unless it could be shewn that the directions across the circle from the recumbent stone were the same as those provided for in the Cornish circles by the line from the centre of the circle to the outstanding stone.

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The Buchan Field Club will gather from the above what my work was bound to be. It was simply to measure, as exactly as I could, the azimuth of the system represented by the recumbent stone and the stone at each end of it. This was not easy as in many cases there had been disturbance. But the means of many measures of both surfaces of the recumbent stone and of the alignment of the two supporting stones were taken.

Now, what has been the result? In every case I investigated, with two exceptions, where there had been great disturbance, I found the sight line across the circle (90° from the mean azimuth of the recumbent stone and its supporters) to have had the same general direction, and therefore, I hold, the same astronomical use as in Cornwall.

First I found that the alignments were limited to four regions, with about the following azimuths, which agree with the Cornish azimuths corrected for the latitude of Aberdeen.

Summer solstice sunrise,	...	...	...	N. 43° E.
Beltaine sunrise,	...	...	...	N. 59° E.
Clock-star risings	...	...	...	N. 5° — 30° E.
True north.				

Next, as my chief object in writing this communication is to induce members of the Club, or others, to continue the work which I have begun—I am sorry I could not do more—I will give some extracts from a paper I have recently communicated to the Royal Society¹, which will give an idea of the detailed work that was done, and the results obtained in relation to the English circles. The magnetic mean of observations refers to the azimuths of the recumbent stone obtained as before stated. I have taken the magnetic variation *now* at Aberdeen as $18^\circ 45'$ W. From the true azimuth across the circle, combined with the height of the horizon, the declination of the sun or star has been calculated.

So much, then, for the solar alignments, including the results obtained from five circles. The clock-star circles are much more numerous—15. These have a special interest, as we are enabled to date the monuments from the observations if we knew which star was involved, but it so happens that *two* stars, Arcturus and Capella, might have been in question, and the mean date

¹ Proceedings R.S., vol. 80, p. 285.

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SUMMER SOLSTICE.

TABLE I.—ABERDEEN CIRCLES.

Circle at—	Azimuths.			Elevation of the horizon.	Declination N.
	Magnetic, mean of observations.	True, from N. through E.	True, at right-angles across circle.		
Sunhoney	* 155 15	—	N. 52 35 E.	° 4	° 22 25
Midmar	146 15	136 30	46 30	2	23 15
Stonehead (Insch) . . . . .	...	127 30	37 30	1	25 41
Mean of above . . . . .	...	...	...	...	23 47

* At Sunhoney, as the recumbent stone was curved and irregular, it was simpler to measure directly across the circle at right-angles to the length of the recumbent stone; the magnetic azimuth thus obtained was 71° 20'.

TABLE II.—ENGLISH MONUMENTS, FOR COMPARISON.

Monument at—	Alignment.	Azimuth (true).	Elevation of the horizon.	Declination N.
Stonehenge	Direction of avenue from circle	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Stanton Drew	Great circle to N.E. circle	N. 49 34 E.	° 35	23 54
Bocawen-Un	Centre of circle to fine menhir	51 0	1 5	23 49
Tregeseal	Centre of circle to holed stones	53 30	1 15	22 58
Longstone (Tregeseal)	To Mén-an-Tol	53 20	1 15	23 2
Mean of above	50 30	0 34	24 7
Mean of above	23 34

May-year. Sun's Declination 16° 20' N. (May 6, August 8).

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TABLE III.—ABERDEEN CIRCLES.

Circle at—	Azimuths.			Elevation of the horizon.	Declination N.	Dates.	
	Magnetic, mean of observations.	True, from N. through E.	True, at right-angles across circle.			May.	August.
Berry Brae	170	° 151 15	° 61 15 E.	°	15 30	May 3	Aug. 11
Hatton of Ardoyne	166	° 147 15	° 57 15 E.	1	17 8	May 9	Aug. 5
Mean of above . . . . .	...	° ...	° ...	½ (assumed)	16 19	May 6	Aug. 8

TABLE IV.—MAY-YEAR ALIGNMENTS IN ENGLAND, FOR COMPARISON.

Monument at—	Alignment.	Azimuth.	Elevation of horizon.	Declination N.	Dates.	
					May.	August.
Boscawen-un	Circle to two large menhirs	° 66 50 E.	°	14 55	May 1	Aug. 13
Merry Maidens	Circle to Fougou	° 64 0 E.	1 0	16 21	May 6	Aug. 8
Tregeseal	Circle to Longstone	° 67 20 E.	0 30	15 3	May 2	Aug. 13
Longstone (Tregeseal)	To W. Lanyon Quoit	° 67 0 E.	1 18	14 3	April 29	Aug. 16
Down Tor	Direction of avenue	° 67 0 E.	0 0	14 23	April 30	Aug. 15
St. Cleer	Holy well to Trevethy cromlech	° 64 0 E.	0 30	16 21	May 6	Aug. 8
Lesquoit cromlech	Orientation of cromlech	° 64 0 E.	(assumed)	16 55	May 8	Aug. 6
Druids' Altar (Pawton)	"	° 64 0 E.	1 30	16 55	May 8	Aug. 6
Mean of above	° ...	°	15 38	May 4	Aug. 10

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of the erection of the circles may either have been 1600 B.C. using Capella, and 600 B.C. using Arcturus.

Here is the complete table of observations. It should be noted that the range of azimuth ($29^{\circ}-4^{\circ}$) is only 25° , and taking the height of horizon into account the range of declination is only about 4° . The circle builders, therefore, with the whole 360° of the horizon to play with in placing these recumbent stones in relation to stars, only used 25° , and those the most useful.

I must leave the Buchan Club to settle the star and the date and all that

Circle at—	Azimuths.			Elevation of the horizon.	Declination N.	Dates B.C.	
	Magnetic mean of observations.	True, from N. through E.	True, at right-angles across circle.			Arcturus.	Capella.
Braehead Leslie . . .	132 20	113 35	N. 23 35 E.	1½	30 58	250	2000
Leylodge	123 0	104 15	N. 14 15 E.	0	31 18	330	1940
Loudon Wood	120 40	101 55	N. 11 55 E.	0	31 38	370	1890
Tomnagorn	124 0	105 15	N. 15 15 E.	½ ?	31 42	390	1860
Wanton Wells	130 30	111 45	N. 21 45 E.	2	31 52	420	1830
Old Keig	138 0	119 15	N. 29 15 E.	4	31 55	430	1820
South Fornet	116 48	98 3	N. 8 3 E.	0	32 4	450	1800
Nether Boddam	130 0	111 15	N. 21 15 E.	2	32 8	460	1790
Aikey Brae	113 0	94 15	N. 4 15 E.	0	32 18	500	1760
Castle Fraser	129 36	110 51	N. 20 51 E.	2½	32 42	570	1680
New Craig	129 34	110 49	N. 20 49 E.	2½	32 43	570	1680
Loanhead of Daviot	116 45	98 0	N. 8 0 E.	1	33 14	660	1580
Kirkton of Bourtie . .	123 30	104 45	N. 14 45 E.	2½	33 57	770	1460
Cothie Muir	127 40	108 55	N. 18 55 E.	4	34 42	920	1300
Leslie the Greater . .	113 30	94 45	N. 4 45 E.	2½	35 5	980	1230

follows from it, including the race of the builders. I have given several arguments, which I have not space here to reproduce, which incline me to prefer Arcturus and a Celtic invasion. In Cornwall Arcturus was certainly used in 1600 B.C., and *not* by Celts.

But this is only one of the sermons on stones raised by the Aberdeen circles. I commend them all to the present representatives of the old race who have, by their industrious and lasting building operations, provided us with so much food for thought and work.

N. L.

CHAPTER V.

Antiquities found in the Peat Mosses of Buchan.

THE area over which this enquiry has extended may be described as a parallelogram or block of twenty-seven miles in length by an average breadth of fifteen, with a superficies of four hundred square miles or thereby, embracing the following parishes:—Aberdour, Pitsligo, Fraserburgh, Rathen, Lonmay, Crimond, St. Fergus, Peterhead, Cruden, Slains, Logie Buchan, Ellon, New Deer, Old Deer, Longside, Strichen and Tyrie.

“The following is a list of relics which have been found in or under Peat Moss in the district of Buchan.

(1). *Bronze pot* of the Romano-British period, 3 feet 3 inches diameter at the mouth, 10 inches in height, having had the bottom burned out, but replaced with copper. It was got underneath several feet of Moss near to Kininmonth House, Lonmay.

(2). *Solid oak spade*. The extreme length, from end of the handle to point of the spade is 4 feet 8 inches—the blade, 8 inches by 7. This relic was got by Alexander Shepherd, Esq., of Adie, under from six to eight feet of Peat Moss, while having a ditch cut through a Moss on his estate, in the course of improvement. It is in excellent preservation. The handle is roughly square, except within 10 inches of the end, where it is rounded. The blade is considerably worn on the lower side, and bears evidence of having been some time in use.

(3). *Solid silver statuette of a man on horseback*, in the possession, in 1876, of Mr. Chivas, King Street, Aberdeen. This figure stands about 1½ inches in height. It was found under sixteen feet of Moss in the Parish of Longside, and sold to a jeweller in Aberdeen, from whom Mr. Chivas—struck by its quaintness, and having learned its history—purchased it. The original finder, and the jeweller who purchased it from him being both dead, much difficulty has been

Antiquities found in Peat Mosses

experienced in discovering the particular Moss in which it had been embedded; but some slight traces obtained led me to identify the Moss as that of Ludquharn. At first, I was inclined to regard the statuette as belonging to the Roman Period; but having had an opportunity, while it was in my possession, of submitting it to several Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, specially expert in such matters, it was unanimously pronounced to be mediæval. It may have surmounted a helmet, or formed part of the trappings of some of the horsemen who crossed the district during the civil war in Buchan, during the reign of Edward the First, or of the Knights of Ludquharn, who had a castle adjoining the Moss.

(4). *Short bronze sword*, found in 1832, during the process of draining the Moss of Burnt Brae and Crichtie, in the Parish of Old Deer, since lost sight of.

(5). *Two large stone celts*. One finely shaped and smooth, got under Moss at Longside—the other, roughly shaped, obtained in Lochlundy Moss, Parish of Slains.

(6). *Flint spear-head*, discovered in Lochlundy Moss, Slains, by Mr. James Dalgarno, and sent by him to John Evans, Esq. (the late Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.R.S.), author of a recent work on ancient stone weapons and implements. This spear is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and was found at a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. About the same time there was cast up in the Meikle Moss, Slains, an “ancient bowl or urn,” from under eight feet of Moss. Several stone celts may be here noted as found under eight feet of Moss, lying at the foot of a tree, with a pair of horns of the wild ox, in the Moss of Savocho, Longside, already referred to.

(7). *Roman spear-head* of bronze, obtained in 1858 by Mr. James Dalgarno, from under six feet of Moss, in Lochlundy, Slains, and now in possession of Colonel Ross King, of Tertowie. This spear head is in good preservation. It measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $1\frac{3}{4}$ at the broadest part, and has a ridge along the centre, while the edges of the blade are much flattened.

(8). *Flanged celt or Palstave of Bronze*, found in 1873 by Mr. Adam Henderson, at a depth of eight feet, when draining the Peat Moss of Savocho, Longside, in the course of improving his farm. This celt is in excellent preservation, with the cutting edge ground, and very sharp. It was presented by

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Mr. Henderson to the Arbuthnot Museum, Peterhead, and is figured in the frontispiece already referred to. It is very similar to the flanged celt, engraved and numbered 60 in the Catalogue of the National Museum.

(9). Portion of a large rude *Crossbow*, found in a Moss, six feet from the surface, in the Parish of Aberdour, Aberdeenshire. With it were found several bolts, or arrows. These are now deposited in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, from which the above notice is extracted.

(10). Several *Antlers*, of both roe and red deer, have been found, chiefly in the Mosses of Cruden, and deposited in the Arbuthnot Museum, Peterhead. They are in some cases of very considerable size; and, in comparing their fragments with the antlers of the largest stag of the present day, those of the former are found to be greater, measuring $1\frac{9}{10}$ inch more at the base in circumference, and 1 inch more after the separation of the lowest tine.

(11). *Horns* of the wild ox, *Bos Primigenius*. These, as might be expected, are turned up more frequently, and are found in every case under many feet of Moss. In 1817, a pair still attached to the head was found in the Moss of Crichtie, Old Deer. Two pairs were, several years since, found in the Moss of Elrick, in the same Parish, under eight feet of Moss. A pair was discovered in the Moss of Stodfold, also in Old Deer; and a very complete pair, turned up in the Moss of Teuchan, Cruden, are now deposited in Slains Castle. The horns found in the Moss of Elrick are of large size, and very nearly answer to the measurements of those in Slains Castle. From tip to tip, and following the outer circle of the curve, they measure 6 feet 3 inches, the circumference of the core at its base, 1 foot 3 inches, and the largest diameter of the base of the horn, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is singular that, though strict enquiry has been made, no relics of this kind have been discovered in any locality in Buchan, except along that part of the District of Deer, extending from Elrick towards Cruden and the South.

(12). The last relic to be noticed is a *Canoe* extracted from the Moss of Knaven, New Deer, about 1830, and till within a few months since, submerged in a ditch immediately outside the grounds of Nethermuir, at a distance of a mile or thereby from the place where it was discovered, whence it was removed by the present Proprietor with a view to more effective preservation. It is thus noticed in Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," Vol. I., p. 57. After

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treating of the antiquity of the rude British *Monoxyla*, shaped and hollowed out by stone axes, with the help of fire, and instancing, as examples, several canoes dug up in the valley of the Clyde, the writer goes on to say, 'Nearly contemporary with some of the latest discoveries in the valley of the Clyde, workmen cutting a drain on the farm of Knaven, Aberdeenshire, discovered an ancient boat of the same form as most of those previously described, and measuring 11 feet long, by nearly 4 broad. It is hewn out of the solid oak, with pointed stem, and, at the stern, a projection formed in the piece, and pierced with an eye, as if to attach a mooring cable. Like the Glasgow canoes, it is rudely finished, and exhibits the rough marks of the instrument with which it was reduced to shape. It lay imbedded in the Moss, at a depth of five feet, at the head of a small ravine; and near it were found the stumps and roots of very large oaks. The nearest stream, the Ythan, is several miles off, and the sea is distant many more.'"

The foregoing description of the antiquities found in the peat mosses of Buchan is taken from a valuable paper entitled the "The Peat Mosses of Buchan," written in 1876 for the Club of Deir by the late Rev. James Peter, minister of Deer. The extract, which is sure to prove interesting to archæologists, appears in this volume, together with the following table, also prepared by the late Mr. Peter, with the approval of the Club. The Editor wishes to express his cordial thanks to the Secretary of the Club of Deir for kindly granting permission to place before the readers of *The Book of Buchan* details so interesting and valuable. The table is unique. It perhaps should have appeared in the Natural History section. Since, however, the main object of printing the extract in *The Book of Buchan* is to preserve the record of the antiquities found, it has been decided to place the table in this section, and to put it immediately after the detailed description of the antiquities, for easy reference.

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THE PEAT MOSSES OF BUCHAN.										
NAME OF PARISH.	NAME OF MOSS.	Extent 80 years since in acres.	Extent at present time.	Greatest depth in feet.	Average depth.	Solum nature of.	Species of Trees found.	Antiquities found.	Land reclaimed in acres.	Yearly Rent of Land reclaimed.
OLD DEER,	Moss of Deer,	45	..	10	4	Soft Clay.	Oak.		45	} £326
	Burntbrae, Ever-Crichie,	85	..	8	3	Gravelly Clay.	Firs.	Bronze Sword.	85	
	Clochcan,	31	11	10	5	Clay.	Oak.		14	
	Elrick and Annochie,	188	45	24	6	Clay, with Pan.	Fir, Oak, Hazel.	1 pr. horns of Wild Ox under 8 feet.	110	
	Little Elrick, Bulwark,	88	3	10	4	Clay.	Oak.		22	
	West Crichie,	29	19	18	6	Clay.	Oak, Birch.	1 pr. horns of Wild Ox.	10	
	Nethermuir,	85	..	15	7	Clay Gravel.	Oak.		85	
	Crichie,	10	2	6	5	Clay Gravel.	Hazel, Oak.	2 prs. horns of Wild Ox.	6	
	Stodfold,	12	10	16	4	Wet Clay.	Hazel, Oak.	1 pr. horns of Wild Ox.	2	
	Cranbog,	35	25	8	4	Clayey Gravel.	Oak.		10	
NEW DEER,	Small-Burn,	88	69	16	5	Clayey Gravel.	Oak, Birch, Hazel.		17	} £197
	Brucklay,	70	40	10	4	Soft Blue Clay.	Oak, Birch.	Flint Arrows.	20	
	Drum and Auchmaliddie,	300	100	20	10	Brown and Blue Clay.	Oak.		100	
	Gilkhorn,	40	10	4	2	Blue Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		20	
	Nethermuir,	80	4	12	6	Blue Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		20	
	Auchmunziel,	80	5	15	6	Clay.	Birch.	Horn of Ox.	13	
	Myre of Bedlam,	26	4	9	3	Clay.	Birch.		11	
	Nittenshead,	180	145	6	3	Hard Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		85	
	Whitehill,	40	24	8	3	Soft Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		12	
	Doghillock,	45	18	5	2	Soft Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		25	
Letchesburn,	42	24	4	2	Soft Clay.	Fir, Oak, Larch.	Canoe.	18		

Antiquities found in Peat Mosses

THE PEAT MOSSES OF BUCHAN—(Continued).											
NAME OF PARISH.	NAME OF MOSS.	Extent 30 years since in acres.		Extent at present time.	Greatest depth in feet.	Average depth.	Solum nature of.	Species of Trees found.	Antiquities found.	Land reclaimed in acres.	Yearly Rent of Land reclaimed.
		Extent	since								
LONGSIDE,	Dumpstone Knaps, Knock,	35	15	8	4	Blue Clay, Gravelly Pan.	Oak.		15	} £89	
	Rora,	700	600	15	8	Clay and Gravel.	Oak.		15		
	Whitebog,	90	50	12	6	Blue Clay, Sand.	Oak.	Bronze celt, under 7 feet.	40		
	Upper Savoch,	30	..	12	6	Blue Clay.	Oak.	1 pair horns, with st. celts under 15 ft.	30		
	N. Kinmundy,	30	15	12	6	Blue Clay.	Oak, Hazel.	Silver statuette of man on horse.	15		
LONMAY,	Kininmonth,	140	120	24	16	Blue and Brown Clay.	Oak, Alder.	Bronze pot, under 16 feet.	100	} £62 10s.	
	Rottenhill,	80	50	18	12	Blue and Brown Clay.	Oak, Alder.				
	Longhill,	100	20	18	12	Blue Clay.	Oak, Alder.				
ST. FERGUS,	Reedmoss,	700	450	15	9	Blue Clay.	Oak, Birch, Hazel.		200	} £162 5s.	
	Shielhill,	30	2	12	9	Clay.	Branches undistinguishable.		17		
CRUDEN,	Auchleuchries,	50	25	15	8	Blue Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		10	} £479 10s.	
	Muirtack,	30	12	6	3	Clay.	Oak.		12		
	Moreseat,	150	100	12	10	Red Clay, with Flints.	Oak, Hazel,		50		
	Hardslacks,	50	40	10	6	Red Clay, with Flints.	Oak, Hazel.		10		
	Boddam,	30	30	10	6	Red Clay, with Flints.					
	Auchlethen,	150	100	8	4	Red Clay, with Flints.	Oak.		50		
	Ardiffery,	30	3	4	3	Pebbly Clay.	Oak.		8		
	Auquharney,	120	80	8	4	Pebbly Clay.	Oak, Birch, Hazel.	Flint Arrows.	40		
Longhaven and Adie,	1100	300	15	7	Clay, with Flints.	Oak, Birch, Hazel.	Oak Spade, Horns of Wild Ox—antlers.	500			

Prehistoric Buchan

THE PEAT MOSSES OF BUCHAN—(Continued).

NAME OF PARISH.	NAME OF MOSS.	Extent 80 years since in acres.			Average depth.	Solum nature of.	Species of Trees found.	Antiquities found.	Land reclaimed in acres.	Yearly Rent of Land reclaimed.
		Extent, at present time.	Greatest depth in feet.							
ABERDOUR,	Glasslaw,	260	20	25	12	Open Gravelly Clay.	Oak in layers.		240	} £340
	Beyond Gonar,	800	500	25	18	Blue Gravelly Clay.	Oak, Alder, Hazel.		250	
	Auchentumb,	600	500	15	8	Debris of Granite.	Oak.		100	
	Little Byth,	150	30	20	5	Gravel.	Oak.		100	
	Kinbeam,	500	160	20	10	Stiff Blue Clay.		Oak cross-bow, arrows.		
TYRIE,	New Pitsligo,	1408	1236	20	5	Clay, Rock, Gravel.	Oak, Fir.		230	} £280
	Skelmanae,	160	80	23	17	Clay, Rock, Gravel.	Oak, Fir, Hazel.		80	
	Red Moss of Boyndlie,	250	150	15	10	Mostly Clay.	Oak.		100	
CRIMOND,	Logie and Crimond,	400	380	21	18	Clay, Friable.	Oak.		20	} £9 10s.
	Haddo,	7	7	21	16	Clay Friable.	Oak.			
PETERHEAD	Calve,	30	7	5	2	Blue Clay, with Flints.	Oak, Hazel.	Flint Arrows.	20	} £34
	Grange,	20	6	8	4	Quag. Clay Pan.	Oak, Hazel.		14	
	Whinbog,	4	4	10	4	Clay.	Oak.			
	Torterstons,	9	9	2	1	Clay.	Oak.			
ELLON,	Moss of Ellon,	52	5	7	4	Sandy Clay.	Oak.		80	} £24
	Tillydesk,	30	15	30	2	Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		17	
	Dudwick, &c.,	45	20	12	3	Clay.	Oak.		20	

Antiquities found in Peat Mosses

THE PEAT MOSSES OF BUCHAN—(Continued).											
NAME OF PARISH.	NAME OF MOSS.	Extent 30 years since in acres.		Extent at present time.	Greatest depth in feet.	Average depth.	Solum nature of.	Species of Trees found.	Antiquities found.	Land reclaimed in acres.	Yearly Rent of Land reclaimed.
		60	20								
STRICHEN,	Craighill,	60	20	12	5	Gravelly Clay.	Oak, Hazel.		30	} £313 15s	
	Backhill,	70	20	10	7	Blue Clay.	Oak.		30		
	Borrowhill,	350	250	15	8	Blue Clay.	Oak, Birch.	Antlers.	100		
	Craigculter, &c.,	360	300	25	12	Gravelly Clay.	Oak, Birch.		50		
	Tarwathie,	50	..	5	..	Hard Clay.	Oak.		40		
	Boginsourie,	260	20	15	5	Stiff Clay, Gravel.	Hazel, Oak.		200		
	Mormond,	200	..	10	2	Quartzey Clay.	Oak, Birch.				
	Cockmuir,	} 120	40	10	6	Clayey Gravel.	Oak.		60		
Sturdie,											
Leeds.											
FRASER-BURGH,	Hatton,	17	6	15	5	Clayey Gravel.	Oak, Hazel.		8	} £45	
SLAINS,	Lochlundy,	300	220	20	12	Blue Clay, Shingle.	Oak, Hazel, Birch, Alder.	Bronze spear head, st. celt, arrows, &c.	60		

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Section III.—Ancient Buchan

CHAPTER I.

The Dawn of History in Buchan.

IN passing from the study of prehistoric to that of ancient Buchan, we make no change in our method of enquiry—for all scientific method is the same—but we find a change in the material which forms the basis of our enquiry. In our endeavour to reconstruct the prehistoric past, we had no choice of the materials for study. These were (1) interments, the form, position and character of which left us in no doubt that they were very ancient, and not comparatively modern; (2) food and other vessels proved to be of ancient origin; and (3) stone erections arranged in circular form and similarly proved by archæologists to have a hoary antiquity. These materials are very real, and, in conjunction with other and similar evidence supplied from the British Isles, enable us to form a fair picture of prehistoric Buchan and, within limits, of what kind of people lived during at least certain prehistoric periods. However vivid that picture may be, it is, nevertheless, only that of a nameless race or of nameless races of primitive men whose tongues are unknown to us, and of whose doings and dealings with each other and with the outside world we are entirely ignorant.

We now add to the study of relics, the study of documentary evidence. It is unfortunate, however, that with the advent of written history, we have a falling off, if not sometimes an entire absence of the kind of material which proved so indispensable in our study of prehistoric Buchan. We have therefore to rely more and more on documentary evidence which, it is admitted, may or may not be true, but which constitutes the data of the historian—an investigator whose function it is to analyse the evidence and to separate what is scientifically true from what the writers believed, or appeared to believe, to be true. Each

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age has its own social system and its corresponding atmosphere, and the more the historian succeeds in determining what these were, the more certainly will he be able to interpret the true meaning of the evidence at his disposal.

In the preceding section we have seen that from a period not long after 2000 B.C. to about the beginning of the Christian era, Buchan was occupied, and was, indeed, comparatively thickly populated by a primitive but nameless people. We can hardly believe that they lived in Buchan as a people absolutely apart from the rest of the world. On the contrary they must have come as colonists to Buchan, and they were probably able to keep up a certain amount of intercourse with the land of their origin. In succeeding centuries their descendants may have forgotten their ancestral home, but we must credit the descendants of these early settlers with some knowledge about their neighbours. We can only guess that these inhabitants of Buchan, a few centuries before the Christian era, may have heard of such people as the ancient Greeks, who, as early as the sixth century B.C., knew of the existence of the British Isles. Let us consider for a moment the earliest notices of the British Isles and what bearing this knowledge has on Buchan.

Aristotle appears to have been about the first to apply the term *Britannia* to Britain, and in his "De Mundo" he referred to the two large islands beyond the pillars of Hercules as *Albion* and *Ierne*, so that before Aristotle's time some precursor of Columbus had gone on a voyage of discovery to the British Isles. Two navigators are mentioned by history, Himilco of Carthage (about 500 B.C.) and Pytheas (about 350 B.C.). The latter, Strabo tells us,¹ definitely ascertained Britain was an island. He also made a voyage to the island of Thule, identified by some as one of the Orkney Islands and by others as Iceland. In those early days there could have been little deep sea navigation; the voyages would have been undertaken mainly along the coast, so that quite possibly some prehistoric dweller on the coast of Buchan may have seen, between 500 and 350 B.C., the craft and the person of Himilco or of the intrepid Massilian, Pytheas, who made a voyage quite as wonderful and daring in his day as the voyages of Columbus, Vasco de Gama, or the Cabots were in theirs. About 55 B.C., and again from 43 to 85 A.D., Britain was visited by Roman legions. We learn from Tacitus that, prior to the famous battle

¹ Strabo Geog., book ii.

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between Agricola's disciplined army and the Caledonians (a section of the Pictish nation, under Calgacus), the Roman General despatched his fleet round the east coast of Scotland, and that, after the battle, the fleet went on a voyage of discovery round the island. The information concerning these and other voyages, furnished by the reports of Agricola to headquarters, must have included a fairly accurate mapping of the whole coast of Britain and was no doubt utilised by the early geographers, Marinus of Tyre and Claudius Ptolemy, whose map of the British Isles is the first reliable attempt at cartography. In this map Scotland is represented as bent fully round to the east, but, excepting this mistake, it is a wonderful production. Here, for the first time, we have the sharp corner of the North-East of Scotland and the Moray Firth depicted on paper, and we thus know for certain that in the first century of the Christian era, Roman eyes saw the steep cliffs of Slains and Pennan, the bay of Peterhead, Mormond Hill and the Buchan plain.

Buchan and Aberdeenshire in general is called by Ptolemy, *Taexalon*, and *Ratray Head* (some say *Kinnaird Head*) is called the promontory of the *Taexali*, a tribe or clan of the Caledonians. In view of the description given of the Caledonians by Tacitus and of the fact that Agricola fought the tribes holding Scotland north of the Mounth, we must consider it probable that Ancient Buchan contributed its share of fighting men who under Calgacus withstood so gallantly the advance of the Roman legions. Tacitus described the Caledonians as being somewhat similar in appearance to the Germans, but that they had, or many of them had, red hair. "*Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, germanicam originem asseverant,*" he wrote, and it is a curious circumstance that a distinct excess (above the average for Scotland) of this class of the population, is confined to-day to the extreme North of Scotland, to Aberdeenshire and particularly to Buchan itself. Red hair as a character in mankind is transmitted from generation to generation, through father to son, and through mother to daughter, with great intensity, and we cannot doubt that there are elements in the Buchan population of to-day distinctly traceable to the historic opponents of Agricola.

We learn very little from Ptolemy about the interior of the North-East. Two rivers, north and south of Buchan, bear names similar to that given by the geographer, namely *Tava*, the *Tay*; and *Loxa*, the *Lossie*. The chief town of

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the Taexali of Ptolemy was called Devana, which is, accurately we think, identified with the remains of a native town close to Loch Davan on Deeside. There is no clear evidence that the Romans ever penetrated north of the Mounth or ever reached Buchan by a march along the coast, and, therefore, further than the bare mention of Taexalon (Buchan, etc.), we learn nothing of our district from Ptolemy's map or from the long Roman occupation of Scotland. This occupation converted southern Scotland into a field of struggle, prolonged and severe, between the Picts and Scots and other warlike tribes on the one hand and the Roman army of occupation on the other. The great struggle terminated about 410 A.D., when the Romans finally evacuated Britain.

During the Roman occupation of Britain, Christianity was introduced. It no doubt spread from the Roman province into the country of the Barbarians (the term applied by the Romans to those independent tribes beyond the wall) soon after the Roman evacuation. We have no evidence, however, that the early Christians living during the later period of the Roman occupation, or their successors in the south of Scotland, ever attempted to spread the faith in the North. But we have, fortunately, reliable evidence as to how Christianity was brought to the North of Scotland. As is now well known, Buchan has the honour of having had written within its borders (during the ninth century) one of the oldest Scottish books, the "Book of Deer," which contains the account of the landing of Columcille (St. Columba) and Drostan from Iona about 580. Columba crossed from Ireland to Iona in 563, and from thence conducted his missions.

The first mention in history, therefore, of Buchan as "Buchan" occurs during the eleventh century, and refers to the journey and mission of St. Columba—events which had taken place in the North-East about five centuries before. In the "Book of Deer" just referred to and which is the subject of the next chapter, we learn who ruled the district towards the close of the sixth century. The name of the first Buchan man in history is Bede—Bede Cruithneth (or the Pict), Mormaer of Buchan about 580. We have to glean from other sources¹ to what king, if any, Bede owed allegiance and to what kingdom Buchan then belonged. Roman historians² tell us that towards the close of the Roman

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, a tenth century history, and other ancient works.

² Appian. (Skene, vol. i. pp. 96-97.)

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occupation (364 A.D.) southern Scotland (the Roman province) was ravaged by Picts, Scots and Saxons. When we next hear of these Celtic and Teutonic races, they are found to be occupying different regions of Scotland. The kingdom of the Scots lay in Argyll, the Isles and the North of Ireland. The Britons of Strathclyde held practically the whole of southern Scotland. The Southern Picts occupied the tract of country south of the Grampians, east of Argyle and north of the Forth. The whole of Scotland north of the Mounth was occupied by the Northern Picts, and when Bede was Mormaer of Buchan, Brude was King of the Northern Picts with his seat at Inverness. Later, about 731, the seat of government was transferred to Scone, and in 844 Kenneth Mac Alpin, King of the Dalriadic Scots, entered their kingdom and, conquering his adversary, changed the dynastic succession in Pictavia. By 900 the kingdom which included Buchan had ceased to be called Cruithintuath (Pictavia), for Donald, son of Constantin (889-900), is not styled King of the Picts but King of Alban or Alba. Alban, however, was a smaller kingdom than Pictavia. It was bounded on the west by the Spey and included the modern counties of Perth, Forfar and Fife and the North-East. Not long after the battle of Brunanburgh (which took place in 937 and resulted in the defeat of the Scots, Strathclyde Britons and Danes from Ireland, by Aetholstan, King of the West Saxons, who had seized Northumbria), an event took place in Buchan which indicates that, in common with the rest of the country, it was at this time subject to incursions of foreign piratical adventurers. We learn from the Pictish Chronicle that in 954 Maelcolam (Malcolm), son of Donald, was slain by the men of Moerne (the Mearns) at Fodresach (Fetteresso), and was succeeded by Indulph (son of Constantin, Malcolm's predecessor), who ruled for eight years. One of the events recorded as happening during his reign is that of a descent made on Buchan by a fleet of Norwegian pirates. It is supposed¹ that this fleet was under the command of the sons of King Eric Bloody Axe. Eric, in 948, had been selected by Northumbrians as their King, but in 954 he was expelled. The saga says that "King Eric had many people about him, for he kept many Northmen who had come with him from the east and also many of his friends had joined him from Norway. But as he had little land he went on a cruise every summer, and

¹ Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. i. p. 366.

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plundered in Shetland, the Sudreys and Bretland, by which he gathered property." After his death his sons stayed in Orkney during the winter, and in summer they "went on viking cruises and plundered Scotland and Ireland."

The Pictish Chronicle records that this particular expedition of the Sumarlidi or "Summer Wanderers" to Buchan met with disaster, for "they made a descent upon Buchan and were there cut off." This laconic account leaves us in no doubt that Buchan successfully resisted the attempt to plunder its property, but we are left entirely ignorant as to the method employed in effecting so laudable a result. Since Indulph reigned from 954 to 962, this piratical expedition to Buchan must have occurred in the summer of one of these eight years—the actual year we cannot tell. If the clerics at the Monastery of Deer, who doubtless knew of this incursion, had not confined themselves to mere recording of their dealings with property in their "Book" we now know so well, we might have learned all that was worth knowing about life in Buchan in those troublous times.

About fifty years later, two entries were made in their "Book," of importance to the Monastery and of much interest to us. The entries are as follows:—"Malcolm, son of Kenneth gave the King's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard" and "Malcolm, son of Maelbrigte gave the Delerc.¹ Malsnecte, son of Luloeg gave Pett Malduib to Drostan." We know from other sources that Malcolm mac Kenneth was the successor of Constantin, grandson of Indulph, and reigned from 1005 to 1034. This King had a notable career and, once at least during his reign, had to repel the foreign invaders from Buchan in defence of his kingdom. His career may be briefly sketched in order to see what bearing the invasion of Buchan had to the other events in his reign. Early in his reign he was defeated in the north of England in a great battle against Uchtred, son of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria (1006). His Northern opponent was Sigurd, Norwegian Earl of Orkney, but, by marrying Malcolm's daughter, Sigurd seems to have made an alliance with Malcolm. The Danes, however, invaded his kingdom in great force under Cnut (Canute), afterwards the famous and powerful King of Scandinavia, Denmark and England. The Danes landed at Cruden, and here a great battle took place—the first local battle of which we have any record. The battle of Cruden was fought in 1012 between the Scoto-Picts under

¹ See genealogical table showing the Celtic dynasties, 1000 to 1100, p. 131.

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Malcolm mac Kenneth and the Danes under the young Cnut. The battle took place on the south side of the Water of Cruden on a level plain near the sea, locally known as the "Battle Fauld." Numerous relics and warlike implements have from time to time been found in the vicinity, indicating that the "Fauld" had been the scene of a great contest. Large numbers of skulls have also been frequently found in the "Fauld," the last occasion being when a trench was being excavated, in 1894, in connection with the new water supply for the village of Port Erroll. The battle was a fierce and prolonged one, in which Malcolm prevailed, for we are told the Danes were defeated with great slaughter. Another battle appears to have been fought a year or two before at Gamrie, so that during the earlier part of Malcolm's reign, Buchan was the scene of an almost constant conflict with the invading Northern hosts.

Over brine, over faem,
Thorough flood, thorough flame,
The ravenous hordes of the Norsemen came
To ravage our Fatherland.¹

Two years after the battle of Cruden, the great battle of Clontarf took place, which ended in the complete defeat of the Danes. We find assistance being rendered to Brian Boroihme, King of Ireland, by Domnall (Donald) Mormaer of Marr, while the Scandinavians were assisted by their brethren from Northumbria, Orkney, Caithness, Argyle, Wales and the Isles. Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, Donald, Mormaer of Marr, and Brian Boro himself were killed in this great battle. Malcolm secured the Norwegian province of Scotland in the North, excepting Orkney, on the death of Sigurd, by the bestowal of the title (during the latter's lifetime) of Earl of Caithness and Sutherland upon his grandson, Thorfinn, a boy of five years of age, son of Sigurd. With the aid of allies Malcolm invaded Northumbria in 1018, and established the present boundary of Scotland at the decisive battle of Carham, when the Lothians were added to his kingdom, now no longer called Alban, but Scotia.

Malcolm mac Kenneth, King of Scotia, died in 1034, and was succeeded by his grandson, Duncan. The position of Malcolm mac Maelbrigdi, who was contemporary with Malcolm, King of Scotia, is a little difficult to understand. It is he who grants the Delerc to the Monastery of Deer. Tighernach styles

¹ Sir William Geddes: "The Old Church of Gameraie," *Banffshire Journal*, 26 August 1856.

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him Ri Alban, a title evidently carried by the Mormaers of Moray, who appear to have been sub-kings, sometimes subject to Norwegian influence, and at other times to Scots influence, or reigning independently. We learn that Ruaidhri, Mormaer of Moray, had two sons, Finlaec (Ri or King of Alban, in the Ulster Annals), and Maelbrigdi. Finlaec's son, Macbeth, slew Duncan about 1040, and succeeded to the kingship of Scotia. Malcolm mac Maelbride, Maelbrigdi's son, slew his uncle Finlaec, is also styled by Tighernach, Ri Alban, King of Alban, and is recorded by him as having died in 1029. Lulach, who reigned for a few months (1057-1058) as King of Scotia, and who was slain at Essie, in West Aberdeenshire, was the son of Gilcomgan, Mormaer of Moray. Malsnecte, who granted "Pett Malduib to Drostan" (Book of Deer) had therefore regal standing. The Saxon Chronicle states that Malcolm (Caenmor), son of Duncan, in 1077 overthrew Maolsnechtan, son of Lulach, Mormaer of Moray. Maolsnechtan, although defeated, was not slain in 1077, for the Irish Annals state that in 1085, "Malsnectai, son of Lulach, King of Moray, died peacefully." Three years before the death of Lulach, Siward, Earl of Northumbria, invaded Scotland, and put Malcolm Caenmor, son of Duncan, in possession of Cumbria. Macbeth, however, with the support of Thorfinn of Orkney (now grown to manhood), held Scotia until 1056, when Malcolm, with the assistance of an Anglo-Saxon army, drove Macbeth northwards. On the 5th December, 1056, Macbeth's army was overtaken at Lumphanan, in West Aberdeenshire, and utterly defeated, Macbeth being among the slain. Lulach's brief reign followed, and, at Lulach's death, Malcolm obtained possession of Scotland, excepting Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray and Buchan, the territories of Thorfinn.

On the death of Thorfinn, in 1064, the Norwegian kingdom of Scotland fell to pieces, and the provinces just mentioned reverted to their native chiefs, "who were territorially born to rule over them."¹ Buchan was therefore under Norwegian rule, at least during the period 1056-1064. Malcolm Caenmor married Thorfinn's widow, but the marriage did not advance his interests in the North. The Mormaers and other chiefs chose Donald, son of Malcolm mac Maelbrigdi, Mormaer of Moray, as Ri Alban. Donald seems to have ruled over Buchan and the North until his death, a violent one, according to the

¹ "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, p. 346.

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Irish Annals. Maolsnechtan succeeded Donald and, as already stated, he was overcome by Malcolm Caenmor, who now at last (1077) reigned from Caithness to the present Scottish border. Two events in Malcolm's life must further be mentioned, namely, (1) his second marriage, to Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the Saxon heir to the English throne; and (2) his Treaty of Peace with William the Conqueror when he consented to do homage to William for the lands he held in England, in accordance with the feudal custom of the Normans. This is the first appearance of the feudal system in Scotland. The words "Devenio vester homo" (I become your man), from the lips of Malcolm, mark the beginning of the new era and the beginning of the end of the old order of things. The great Mortuath, province, or sub-kingdom of Buchan, passes into, or is reduced by Norman influence to, an earldom. The old tribal customs and laws die out. The Tuath or Tribe becomes a Thanage; the Mormaer and the Toisech disappear from Buchan. Fifty years after Malcolm's death, the distinction between North and South, and between Pictish and Scottish kingdoms disappear. David I., "ane sair sanct," became, on the death of his brother in 1124, the first King of *Scotland*, and ruled from Caithness to Galloway and the Tweed. There is one solitary fact in history connecting David I. with Buchan. This is the final entry in the "Book of Deer," in Latin. The King declares the clerics to be free from the duties incumbent on laymen and from undue exaction "as it is written in their book, and as they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen."

With the disappearance of the Columban Monastery from history and the introduction of the feudal system of the Normans, we pass from the Celtic order of things in Buchan to the Anglo-Norman dominion. Buchan, at this period is, in our eyes, now no longer ancient, but medieval and feudal. We therefore close our introductory sketch and bring under the reader's notice, in the next chapter, the "Book of Deer" itself—that intensely interesting, fragmentary, but true and, as far as we know, only history existing, of Ancient Buchan.

CHAPTER II.

The Book of Deer.

IN 1860, Mr. Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, discovered in the library of that University a small manuscript volume of over eighty folios, in parchment, containing the whole of the Gospel of St. John, the first six chapters and part of the seventh chapter of St. Matthew, the first four chapters and part of the fifth chapter of St. Mark, and the first three chapters and part of the fourth chapter of St. Luke. The discovery was an important one. From internal evidence the volume proved to be one of the class known as the "Irish Gospels," corresponding, in the main, in the text to the Vulgate. Authorities, however, have noted that occasional readings from earlier Latin versions have been preserved. The volume is now known as "The Book of Deer." The value of the book does not depend on its being an early copy of a portion of the New Testament, for the text is a corrupt one and appears to have been very carelessly transcribed. Neither does its value lie in the other Latin entries. These are (1) a fragment of a service for the visitation of the sick; (2) the Apostles' Creed; and (3) a brief charter of David I. Its interest and value rather lie in the numerous entries in vernacular Gaelic—entries which bear on the gifts and immunities granted by the Mormaers of Buchan and Moray to Columcille and Drostan, the earliest missionaries of Buchan.

The discoverer of the volume, Mr. Bradshaw, after investigation, ascertained that it had lain in Cambridge Library since the year 1715. He found that, in 1697, it formed part of a collection of MSS. belonging to Dr. Moore, Bishop of Norwich, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely, and that, in 1715, George I. bought Moore's Library of 30,755 volumes—including of course the Book of Deer—and presented it to the University of Cambridge. Thus for the past two hundred years we know in whose custody and safe

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keeping the Book of Deer lay; but as to its whereabouts prior to 1697, or as to how it was so carefully preserved throughout all the centuries after it was written, we are entirely ignorant. In order, therefore, to determine when and by whom the book was written, we must examine the volume itself and judge from the internal evidence therein contained.

This was very carefully done by the late Dr. John Stuart. During the lifetime of the old Spalding Club the contents of the Book of Deer were thoroughly examined, and, in 1869, Dr. Stuart published the results of his investigation for the Spalding Club under the title of "The Book of Deer." The reader is referred to this publication for details as to the nature of the contents of this precious volume. Here we give merely a brief outline.

Dr. Stuart states that a comparison of the handwriting used in various early codices of the Gospels led Professor Westwood to conclude that the date of the writing of the Gospels in the Book of Deer—the Latin and main portion of the book—may be ascribed to the ninth century, a date which Dr. Stuart himself believed to be a likely one. There are of course later entries in Gaelic belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and one Latin entry (the charter of David I.) belonging to the twelfth century. The form of the letters is the debased Roman minuscule—a form common to the Irish and Anglo-Saxon schools and "not unlike the Bodleian Cædmon." The illuminations and figures which abound in the book are characteristically Celtic, and from the fact that marginal entries of grants occur throughout the book, there can be no doubt that the precious volume itself was the property of the Celtic monastery of Deer, founded—as we are informed in the Gaelic narrative—during the lifetime of St. Columba or Columcille. St. Columba lived in the sixth century (521-597), but from the matter itself (principally the legendary account of the founding of the colony) and for other reasons, authorities agree that the Gospels had been copied by a native scribe about three centuries after the death of the saint. The grants refer to periods extending over six hundred years, and the interval between the writing of the first and last entry (the last entry was made about 1153) was probably more than three hundred years.

We must regard the Book of Deer as the first known literary production of Buchan, for the district was known as Buchan then, as now, and the name also

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was spelt in the same way. The fanciful variations, Buthquhan, Bouwan, &c., belong to a later period. We have in this book a characteristic production of the middle ages. Monastic supremacy was then at its zenith; every monastery had its tutelar saint and every saint his legend. These legends are far from being worthless; on the contrary, while we cannot refer to them as storehouses of facts, they will always be interesting and valuable to us as pictures—and vivid pictures they are—of the mental atmosphere in which the narrators lived. Legends are now regarded more kindly and handled more scientifically than they were by the earlier historians. We do not now, as Gibbon did, speak of the sixty-six lives of St. Patrick containing as many thousand lies, just because, while striving to learn who St. Patrick was and what he did, we do not overlook what later generations believed and said about him, for the sayings themselves are historic facts and have in them both a meaning and a lesson.

The Gaelic narrative in the Book of Deer is quite brief, and for the memorial of a saint wonderfully sober. Here is the legend of St. Drostan as printed in the Spalding Club publication:—

“Columcille acusdrostán mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhlí marroalseg día doib goníc abbordobóir acusbéde cruthnec robomormær búchan aragínn acusessé rothídnaíg dóib ingathráig sáin insaere gobraith ómormaer acusóthóséc * tangator asááthle sen incathraig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sí iarfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormær *i *béde gondas tabrád dó acusníthárat acusrogab mac dó galár iarnéré nagleréc acusrobomareb act mádbec iarsén dochuíd inmör dattác naglerec góndendæs ernacde les inmac gondisád slánté dó acUSDórat inedbairt doib uácloic intiprat gonice chlóic pette mic garnáit doronsat innernacde acustanic slante dó; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadacc tangator deara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille rolaboir columcille bedeár áním óhúnn ímácé;

“Columcille and Drostan son of Cosgrach his pupil came from I as God had shown to them unto Abbordoboir and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and tosech. They came after that to the other town, and

Omnes igitur generationes ab ab
nacham usque ad aadam genera
tionis .xiii. Et a daino usque ad
trem migrationem babilonis ge
nerationis .xiii. Et ad aiam mig
rationem babilonis usque ad xpm
generationis .xiii. . . . 7

Hinc prologus . Item incipit ne
llian genitum pberidum mathiam . . . 7

Colicille 7 dno rai me cogitaz araltri
rangatoz ahi mannoalys dia doib go
nie abboroooz 7 bede curdmk nobomoz
migi bucan aiazim 7 hie nochimaz doib
igaziaz paim ipalhe zobnath omamaji
7 othoree rangatoz azaathle pen icathiaz
ele 7 donathu nicolucille p rampallan donat
de 7 donwoloz qumomaz 7 bede zondap
tabpat do nichanac 7 nozab me do galan
wunhie nazlhie nobomazeb acz madobe
wuph dochimio imoji dazac nazlhie zondidh

Portion of the Legend of St. Drostan
(from the *Book of Deer*).

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it was pleasing to Columcille, because it was full of God's grace, and he asked of the mormaer to wit Bede that he should give it to him ; and he did not give it ; and a son of his took an illness after [or in consequence of] refusing the clerics, and he was nearly dead [lit. he was dead but if it were a little]. After this the mormaer went to intreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son that health should come to him, and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in tiprat to Cloch pette mic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town and blessed it and left as (his) word 'Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared [or] victorious.' Drostan's tears (deara) came on parting with Columcille 'Said Columcille 'Let Dear be its name henceforward.'—"

On the opposite page a copy of the Gaelic original is given.

It is interesting to contrast this legend with the legend of the foundation of Derry. The following passage is taken from Skene's "Celtic Scotland" :— "Columcille then went to Daire, that is, to the royal fort of Aidh, son of Ainmin, who was King of Erin at that time. The King offered the fort to Columcille, but he refused it, because of Mobhi's command. On his coming out of the fort, however, he met two of Mobhi's people bringing him Mobhi's girdle, with his consent that Columcille should accept a grant of territory, Mobhi having died. Columcille settled in the fort and founded a Church."

The legend of St. Drostan had no doubt been regarded as historically accurate by the monks for several hundreds of years. The scribe who wrote the history appears to have had full confidence in its absolute veracity. A legend such as this would no doubt be fondly cherished by a simple-minded community. The writers of the marginal and other Gaelic entries were either by nature or by tradition precise, discreet, formal and brief. Had they been less formal and discreet, and tainted a little with our modern prolixity of expression, we might have got some insight into the real life of the monastery and of the district, which would have enabled us to conceive of the aristocrats and clerics of those bygone days as living persons with feelings and aspirations like ourselves, instead of having to think of them only as Buchan's historic dead. But we must not complain. Rather should Buchan people feel for ever grateful

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to the careful scribes who wrote, not for posterity but for their own security, and always admire the long chain of unknown custodiers of the parchment volume, whose correct instincts led them to preserve to history Buchan's first and most noted book, so that future generations can always tell the story of Columba and his disciple Drostan and how their successors believed Christianity was brought into the North-East.

The Book of Deer is not only full of interest to the historian, but it is also very valuable and, we may add, somewhat puzzling to the philologist. Names of places frequently occur in the entries which are now extremely difficult to identify with modern sites, although many attempts have been made to trace their origin and meaning. Such place names as Elan (Ellon), Banb (Banff), Abbordoboir (Aberdour), Turbruad (Turriff), and a few more are easily identified. Achad Madchor is believed to possess its modern equivalent in Auchmachar and Scali merlec in Skillymarno, but the best authorities agree in holding that most of the derivations given for such places mentioned in the grants as Dabaci, Durchari, Pet Ipuir, Gobrig, Achad tochetemni and many others are fanciful and unsound. At the end of this section a list is given of the authorities who have made a study of both the personal and place names mentioned in the grants, and who have otherwise made a study of the ancient volume. The following are the remaining Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer together with the translations as given by Dr. Stuart in the Spalding Club publication, "The Book of Deer"—

"Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath inlebrán colli·aratardda bendacht foranmain intruagáin rodscribai··"

"(Be it) on (the) conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour : that he give a blessing on (the) soul of the wretchcock who wrote it.

"Cómgeall mac éda dórat úaorti níce fúrené docolumcille acusdodrostán· Moridac mac morcunn dorat pett mic garnaít acusáchád toche temní· acusbahé robomormair acusrobothosec· Mataín mac caerill dorat cuit mormoir inálteri acusculíí mac batín dorat cuit toiség· Domnall mac giric acusmalbrigte mac chathail dorat pett inmulenn· dodrostán· Cathal mac morcunt dorat áhad

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naglrec dodrostan · Domnall mac ruádri acusmalcolum mac culeón doratsat bídbin dó dia acusdódrostan · Malcoloum mac cinathá dorat cúit riig íbbidbin acusinpett mic gobróig acusdádabég uactaír rósábard · Malcolum mac moilbrigte dorat indelerc · Málsnecte mac lulóig dorat pett maldúib dó drostan ; Domnall mac meic dubbacín robaíth nahúle edbarta rodrostan arthabárt áhule dó · Robaíth cathál árachóir chetna acuitid thoisig acusdorot próiní chét cecnollice acuseccasc dó dia acusdó drostan · Cainnéch mac meic dobarcon acuscathal doratsat alterín alla úthé na camone gonice in béith edarda álerin ; Dorat domnall acuscathál étdanin dó dia acusdó drostan · Robaíth cainnec acusdomnall acus cathál nahúle edbarta ri dia acusrí drostan othósach goderad issáere omor · acus othosech culaithi bratha ·

“Comgeall son of Ed gave from Orti to Furene to Columcille and to Drostan. Moridach son of Morcunn gave Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni ; and it was he that was mormaer and was tosech · Matáin son of Caerell gave the mormaer's share in Altere and Culi son of Baten gave (the) toisech's share · Domnall son of Girec and Maelbrigte son of Cathal, gave Pett in Mulenn to Drostan · Cathal son of Morcunt gave Achad naglèrech (“ the clerics' field ”) to Drostan. Domnall son of Ruadri and Maelcoluim son of Culéon, gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Maelcoluim son of Cinaed, gave (the) king's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard · Maelcoluim, son of Maelbrigte, gave the Delerc. Maelsnechte, son of Lúlóg, gave Pett Maelduib to Drostan · Domnall, son of Mac Dubbacin, immolated all the offering to Drostan, giving the whole of it to him · Cathal immolated in (the) same way his toisech's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan · Cainnech son of Mac Dobarcon (otter's son) gave Alterin alla bhethé (birch-cliff) na camone as far as the birch-tree between (the) two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan · Cainnech and Domnall and Cathal immolated all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning to end in freedom from mormaer and from toisech to (the) day of judgment.”

“Gartnait mac cannech acuséte ingengillemichel dóratsat petmeccóbrig ricosecrad éclasi críst acusetpír abstoil acusdocolumcille acusdodrostan sér ónáhulib dolodib cónánascad dócórmae éscob dunicallenn · inócmad bliádi ·

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rígi · dá Testibus istis · néctan · escop abberdeon · acusléot áb brécini acus-
máledouni mac mic bead · acusálgune mac árcill · acusrúadri mórmarr márr
acusmatadin brithem · acugillecrist mac córmaic · acusmalpetir mac domnaill ·
acusdomongart ferleginn turbrud · acugillecolaim mac muredig · acusdubni
mac mál colaim

“Dorat gartnait acusingengillemicel báll dómin ipet ipáir docrist acus-
docolimcilli acusdodrostan Teste · gillecalline sacart · acusferadac mac málbrícín ·
acus malgirc mac tralín

“Gartnait son of Cainnech and Ete daughter of Gille Michel gave Pet-
mec-Cobrig for (the) consecration of a Church of Christ and Peter (the) apostle
both to Columcille and to Drostan free from all the exactions (?) With the
gift (?) of them to Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld in the eighth year of David's
reign. *Testibus istis* Nectan Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot Abbot of Brechin,
and Maledoun son of Mac Be[th]ad, and Algune son of Arcell, and Ruadri
mormaer of Mar and Matadin (the Brehon) and Gille Christ son of Cormac,
and Mael-petir son of Domnall, and Domongart ferleginn (reader) of Turbrud
and Gillecolaim son of Muredach, and Dubni son of Maelcolaim ·

“Gartnait and the daughter of Gillemichel gave *Ball Domin* in Pet Ipur to
Christ and to Columcille and to Drostan.

“*Teste* Gillecalline, Priest, and Feradach son of Maelbhricin, and Mael-
girc son of Tralin.”

“ACUSBENNACT INCHOMDED ARCECMORMAR ACUSARCECTOSECH CHOMALLFAS
ACUSDANSIL DANEIS.

“AND THE LORD'S BLESSING ON EVERY MORMAER AND ON EVERY
TOISECH WHO SHALL FULFIL (THIS) AND TO THEIR SEED AFTER THEM.

“Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid dorat acchad madchór docrist
acusdodrostan acusdocholuimcille insóre gobrád malechí acuscómgell acus-
gillecrist mac fingúni innáienasi intestes · acus malcoluim mac molíní · Cormac
mac cennedig dorat goñige scáli merlec · Comgell mac cáennaig táesec clande
canan dórat docrist acusdódrostán acusdócholuim cille gonige ingort lie mór

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igginn infius isnesu daldín alenn ódubúci gólurcháirí etarsliab acusachad · issaeri othesseach cubráth acusabennacht arcachhén chomallfas araer cubrath acus-amallact arcachén ticfa ris ;

“Donchad son of Mac Bethad son of Ided gave Achad Madchor to Christ and to Drostán and to Columcille in freedom for ever : Malechi and Comgell and Gille-Christ son of Fingune in witness whereof in testimony, and Mael-coluim son of Moline · Cormac son of Cennedig gave as far as Scale Merlech · Comgell son of Caennech, chief of Clan Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostán and to Columcille as far as the Gort-lie-Mór at (the) hither (?) End which is nearest to Aldin Alenn from Dobaci to Lurchari both mountain and field in freedom from chief for ever ; and his blessing on every one who shall fulfil (this) and his curse on every one who shall go against it.

“Robaid colbain mormær buchan acuseua ingen gartnait abenphústa acusdonnachac mac sithig tæsech clenni morgainn nahuli edbarta rí dia acusridrostán acus riacolumcilli acusrípetar apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri dabach do nithíssad armandaidib alban cucotchenn acusarhardchellaib · Testibus his brocein acusormac abb turbruid acusmorgunn mac donnchid acugilli petair mac donnchaid acusmalæchín acusda mac matni acusmathe buchan huli naiaidnaisse in helaín ;

“Colbain mormaer of Buchan, and Eva daughter of Garnait, his wedded wife, and Donnachae, son of Sithech, chief of Clann Morgainn, immolated all the offerings to God and to Drostán and to Columcille and to Peter the apostle from all the burthens for a share of four davochs of what would come on the chief residences of Scotland generally and on chief churches, *Testibus his* Broccín and Cormac Abbot of Turbrúaid and Morgunn, son of Donchad, and Gille-Petair son of Donnchad, and Malaechin, and Matne's two sons, and (the) nobles of Buchan, all in witness hereof in Elan.”

The following is the brief charter of David I. in Latin—

“Dauid · rex scottorum omnibus probis hominibus suis · salutis ·

“Sciatis quod clerici · dedér · sunt quieti et immunes ab omni laicorum officio · et exactione indebita sicut in libro eorum scriptum est · et dicitur · rationauerunt apud · bánb · etiurauerunt apud abberdeon · quapropter firmiter precipio ·

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utnullus eis · aut eorum catellis · aliquam iniuriam inferre presumat · Teste ·
gregorio episcopo · deduncallden · Teste · andrea episcopo · decat' · Teste ·
samsone episcopo · debrechin · Teste · doncado comite · defib · etmalmori ·
dathótlá · etggillebrite · comite · déngus · etghillcomded · mac æd · etbrocin ·
etcormac · deturbrud · etadam · mac · ferdomnac · etgillendrias · mac · mátni ·
apud · abberdeon ·

“David King of Scots. To all his loyal subjects, Greetings.

“Know ye that the clerics of Deer are free and immune from all the duties incumbent upon laymen and from undue exaction as it is written in their book and as they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen. Wherefore I straitly [or strongly] enjoin that no one shall dare to inflict any injury upon them or upon their cattle [or bestial]. *Teste* Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld. *Teste* Andrew, Bishop of Caithness. *Teste* Samson, Bishop of Brechin. *Teste* Duncan, Earl of Fife, and Malmore of Athole and Gillebrite, Earl of Angus, and Gillecomded, son of Aed, and Brocin and Cormac of Turbrud [Turriff] and Adam, son of Ferdomnac, and Gillendrias, son of Mátni. At Aberdeen”

CHAPTER III.

The Early Church in Buchan.

WE learn from Bede, whose writings belong to the seventh century, that a Christian missionary named Ninian, a bishop of the nation of the Britons, imbued with the doctrine of the Church at Rome, built a church at "Candida Casa" or Whitherne (the Leukopibia of Ptolemy) in Galloway. Bede refers to Whitherne as "locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens" thus implying that the shores of the Solway Firth were held at this time by the Saxon Northumbrians. But we further learn from Bede that the mission of Ninian was the conversion of the Pictish nation, and that he succeeded in inducing the Southern Picts to abandon their idolatrous worship. It has been shown by Skene¹ that Ninian probably commenced his mission about 397 (that is before the final Roman evacuation) and, from Bede's² own language, it is clear the mission was confined to the Picts south of the Mounth. Ninian's Church was monastic and was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. During the lifetime of Martin, Ninian went to Rome and on his return visited the saint of Tours, obtaining from him masons for the purpose of building a monastery "after the Roman manner." This monastery, known as "Magnum Monasterium" and variously called "Candida Casa," "Alba," "Futerna," Whitherne and the monastery of Rosnat, became a great centre of instruction, both secular and religious. It appears, however, that the Southern Picts lapsed from the faith, for we find them called, at a later time, apostate. It was through the activity of Finnian of Cluain-Eraird (Clonard) in Meath, who derived his inspiration from the monastic church of Wales, that Scotland was destined to receive and to accept a teacher whose work became permanent and historic. Finnian founded the monastery of Clonard, and, by means of twelve of his principal disciples (called the twelve Apostles of Ireland) spread Christianity throughout Ireland and Scotland. The ablest of Finnian's twelve

¹ Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. ii. page 3.

² Bede, Hist. Eccles. Gen. Ang., book iii.

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disciples was Columcille or Columba. He became the most famous and successful of the little band of missionaries, and made a deep and lasting impression on the character of the early church in Scotland. Columba was born in 521, founded the monastery of Derry and many others in Ireland during the course of his active life, and crossed over to Iona, founding the monastery there in 560. These early monasteries must not be confounded as to their structure with those later and more permanent stone structures which were characteristic of medieval times. The early Scottish monasteries, like the Irish, were Christian colonies, but they were also colonies specially adapted to the social system of the time. The converts, under the title of monks, were brought under a softening influence which had a profound effect upon the tribe, in those days when every man had to protect his life and property as best he could, and violence in every form prevailed. We gather from the life of Columba that the primitive monastery was made up of a group of wooden huts or bothies (*botha*) and a wooden church (*ecclais*) the usual name of which in Irish was *Duirthech*. The wooden buildings were frequently burned by the Danes during the ninth century. When reconstructed, we find them now being built of stone with a *cloicteach* or belfry attached. The refectory or common hall was termed the *Proinntigh* and had in connection with it the kitchen (*Coitcheann*) and frequently a mill (*Muilinn*) and stone kiln for drying the corn. The abbot's house and the *Tighaoid-headh* or house for receiving guests, was a little apart from the wooden bothies or common cells of the monks, and the whole village, for village it really was, was surrounded by a rath of earth faced with stone which formed a protecting wall for the monastery. The social system of the Picts and Scots was tribal, and on the introduction of Christianity each tribe had its colony of Christians within the walls of the monasterium or monastery just described. This Christian centre within the tribe was not only a place of learning and piety, but it was also a place of refuge for fugitives, who were protected by the Christian community, and received the privilege of sanctuary. This privilege did not always protect the refugee. For example, we are told that the sanctuary of Ruadhan (one of the twelve disciples of Finnian, and therefore contemporary with Columba) was violated by King Diarmid, who carried off the refugee to his palace of Tara, and refused to give him up. Thereupon Ruadhan and his colleague rang their bells, cursed the king, and

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prayed to God that "no king or queen ever after, should or could dwell at Tara," and

From the judgment of Ruadhan on his house,
There was no king at Tara.

The privilege of sanctuary and the belief that its violation brought ruin on the evil doer are here vividly brought before us.

The law of the succession to the headship of the monastery (given us in the Brehon Laws), shows how closely tied up each monastery was to the tribe in whose territory the monastery was situated. Two groups were recognised, the tribe of the Saint and the tribe of the land. The Laws state that "the tribe of the Saint shall succeed in the Church, as long as there shall be a person fit to be an abbot (*Damna apaidh*, or *materies* of an abbot), of the tribe of the Saint. Even if there should be but a psalm-singer of these, it is he that will obtain the abbacy. Where this is not the case, it is to be given to the tribe of the land, until a person fit to be an abbot, of the tribe of the Saint shall be found" The *Fine Manach*, or the tribe of the monks had the next right, then followed successively the "*Annoit*" (or parent church, which contained the relics of the saint), the affiliated church, the church in the same primitive area, and finally a *Deoruid De* or Anchorite, who lived secluded from his brethren in a stone cell.

The early church must be regarded more as a confederation rather than a single body subject to rule from one source. Skene¹ says that "In estimating the character of the Columban Church, it has hitherto been too much regarded from a narrow point of view, and its characteristics examined as if it stood alone—an isolated Church founded by Columba and not connected with any other. In addition to this, it has been made the subject of controversy between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, and their historians have regarded it through the medium of their own ecclesiastical prepossessions, and claimed it as possessing the essential characteristic of their own church. It must be viewed, however, as in reality a mission from the Irish Church, and as forming an integral part of that church, with which it never lost its connection. We ought not therefore to expect to find that, in character, it materially differed from that church, and we must interpret the indications afforded to us of the peculiarities of the Columban Church, if we are rightly to

¹ Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. ii. page 93.

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estimate their nature, by the known institutions of the parent Church of Ireland, of which it was an offshoot. We shall find accordingly that in every respect it resembled the Irish Church of this period. Like that church, it was essentially a monastic church, and also like it we find in it neither a territorial episcopacy nor anything like presbyterian parity, but the same anomalous position of the episcopal order. The bishops were under the monastic rule, and as such were in respect of jurisdiction, subject to the abbot, even though a presbyter, as the head of the monastery ; but the episcopal orders were fully recognised as constituting a grade superior to that of the presbyters, and the functions which, by the general law of the church, were the exclusive privilege of the episcopate were not interfered with. Thus while Bede, on the one hand, tells us that the monastery founded by Columba in Iona was wont to have always at its head a presbyter-abbot, to whose jurisdiction the whole and even the bishops themselves were by an unusual arrangement subjected, Adamnan, on the other hand, records two instances of the exercise of episcopal functions, in which they are plainly recognised as the exclusive privilege of a superior ecclesiastical grade."

The magnificent work which Columba accomplished in Scotland placed him in a position of great influence and authority, and we may justly regard him as the Apostle of Scotland. The monasteries which he founded within the territories of both the Picts and the Scots exercised a powerful and a civilising influence among the various tribes, which can hardly now be estimated.

The dominion of the purely Columban Church in the North-East came to an end in 717, when Nectan, King of the Northern Picts, expelled the Columban monks because of their refusal to observe Easter in the manner and at the time prescribed by him as correct. The controversy regarding Easter caused a great schism among the monks at Iona, and for some time there appear to have been two abbots each with a considerable following. The Columban Church in Northumbria lasted only thirty years and died out from the same cause. We learn from Bede that " Adamnan, priest and abbot of the monks that were in the Island of Hii, while on a visit to the King of the Angles, was earnestly admonished by many who were more learned than himself not to presume to live contrary to the universal custom of the church in

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relation to the observance of Easter." It was after the death of Adamnan at Iona that the great schism took place, but it appears that the whole of the Columban monasteries among the Northern Picts stoutly resisted the change, hence their expulsion by Nectan. Bede, in narrating events which occurred during his own life, informs us that, in the year 710, "Naitan (Nectan), King of the Picts who inhabit the Northern parts of Britain, taught by frequent study of ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error by which he and his nation had till then held in relation to the observance of Easter." From this and other information supplied by Bede, it is clear that Nectan's conformation to the proper mode of observance was due to Anglian influence. Two monasteries in Buchan no doubt had been affected by Nectan's decree, namely, the monasteries of Deer and Turriff. How far they were affected we can only surmise. We learn from the Book of Deer that there was a monastery at Turriff, and since it has always been associated with the name of St. Congan, one of Columba's disciples, we conclude it was either founded by Congan himself or by some other monk at his death, and that it was in existence at the time of the great schism. From the entries in the Book of Deer and from other sources, one fact seems clear. This was that the burdens and exactions which applied to land included the church lands as well. Thus, until the reign of Girig, a King of the Picts, of Scottish blood (878-889), monasteries were compelled to assist in the construction of bridges and castles, to perform menial work generally and to contribute victuals and hospitality when called upon to do so. The Pictish Chronicle states that King Girig "first gave liberty to the Scottish Church, which had been until now under servitude, according to the law and custom of the Picts." This servitude apparently also existed among the Angles, for Boniface of Mentz, writing to Cudberht in Canterbury (both were archbishops), states that the enforced servitude of the monks "is not heard of in the whole Christian world save only among the nation of the Angles."

A knowledge of the equal treatment measured out to the monks, the only educated people of the time, and to the common people of the tribe, enables us to grasp the meaning of some of the entries in the Book of Deer. Freedom from the claims of the *mormaer* and *toisech* is conferred on certain grants by Domnall and Cainnech, *mormaers*, and by Cathal, the *toisech*. Freedom

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from burdens on land, gifted to the monastery, also appear to have been frequently given.

About Girig's time, the form of canonical life which was afterwards exhibited by the Culdees (Keledei) appears to have been established in Scotland. One Culdee monastery was established at Monymusk, but no such institution appears to have existed in Buchan.

The old tribal Celtic Church suffered very severely from the Danish invasions, and the clergy had to submit to the spoliation of their lands, as well as the ruin of their monasteries. Their lands fell frequently into the hands of laymen, who seized and occupied the chief clerical offices—indeed these offices became hereditary among the laymen who had possessed themselves of the land. The new policy adopted during Margaret's time, of establishing the territorial in place of the old tribal idea of jurisdiction, and of substituting for the old episcopacy under monastic jurisdiction a diocesan episcopacy and a parochial system, hastened the end of the Church of the Picts and Scots. The policy was now, henceforth, to assimilate the native church as far as possible to that of Rome, and to establish monastic orders of that church, which should form centres of influence for the spread of the new system. By 1245, for instance, the Keledei of Monymusk had entirely disappeared, and we have in their stead, the prior and convent of Munimusc, of the order of Saint Augustine. Before this date, the Celtic monastery at Deer must have been closed, never again to be opened, for we learn that William, the first earl of Buchan, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Deer in 1219,¹ and no doubt this was one of the many acts of assimilation of the old church, which began centuries before, and which ended in the entire country being divided into bishoprics, from the extreme north to the ancient "Candida Casa," now within the Bishopric of Galloway.

¹ See section iv. chapter ii., upon the Cistercian Abbey of Deer.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gaelic Place Names of Buchan.

THE name Buchan means, according to some authorities, a bend or curve, and it is very appropriate for the north-east part of Aberdeenshire lying between the Moray Firth and the North Sea. For the purpose of this paper, Buchan is restricted to the parishes of Aberdour, Tyrie, Pitsligo, Fraserburgh, Rathen, Lonmay, Crimond, St. Fergus, Peterhead, Longside, Deer, Strichen, and New Deer.

The names of places within this district are found to be either of Gaelic or of Scotch and English origin. No indication has been found of either a pre-Celtic Iberian language or of a foreign Teutonic population on the sea coast. To the very edge of the sea Gaelic was spoken in early times. Such names as Dundarg, Hole an Dirkie, Kinnaird's Head, Strathbeg, Lonmay, and Boddam show that the original shore population was of the same speech as the inhabitants of the inland district.

With regard to Pictish words, said by some etymologists to be found mixed up with Gaelic names, the writer has found none such, and he does not believe that there ever was a distinct Pictish language, or that there was a separate nation, tribe, or people called Picts.

When Caesar invaded Britain, 55 B.C., his landing was opposed by the men of Kent, who had coloured their bodies blue or green to strike terror into the invaders. About twenty-eight years later Britain was again invaded by the Emperor Augustus, apparently for the sake of getting a magnificent triumphal procession in Rome to grace the commencement of his reign. From Virgil (Georg. iii. 24) we see that in the procession naked captive Britons in their war paint carried embroidered or painted sheets representing themselves fighting against their Roman invaders. After the procession most of the captives and the scenery were given to the theatres to familiarise the citizens with the

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exploits of their new emperor. [See "Archaeologia," xliv. 65-92.] By these means the Roman people had become well acquainted with the striking appearance of the Britons, and had come to style them the Picti or Painted People. The first Picti whom the Romans saw were the inhabitants of the south of England. After becoming subject to the Romans they had been compelled to desist from painting their bodies, and the term Picti had been transferred to the nearest defiant Britons on the north. After the Roman wall was built, there had remained no Picti on the south side of it, and the term had become applicable only to the inhabitants of the north of England and the south of Scotland still defying the Roman power.

The term Picti, however, is not used by the early Roman writers, although it might have been by some of the lost historians. It first appears in Ammianus, a historian who flourished about 380 A.D. Writing about what had happened twenty years before, he says that the Picts and Scots repeatedly made incursions into the Roman province, and like incursions continue to be mentioned by other writers down to 400 A.D., when the Roman record ceases. By these late writers the Picts and Scots are always mentioned together, and they are spoken of as if the Picts were the unconquered Britons immediately north of the wall, and the Scots those who lived farther north and had not adopted the custom of colouring their skins. Woad, the plant which yields the colouring material used by the English, does not grow in Scotland, and Tacitus, who must have heard from his father-in-law, Agricola, of the Scots, does not say that those living near the northern wall painted themselves. This distinction would have led the Romans to regard the Scots as a different people from the Picts, though they were of the same race and spoke the same language—that which was spoken all over Great Britain and Ireland. Though now extinct in England and the south of Scotland, it still lives in Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic.

All is darkness regarding the Picts from 400 to 560, when Gildas composed his account of the downfall of the Roman power in Britain; but neither he nor any subsequent writer has cast more light upon them than we had from the Romans. In the twelfth century Henry Huntingdon, a well-informed and trustworthy authority, says that before his time the Picts and their language had passed into so deep oblivion that any one who asserted that they were mentioned in our early writers would not have been believed.

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Though the great majority of the Buchan names are of Gaelic origin, there is hardly one which has retained its original form exactly. Many, however, can still be made out with little difficulty by a person having a knowledge of Gaelic and the help of a Gaelic dictionary. But a large number of the names had been so much changed when Gaelic was giving way before Scotch and English that they now bear no resemblance to their original Gaelic form. Who would suppose that the first part of the name Kitchenhill was originally *cuithail* meaning pumphal; or that the first half of Ladysford was *leathan*, broad? A few of the most frequent causes of variation from the original may be mentioned for the benefit of amateur etymologists.

When a Gaelic-speaking man married an English-speaking woman, their children would have acquired their mother's tongue and used it for all ordinary purposes. The names of the hills and rivers they could have learned correctly only from their father, but unless they had learned them in infancy they would not have been able to pronounce them properly, and, not knowing their meaning, they would have been apt to change a Gaelic word into a similar Scotch or English word for the sake of getting a name with an intelligible meaning. Formerly small streams were often crossed by stepping stones, the Gaelic term for which is *clacharan*. When a bridge took the place of the stepping stones it was called Clattering Brig. There are several places of this name in Buchan.

There are eighteen letters in the Gaelic alphabet, and half of these—b, c, d, f, g, m, s, t—are liable to have their sound modified and softened by what is called aspiration, that is by the addition to them of the letter h. After aspiration two letters may have nearly the same sound though they were unlike before. B and m have little resemblance in sound, but bh and mh are both sounded v in Gaelic and are liable to be interchanged. The Buchan burn name Marno ought to begin with b, and no doubt it once did. Dh and gh are both pronounced ye. Fodh and fogh are both made foye, and the one is apt to be written when it should be the other.

All aspirated letters are liable to be interchanged. The Gaelic word *allachan*, a burn, became Allathan in passing into Scotch. In Aberdeenshire some people call the fifth day of the week Thursday; others call it Feersday. Some say milk is white; others say it is fite. There is neither w nor q in the

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Gaelic alphabet, and as ch in Gaelic has often become quh, or wh which becomes f, the roots of all Buchan names beginning with quh or wh and many beginning with f must be sought in a dictionary under the letter c.

An at the end of a Gaelic word may indicate that it is plural, or it may convert a noun into its diminutive. In the former case it is often turned into s, the English plural sign. Druman is the plural of druum, a long hill, and it becomes Drums in a Scotch name. Sometimes, as in Flobbans, the an remains although s is added, making it doubly plural. An, when the diminutive termination, is translated into y or ie, the Scotch diminutive sign, as in dunan, a small hill, the diminutive of dun, a hill. It may become Dunny or Downie. Dundee is Dunie, little hill, with d inserted after n and ee instead of ie. In Backies, which is the Scotch form of bacan, the diminutive of bac, a moss, s had been added in the mistaken belief that it was a plural word, and afterwards an had been translated into ie. It is always safe to cut off s from a word ending in ies, and very often when a Scotch name ends in ns the s had been added in the belief that the n indicated that it was plural. If so it will not appear in the root.

S is the source of trouble in another way. In a compound word made up of two nouns, the first of which qualifies the second, it is in the possessive, but s is not added. We do not add s to lime in limekiln though it is in the possessive; but a man who knows Gaelic better than English may call it a lime's kiln. This leads to the insertion of s in the middle of many words, as in Allanshill for Allanhill, Slater's ford for Slateford, Bainshole for Bainhole.

Before the Reformation in 1560 the Bible had been translated into Irish though not into Scotch Gaelic. The two languages are so like that the Irish Bible was used for some time in the Highlands of Scotland till a translation into Gaelic was made. Then Gaelic dictionaries giving the meaning of words in the Bible were compiled, but many words in the common speech were not required in translating the Bible and were not entered in the dictionaries. Some of these have been since inserted in newer works, but there are still some additions to be made.

Some of the Buchan names are probably two or three thousand years old, but as the country had been sparsely peopled before cultivation of the ground

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began only the most prominent features of the country had received names at first. The coast names must be the oldest.

Only the drier parts of the land had been cultivated at first, the rest serving as pasture. In early times the cultivated land was let in large farms to several tenants, jointly, under leases of short duration. They were bound to work the land harmoniously and to provide common herds to look after the cattle at pasture. The cattle were pastured on the uncultivated ground round the farm, and penned at mid-day and at night in large folds called pumphals, where they had to be watched to prevent them from breaking out and destroying growing corn. Several of these folds are commemorated among the Buchan names. Often a proprietor had uncultivated land on hills and moors, far away from his arable farms, and his tenants were allowed to send their cattle to it under the care of herds. Women with their children and female servants went to these hill pastures in summer to milk cows and make butter and cheese. In some places they lived in black sod huts, which had to be repaired every year. Where long stones could be found to form roofs, underground houses were constructed. These were more durable, and some of them are still in existence. The Ordnance Survey six-inch maps show that stone balls have been found near the sites of underground houses. These had been attached to the ends of long ropes and had been used in catching domestic animals when it was necessary to get hold of them. Large stone whorls found near the houses show that the women had occupied their spare time in weaving with a simple upright loom. Down to historical times the rural population of Scotland had only one article of clothing—a large home-woven woollen plaid fastened at the breast with a brooch. Shirts and shifts did not come into use till a more recent period. It is said that the Wolf of Badenoch caused great excitement by endeavouring to force women doing bondage work at his harvest to lay aside the plaids, which hindered their work. Probably the men had thrown off theirs as a matter of choice and convenience. The summer pastures were called shielings and the huts of the women were called shiels. Many names in Buchan refer to this branch of farming in Scotland in olden times.

To maintain law and order in the country the sovereign usually erected the lands conferred upon a proprietor into a barony, of which he was constituted

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lord baron. He held courts of justice at stated times and places where, either personally or by deputy, with the help of a jury of tenants he settled disputes among the people on his land. An official called the pundlar by his order pointed the gear and goods of those who were fined for shedding blood or not paying their rent. Men convicted of theft were hanged on a knoll called the gallow hill, and women and boys were drowned in a pit filled with water. The baron, however, was not so free to do what he pleased as is sometimes said. When he summoned a court he had to invite the Sheriff of the County to be present if he thought fit, and a convict had the right of appeal to the Sheriff. Many names refer to barony courts. The Baron's Inn means the inn where the baron bailie held his courts, and Bridlies means the place where a judge dwelt and held courts.

The following place names occurring mainly in the parish of Peterhead, with the writer's derivations of these, are given as examples of Gaelic place names near the coast. A list of Gaelic place names occurring in every parish in Buchan would occupy too much space. One parish, therefore, has been selected. The writer intends to publish at an early date a full list of Aberdeenshire place names and their derivations—

Almanethy Creek. Creek where there was a small stream of water. Abh, water, na, of the; nethain, genitive of nethan, small burn. An and ain as diminutive terminations become ie or y in Scotch.

Auchtygall. Upper farm, Uachdar, upper; gabhail, farm. Bh in gabhail ought to be sounded v, but it is often made u, and sometimes it is not sounded.

Baby Gowan. Cattlefold. Both parts of the name mean a cattlefold. Babhunn, a fold where cows were milked; gabhann, pen for cattle. In the Ordnance Survey map Baby Gowan is put beside a small rock, but the name must have originally belonged to a larger area, and it may have been this cattlefold which caused the whole peninsula to be called Keith Inch.

Back of Mare. This name might have been in Gaelic Bagh Mara. Bay of the Sea. Bagh, bay; mara, genitive of muir, sea.

Black Ware. Meikle and Little. These names, though apparently meaningless, were probably in their original form descriptive of places on the coast. Ware may have been charr the aspirated form of barr, point, which would have been pronounced var or war, and the names might mean Big Black point and Little Black Point.

Boddam. Ox-house. Both; hut, house; daimh, genitive of damh, ox. This had been a place where steers at pasture were kept at night; or a place where plough oxen were housed when not at work.

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Buchan. The meaning and etymology of this name are uncertain. It may mean the district where the sea-coast bends outwards, as seen from a hill, such as Mormond. If so the name would come from boghachan, plural of bogha, bow.

Buchanhaven. Harbour for fishing boats, near Buchanness.

Buckie. Place at a bay or sheltered bend in the contour of the land. Bogha, bow, bend. Besides Buckie on the coast of Banff there are several places of this name in Aberdeenshire. The Peterhead Buckie is in a bay between two knolls.

Cargeddie. White rock. Carr, rock; geadan, small white spot. The reference might be to white spots produced by the dung of sea birds.

Clerkhill. Hill pertaining to the clergyman of the parish to be pasture ground for his cattle and horse. Cleireach, a cleric, clergyman.

Clubscross. A farm yard for penning cattle at the highest part of a road crossing a hill. Clobhsa, close, farm yard; cross, crossing over a hill. Clobhsa should be pronounced clovsa, but when Gaelic ceased to be understood in Buchan it had been supposed to be the name of a man and it was made Club's.

Cocklaw. Both cock and law mean hill. Cock is a corruption of cnoc, hill, and law is a corruption of lamh, hill. Other corruptions of cnoc are cloak, clock, clod, clog, crock, crook, flog, hock. All these words can be pronounced with the tongue placed as for cnoc. Lamh is pronounced lav, and law.

Collie Burn. Hill burn. Coille, hill, wood.

Collielaw. Hill. Coille, hill; lamh, hill. Both parts of the name mean the same thing. Coille is connected with Latin collis, a hill.

Corbies' Hole. Place where jackdaws or ravens build their nests. Corvus, crow, corby—Scotch. Jackdaws and ravens build on rocky ledges, and though rooks now build in trees they probably built in rocky places before trees were plentiful in Scotland.

Cowhills. Cattlefold. Cuithail, cattlefold. Th in cuithail is often silent and had been omitted, leaving cuiail which had become cowhill and subsequently cowhills. It may be assumed that all names with cow in them are derived from cuith or cuithail, both meaning fold.

Cowsrieve. Cattlefold. Cuith, enclosure; rath, circle, penfold. Cow had been originally cui, pronounced cooi, which had been changed to cow from a tradition that such enclosures had had something to do with cows. In rath th was liable to be changed to bh, pronounced rav, which lapsed into rieve. Both parts of the name mean fold.

Craig Ewen. Birds' rock. Creag, rock; eun, genitive plural of eun, bird.

Craig na-bo. Rock of the cow. Creag, rock; na, of the; bo, genitive of bo cow. The proper genitive of bo is boin, but in names boin is curtailed to bo.

Downiehills. Low hill. Dunan, little hill. An in Gaelic is both the plural and a diminutive termination. In this name an has become ie being regarded as a diminutive, and in hills it has been regarded as a plural termination, which is a mistake.

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Dundonnrie. Brown hill. Dun, hill, fort; duinne, genitive of duinne, brownness—a derivative from donn, brown.

Ellen Skellyis. In Gaelic this name had probably been Sgeilgan Ailein. Rocks in front of a green level place. Sgeilgan, plural of sgeilg, rock; ailein, genitive of ailean, green plain. The Gaelic plural termination an has been translated into the English plural termination s.

Fairy Hillock. Height, hill. Faire, hill. Proximity to Whitehill, which was a cattle-fold, suggests that this fairy hillock may have been used as a lookout for cattle thieves and may have taken its name from faire, a watching place.

Furrah Head. Watching point. Furachais, genitive of furachas, watching.

Gadle Braes. Seaside braes on the margin of a grass field. Geadhail, field, park of grass.

Gateside. Windy situation. Gaothach, windy; suidhe, site, place. This is a very common name, and it may have been given in some cases through some connection with another place of the same name without reference to local circumstances.

Harecraig. Shieling hill. Airidh, shieling, hill pasture for cattle in summer; creag, hill. There were usually in former times huts on the hill pastures, where women lived and milked cows, making butter and cheese for winter use.

Inch Biggie. Small island. Innis, island; beag, little.

Inch More. Big enclosure. Innis, island, enclosure for cattle; mor, big.

Invernettie. Infall of the Nettie burn into the sea. Inver, infall of a stream into the sea or into a larger stream; nethan, small river. The diminutive an becomes ie or y in Scotch.

Katte Burn. Burn near a road. Cadha, road.

Keith Inch. Cattlefold island. Cuith, cattlefold; innis, island. Though this name is usually said to have been conferred in honour of the Keith family, who obtained possession of Peterhead after 1560, it is probably very much older.

Learwicks Point. Point at the bay of the sea. Lear, the sea: uig, bay.

Little Petrie. Little head of St. Peter. Peadar, Peter. The point had got its name from its proximity to St. Peter's Church at the head of the bay.

Mackie. Meikle, Little and Land. Mackie may mean a flat smooth ice-worn rock. Maghan, small flat surface, level place, diminutive from Magh, plain, level field. The diminutive termination an becomes y or ie in Scotch.

Manse. Minister's official residence. Mansio—Latin—mansion, dwelling-place.

Meethill. Site of a barony court. Mod, court of justice. Mod had become meet after Gaelic ceased to be understood, because a court of justice was a meeting place.

Meg's Moss. Moss of the level place. Magh, plain. Magh had been supposed to be a woman's name, and this had led to changing it to Meg and adding 's.

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Meikle Donnon and Little Donnon. Big Hillock and Little Hillock. Dunan, hillock. The names denote islands rising in the centre like heaps.

Meikle Garron. A large couple nail was formerly called a garron in Scotch. If the Meikle Garron is a long point of rock it may mean a big nail.

Peterhead. Point of land near a church dedicated to St. Peter.

Petrie's Loup. This is the farthest east point of Scotland. Petrie may have some connection with Peter, the patron saint of the parish, and Loup may be the Gaelic luib, a corner. It cannot be the Scotch loup, a jump. This point is really Buchanness, being a quarter of a mile farther east than Boddamnass.

Roan Heads. A suburb of Peterhead, inhabited by a fishing population, near two peninsulas called the Roan Heads. Roinn, point peninsula.

Rumbling Gutter. Rumbling as applied to water means boiling up in swelling heaps.

Sharp Pick. Sharp point. Pic, point.

Starry Red Craig. Rocks in a row like stepping stones. Stair, stepping stones. Stair becomes star in Scotch, as in Starrbridge, a bridge which has taken the place of stepping stones.

Stirling Hill. The meaning is not known, but since other hills are called Stirling the name probably contains a root word meaning hill.

The Ive. The drinking place. Ibh—pronounced eve—drink.

The Queenie. The Channel. Cuinge, narrow strait. This name was given to the narrow channel which anciently separated Peterhead from the peninsula on the east of the harbours. It is sometimes applied to the part of the town on the peninsula.

The Roan. The point. Roinn, point, promontory.

The Skellyis. The rocks. Sgeilgan, plural of sgeilg, rock.

The Skerry. The rock in the sea. Sgeir, skerry, rock in the sea.

The Skurrie. The little rock. Sgoran, diminutive from sgor, pointed rock.

Torterston, for Torrtas-ton. Torr, hill; teas, genitive of teas, warmth; ton—English—town. The second r seems to have been inserted from the influence of the first. It is sometimes omitted and is unnecessary.

Ugie. Slow running river. Uidh, smooth, slow running water.

Whitehill. Cattlefold. Cuithail, cattlefold. Cattlefolds were necessary before fields were fenced, and they were made and used jointly by several farmers and crofters. In some cases, as Quithel, the original sound of the name has been preserved, but in many cases it has been greatly changed. Whitehills are numerous in Buchan, as elsewhere, none of them however are either white or high places. One in New Deer is also called Fittie, a corruption of cuith.

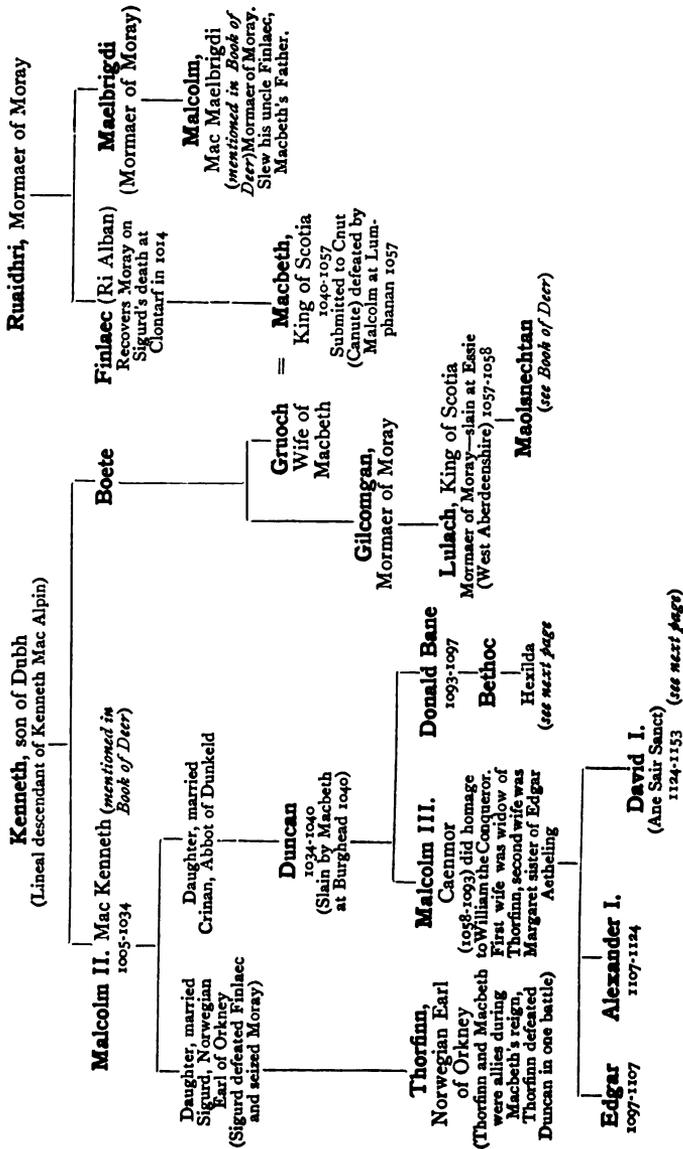
J. M.

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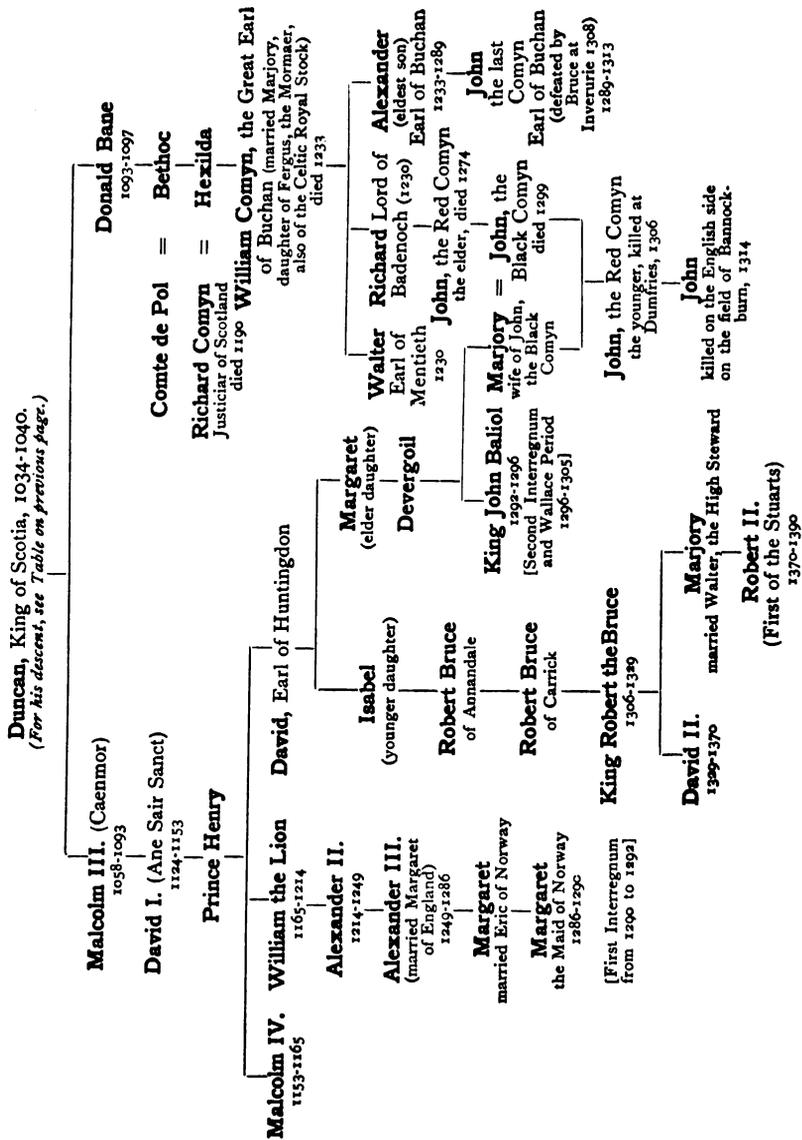
GENEALOGICAL TREE

of the Celtic Dynasties from Malcolm II. (Mac Kenneth) to David I. (Ane Sair Sanct)
 Period of Scottish History from 1005 to 1093.



GENEALOGICAL TREE

Showing the Baliol, Comyn and Bruce claims to the Throne of Scotland.



Section IV.—Medieval and Stuart Buchan.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—Medieval Buchan.

THE most stirring period in the history of Buchan is undoubtedly that during the lives of the last Celtic Mormaers and the first Scoto-Norman Earls of Buchan.

Our sketch of Buchan in ancient times (section iii., chapter i.) brought us down to the reign of Malcolm Caenmor (1093). A closing reference was made to David I. (1124-1153). From this time to the final struggle which secured Scottish independence on the field of Bannockburn in 1314, Buchan underwent a series of changes, beginning with the disappearance of the Celtic Mortuath and its Mormaer, and ending with the ruin of the succeeding Earldom and its Royal Earl, two hundred years later, in a cause connected with the Celtic dynasty. This period may be conveniently termed the medieval period in Buchan. In the present chapter, therefore, by briefly recapitulating later events in ancient Buchan, we link ancient with medieval times, and, proceeding in our narrative, we endeavour to carry the reader down to the beginning of the Stuart period. The succeeding chapters of this section are devoted mainly to events during the last-mentioned period.

We cannot say with certainty when the feudal system was established in Buchan. The process no doubt had been a gradual one. We do know, however, that, during the reign of Alexander I. (who resisted the claim of the Archbishop of York in 1109 to consecrate the then newly-appointed Bishop of St. Andrews and thus secured the independence of the Scottish Church), Gartnait was Mormaer of Buchan and derived his title in the Celtic way, by marriage with Ete, daughter of Gillamithil or Gillemichil. We thus know

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that Alexander's reign was part of the transition period, for Gartnait is not only styled Mormaer, but also, at Alexander's court, *comes* or earl.

Scotia (that is, generally speaking, Scotland north of the Forth) up to this period consisted of seven provinces. Its history, and Buchan's part in that history—briefly sketched in the first chapter of the third section—show a purely Celtic dominion. The seven provinces were (using the modern equivalents of the titles) Angus, Mearns, Atholl and Gowry, Stratherne and Mentieth, Fife and Fothreve, Mar and Buchan, Moray and Ross and, finally, Caithness. Later, when Caithness and Sutherland were under Norwegian rule, the region of Argyle (Arregaidhel or Airergaidhel) is mentioned as the seventh Celtic province of Scotia. Originally each province was ruled by a Celtic Ri or king, but, with the exception of Moray, we find in later times that the ruler was called the Mormaer, a sub-king whose jurisdiction was not so much territorial as it was tribal. Thus the province of Mar and Buchan contained two Mortuaths, governed respectively by the Mormaers of Mar and Buchan. We know (from the Book of Deer) the names of eight at least of the Mormaers of Buchan who ruled from the coming of Columba to the reign of David I. They were, successively, Bede Cruithnech (the Pict); Comgall, son of Aeda; Matan, son of Cearill; Domhnall, son of Giric; Domnall, son of Ruadri; Domhnall, son of MacDobharcon; Cainneach, son of MacDobharcon; and Gartnait, son of Cainneach. The Gaelic sept or clan also existed in Buchan—indeed the first mention of the clan in Scotland occurs in the Book of Deer and refers to two Buchan clans, the clan Morgan and the clan Canan. The chief of the clan was the Toisech, second only in authority to the Mormaer, and he is found as frequently concurring with the Mormaer in grants of land to the Monastery. But the clan system disappeared from Buchan while still the Toisech was chief of the sept or clan within the tuath or tribe, and, therefore, before it reached the stage of development with which we are so familiar in the Highlands. The clan in Buchan was a true Gaelic sept of kinsmen and dependants, and its disappearance so early from the province was due to two causes. The first was the settlement of people of Teutonic speech, some of whom came north from the Conqueror's time onwards, while others came direct from the Continent. The second cause was the acquisition of power by a notable of Anglo-Norman blood, through marriage with the Mormaer's daughter. We find that, about this period, the old

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Celtic form of succession through the female came to an end. The Mormaer still met his Celtic subjects on the Moothill of Ellon. A departure from the Celtic regime is, however, noted, in the appearance throughout Buchan, of the strongholds of feudal times, namely, the great castles that were erected, both for offence and defence, in settling and unsettled times. We cannot tell whether the feudal dominion improved the social condition of the people of the time or not. It is probable that little change took place, for, under both systems, the majority of the people lived in a condition closely resembling slavery. Military service had constantly to be rendered, the normal condition of things being the reverse of peaceable.

As already mentioned, Gartnait, Mormaer of Buchan during the reign of Alexander I., is styled by this king, *comes* or earl. The daughter of Gartnait and Ete was Eva, who carried the Mormaership or earldom, as it should probably now be termed, to Colban. We find now, however, that Colban and Eva are succeeded, not by a daughter, but by a son, Roger. Roger was succeeded also by a son, Fergus, who appears to be the last Mormaer or Celtic Earl of Buchan.

Fergus is an interesting baron to us, for we find that he granted a charter in 1206, conveying the lands of Fedderate in exchange for the lands of Slains and Cruden. The following is a translation of this charter:—¹

“To all seeing or hearing this charter, Fergus, Earl of Buchan, salutation in the Lord. Let all persons now, and for the future know, that I have given, and conceded, and by this charter have confirmed to John son of Uthred and his heirs and assignees, for exchange of the lands of Slains and Cruden, the three Davachs of Fedreth, that is to say, Easter Auhioch, Auhetherb, Auhethas and Conwiltes, wholly and without diminution, as in length so in breadth, with all their boundaries, and right divisions, that is to say, from a rivulet running on the Eastern side of Easter Auhioch in the East, unto the hollow foss on the Western border of the hill of Derevan in the West, and between the high road above Clochnily as it is extended, in the South, unto the Crux-Medici in the North, and again —ndo, in the East, from the ford of the rivulet of Huskethuire between Auhelit and Auhetherb, unto the rivulet of Gight in the West, and in the foresaid East from the rivulet between the two

¹ “Fedderate and its Possessors,” Rev. J. Paterson, Trans. Buchan Club, vol. iii. pp. 24-26.

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Auhcrauthis unto the said rivulet of Gight under the fold of Ruthrus Mac Oan of Allethan in the West, and proceeding —do between the said folds of horsemen towards the South unto the foresaid high road above Clochnily, and also from a great foss hard by the adjacent town of Carnebennach, on the North Western side extending along the rivulet of Gight unto the junction — of Lethalge — in the North, and so by the hollow foss called Hollersky Lech, which lies between Buchangy and the hill of Derevan, under the Western part of Derevan, and so from the foss of the hollow ford of Auhakorty on the Western side unto the northern border of Cragcultyr, and from Cragcultyr unto the foresaid Crux-Medici, and — from the Crux itself unto the Northern border of Derevan, together with the land of Ardindrach, and with all their boundaries and pertinencies and right divisions. Holden and had of me and my heirs, to himself and his heirs and assignees, for his homage and service, in fee and heritage, in wood and plain, in meadows and grazings, in moors and marshes, in waters and lakes, in roads and footpaths, in — and mills and bracinis, with natives and indwellers, and all customs of said lands, with contents and quarrels, and with every manner of escheats and rights whatsoever pertaining to me and my heirs, and other profits and asyaments which pertain or in any manner may in future pertain to the said three Davachs of Fedreth and the beforementioned land of Ardindrach, as fully, quietly, and honourably as I and my predecessors have freely and fully held said lands at any time, or as any Earl or Lord in the Kingdom of Scotland is able to infest any vassal, freely, fully, and honourably in any land. Excepting only to me and my heirs *curia vitae et membrorum*, when it shall happen, binding thence the said John and his heirs and assignees, to me and my heirs the free service of one archer, and binding him three times a year to attend my court at Ellon, with forensic service of the Lord the King as much as pertains to the forementioned lands for every exaction owing auxiliary service or secular exaction. Besides, I will and concede that in the time of the relief of the foresaid lands, the said John and his heirs and assignees, by reason of the forementioned excamb, shall be held to pay to me and my heirs for his relief 20 lbs. sterling, proportionally at the two customary terms of the year, whenever they shall occur. I, Fergus and my heirs, will warrant, give quiet possession of, assure and defend in perpetuity the foresaid three Davachs and

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the forementioned land of Ardindrach, with pertinences, liberties, and asyaments and others, as before said, to the foresaid John and his heirs and assignees, against all men and women for the foresaid service. In testimony of which my seal is appended to the present charter, the witnesses being Malcolm Earl — and David his brother, Thomas of Kinmalron, Alexander of Blair, Henry of Abernethy, William of Slains, Magnus son —, Gilbride son of Lamund, Cospatrick son of Maded, Malothem his brother, Norinus son of Norman, Adam brother of the Earl, Robert of Munfort, and many others.”

The place-names in this Charter are easily recognised. The Charter itself gives us a picture of feudal tenure in its early form in Buchan. The names of the witnesses reveal the fact that no longer is the population purely Celtic, as it was during the time of the earlier Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer, but that the population is a mixed one, Anglo-Norman and Celtic. Note that the “natives and indwellers” are held and assigned like other property.

The year that Fergus, the last Celtic Earl of Buchan, granted the Charter just quoted, was a historic one for Buchan. A notable appears whose family fortunes became bound to Buchan, and through his family Buchan was destined to play an important part in the affairs of Scotland for over a hundred years. This notable was William Comyn, a baron of Norman descent on his father's side, and of the Celtic Royal stock on the side of his mother. William's father was that Richard Comyn (the nephew of William Comyn, Chancellor during David I.'s reign) who was created Justiciar of Scotland by William the Lion. His mother was Hexilda, great grand-daughter of King Duncan. This latter fact—despite the view of some authorities—must be borne in mind in all the subsequent history of the Comyn family. William Comyn married Margaret or Marjory, the daughter of Fergus, and thus became Earl, the first Scoto-Norman Earl, of Buchan. Like his father Richard he held the office of Justiciar of Scotland, and he went as William the Lion's envoy to the court of King John of England in 1210. He was the most eminent and distinguished Scottish statesman of his time, and held, besides other possessions, practically the whole of Buchan. His chief stronghold and seat was Kinedar Castle, near Turriff, his other residences being the Castles of Dundarg (near Fraserburgh), Slains, Rattray and Kelly, near Methlick. Like his Celtic predecessors, he held his great court at Ellon, while his various residences were administrative centres.

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He granted lands in Fyvie to the monks of St. Andrews and lands in Strichen to the Chapel of St. Mary at Rattray. His most pious act was the founding of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Deer in 1219 (See next chapter), the ruins of which can still be seen on the banks of the Ugie, within the policies of Pitfour. Here William and his Countess Marjory lie buried.

William, the Great Earl, had three sons—Alexander, who succeeded him in the Earldom in 1233; Walter, Earl of Mentieth; and Richard, who succeeded his brother Walter in the Lordship of Badenoch, and from whom the Red Comyn was descended. Alexander, the second Earl of Buchan, seems to have been almost as distinguished as his father. He became Justiciar of Scotland and occupied, besides, many other important posts. The chief of these was that of Joint Regent of Scotland during the minority of Margaret. After the battle of Largs he led an expedition which reduced the people of the western islands who adhered to the side of the Norse King, Haco. He died in 1289, and left four sons, John, his successor; Alexander, William, and Roger.

John, the third and last Comyn Earl of Buchan, was thirty years of age when his father died. He had a chequered career, adhering alternately to the Scottish and English sides (but finally to the English side) during the great struggle for independence, from 1290 to 1314. He was present at the parliament of Brigham and, later, swore fealty to Edward I. He led, however, an expedition to the north of England during King John Baliol's resistance to Edward. He was strongly hostile to Wallace, who embittered the quarrel by securing the bishopric of St. Andrews for William Lamberton, as against the earl's brother, William Comyn. It seems improbable, according to Lord Hailes, that Wallace's loss of the battle of Falkirk was due to his treachery, or to that of his relative, John Comyn the younger (the Red), who was probably also present. The sole authority, and a somewhat doubtful one, for the current view is that of Fordoun, who wrote in 1363. After the battle of Falkirk, the Earl of Buchan adhered to the Scottish cause and supported the strong but temporary union of the Red Comyn, Bruce and Lamberton, guardians of Scotland. In 1305, after defeat and his surrender to Edward, we find him as one of the Scottish Commissioners who accepted Edward's ordinance for the government of Scotland at Westminster. It was natural that after the murder of the Red Comyn by Bruce at Dumfries, the earl should seek to avenge

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his relative's death. He was, however, defeated by Bruce successively at Slains, Inverurie (the decisive battle), and at Aikey Brae, where the Comyns made their last stand. It was just after the battles of Inverurie and Aikey Brae that the famous (or infamous) harrying of Buchan took place. Earl John's wife, Isabella (daughter of the Earl of Fife), was the famous lady who (despite her husband's adhesion to the English cause) crowned Bruce at Scone and was, for her pains, imprisoned in a cage at Berwick by the order of the furious Edward.

It is perhaps hard, at first sight, to understand how difficult it was for the Comyns, Baliol, Wallace and Bruce, to unite in securing and maintaining the independence of Scotland. Wallace, who was purely a patriot, succumbed because the Scottish nobles of Royal blood could not agree to support a warrior and statesman who might not recognise their own regal claims. The Baliol and Comyn faction was naturally jealous of the Bruce. All three had fair claims to the sovereignty (See table on page 132). Indeed so far as claims were concerned, John, the third and last Comyn Earl of Buchan, had as much claim to the throne as Robert the Bruce. Both were descended from Duncan, but while Earl John belonged to the sixth, Robert the Bruce belonged to the eighth generation from that king. Red John Comyn the younger, who was killed by Bruce at Dumfries, had the strongest claim of all the three. Like Bruce, he belonged to the eighth generation from Duncan. His descent, however, from Malcolm Caenmor, through his mother, and his descent from Donald Bane (Malcolm's brother), through his father, gave him a double claim. There is no disputing the title of the Comyns of Badenoch and Buchan to the throne. Whether or not that title had much value in the eyes of the people we cannot say. It was not so much, it would appear, a question of right as it was of might. The Comyns were a powerful and an able family, but they were no match for the craftiest statesman and the ablest general of his age, Robert the Bruce.

After the downfall of the Comyns the Earldom of Buchan passed into the hands of a branch of the Stuart family, and the deeds of the successive holders of the title cease to interest us in the same way as the Comyns do, because the later earls had very little connection with Buchan.

Our sketch of the medieval period now ends. The history of Buchan during the Stuart period is indissolubly linked with the great families of Buchan

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(See chapter iii.), whose members distinguished themselves at home and abroad, in war, diplomacy and statecraft.

The province of Mar and Buchan has seen successively the ruin of three great causes. At Cruden, the Scandinavian attempt to extend its sovereignty into the north-east was utterly crushed. At Lumphanan, the purely Celtic dominion of Scotland came to an end. At Inverurie, the undoubtedly legitimate and strong claims of the Comyns to the sovereignty of Scotland vanished for ever. Add to this, finally, the tragedy of the Stuarts. Buchan, sphinx-faced, rugged, and stubborn—that Buchan which early lost its Celtic clan system through Norman influence and which was harried from end to end because of the sovereign claims of its Scoto-Norman ruler—received at Peterhead, in later days, James, a *descendant* of its harrier, Bruce, the inveterate enemy of its own former chief, the Comyn, and gave of its best blood once more in a hopeless cause. Its nobles and its people rallied round the standard of the prince of Scottish blood on the hillsides of Mar, and they never ceased to give practical expression to their ideals until the fatal day of the Stuart dynasty on the field at Culloden Moor.

CHAPTER II.

The Abbey of Deer.

IN the latter half of the twelfth century, and the beginning of the thirteenth, a peaceful revolution took place in Scotland. The country had been consolidated under one sovereign, and the feudal system of the Normans and the ecclesiastical discipline of Rome absolutely prevailed over early Celtic tradition and usage. Many of the great Norman leaders became Scottish noblemen and territorial princes, and at the same time champions and benefactors of the Roman Catholic Church. For in spite of many weaknesses and frequent acts of violence, these men really believed the religion which they professed, and they made substantial sacrifices for its advancement. Divine worship was a reality to their souls, and everything relating to it had need to be of the best in form and spirit. They also cherished the belief that what had once been dedicated to holy uses, if by any chance it had been alienated, should, as speedily as possible, revert to its sacred function. When, in 1210, William Cumyn, Great Justiciary of Scotland, being then a widower and in his forty-seventh year, married Marjorie, only child and heiress of Fergus, the last Celtic Earl of Buchan, he early realised his duty to the people on his lands, and at the same time he acknowledged the right of the Church to her inheritance. He founded and endowed the Cistercian Abbey of S. Mary in the Vale of Deir, about three-quarters of a mile from the old Celtic foundation, and on the opposite bank of the Ugie. The date is given variously, 1218 and 1219. It was colonised from Kinloss in Moray, whence, in 1217, Culross, the ancient seat of S. Serf¹ on the Forth, had also been colonised. The three monks from Kinloss, Hugh, Arthur, and John, settled in their new home, and we may

¹ S. Serf probably belonged to this district, for the Gaelic tract on the Mothers of the Saints, quoted by Dr. Skene, describes him as 'son of Proc, King of Canaan, of Egypt.' It is more reasonable to think of Proc as a ruler of the *Clan Canan*.

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count it certain that as a convent they entered upon possession of part of the Celtic patrimony. Some portion went probably to the Abbey of Arbroath.

What was life in a Cistercian monastery? "At two in the morning the great bell was rung, and the monks immediately arose and hastened from their dormitory, along the dark cloisters, in solemn silence to the church. A single small lamp, suspended from the roof, gave a glimmering light just sufficient to show them their way through the plain unornamented building. After short private prayers they began matins, which took them about two hours. The next service—lauds—did not commence till the first glimmer of dawn was in the sky, and thus, in winter at least, a considerable interval occurred, during which the monk's time was his own. He went to the cloister, and employed it in reading, writing, or meditation, according to his inclination. He then devoted himself to various religious exercises till nine, when he went forth to work in the fields. At two he dined, at nightfall all assembled to vespers, and at six or eight, according to the season, finished the day with compline, and passed at once to the dormitory."¹

The monks were not only landlords of their own estates, they were practical teachers of agriculture, architecture, and gardening. They were the schoolmasters and authors of the age as well. They lived a life apart, often a life of severe asceticism; but it was that the rest of men might live better lives, and with more wisdom and happiness.

The Abbot of Deir was a mitred Abbot, and as such had a seat in the Scottish Parliament, but the House continued subject to the House of Kinloss, from the brethren of which the Abbot was often chosen. The monastic buildings, like those of all Cistercian foundations which remained true to the ideal of Stephen Harding, seem to have been plain even to meanness. In a sentence of the "Chronicle of Melrose," to be quoted by and by, there is a strain of contempt for the dwelling as well as for the character of the monks of Deir. A ground plan of the Abbey Church, with the immediate surroundings, which was made in 1789, for the late James Ferguson, Esq., M.P., of Pitfour, and which is here given on a reduced scale, will well reward careful study, and

¹ *Usus Ordinis Cisterciensis, pars. iii.*, as rendered by Mr. Cotter Morrison in his "Life and Times of S. Bernard," p. 18.

The Abbey of Deer

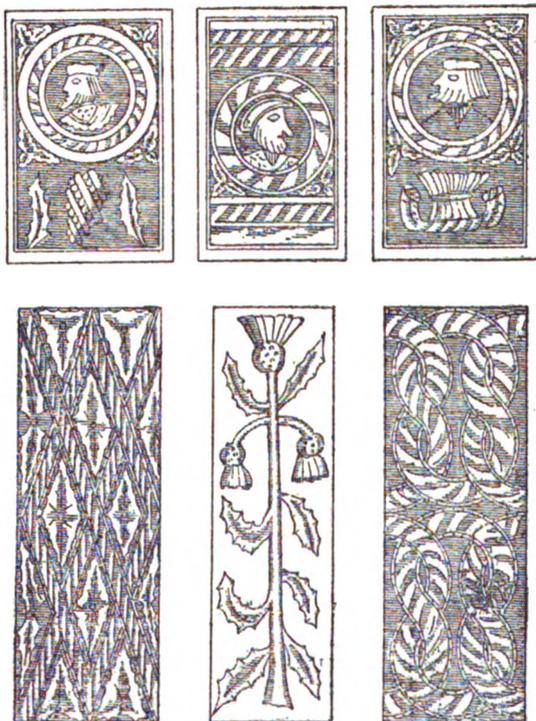
will show better than many pages of description the home-surroundings of these medieval teachers of the Christian faith and life.

In the early years of the Abbey there was a rapid succession of Abbots, and it is not easy to make a consistent narrative from the contradictory information which is available. Between 1219 and 1234, there are no less than five Abbots mentioned, the most outstanding being Walter, the fifth in the succession, who was frequently an arbiter in disputes about property in the north country, and who must, therefore, have been held in high estimation for his sagacity and judicial temper. In 1234, Hugh, the Prior of Melrose, was chosen Abbot. But he was an old man, and the change of air, possibly also of monastic society, was trying. He resigned within the year, in part from bodily weakness and in part because of the rigour of the climate. He returned to Melrose, took up his old office of Prior, and not long after "faithfully passed to the Lord."

In 1262 came one of those scandals which are peculiar to no form of Christianity, and which have most unfairly been regarded as typical of monasteries. A high ideal has always its penalties, for when the first enthusiasm of religion passes away, a self-indulgent nature is apt to sink to very low depths. Henry, formerly Prior of Kinloss, was deposed after a ten years' tenure of office. The ground of his deposition has been erased from the "Chronicle of Melrose." There was strict supervision among the Cistercians, and even the Abbot of Citeaux, who was head of the entire order, was under the surveillance of four other Abbots, and after four admonitions, he might, on their report, be deposed by a Chapter of the order. To this unhappy Abbot Henry there succeeded Adam of Smailholm, a monk of Melrose. He seems to have been selected because of the sincerity of his devotion, and he must have been of an earnest and eager nature. An unworthy Abbot had doubtless left a careless convent, and Abbot Adam strove to bring the monks into subjection. Perhaps he lacked tact or patience, perhaps he was too old to take kindly to new surroundings and a troublesome flock. "He resigned of his own will, after five years, and returned to Melrose, preferring the courteous charm of the brethren of Melrose, whom he had known aforetime, to the rule of a sty of monks in Deir, whose religious zeal he had never been able to know by (any) true experience." The word translated "sty"—*tugurrium monachorum*—

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seems to involve scorn, both of the humble cloister and of the unworthy brethren. Whether the scorn was Adam's, or the Chronicler's, we do not know. Yet scorn is always unwise. Perhaps they were not quite so bad as the high-minded and sensitive Abbot Adam supposed. They had at least a sense of



Specimen of Wood-Carving of Abbey Church.

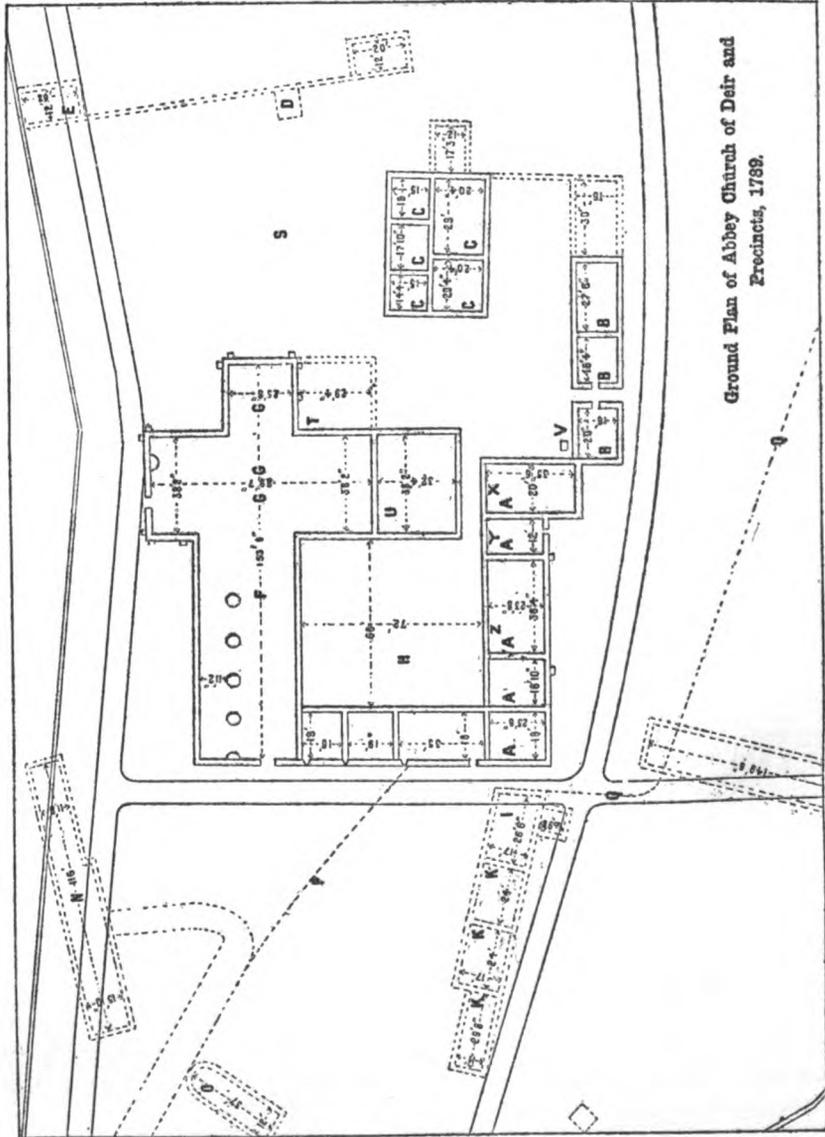
humour, and chose an Abbot who would not pitch the pipe too high. Abbot Adam was succeeded by Hugh, the cellarer of Deir.

No details are preserved of the sway of Abbot Hugh, nor for some time can the scanty information which has reached us shed light amidst the darkness. The closing quarter of the thirteenth century was a calamitous time in Scotland,

The Abbey of Deir

and the province of Buchan and the Abbey of Deir were drawn into the national struggle in a most pronounced way. On the 12th March 1286, King Alexander III. was killed by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn in Fife, and the heir in the direct succession was his grand-daughter, known in Scottish History as the Maid of Norway. She was betrothed to Prince Edward of England, in conformity with the Treaty of Brigham, on the 18th July 1290, and among the higher clergy assembled there, was the Abbot of Deir. Had that young girl lived to become the queen of the son of Edward Longshanks, the after history of England and Scotland had been a happier tale to read. But the death of the Maid of Norway brought on the well-known disputed succession, civil war, and war with England, which ended in the triumph of King Robert the Bruce. The Abbot of Deir and his convent, as was natural, were staunch supporters of the Comyns, for the Comyns were royal in munificence as well as in ambition, and they had been liberal patrons of their own Abbey. It is not to be wondered then that Brice, Abbot of Deir, swore fealty to King Edward of England on the 28th August 1296. He swore with his fellows upon the Holy Gospel in these words:—"I will be faithful and loyal and I will show fidelity and loyalty to King Edward, King of England, and to his heirs, with life and limb and land in honour against all people who may live and die, and I shall never bear arms for any one, nor be in counsel or band against him nor against his heirs in any event which may arise."

King Robert, in spite of his act of sacrilege, was a loyal national churchman; and well he might be, for in all the tangled story of the Scottish War of Independence the Scottish clergy and the Scottish common folk divide the honours. Their courage and public spirit never failed. The monks of Deir were taken into favour, and confirmed anew in their privileges and possessions, and we know that in the harrying of Buchan their part of the Comyn heritage was not spared. Abbot Michael of Deir was a member of the Parliament of Cambuskenneth, 6th November 1314, when the conquerors took severe measures against the friends of England within the realm. The same Abbot came to a friendly agreement with the laird of Fetherat, who gave up all claim to the park of Badorosky, in so far as it lay on the north side of the burn, and he received the lands of greater Auchrathy, on condition of his holding them of the convent, and paying two merks yearly.



Ground Plan of Abbey Church of Deir and Precincts, 1789.

The Abbey of Deer

References to Ground Plan of Abbey Building, made in 1789, for James Ferguson, Esq., of Pitfour, M.P., by Mr. White.

A A A A A.—The principal lodging where at least it is supposed the kitchen, refectory, and dormitories had been.

B B.—Two arched cellars, one of them entire.

C C C C C.—Said to be priests' or monks' lodgings.

D.—A burial-place.

E.—The School-house.

F.—The Church.

G G G.—The Altar-pieces, choir, and transept.

H.—A large square or piazza, where a covered walk is supposed to have been, and garden ground in the middle.

J.—The Corn-mills.

K K K.—Office-houses.

L M L.—The barn and kilns.

M.—The porter's lodgings.

N.—The present tacksman's house, where a row of houses stood, one of which had been a smith's shop.

O.—A house occupied by the tacksman as a barn.

P.—Direction in which the lead pipes were laid.

Q Q.—Run of the water from the mill, covered with long stones within the old walls.

R R R R.—The old wall, enclosing buildings and garden ground, extent $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

S.—Burying-ground.

T.—Supposed superior burying-place.

U.—Probably Chapter Hall.

V.—Well or cistern.

W.—A fine spring.

Thickness of walls in 1820, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet.

Further remarks.—From analogy and consideration of buildings of a similar kind, as B B for certain was two vaulted cellars, the well or cistern so near them, so the kitchen must also be near this, and perhaps X A had been the kitchen, Y A lobby and stair-case, Z A the refectory, and above these the dormitory; but as the refectory seems to be small in proportion to others, it might have been on the second floor, and the dormitory on the third. The church was paved with dressed granite, and in some places with Dutch tile pavement. The cornices, pillars, and ornaments of stone are all of red freestone from Arbroath.

A glimpse of the Abbey and its fortunes comes to us by way of Avignon. Gregory XI., in 1371, the year after his enthronement as Pope, confirmed the Abbey of Deer in the patronage of Foveran and Kynnedor. Confirmation is granted "because the said monastery, by reason of various harrings and

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other most numerous forms of oppression in time of wars, which had broken out in those parts, was exceedingly despoiled and diminished in its resources." There is to be a vicar at Foveran, and also a chaplain in the Cathedral at Aberdeen. The resident vicar is to have a stipend of ten merks usual money, a house and two acres of land. The chaplain is to have six merks a year, with a decent gown for use in the choir. The vicar of Kynnedor is to have one hundred shillings a year, a competent house, with a suitable glebe, and the chaplain is to have his decent gown and five merks a year. The payments are to be made one-half at Candlemas, and the other half at the Feast of S. John the Baptist—a most becoming day for payment to loyal Scotsmen as the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.

Throughout the fourteenth century there is nothing special to record until towards the close. About the year 1390 the Lord Abbot of Deir acquired a town house in the Foty Gate in Aberdeen from Laurence of Foty, a burgess there, for a merk a year, secured upon the lands of Fechil on the Ythan. Much the same lack of incident marks the fifteenth century. The Abbot and his convent lead their lives, make good landlords, and acquire such privileges as they may, among them a grant from King Robert III. (1390-1406) of "all the customs of all the wool of their own growing from their own sheep, as well as from the teind wool of the Parish Kirk of Dere, so long as the customs from this source do not exceed twenty sacks of wool." On September 17th, 1476, John Wormot, "a procurator til a venerable father William, Abbot of Dere," appears against John the Vaus "for wrangous intromitting with seven barrell of salmon." John the Vaus, however, repelled the Abbot's claim satisfactorily.

When we reach the sixteenth century, there are signs at Deir, as elsewhere, of the decrepitude which had come over the representatives and institutions of the old religion. Prosperity had brought worldliness, and excessive wealth had corrupted the ecclesiastical government, for great posts in the Church, with the revenues attaching to them, were too often channels for providing luxury, and not, as they should have been, positions of service where men might foster character and faith, and wisdom and patriotism. The service of the Church, with the connivance of the higher Church authorities, was sacrificed to the needs and to the greed of those who never thought of religion at all. Ninian Winzet's denunciations are more weighty, because they are more measured,

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than those of John Knox, and they show the true grief of a good Catholic, who had the fear of God. The higher clergy in Scotland were her ablest as well as her richest men, and in spite of grave faults, they were also her most patriotic statesmen, but they did not see that, as their original title to obedience and to power was based on moral and spiritual service, they could not long retain loyalty and wealth on merely legal grounds. A scoundrel earl—and Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had many choice specimens—who has no merit whatever, and who does nothing useful, may inherit on a legal title. But, unless in the worst ages, a Bishop or an Abbot must justify his wealth by his character and his services. And it is well that it should be so. Nevertheless one must be just to the old religion. There was true desire for reformation. The better men were not blind to the abounding evils. Yet until the hurricane of the Reformation burst upon them, they were criminally supine and painfully tolerant, and they invariably did the right thing in too easy-going a way.

Every aspect of the period immediately preceding the Reformation is brought before us in one of a series of documents¹ in the possession of the University of Cambridge. It is of date 1531, the eighteenth year of the reign of James V., who, with reference to monks and monasteries, had said to Sir Ralph Sadler, "God forbid that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed. Though some be not, there be a great many good, and the good may be suffered, and the evil must be reformed: and ye shall hear that I shall help to see it redressed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life."

This vigorous call to amendment is interesting and valuable, in view of the upheaval which was all but taking place. But Symon, Abbot of Charlelieu, did not make his inspection in person. He sent his orders to Deir, but he wrote them at Cupar-in-Angus, "for the guidance and comfort of the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Deir, to which monastery, indeed, for many reasonable causes we could not pass." After a suitable preamble, he begins with counsels as to the conduct of divine worship. "Divine service is to be reverently and deliberately celebrated by day and by night at the appointed hours, with due pauses, ceremonies, and inclinations, in the fear of God, with

¹ All these charters are printed in Vol. IV. of the "Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," published for the Spalding Club.

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fervour of spirit, with due and entire utterance, as well in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin as in the other services. Singing is to be carefully rendered. The Psalms are to be sung with due attention to simultaneous attack, as musicians put it, to pause, rest, and length of note. There is to be no drawing, and no irreverent haste."

Then there are minute directions about attendance at worship, and behaviour during worship. There are to be no disorderly gestures, or laughter and cackling, or any irregularities whatever in the choir. No one is to dare to take part in celebrating divine service without his cowl. Equally minute rules are given for the celebration of the sacrament, and for cleanliness and decorum in all that pertains to communion vessels and linen. "On every altar are to be two seemly towels, one for wiping the hands of the priest before consecration, and the other for drying the chalices after communicating."

After worship points of life and conduct are considered, and the lesser proprieties, as of clothing, are detailed, as well as the graver elements of character. "The Lord Abbot is forbidden, under pain of suspension, to introduce, or to allow to be introduced, into the choir of the church, the halls, cloisters, rooms, or gardens, any women save of the blood royal, or at least duchesses or countesses." Monks are forbidden to go abroad wearing great swords, or to go to weddings, or dinners, or shows, or to frequent taverns. Punishment is not overlooked, for the Abbot is instructed within a year of the receipt of the ordinances to have in his monastery a good strong prison—indeed, it is the plural which is used, "good strong prisons." Silence is not only praised but enforced in a characteristically emphatic way. "And, because by ill-regulated conversations very many bickerings are caused, consciences are disturbed, and charity is oft offended, and discipline, which is the anchor of religion, is altogether weakened, therefore silence, which is the key of religion, and without the observance of which a monk can scarcely be saved, we enjoin to be inviolably observed in every place before prayers, and also in chapter, and after compline, according to the tradition of our holy rule, and at time of reading, and at all times in places specified by the rules of the order." The rule of silence is also to be rigorously enforced with reference to visitors who may come to the monastery. No monk may speak who is not appointed to receive guests, unless he have a special permission. Among other peculiar

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duties there is to be a regular washing of feet with special service and canticle on Sundays, and when for sufficient reason, as of health, this rite of cleanliness has to be for the day omitted, the religious service is by no means to be neglected. The rules bear also upon promotion to the priesthood and education. Before anyone can be admitted to holy orders he must be twenty-four, and he must give proof that he knows by heart his psalter, hymns, canticles, and anthems. A novice must be at least fourteen, and there must be a year's probation before admission. Due arrangements are to be made for instruction of the younger members in literature, in the elementary sciences, or in the more advanced, according to the capacity of the scholars, because "an untaught youth begets a miserable old age, and ignorance is the cause of many evils."

There then follow simple rules as to food, and above all, as to fasting, yet in the midst of all the rigour, there is an unfailing human touch, for the Mother Church is infinitely tender as well as stern. The infirm are specially to be cared for, and their wants of all kinds must be punctiliously considered. "For their service some honourable monk, studiously anxious, charitable, and God-fearing, must be deputed," and he must have all "needful comforts and helpers."

The last subject touched upon is Property.

The seal of the convent is to be kept locked up. There are to be four keys, of which the Abbot is to have one, if he wish it, the Prior the second, the bursar or cellarer the third, and one of the older brethren, chosen by his fellows, the fourth. The seal is only to be affixed with the consent and good-will of the "major or sounder" portion of the convent. No brother is to have any property save what the Abbot gives, or allows. The Abbot is to study to root out the vice of private property. None of the brethren, except those holding temporal offices, may keep money more than twenty-four hours under pain of excommunication. Any brother convicted is to be punished as a *proprietary* —a property-holder!

The Abbot is not to permit any of the brethren to hold individually any lands, gardens, granaries, or animals, or such-like, either for a fixed time or for life, under pain of deposition from his dignity as Abbot.

Members who offend against these rules are to be punished severely. Close confinement on bread and water is appointed for them. Two Bursars are to receive all rents and incomings, and accounts are to be submitted every

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three months, or at least twice a year. They are to be audited and signed by the Abbot or by a commissioner of the order, and must be presented for examination at the visitation of the convent. Abbots are warned against the alienation of the convent property, and any prejudice already suffered is to be remedied in every just and legal way. Ruinous buildings are to be repaired and restored, and first of all the most decayed. "Within three weeks of the receipt of this roll of ordinances, a Prior is to be appointed, and the rules must be read four times a year in the chapter-house, in presence of the Abbot and convent, within three days of the four seasons."

Where the brethren of Deir may have specially failed we cannot tell, because these regulations were designed for all Cistercian monasteries, and they show that a weak executive was then, as it is now in many religious organisations, the root of grave evils.

We get a nearer view of the monastic life at Deir, in what is usually called a charter or deed of mitigation. The brethren had remonstrated because some of the rules bore with special rigour upon their most innocent pursuits, and had evidently been drawn up without consideration of their special circumstances. Their protest brought a visit, in 1537, from Walter, Abbot of Glenluce, and Robert, Abbot of Kinloss, who was, as such, the immediate superior of the Abbot and Abbey of Deir. Robert Reid was one of the truly great men in the falling time of the old Church. His father had died on Flodden Field in 1513, and a self-reliant youth seems to have engendered a wise and fruitful mid-age. He was educated at S. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, which had been founded in 1450 by Bishop James Kennedy, one of the wisest and most large-hearted men who ever adorned the Primacy of the Scottish Church, in any epoch or under any form. Reid studied also in Paris, and his first priest's charge was at Dallas in Moray, a cure filled by the sub-dean of that diocese. He was Commendator of Kinloss from 1526, and Prior of Beaulieu in 1530. He was a Senator of the College of Justice, and from 1550 President of the Court. In 1541 he became Bishop of Orkney. He restored S. Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, and in every possible way laboured and planned for the advancement of learning and religion. He was present at the marriage of the youthful Queen Mary to the Dauphin of France, on April 24 1558, and he died in September of that year at Dieppe, at the same time as

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two other Scottish Commissioners, in circumstances which made Scots folk justly suspicious of poisoning. He bequeathed 8000 merks—a great sum for the time—to found a college in Edinburgh, and it was this bequest which really led to the foundation of the Town's College, the Academia of James VI.

This charter of mitigation shows both wisdom and firmness; there is a desire to consider circumstances and times, but no disposition to permit laxity or disobedience to the Cistercian rule. He and his fellow-commissioner perceive "the difficult situation of the place, and the malignity of the time." They know the conditions and customs of the country, as no Abbot of Charlelieu possibly could, however willing he might be to learn them and consider them. "Bursars," such is the tenor of this new instruction, "are, by special lease and stable assignation of the better and freer fruits and incomings of the whole monastery, to receive fixed sums of money and victuals, sufficient for the honourable maintenance in food, clothing, and all necessaries, of the brethren and common servants, from which income, without delay, they are to supply to each all requisites, as well to the hale as to the sick, to travellers, and to relatives of the brethren casually visiting at the monastery, so that no just ground of murmuring may remain."

Common servants are to be appointed by the Abbot to wait specially upon the elder brethren, and likewise to assist in the common work of the monastery. Special servants are allowed to the office-bearers only, and no one is to have a table-companion. What is left from meals, after supplying the necessities of the convent servants, is to be given to the poor by a brother appointed for the purpose. Permission is granted to the brethren to have gardens¹ of their own during the pleasure of the Abbot, within the enclosure of the monastery; but only to those about whom there may be no suspicion of evil conduct. The fruits and incomings from these gardens are to be collected by the Bursar of the whole community, and after supplying the wants of the brethren, they are to be expended in charity—with advice and consent of the Abbot, or, in his absence, of the Prior. All the other rules in the previous charter are to be

¹ "Mr. Ferguson of Pitfour, when laying out an orchard in the Abbey gardens, a century ago, found in the garden of the Abbey of Deir, first, a layer of rich soil three feet deep, second, a well-paved causeway of granite, third, a bed of pure sand one foot deep, fourthly, another causeway of granite; and below the whole a considerable depth of rich mould."

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entirely and faithfully obeyed. The two visiting Abbots close with certain precepts on their own account for the better performance of divine service, and for fuller knowledge of the ceremonies and rules of the order. Having seen what needs remedy, they call attention to the infirmary and the heating-apparatus, to the need for teaching and study, and they command all table-companions and secular servants to be dismissed by the 31st May, save such as are retained for common service in the convent. The Abbot of Deir is urged to give diligent heed to repair of the monastery buildings, beginning with the choir of the Abbey Church.

The Abbot at the time was John Innes, and the Visitors prevailed upon him to assign a fixed portion for the needs of his flock. The Abbot was every year to render a faithful account of the whole rents of the Abbey to five or six of the brethren chosen for the purpose. The convent was to choose annually a cellarer or steward, and a bursar or treasurer. The bursar was annually to receive from the fruits and rents of the barony and rectory of Deir, or the rectory of Peterugy, what would be sufficient to provide for each monk, per day, a loaf of good flour of sixteen ounces when cooked, along with two cakes or loaves of oatmeal, reckoning two hundred cakes to the boll of meal. Also for liquor, daily, two quarts of ale, counting ten gallons (or flagons) of ale at most from the boll. Sixpence was allowed for flesh days, and twopence for fish days; a pound of pepper a year was to be given, and for the butter of the whole convent forty shillings yearly; also eight dozen poultry, and in Lent forty salmon, with salt in sufficient quantity for the cook's table, and for seasoning of the flesh and fish of the convent. Each brother was to have annually four stones of cheese. They were also to have lentils and barley in sufficient quantity, instead of beans. Two oxen were to be purchased by the bursar annually, about Easter, and these were to be fattened along with others for the convent and for the guests' table. They were to have thirty lambs a year and the fish of two boats at the harbour of Rahill of the same value as in years bypast. The cook and the fireman were to have annually twelve bolls of meal, and the fish-porter was to be paid in the accustomed fashion. The Abbot was also to assign a sufficient cellar for the convent liquor, and each monk was to be allowed forty shillings a year for clothing. The barber, tailor, and laundress were to have satisfactory wages. The residue was to be applied for the benefit of the community to the best of the Abbot's ability.

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Five years later, in May 1542, the same Abbot adds to the comforts of the brethren. A sum of eightpence is now allowed on flesh days, and of threepence on fish days, the money to be collected at Whitsunday and Martinmas, while the bursar gets twelve capons yearly in lieu of pittances for charity.

According to a manuscript, formerly in possession of the Spalding Club, Abbot John Innes was succeeded by Michael Pittendreich, probably a nephew or younger brother of Abbot James Pittendreich, who, in 1518, alienated Pittendreich and Craigmodarty, reserving a life-rent to himself. He seems, however, never to have been installed, for in 1543 Robert Keith, brother of William, fourth Earl Marischal, was presented to the abbacy by Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, "because by the resignation of John, the present Abbot, in the hands of our most holy lord, the abbacy is shortly to be vacant." Yet a supplementary note in one of the Gale MSS. asserts that Abbot John Innes died in 1543, and that Keith was then chosen in his room. Michael Pittendreich had evidently some special claim upon the Abbey, for in the spring of 1545 Mary wrote to Pope Paul III. about certain pensions out of the revenue of Deer, especially one to Dene Michael Pittendreich, an acknowledged member of that monastery, "abrogation of which allowance the new Commendator is thought to be compassing."

It is probable that Pittendreich was the ecclesiastic designed for the preferment, but that in the stormy time it was deemed expedient to conciliate the most powerful noble in Scotland by giving the abbacy to his full brother, who was as yet but a layman. According to Dempster—not a very reliable authority, although in this he may be right, for he is quoted in good faith by Spottiswood—"Robert Keith was famous for his learning and for the purity of his life, and did much to restore the shattered character of the ecclesiastical order." One suspects that the words are an echo of the eulogy of Thomas Crystall. In July 1544, Keith's name appears in a deed as Abbot Postulate, and there sign with him Robert Stevensoun, Prior; Thomas Keyr, Sub-Prior; John Anderson, Alexander Scherer, John Cullane, William Bell, Duncan [Lownane], William Pendreich, Gilbert Innes, Gilbert Chissem, John Mason, all brethren of the monastery, and, besides them, Master George Myddletoun, and Master Andrew Kyd, stewards.

In November 1544, the Prior and convent sign a statement of the rental

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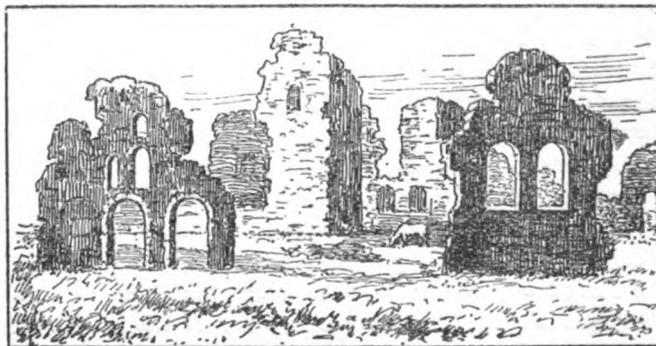
of the Abbey lands. Gilbert Chisholm is Prior, and Thomas Keyr, William Smytht, Thomas Weyr, John Keytht, James Browne, Alexander Torre, David Howesoune, William Elphinstone, and Gilbert Murray are the monks. In a confirmation granted to Robert Lumsden and Elizabeth Keytht of the lands of Meikle Auchrady, the Prior and brethren are as in November 1544, save that Thomas Weyr does not sign. Robert Keith died in Paris in 1551, having never assumed the habit of the Cistercian order. The Priors in his time were men of mark. Dempster commemorates Samuel, Prior of Deir, during Keith's abbacy, "a man marvellously learned in all good arts, especially in mathematics, in which he excelled so greatly as to be esteemed by common rumour a magician." Dempster's imagination is always lively. It is possible that Samuel is an error for Stevensoun, who as Sub-Prior corresponded in 1537 with John Ferrerius of Piedmont, the historian of Kinloss Abbey. Stevenson is first mentioned in an excessively flattering letter by Ferrerius. It is dated 4th February 1537, and is addressed "to his most beloved the Sub-Prior at Deir, the most learned champion of antiquity—Dene Robert Stevensoun." It begins with an account of Ferrerius' labours in collecting material for a history of Kinloss Abbey. He is conscious of its obscure and defective character, and he sees no hope of writing worthily a true and connected history, unless from some other quarter greater light should shine forth, and that, too, with considerable brightness. "There are, besides, men in Scotland who can shed a flood of light upon this darkness, if they be asked; for among them, I know well, a very great number of ancient writings have been preserved. But I know not a single man who is both so well qualified and so willing to help me in this work as yourself, both as a champion of antiquity, as a friend of all studious persons, and as specially distinguished at once by candour and learning." This is, of course, the language of compliment and high-flown courtesy, but it proves that Stevenson was known to be an excellent scholar, and a man ready to advance erudition. One slight memorial of Stevenson's learning remains to this day. Among the MSS. belonging to the University of St. Andrews, is a Latin translation of Aristotle's "Politics." "It is written upon vellum," according to Mr. Maitland Anderson, the University Librarian, "in a very neat hand of perhaps the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The volume is small folio in form, bound in wooden boards covered with stamped brown leather, rather

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worn. It contains a great many notes in a very small hand, but they seem all to refer to the text. . . . Inside the front board is written the name of a previous owner." Stevenson was still Prior in 1566, when he granted a discharge to the Commendator for £110.

The practical secularisation of Deir may be said to have begun with Robert Keith. On his death, in June 1551, this continued, for the new Commendator was his nephew, a boy of fifteen, also Robert, who succeeded to the powers and possessions of the Abbot in 1552, and ere long began the process of alienation of lands by tacks and gifts to the members of the Keith family from the Earl Marischal, his father, downwards. This youth sat in the Parliament of 29th November 1558, and was chosen by the clergy as one of their representatives among the Lords of the Articles. With the transference of all power and rights to the kindred of the Earl Marischal the religious work of the Abbey came to an end. Several of the brethren became ministers of the Reformed Church. David Howesoun was successively minister at Philorth or Fraserburgh, at Kinedar, and at Aberdour. Gilbert Chisholm was minister at Deir. Of the others no trace remains. Whether any fled with their most valued treasures to France, or elsewhere, may be matter of conjecture, but nothing more. The easy completeness of the secularisation forms a marked contrast to the sturdiness of the Celtic monastic community, and gives ample proof of the great power of the lay lord of the province.

A. L.



The Abbey of Deer in 1770.

CHAPTER V.

Some Old Families of Buchan.

THE text, which, with the heads of the sermon, was given to the writer, suggests a scope of inquiry far wider than conditions of space permit. The following notices are necessarily merely outlines, but they are contributed in obedience to authority, and in the hope that the collection of the associations with Buchan of the old Scottish names dealt with may be of some use to future students of family and local history.

THE COMYNS.

Of the great families whose fortunes have been associated with the district of Buchan, the greatest and most powerful was the Norman race of Comyn. They flourished in Scottish history for about 250 years, from 1080 to 1330, holding the highest offices of the realm, allied to the Royal House, and owning extensive lands in the North-Eastern Lowlands, the Central Highlands, the region of Menteith, and the province of Galloway. Sir Richard Comyn, grandson of Sir William, who married Hexetilda, the grand-daughter of King Donald Bane, had three sons, Sir John, the Red Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; Walter, Earl of Menteith; and William, who married Marjory (or Margaret) heiress of Fergus, the last of the old Celtic Mormaers of Buchan, in 1210. In 1218 he founded the Abbey of Deer; in 1220 he was made Justiciar of Scotland, and died in 1233. His son William, who was also Justiciar, and died in 1258, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who married Elizabeth de Quenci, one of the heiresses through her mother of the old Celtic Lords of Galloway. In addition to his wife's inheritance, the Earl of Buchan acquired lands of his own in Galloway, among his possessions being "that lordly chase on the marches of Carrick which still retains his name—the Forest of Buchan," while she also brought into the family the high office of Lord High Constable of Scotland. His son, John, took a leading part in public affairs, and in the reign

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of his relative, John Baliol, twice led an army into England. In 1303, when King Edward I. invaded Scotland with a great army, the Comyns of Badenoch and Buchan, who had hitherto gallantly resisted the English King, were obliged to submit upon liberal terms, and the Earl of Buchan afterwards consistently adhered to the position he had accepted, a course in which he was confirmed by the feud between his family and that of Bruce, rendered irreconcilable by the slaughter of his relative the Lord of Badenoch in the Church of Dumfries. On two occasions he encountered the King—at Glenesk in the Mearns in 1307, when his troops retreated without a battle; and at Inverurie in the following year, when he was defeated with great slaughter, and pursued by the King's brother, Edward Bruce, to Aikey Brae, in the heart of his Earldom, and again completely routed. The Earl fled to England, the Bruce remorselessly laid waste his lands in Buchan, and his vast estates were forfeited, though given to followers of the Bruce nearly allied by marriage with the house of Comyn. His relative, John, fell fighting with Edward II. at Bannockburn. His niece Alicia married Henry de Beaumont, whose claim to the Earldom was admitted in 1323. Beaumont established himself in Buchan after the defeat of the Earl of Mar at Dupplin in 1332; but in 1335 he was besieged in the castle of Dundarg, compelled to surrender, and on payment of a large ransom allowed to retire to England. With the fall of Dundarg the connection of the family of its ancient Lords with the Land of Buchan terminated.

The Comyns, owing to the circumstances that placed them in bitter opposition to the house of Bruce, have been hardly spoken of in Scottish history. "While there is a tree in the forest" says the Highland proverb, "there will be guile in a Cumine," but they were wise administrators, generous benefactors of the Church, and received the loyal support of the Celtic population, the daughters of whose ancient chiefs they had married. "It is a historic fact," says Sir Andrew Agnew, "that Galloway flourished especially under the rule of the Comyns and Baliols," and the same seems to have been the case in Buchan, where civilisation made great progress in the century for which they controlled its destinies. "The power of this family" says Buchanan, "has never been equalled in Scotland either before or since." It is attested in Buchan by the ruins of Kin Edar, the feudal seat of the Earldom on the Deveron; of Dundarg, their great stronghold on the northern coast; of old Slains, their fortress on the

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eastern shore; of Rattray, Cairnbulg, and Inverallochy, where a cadet branch, said to be the ancestors of the Cummings of Culter, was established by Jordanus de Cummin, and there is said to have been a stone in the old Castle bearing the inscription—

I Jurdan Cuming, indwaller here,

Gat this hous and lands for biggin the Abbey of Deer.

The Comyns held Inverallochy till the sixteenth century. Commensurate with the greatness of the race was the completeness of its sudden fall, "for" says a chronicle of the age, "of a name that numbered at one time three Earls and more than thirty belted knights, there remained no memorial in the land save the orisons of the Monks of Deer."

According to local tradition, the Buchans of Auchmacoy are descended from a younger son of the Earl of Buchan, who, taking the side of Robert the Bruce, was allowed to retain his estate on condition of changing his name, and chose that of Buchan; and in corroboration it is said that "Auchmacoy still bears the coat of arms of Cummin, Earl of Buchan, with a mullet for difference." But the arms of Auchmacoy, recorded in later times in the Lyon Register, are the three lions' heads of the lordship of Badenoch (with change of tincture), and not the three garbs of Buchan. The family have been proprietors of the estate at least from the time of the Comyn Earls of Buchan.

In the eighteenth century there were several families of the name proprietors of small estates in Buchan, who appear to have been descended from the house of Lochtervandich, in Moray, a branch of that of Badenoch. William Cumine of Auchry in Monquhitter and Pittulie, who had been a magistrate of Elgin, made a mortification in favour of decayed burgesses of that town in 1693. Joseph Cumine of Auchry, who succeeded in 1739, was one of the public spirited proprietors who initiated agricultural progress in the north of Scotland. The property was sold by his son in 1830.

Charles Cumine of Kininmonth, in Lonmay, grandson of Gavin Cumine, who acquired the estate soon after 1650, and William Cumine of Pittulie, who, with his neighbour, Lord Pitsligo, had adopted the tenets of the Quietists, were among the Jacobite gentlemen of Buchan who joined Prince Charles Edward with Lord Pitsligo at Edinburgh in 1745. James Cumine of Kininmonth, son of Charles, died in 1803, and the heiress, Margaret Cumine, married Alexander Russell of Aden, and is now represented by her grandson, Major-General

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F. S. Russell. Her sister Catherine married her cousin, Thomas Ferguson, a younger son of Kinmundy, and is represented by her grandson, Major James W. Ferguson, 20th Hussars.

The Cummings of Birness, in Ellon, descended from a son of Cumming of Crimond, who owned Birness and Crimond before 1690, are now represented by Mr. Gordon Cumming Skene, of Pitlurg and Parkhill. Crimond was sold in 1703. The only property in Buchan still held by the name is that of Rattray, acquired by Adam Cumine, a descendant of Pittulie, early in the nineteenth century.

THE KEITHS.

No family connected with the district had a more honourable record than that of the Keiths, Earls Marischal of Scotland. The traditionary account of their origin exhibits one of those curious traditions of a common far back origin between Lowland and Highland families of which some instances exist, and narrates how the race of the Catti fought the Romans in the Hercynian forest, and came by Katwyck on the Rhine and Katwyck on the coast of Holland to their first settlement in Caithness, from which they were driven to take refuge in the Highland hills as the Clan Chattan of Badenoch. It tells how good service was done by the ancestor of the Lowland House at the battle of Barry, and how Malcolm II. traced in the blood of Camus, the gigantic leader of the Danes, on the virgin silver shield of Robert Keith lines which became the three golden pallets on a blood-red chief. Certain it is that Herveus de Keith, who died before 1200, is found as Great Marischal of Scotland, and the earliest possessions of the family were probably the lands of Keith Marischal in East Lothian. The services of Sir Robert Keith to King Robert at Inverurie were rewarded with the grant of Hall-Forest in Formartine, and his grandmother having been a daughter of the first Comyn, Earl of Buchan, the King bestowed on Keith who led the Scottish cavalry at Bannockburn, "the greatest part of his cousin the Earl of Buchan's lands." The principal seat of the family was the great castle on the cliff of Dunnottar, but from an early date they had possessions on the banks of the Ugie, and the Castle of Inverugie became the favourite home of the later generations. The Keiths bore a worthy part in Scottish history. Heads of the house fell at Dupplin and Durham, and though the heir survived he left on

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the fatal field of Flodden Sir William Keith of Inverugie, and Sir John Keith of Ludquharn, "with other friends." A younger son "commanded the horse against Donald of the Isles at Harlaw and made great slaughter of the Highland rebels." Another younger son of the house married, in 1380, Mary Cheyne, heiress of Reginald Cheyne of Inverugie, whose ancestor had married Isabel Comyn, another daughter of the first Comyn Earl and Marjory, daughter of Fergus, and this branch ending in an heiress, in the reign of Queen Mary, who married her chief, the fourth Earl Marischal, Inverugie thus passed into the possession of the head of the race. This Earl Marischal, known as "William of the Tower," took an active part in the Reformation, and the lands of the Abbey of Deir were erected into the temporal lordship of Altrie for his second son. His eldest son was the founder of Marischal College and granter of a charter to Peterhead in 1593, and author of the famous inscription—"Thay haif said, Quhat say thay? Lat yame say." In the Troubles, the Earls Marischal took the side of the Covenant, but the seventh and eighth Earls (brothers) both commanded regiments in the effort of the Duke of Hamilton for the rescue of the captive King which was defeated at Preston. Both these Earls died at Inverugie. The next Earl (the ninth) protested against the Union. His sons were the last of the race. Joining the Earl of Mar in the rising of 1715, they were forced to flee abroad, and their great estates were confiscated. After another effort in the abortive rising of 1719 in the Western Highlands, they entered the service of foreign powers. The elder brother after many years in the service of Spain and Prussia, settled at Neuchatel, and is said to have communicated to the elder Pitt the earliest intelligence of the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon. His attainder was reversed, and he repurchased his old estates, but the pathetic end was that when he revisited Peterhead and drove out accompanied by a joyous cavalcade, seeing from the top of the hill the towers of Inverugie standing roofless and desolate, he ordered the horses to be turned and drove away never to return. He sold his St. Fergus estates to James Ferguson, Lord Pitfour.

James, the younger brother, had an honourable career as a soldier in the service of Russia and Prussia. It is said, and recent researches in the Hanover archives have confirmed the story, that he left Russia partly owing to the plain hints conveyed by the Empress Elizabeth when she informed him that the

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great Zenobia never was so successful as when the leader of her armies and her consort was one and the same person. His statue, one of those erected to "the four most deserving" by Frederick the Great, stands in the Wilhelm's Platz, Berlin, and its replica, presented by the King of Prussia a few years before he became Emperor of Germany, looks down the Broad Street of Peterhead. Field Marshal Keith fell at Hochkirch, fighting with great bravery, in the night attack made by the Austrians on the great Prussian convoy he was conducting to join the King. "Croats," writes Carlyle, "had the plundering of Keith; other Austrians, not of Croat kind, carried the dead General into Hochkirch Church; Lacy's emotion on recognizing him there"—from the old wound received at Ockzakoff, where they had been comrades under the Russian flag—"like a tragic gleam of his own youth suddenly brought back to him, as in star-light, piercing and sad, from twenty-years distance—is well known in books. On the morrow, Keith had honourable soldier's-burial there—'twelve cannon' salvoing thrice, and the 'whole Corps of Colloredo' with their muskets thrice; Lacy as chief mourner, not without tears. Four months after, by royal order, Keith's body was conveyed to Berlin; reinterred in Berlin, in a still more solemn public manner, with all the honours, all the regrets; and Keith sleeps now in the Garrison-Kirche—far from bonny Inverugie; the hoarse sea-winds and caverns of Dunottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and him, in the imagination of some few." "My brother leaves me a noble legacy," wrote the old Earl Marischal; "last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is 70 ducats" (about £25).

The annalist of the Keith family observes that they were less numerous in their branches and cadets than other Scottish houses of later origin, because "the Keiths having been in every action, and by virtue of their office of Marischal present at and attended by their friends in every battle, the males were seldom allowed to increase to any considerable number." There were, however, several cadet branches in Buchan. The principal was the house of Inverugie and Ravenscraig, from a younger son of which again were descended the Keiths of Ludquharn, whose head is referred to as "the Knight of Ludquharn," one of whom was a leader in the Civil Wars, and who obtained a baronetcy in 1629. One of their seats was the old Castle of Boddam. Sir Edward Keith received a charter of Ludquharn from his father-in-law, Sir John Menteith, the husband

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of Lady Elyne, daughter of Gratney, Earl of Mar, about 1350. The second son of the second Lord Keith founded the family of Troup. Lord Altrie dying without male issue, the title became extinct. In the parish of Deer, of which the Earl Marischal was patron, the Keiths for long possessed the barony of Aden, of which the Earl Marischal had a charter from Robert the Bruce; and the cadet houses of Clackriach—one of whom, as well as Keith of Cryallie, was killed by Gordon of Gight in 1587—and Bruxie flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were also Keiths of Crichtie (1696), of Hythie (1490), of Parcock (1490), of Northfield (in Gamery), of Balmoor (1543 and 1630).

THE HAYS.

One of the most gallant and faithful followers of King Robert Bruce was Gilbert Hay of Erroll, who was wounded at Tyndrum and fought at Bannockburn. Shortly after the great victory the King conferred on him the office of Lord High Constable, with a large part of the forfeited lands of the Earl of Buchan, including the barony of Slains. Whether we retain "the beautiful legend of the patriarch Hay of Luncarty" and his two sons stopping the tide of flight and checking the Danish charge in 980, with its symbol in the stone that still stands before the door of Slains, or accept the emendation of Norman origin, the family had already distinguished themselves in the history of Scotland. Though the title was taken from the ancient lands of the family in the Carse of Gowrie, they seem to have resided much from an early period at Slains, and the first Earl died there in 1460. Their estates in Slains, Cruden, and Turriff were large, and they had bonds of manrent from many of the leading families in Buchan and beyond. The fourth Earl fell beside his King at Flodden, and with him lay dead eighty-seven of his name. The ninth Earl was the ally of the Earl of Huntly, in adherence to the ancient faith, and after they had defeated the Earl of Argyll at Glenlivet in 1594, the King himself moved against them, and the old Castle of Slains was demolished. The older portions of the present Castle were then built on an even more defensible site further north. In the early years of the seventeenth century there was a sharp feud between the Hays and the Gordons, started by the violent proceedings of Gordon of Gight, which was ultimately composed by the direct intervention of the King. During the Civil Wars it was perhaps fortunate for the house of

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Erroll that the holder of the title was a minor, but the name was well represented by the gallant Sir William Hay of Delgaty, who was the constant comrade of the great Marquis of Montrose, was executed with him, and reburied with him in the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh after the Restoration. The eleventh Earl of Erroll dying without issue in 1674, the Earldom passed to the descendant of Andrew, the eighth Earl. The thirteenth Earl died unmarried in 1717, and the Earldom devolved on his sister, Lady Mary, wife of Alexander Falconer. On her death, in 1758, it passed to James, Lord Boyd, the son of Lady Anne Livingstone, wife of the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was executed for his share in the rising of 1745, and grandson of Lady Mary's sister, Lady Margaret Hay. On the death of James, fifteenth Earl of Erroll, he was succeeded by his brother William, whose eldest son, Lord Hay, fell on the field of Waterloo. The next surviving son, William George, who succeeded in 1819, married Lady Elizabeth Fitz-Clarence, and was in 1831 created a British peer under the title of Baron Kilmarnock. The nineteenth Earl, as a major in the Rifle Brigade, was wounded at the battle of the Alma, and his son, the present and twentieth Earl of Erroll, and twenty-fourth Lord High Constable of his name, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, served in South Africa, and has held high military appointments.

Cadets of the Hay family in its three great branches of Erroll, Tweeddale, and Kinnoul, were numerous in Perthshire and other parts of Scotland. In Buchan, the Earl of Erroll was superior of Turriff, and one of the family residences was the fine old castle of Delgaty, which for some generations gave its name to the branch which expired with the gallant follower of Montrose. The Hays of Brunthill, in Cruden, were specially concerned in the feud with the Gordons of Gight, and there were other families in the district designed of Ardendraught (an early and important cadet of Slains), of Artrochie, of Kermuck, of Crimonmogate, of Ardgrain, of Leask, and of Logie in Crimond.

THE FRASERS.

Sir Alexander Fraser, who married Lady Mary, sister of King Robert the Bruce, was the grandfather of Sir Alexander Fraser of Cowie, who married Lady Johanna, daughter and co-heiress of the Earl of Ross. On the forfeiture of the Comyn Earls of Buchan, the King had bestowed a large part of their estates on Sir John Ross, son of the Earl of Ross, who had married Margaret, a

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daughter or niece of the forfeited Earl, and sister of Alicia, who married De Beaumont; and these lands now passed with Johanna to the Frasers, her sister granting a charter of the barony of Philorth and other lands in the north of Buchan. Sir Alexander Fraser fought at Otterburn. The most distinguished of his descendants was Sir Alexander Fraser, who succeeded in 1569. In 1570 he laid the foundation of the tower of Kinnaird Head, and he obtained charters by which Fraserburgh, formerly called Faithlie, was erected into a free port, free burgh of barony, and free regality. In March, 1576, he began to build a large and convenient harbour at the same place, and himself laid the first stone of it "*in nomine Patri, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*" He also obtained the privilege of "erecting there a University equal in privileges to any other in the kingdom," and commenced a large building as a College, the square tower of which remained standing for many years. (*Vide* Section V.—Chapter on "Fraserburgh: Its Foundation and History.")

The original seat of the family was the Castle of Cairnbulg, but in 1619 the lands and castle of Cairnbulg were sold by Sir Alexander, to Fraser of Stonywood, father of the first Lord Fraser of Muchalls. They were sold by the last Lord Fraser in 1703 to Colonel John Buchan. The son of Sir Alexander married Margaret, daughter and heiress of George, Lord Abernethy of Saltoun, and their son succeeded to the peerage of Saltoun in 1669. The grandfather of the present Lord Saltoun, greatly distinguished himself in the defence of Hougomont, at the battle of Waterloo; and the late lord was the author of a most careful and admirable history of the Frasers of Philorth. The old adage still holds true—

When there's ne'er a Cock o' the North
There'll be a Fraser in Philorth.

The local cadets of the house of Philorth were Fraser of Memsie, descended from a younger son of the baron who succeeded in 1441, and, still in possession when Douglas wrote his Peerage in 1764; Fraser of Techmuiry, descended from the one who succeeded in 1513; and Fraser of Tyrie, descended from the third son of Sir Alexander, who succeeded in 1569. Another younger son, brother of the first peer, held for his life the barony of Pittulie, but died without issue. The third son of the laird who succeeded in 1513, was Thomas Fraser of Strichen, who left two daughters. This Thomas

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of Strichen was killed by Gordon of Gight in 1576 "near the bridge of Old Deer with one stroke of a two-handed sword." Fraser, the Tutor of Lovat, married the widow, purchased the rights of the estate, increased and erected it into a parish, and founded the family which, after possessing the property for several generations and sending a representative to the Scottish bench in Lord Strichen, ultimately succeeded to the Lovat estates in 1815, and established its right to the title of Lord Lovat. Another branch succeeded the Comyns in Inverallochy; and in 1505 and 1641 Nether Kinmundy was the property of Frasers. In 1721 Rattray, then called Broadland, belonged to William Fraser.

THE FORBESSES.

The "country" of the Forbeses and seat of their chief, Lord Forbes, was in Strathdon, but several branches of this old Aberdeenshire race established themselves in Buchan. Indeed, the eldest cadet branch of the clan was the house of Pitsligo. The second son of Sir "John with the black lip," posthumous child of the chief who fell at Dupplin in 1332, and common ancestor of all the Forbes families, was Sir William of Kinadie, who married Agnes, daughter of the second Fraser of Philorth, and with her got the lands of Pitsligo. He built the Castle of Pitsligo, of which the oldest part, the tower, was erected in 1424. It was added to from time to time, some of the stones bearing the dates 1517 and 1663. The ninth laird was ennobled as Lord Pitsligo, and the last of the race who dwelt in the old castle was the fourth lord, who was forfeited in 1745. The prototype of Scott's "Baron of Bradwardine," a man of high character and great piety, he was the leader of the little force of Lowland cavalry raised by the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire, and the finest and most dignified figure of all who rallied round the young Chevalier. After an exile of some years in France after the rising of 1715, he resided quietly at Pitsligo, till, in the '45, his little band of cavalry mustered at Aberdeen, and their venerable leader moved to the front, raised his hat, and, lifting his eyes to Heaven, pronounced the appeal, "O Lord, Thou knowest that our cause is just," and gave the order, "March, gentlemen!" His adventures after Culloden, living in a cave on the rocky coast of the Moray Firth, hiding under the bridge of Craigmaud, receiving alms from the soldiers in search of him, but sheltered and protected by a loyal tenantry, were of the

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most romantic nature ; and ultimately he was allowed to remain unmolested at his son's residence of Auchiries, where he died in 1762 at the age of 85. Lord Pitsligo's sister married the eldest son of Sir William Forbes of Monymusk. Their grandson, Sir William Forbes, was the head of the well-known banking house in Edinburgh. His grandson, Sir John Stuart Forbes, left an only daughter who married Lord Clinton, and their son is the present owner of the Pitsligo estates. The baronetcy and male representation passed on Sir John's death in 1865 to his nephew, Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo.

The estate of Boyndlie has been held by two families of the name. A cadet of Pitsligo, who was killed at the Craibstane in 1575, built the first house of Boyndlie. His descendant, known as the Tutor of Pitsligo, rebuilt it in 1660, and in 1690 his son, Captain Forbes, enlarged it. His son, John Forbes, who died in 1741, left two daughters in whom it passed out of the name. John Forbes, fourth son of Sir William Forbes, third Baronet of Monymusk in 1711 bought Upper Boyndlie and Ladysford from Lord Pitsligo, and his descendant in 1812 acquired the portion of Boyndlie that had belonged to the older family. The estate now belongs to his representative, Mr. J. C. Ogilvie-Forbes.

In 1581, the seventh Lord Forbes, who married the co-heiress of the Keiths of Inverugie, whose sister married the Earl Marischal, gave a charter of Blackton in King Edward, to Abram Forbes, his youngest son. His family held the estate for five generations, and unlike the majority of their clan and name, were Cavaliers in the Civil War. The last laird, William Forbes of Blackton, after serving in Flanders, fought in the Jacobite army at Sherriffmuir, was taken prisoner and tried at Carlisle, but was released. In 1725 the estate was parted with to Duff of Braco. William Forbes survived till after the '45 ; his daughter married Thomas Urquhart, and their daughter married James Ferguson of Kinmundy.

A Forbes family, descended from a younger son of Tolquhon, were owners of Waterton in Ellon from 1630 to 1770. They had a sharp feud with the Kennedys of Carmuck, whose property, with the Constablership of Aberdeen, they subsequently acquired. The remains of the old castle of Waterton stand on one of the most picturesque spots on the banks of the Ythan.

The estate of Schivas was also held by another family of the name of Forbes, the first of whom was a younger son of Craigievar, and passed with the

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name to the representative of the ancient house of Irvine of Drum, who sold it to the Earl of Aberdeen.

The genealogy of the house of Forbes preserves the names of others who in bygone times held properties in Buchan. Thus a Forbes of the Boyndlie branch, and his son, were owners of Torhendry and (part, probably,) of Ludquharn, acquiring the latter from another Forbes family; and there were Forbeses of Auchreddie, Saplinbrae, and Rora; of Savocho, Byth, and Allathan; of Crimond, and of Gask. Ludquharn (or part of it) belonged to Forbeses till early in the eighteenth century.

John Forbes, second son of the eighth laird of Tolquhon, acquired the estate of Pitnacalder in Aberdour. His descendant was minister of Old Deer in 1745, served as a captain of volunteers, and when challenged for wearing a sword, replied that he served his King and country, that he was a gentleman, and that he could use the sword if necessity required. He is said to have laid a pair of pistols on the pulpit at Old Deer when his Jacobite parishioners were credited with the design of laying hands on him.

THE GORDONS

Several branches of the great race of Gordon have spread from the original northern seat of the name in Strathbogie into the outlying district of Buchan. From Haddo, the Earls of Aberdeen look across the Ythan into Buchan, in which a considerable portion of their estates is situated, and Cairnbulg was, and Ellon is still, held by off-shoots of their family. In Ellon the present owners succeeded another Gordon family. For several generations, from 1726 to 1889, the Gordons of Haddo, or the descendants of a younger son, held the old castle of Fyvie, to which they added the Gordon tower. From the house of Lesmoir came the Gordons of Fetterangus, who sold the property in 1757, while the first baronet of Lesmoir, whose wife was a Keith of Ravenscraig, became owner of Broadland or Rattray, which he settled on his second son in 1614. From this son are traditionally descended the Gordons of Cairness and Buthlaw. Buthlaw has been held by the family at least since 1664, and in 1796 Cairness was acquired by Charles Gordon, whose son, Major-General Thomas Gordon, rose to high rank in the Greek service, commanding the expedition for the relief of Athens and defeating the Turks with great slaughter, and was the historian of the Greek Revolution. On his death, the Buthlaw

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estate passed to the Piries, through an ancestress of the Gordon family who had married a Logie; and it is now held by Mr. Pirie Gordon. Cairness now belongs to the General's grandson, Mr. Charles Thomas Gordon.

The direct descendant of John Gordon of Scurdargue, and representative of the senior male line of the northern Gordons, Mr. Gordon Cumming Skene of Pitlurg and Parkhill, is the owner of Pitlurg (formerly Leask). For several generations prior to 1723, the family were also owners of the barony of Kinmundy, and several of the children of "the Great Straloch"—the Sir Robert Gordon whose calm judgment was invoked in negotiations between the Cavaliers and the Covenanters, who chose rather to be "the oldest baronet of his name than the youngest baron," and who rendered distinguished services as a geographer and map-maker—were born there.

In 1506 Alexander Seton of Touch Fraser sold to John Gordon of Lungar the lands of Kinmundy, including the "villam de Kynmundy, le Myllhill, le Myllbrokis, Pettymarcus, et Kinknockie;" and in 1548 the son of John Gordon of Pettymarcus, "who was slain in fight with the English in the year 1547," at Pinkie, was infest, *inter alia*, in the lands of Myllhill, Pettymarcus, and Mill of Mylbrek, in the barony of Kynmundy. The son of James Gordon, the Parson of Rothiemay, fifth son of "the Great Straloch," who assisted his father in his cartographical work, and was the author of Gordon's "Scots Affairs," acquired in 1686 the lands of Techmuiry by marriage with the heiress of the Frasers, and the estate was held by his descendants until 1785. Another son of the Parson of Rothiemay is designed as Alexander Gordon of Kinmundy, and was, according to the "View of the Diocese of Aberdeen," owner of Nether Kinmundy, in Longside.

The estate of Nethermuir, in New Deer, was long possessed by a Gordon family, descended from David, son of James Gordon of Methlic and Haddo, who died in 1582. It was sold in 1872 to William Leslie, and Mr. Gordon of Nethermuir settled in Ayrshire.

In 1633 Ogilvie of Auchleuchries gave sasine to Maria, his daughter, and John Gordon, third son of the deceased Patrick Gordon of Nethermuir, her future spouse, of the lands of Auchleuchries. Their son was Patrick Gordon, the famous General of Peter the Great, who, when he heard in Russia of the battle of the Boyne, wrote—"I am sorry from my heart that His Majesty did

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not, when I was in Scotland, lay his commands upon me to stay there. Then might I at this time have given proofs of my loyalty and what I can do ;” and of whom the editor of his Diary observes—“We may well believe that the hand which crushed the Strelitzes would have been heavy upon the Cameronians : it may be that the walls of Derry would have fallen before the conqueror of Azof ; and the ready counsel and daring acts which twice saved the throne of Peter the Great might have upheld the rule even of King James II.” The General practically cleared the estate of encumbrances, but after his death “the cloud of wadsets soon began to thicken again, and before Gordon had been thirty years in his grave, his grandson was a landless man and another race of Gordons dwelt in Auchleuchries.” The new owner was Alexander Gordon of Sandend, who acquired the property in 1726.

Another family were owners of Aberdour. Their heiress married, in 1813, John Dingwall of Brucklay.

There were also Gordons of Barrack, of Coldwells (descended from Haddo, one of whom became Bishop of Galloway in 1688), of Byth (c. 1730), of Craigellie, of Inverebrie, of Logie (c. 1730), of Schivas (1563), and of Lonmay (1556).

No family of the name had a more tempestuous career than the Gordons of Gight, described by Fraser, author of the Wardlaw MS., as “in effect the wickedest family of that name.” The lands of Gight were held from 1467, when they came into the possession of Sir William Gordon, third son of the second Earl of Huntly, by his descendants, until they were sold in 1787 to the Earl of Aberdeen, after Catherine Gordon, the heiress, had married Captain Byron. The first Gordon of Gight was killed at Flodden. The third fell in an incident of the great feud between the Gordons and Forbeses, when he met the Master of Forbes on the shore of Dundee, and he and Forbes of Towie fell by each other’s hands. The fourth took an active part in the feud with the Keiths, and was wounded in the battle of Glenlivet. The fifth was the one who killed Fraser of Strichen at Old Deer ; and his is said to have been the actual hand which slew the bonnie Earl of Moray at Donibristle, “among the rocks of the sea,” where he was tracked by the smouldering tassels of his helmet as he fled from the burning house. The sixth had a fierce feud with the Hays, took part in the Trot of Turriff, and died in prison in Edinburgh in

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1640. The seventh was an active Royalist, was imprisoned with the laird of Haddo in 1644, but made his escape. The eighth, at the head of a party of Royalists, took Montrose in 1644, seized "at Parcock Alexander Forbes, alias Plagne, a bussie body in the good cause," surprised some of Forbes of Craigievar's Covenanting troopers at Inverurie, "whereat Craigievar was heichlie offendit," and was wounded at Alford. In 1701 the estate passed through an heiress. Her son, who took the name of Gordon, was drowned in the Ythan, and his grand-daughter was Catherine Gordon, the mother of Lord Byron.

The second son of the fifth laird of Gight was owner of Ardlogie. His eldest son was run through the body in Paris, and the third was that gallant Cavalier of whom the old ballad says—

Nathaniel Gordon, stout and true,
Did for King Charles wear the rue.

He fought with great bravery under Montrose at Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth ; was captured at Philiphaugh, and executed at St. Andrews.

Other cadets of the family of Gight held at one time or another the lands of Cairnbanno, of Adieall in Strichen, and of Ardmachar. Several of them went to the wars in Holland, and one, in the Austrian service, was among the assassins of Wallenstein.

THE FERGUSONS.

The Ferguson families in Buchan represent a family long settled near Inverurie, in the Garioch, which, according to tradition, was descended from a younger son of the chief of the clan in Atholl. It has been said that the Fergusons and the M'Diarmids "are admitted by all authorities to be the oldest clans known in the Highlands," and General Stewart of Garth states that Ferguson is "supposed to be one of the most ancient names of any, as pronounced in Gaelic." The unvarying Highland tradition is that the clan are descendants of King Fergus, and the Highland bards speak of them as—

"Clann Fhearghuis nan garbh thùrn
Sliochd a cheud Rìgh Albanaich."
(Clan Fergus of the brave deeds ;
Descendants of the first King of Alban.)

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“Sliochd nam fear nach robh cearbach
Thanaig sios o' Rìgh Fearghuis,
A rìghich air Albain 'o thus.”

(Sons of the men who never were unready
Who descended down from King Fergus,
The first King who ruled over Alban.)

It is a curious fact that the name appears to be the only modern clan name occurring in the ancient Irish “Tract of the Men of Alban,” which, after giving the descendants of Fergus Mor (500 A.D.) to the fifth generation, says—“Here branch off the Clan Fergus a Gall, son of Eochaidh Buidhe, son of Aedain;” and in describing the descendants of Fergus' brother, Lorn Mor, says that he had a son, Fergus Salach, and that the Cinel Fergus Salach was one of “the three powerful” of the Cinel Lorn.

The Fergusons were therefore of pure Scottish (as distinguished from Pictish or other Celtic) descent, and the seat of their Chief, from before the time of Robert the Bruce to the death of General Fergusson of Dunfallandy in 1834, was in Atholl, Baron Fergusson appearing as Chief in the Roll of the Clans made up in 1587. A paper of the eighteenth century preserved at Pitfour, says—“The tradition anent the Fergusons settling in Aberdeenshire is that two younger sons of Baron Fergusson's in Atholl, in an affray with a neighbouring chieftain, killed him, for which they were obliged to abscond. One of them came to Aberdeenshire and settled near Inverurie and is the ancestor of the families of Pitfour and Kinmundie. The other went to the shire of Ayr and is said to be the predecessor of the families of Kilkerran and Auchinblain, and this is said to have happened upwards of 400 years ago.” The tradition is supported by the similarity of the arms, which differ from those of the Galloway Fergusons, and by the fact that when the famous Plotter revealed the Scots Plot in 1704 to the Duke of Atholl he told him his family had originally come from Atholl. Tradition also says that King Robert the Bruce stayed in the house of a Ferguson at Crichton, when ill of fever before the battle of Inverurie in 1308, that the King occupied a bed which was still in existence after 1700, and that this Ferguson forded the water of Don before the King on the morning of the battle and received from him a grant of land in the vicinity of Inverurie, some of which belonged to the family to the close of the eighteenth

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century. The family were, prior to the Civil Wars, owners of the estate of Crichtie (in the Garioch), and the eldest son "accompanied Montrose in all his wars." He dying unmarried, his brother, William, in whose house in Inverurie the Marquis of Huntly stayed when he hoisted the royal standard at the outbreak of the Civil War, acquired the estate of Badyfurrow (now Manar) in 1655, and was member for Inverurie in the Scotch Restoration Parliament of 1661, when he was present at the re-burial in St. Giles of the great Marquis of Montrose and his comrade Sir William Hay of Delgaty. He was succeeded by his grandson, William, whose son James, an advocate at the Scottish bar, sold Badyfurrow and purchased Pitfour, in Buchan, in 1700. The eldest son was the notorious Robert Ferguson, "the Plotter," "the Judas of Dryden's great satire," and, according to family tradition, he was "disinherited for being the only disloyal man of his family." Certain it is that he resigned all his rights as a son for a payment down, and left the north for his strange career in England. He left no male issue.

Family of Pitfour.—James Ferguson of Pitfour was appointed Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeenshire in 1710, and died in 1734. He married Anne, sister of Captain Stuart of Crichtie (in Buchan).

His son, James (Lord Pitfour), born in 1700, became Dean of Faculty in 1760, was raised to the Bench in 1764, and died in 1777. He married Anne Murray, daughter of Lord Elibank. He acted as counsel for the Jacobites at Carlisle in 1746, was a trusted adviser of many clients, including the last Earl Marischal, whose St. Fergus estates he purchased; and he combined great legal ability with some humour. Ramsay of Ochtertyre records that before he received his gown, "All men wondered that he had not been made a judge, for in his hands it was said men's lives and properties would be safe . . . As a criminal judge he was accused of leaning in general too much to the side of the prisoner, a fault which could not with justice be found with most of his brethren . . . But even malevolence durst not ascribe his conduct to political or party considerations, for whilst he sat on that bench the voice of party was not heard in Scotland, and the people who excited his commiseration were low, friendless creatures . . . A series of his opinions (as counsel) would be a treasure of information to men of business as well as a truly honourable monument to the head and heart of this amiable and able man."

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James Ferguson, eldest son of Lord Pitfour, born in 1734, was called to the Scots bar in 1759, and is described in Boswell's "Life of Johnson" as "remarkable for a manly understanding, and a knowledge both of books and of the world." He unsuccessfully contested Aberdeenshire in 1786, and, after sitting for Banffshire, was returned for Aberdeenshire in 1790 and continued to represent the county till his death as "Father of the House of Commons," in 1820. He was a loyal supporter and intimate friend of the Younger Pitt, to whom, and to Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, he erected a monument at the gate of Pitfour. He was noted for his dry wit and humour, and though a silent member in the House, was active in promoting the interests of the county. To him, largely, Buchan owes its excellent turnpike roads, and a local writer thus describes his "patriotic labours" at home—"He has built several extensive and thriving villages; has conducted a canal through a considerable part of his property; has introduced by his influence fine turnpike roads throughout the greater part of Aberdeenshire; has promoted by liberal encouragement the most improved systems of husbandry among his tenantry; has planted many hundreds of acres which promise to rescue the district of Buchan from the reproaches of future travellers; has enclosed whole farms with hawthorn hedges, and granted leases to all his tenants on terms peculiarly liberal . . . Mr. Ferguson's attachment to Buchan, which is almost proverbial, and his enthusiastic delight in planning and executing schemes to promote the happiness of his tenantry—in fine, the general tenor of his whole life—have justly entitled him to the venerable appellation of the Father of his people."

Lord Pitfour's second son, Patrick, had a brilliant but brief career as a soldier. Born in 1744, he joined the Scots Greys at the age of fourteen, and distinguished himself by his coolness in the field in Germany, and his gallantry in defeating a famous French swordsman in a duel at Paris. Transferred to the 70th Regiment, he invented a breech-loading rifle, which he patented in 1776, and which was used in the American War. He was said to be "the best marksman living," and greatly distinguished himself in the American War, both by gallantry and humanity. On one occasion, Washington owed his life to his chivalrous forbearance, and American authors point to the battle of King's Mountain, in South Carolina, on 7th October, 1780, where he commanded the

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Loyalist Force, and which was decided by his death, as the real turning point of the Revolutionary War. He was then Major of the 71st Highlanders, and had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. It is a curious coincidence that the latest German biographer of Lord Chatham points to the advice given by Captain John Ferguson, R.N., another descendant of the laird of Badifurrow, at the siege of Louisburg in 1758, as marking the moment of change in the whole Colonial War which resulted in the conquest of Canada, and as "breaking the spell which had long bound the British military power."

Lord Pitfour's third son, George, was Governor of Tobago. He succeeded his brother in the estate of Pitfour, but died within three months, leaving the property to his son, Admiral George Ferguson, R.N., who was member for Banffshire from 1833 to 1837, and died in 1867. Admiral Ferguson was succeeded by his son, Lieutenant-Colonel George Arthur Ferguson, who served with the Grenadier Guards in the Crimea. His eldest son, Major Arthur George Ferguson, of the Rifle Brigade, who served in the South African war, is H.M. Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland.

Family of Kinmundy.—James, the third son of William Ferguson of Badifurrow, had a distinguished military career. Serving in the Scots Brigade in Holland, he came over as a captain with William of Orange in 1688, was taken prisoner at Killiecrankie, and in the following year, as major, commanded the expedition which reduced the Western Isles, and commenced the building of Fort William. Transferred after Steinkirk to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Cameronian Regiment, he became Colonel after the battle of Landen in the following year. In the campaign of 1704, as Brigadier-General, he commanded at Maestricht, while the army was assembled there, "led up the first line of foot" in the bloody attack on the Schellenberg, had his brigade in the thick of the fighting round the village of Blenheim, and was entrusted with the duty of taking the large body of French prisoners, some 5000 or 6000, down the Rhine to Holland. He commanded a brigade in the campaign of 1705, and died in command of the garrison at Bois-le-Duc in October of that year. He purchased the lands of Balmakelly and Kirktonhill in the Mearns, which were erected into the "free barony of Balmakelly" by a royal charter in his favour in 1698. He married, first, Helen Drummond of Cultmalindie, and, second, Hester Elizabeth Hibelet, a Dutch lady of Bois-le-Duc. One of

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his own officers, in communicating the news of his death immediately after his promotion to Major-General, wrote—"All the English themselves, and even his greatest enemies, while he was yet alive, allowed he was by much the best officer we had in all the British troops. He was brave, knew the service, had great and long experience in thirty years' constant service, and the Duke (of Marlborough) was so sensible of this that when he had anything difficult or of importance to do, he constantly employed him, even out of his turn."

The General's son, James Ferguson, sold Balmakelly, and purchased Kinmundy in 1723, following his cousin of Pitfour to Buchan. He obtained a new charter of barony of Kinmundy in 1728, and was also proprietor of the lands of Aden, Old Deer, Burntbrae, and Biffie, which he sold in 1758 to Alexander Russell of Moncoffer. In 1744 he acquired the lands of Coynach, and had completed the present mansion house of Kinmundy before 1736. He married, first, Elizabeth Deans, a lady from the Lothians, of strong Presbyterian and Hanoverian opinions; and, second, Margaret Irvine of Artamford. He died in 1777, leaving a son, James, and a daughter, Marjory, who married James Cumine of Kinninmonth.

The son, James Ferguson, second of Kinmundy, married Elizabeth Urquhart, daughter of a cadet of the Braelangwell branch of the ancient house of the Urquharts of Cromarty. He died in 1787. His second son is now represented by Major James William Ferguson, 20th Hussars. His eldest son, James Ferguson, who died in 1816, married Isabella, daughter of the Rev. William Brown of Craigdam. His eldest son, James Ferguson, fourth of Kinmundy, married Emilia, daughter of the Rev. Robert Chalmers of Haddington, and died in 1862. His eldest son, James, having lost his life by accident at Glasgow in 1841, he was succeeded by his second son, William Ferguson of Kinmundy, who married in 1856 Eliza, daughter of Andrew Williamson, Esq., Ayr. The younger son, Thomas, resided for several years at Old Town of Coynach, and has left descendants, his representative being Robert Ferguson, M.D., Ongar, Essex. Mr. William Ferguson, after a career of varied usefulness, died at Kinmundy in September, 1904, and was succeeded by his eldest and only surviving son, the present James Ferguson of Kinmundy. Mr. Ferguson was called to the Scots bar in 1879, and after serving as Advocate-Depute for some years, was appointed Sheriff of Argyll in

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1898. He became a King's Counsel in 1902, was transferred to the Sheriffdom of Inverness, Elgin, and Nairn, in January, 1905, and in June of that year to the Sheriffdom of Forfarshire. He has published several works in legal and historical literature, and after serving for over 25 years in the Buchan Volunteer Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders, was in 1900 appointed to the command of the Volunteer Battalion of Highlanders then being raised in Edinburgh, now the 9th Battalion (Highlanders) the Royal Scots, of which he was the first Colonel, retiring in 1904.

Another branch of the descendants of William Ferguson of Badifurrow, after being for some time in Poland, settled at Peterhead. They were descended from his daughter, Janet, who married her cousin, John Ferguson, a Polish merchant. Their son, who settled at Peterhead, left two sons, one of whom, and his son, both commanded merchant vessels, while William, the other son, was in the navy. He married Isabella Arbuthnot, left the navy for the merchant service in deference to her Jacobite feelings, but returned to it after the death of Prince Charles Edward. In 1795 he was Captain of the Peterhead Artillery Volunteers, and died at the age of 89, the year after Trafalgar, the news of which the old man had told to his grandchildren with tears streaming down his face, and the words—"We have won a glorious victory, but Nelson's dead."

THE ARBUTHNOTS.

The family of Arbuthnots in Buchan, for long specially associated with the town of Peterhead and various estates in its vicinity, were a branch of the ancient family of Arbuthnot of that Ilk in the Mearns, still represented by Lord Arbuthnot.

According to one account, Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot married, as his second wife, Christian Keith, daughter of William, Lord Keith, taken prisoner at Pinkie, eldest son of the third Earl Marischal; and their three sons, John, Robert, and Alexander, migrated to their relative, the Earl Marischal's lands in Buchan about 1560. According to another account, the three Arbuthnots who came to Buchan were the sons of James Arbuthnot of Lentusche in Kincardineshire (1540), whose precise relationship to the chief of his name has not been ascertained. John, the eldest, bought the estate of Cairngall, while the other two settled in Rora. The grandson of the second son,

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himself also named Robert, married Beatrix Gordon, and died in 1682. His eldest son, Alexander, minister of the parish of Arbuthnot, was the father of Dr. John Arbuthnot, the eminent physician of the time of Queen Anne, and friend of Pope, Addison, and Swift, and the original author, in his "History of John Bull," of the typical phrase for the English nation. The second was Robert, who having fought with Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie, fled to France, where he had a successful career as a banker, and was known as the "philanthropic Robert of Rouen," leaving a son said to have been a Knight of the Order of St. Louis. George, the third son, after serving in the Guards, entered the service of the Honourable East India Company.

John, the second son of Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon, was factor to the Earl Marischal, and father of Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo (1695-1756). His son, Robert, who married Mary Urquhart of Craigston, became Secretary to the Board of Manufactures and Fisheries in Edinburgh, and had four sons—Robert, who was Government Secretary in Ceylon; John, a captain in the Royal Artillery; William, twice Lord Provost, and created a baronet by King George IV. in person at Edinburgh in 1822; and George, from whom was descended the late George Arbuthnot (of the Scots Greys), who married Miss Leslie of Warthill, in the Garioch, in 1877, and whose son is the present William Arbuthnot Leslie of Warthill, Lieutenant, Scots Guards. The second son of John, the Earl Marischal's factor, was Thomas, who married his kinswoman, Jane, daughter of Baillie Thomas Arbuthnot. Their son, James (1741-1823), who married Catherine Cumine of Pittulie, acquired the estate of Dens, and had four sons—Thomas; George, born 1777, who was first Provost of Peterhead after the Reform Bill, acquired the estate of Invernettie, and left three sons—James, John, and William; William, who succeeded his father in Dens and purchased Downiehill; and Robert (1783-1851), who married his kinswoman, Nicola Arbuthnot (of Nether Kinmundy), and became proprietor of Mount Pleasant.

The third son of Robert Arbuthnot and Beatrix Gordon was William, a prior owner of Invernettie.

Robert Arbuthnot, who came to Buchan in 1560, had a second son, Alexander, who accompanied the Earl Marischal to Denmark in 1589, and married Janet Stewart, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour. His eldest son,

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Alexander, was the father of Nathaniel, Andrew, and Robert. Nathaniel had six sons, of whom the eldest was Thomas Arbuthnot (1681-1762), Baillie of Peterhead, factor to the Earl Marischal, and an enthusiastic Jacobite in the rising of 1715. His eldest son, James of Rora, married Elizabeth Gordon of Barnes, and their eldest son was Thomas of Inverveddie and Nether Kinmundy. He married Jane Buchan of Auchmacoy. Their second son, Thomas, purchased part of the lands of Invernettie, and also Meethill, where he resided ; and their daughter, Nicola, married her kinsman, Robert Arbuthnot of Mount Pleasant. Thomas, the second son of "the old Baillie," was originally a midshipman in the navy. He joined Prince Charles's Army, and fought at Culloden. He subsequently commanded a merchant ship and settled at Peterhead, marrying his cousin, Margaret Arbuthnot, the eldest daughter of James Arbuthnot of Rora. They had two sons—James, who married Grace Buchan of Auchmacoy, was author of the "Historical Account of Peterhead," constructed the Peterhead baths, and died in 1822 ; he was a diligent antiquarian and collector, and his collection is now preserved in the Arbuthnot Museum at Peterhead. Jane, a daughter of the old Baillie, married, as has been seen, her kinsman, Thomas, and was the mother of James Arbuthnot of Dens ; and her sister, Isabella, married Captain William Ferguson, during one of whose voyages she built the house at Peterhead called the Brae, which retained its original features and continued to be occupied by her descendants till a very few years ago.

The second son of Alexander (II.), son of Alexander (I.), and grandson of Robert of 1560, was Andrew Arbuthnot. His son, Nathaniel of Haddo, married Elizabeth Fraser, heiress of that property, and died in 1783, leaving four sons and three daughters.

Among other descendants of the Buchan Arbuthnots were the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, British Ambassador to the Porte, and a Commissioner of Woods and Forests ; Sir Robert Arbuthnot and General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, who were both made Knights of the Bath for their military services ; Captain John Arbuthnot, who distinguished himself at the siege of Gibraltar ; Lieutenant Andrew Arbuthnot, who was Aide-de-Camp to General Wolfe at Quebec ; Charles Arbuthnot, who became Abbot and President of the Scots Monastery and College of St. James at Ratisbon ; and Alexander Arbuthnot, Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora.

J. F.

CHAPTER IV.

The Castles of Buchan.

Chiefless castles breathing stern farewells
From gray but leafy walls, where Ruin greenly dwells.

BYRON.

THE ancient Castles of Buchan—now in ruins for the most part, and at the best but grim, gaunt skeletons, mere shadows of their former greatness—possess nevertheless an interest that appeals in a very special manner to local historians and archæologists. They are the most conspicuous memorials of former times extant; they constitute the chief connecting link between the present days and “the days that are no more.” Strongly reminiscent are they also of

Old, unhappy far-off things,
And battles long ago.

In viewing them, one recalls—almost unconsciously, it may be—the fierce struggles for domination in the feudal period, the rise and fall of families of more or less renown, times of turbulence and unrest, passion and intrigue, personal feuds and rivalries and national broils. The history of Buchan is inseparably bound up with that of its castles. They and their occupants played no small part in the settlement of the district; the security and order gradually established within the regions dominated by the castles—rude and imperfect as the security and order may have been—must have had their influence, and have contributed not merely to pacification but to development as well. And then the castles of Buchan are associated with the national history, every stage of which finds an illustration in one or other of the mouldering ruins. The War of Independence, the conflicts with the Stuarts, the Reformation movement, the struggles between Catholics and Covenanters, Episcopalians and Presbyterians—in all of them by turn Buchan was actively

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engaged ; and memories of them haunt its castle walls. And two Buchan castles are specially identified with the Jacobite cause, with all its romantic associations. That cause, in expiring, involved the extinction of two of the noble families of Buchan, but at the same time it invested their last representatives with a halo of chivalry and romance that dignified their downfall.

One of the oldest, as it is one of the most picturesque of our castles is that of Ravenscraig, three or four miles from Peterhead, situated on a plateau overlooking a beautiful stretch of the river Ugie, which here flows through a ravine. It is a fine, rude specimen of the Anglo-Norman style of architecture. Fate has been kinder to it than to many of its fellows, for its tall massive walls remain standing, enabling some idea to be formed of its original proportions and strength. The late Mr. William Boyd, stated, in his little work on "Old Inverugie," that the external appearance of Ravenscraig Castle had, even within his recollection, undergone considerable change, "and, at an earlier date, a round tower, rising from the interior of the building, had imparted to it a picturesque feature which is now lost." Ravenscraig—which is supposed to date from the end of the fifteenth century—was originally the property and residence of the Cheynes, a family of Anglo-Norman descent that settled in Scotland in the earlier part of the thirteenth century ; and tradition endows it with prior proprietors in a Norman family called Le Neym. From the Cheynes, the property (which included Inverugie) descended in the female line to the Keiths ; and in 1491 Gilbert Keith of Inverugie had a charter from James IV. of the superiority of the lands of Torterston and "the rocks commonly called le Ravinnsraig." The castle bore the alternative title of "the Craig of Inverugie." James VI. visited it in 1589, being present at the marriage of the laird's daughter.

About half-a-mile lower down the Ugie, and on the opposite (the northern or left) bank, are the ruins of Inverugie Castle, much more associated with the Keiths, in whose possession it was for three centuries and a half. The Keiths of Inverugie, originally a branch of the family that held the hereditary office of Great Marischal of Scotland from the time of William the Lion, finally became merged in the central stock by marriage. The castle is said to have been founded about 1380 by Sir John de Keth, who received the lands of Inverugie as a marriage portion with his wife, Mariot Cheyne. Sir William, the last

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Keith of Inverugie, fell at Flodden in 1513, and the elder of his two daughters married about 1538 her kinsman, William, the fourth Earl Marischal; and thus Inverugie reverted to the main line of the illustrious family.

The Keiths were to Buchan what the Gordons were to Aberdeenshire and the north—the great dominant family, possessing immense territorial power and an enormous influence, widened and strengthened by the marriages of its scions. “The cadets of the family,” says Dr. Pratt, “were to be found in almost every corner; at Ludquharn, Bruxie, Clackriach, Northfield, and other localities, they had manors and estates.” Inverugie itself must have been a considerable estate, and it was largely augmented when, after the Reformation, Robert Keith, “the Commendator of Deer,” acquired the lands of the Abbey of Deer, these being passed on to his nephew, George, the fifth Earl Marischal. The acquisition seems to have been denounced as sacrilegious appropriation, the Keiths being stung by the unfavourable criticism of their action to retort in the famous defiant motto—

THAY SAY.

QUHAT SAY THEY?

THAY HAIF SAYD.

LAT THAME SAY.

Powerful territorially, the Keith family yielded many able men who took a prominent part in affairs of state: and it is somewhat singular that whilst Inverugie was ultimately lost to the family through the devotion of its last representatives to the Stuart cause, three Earls Marischal were conspicuously identified with the Protestant movement. William, the fourth Earl, had charge of Edinburgh Castle during the rising in 1559 that preceded the Reformation; George, the fifth Earl—he who founded Marischal College virtually as a Protestant institution—was appointed the King’s Commissioner for the north-eastern counties on the rising of the “Popish lords” before the battle of Glenlivet; and William, the seventh Earl, was the recognised head of the Covenanted party in the north, joining the army of Montrose, which entered Aberdeen in 1639, though later he sided with Charles II.

The last members of this noble family were by no means the least—George, the tenth Earl, the friend of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and successively Prussian Ambassador to France and Spain; and his brother,

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James Francis Keith, Frederick's famous Field-Marshal. Espousing the Jacobite cause when young, they participated in the rising of 1715, and spent the remainder of their days in exile in consequence. The Earl was attainted, and his estates forfeited to the Crown, Inverugie being sold to the York Buildings Company in 1720. He was enabled, owing to a service rendered to the British Government, to buy back (in 1764) part of the property, including the Castle of Inverugie; but, mortified at finding it in ruins, it is said, he abandoned the intention of residing there, and it was sold two years later to James Ferguson of Pitfour.¹ The extinction of the family in the person of this Earl and the sale of the family estates are cited, of course, as evidence of the accuracy of a prophecy attributed to Thomas the Rhymer—

Inverugie by the sea,
Lordless sall your lands be,
And underneath your hearth stane,
The tod sall bring her bairns hame.

The castle was supposed to have dated from 1543, and must at one time have been an imposing pile. It was occupied up till 1729, the Dowager Countess Marischal being allowed to reside in it even after the attainder of her son: she was the authoress of the Jacobite ballad, "Lady Keith's Lament"—

My father was a guid Lord's son,
My mither was an Earl's daughter,
And I'll be Lady Keith again,
The day our King comes o'er the water.

After her death, and when the castle became untenanted, it was looted of such furniture and valuables as remained in it, chiefly by predatory bands hailing from Peterhead, and then it rapidly fell into decay ("Old Inverugie"). The ruins, occasionally repaired, remained in a fairly good condition until eleven years ago, when (January 1899), the greater part of what was called the Cheyne Tower fell after a three days' gale; and, while blasting operations were being subsequently conducted for removing a portion of the castle considered dangerous to the public safety, the whole ruin became so weakened that it was deemed advisable to remove it altogether, and only the lower portions of the walls were left standing.

¹ See page 162.

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Despite the predominance of the Keiths, however, Buchan is not without its Gordons—the Gordons of Gight, and the Gordons of Haddo; the former extinct, the latter represented by the Earl of Aberdeen. The Gordons of Gight derived from the Huntly Gordons, the estate (situated in the parish of Fyvie) coming into possession, in 1467, of Sir William Gordon, third son of George, second Earl of Huntly, by his second wife, Princess Annabella Stuart, daughter of James I. of Scotland. They are described by Mr. John Malcolm Bulloch ("The House of Gordon," I. ; New Spalding Club, 1903) as "the most unruly family that ever reigned in Aberdeenshire," their career being "crowded with murder and sudden death." Mr. Bulloch's book must be referred to for full details, but a summary of the extraordinary history of the Gight Gordons is given in Pratt's "Buchan" (revised edition, 1901).¹ The first laird was killed at Flodden; the third was cut off in the prime of life in a duel. The fifth laird murdered Thomas Fraser of Strichen on the Bridge of Deer in 1575, and John Keith of Clackriach, his brother-in-law, in 1587. The sixth laird, a Catholic and a harbourer of "Papists," was in constant collision with the Covenanters; he successfully withstood the siege of Gight Castle by Montrose's field artillery in 1639. The seventh laird had his tenure of the estate challenged by his own son, who married the daughter of Keith of Ludquharn, and, aided by Ludquharn, actually attempted to take possession of the Castle. This same laird, Sir John Gordon, raided Aberdeen and Banff during the Royalist and Covenanting troubles of 1644. The Covenanters retaliated by occupying and sacking the Castle, Sir John Gordon (of Gight) and Sir John Gordon, the laird of Haddo (who had been compelled to surrender the House of Kelly) being taken prisoners to Edinburgh; Haddo was executed, but Gight managed to escape. The Castle and estate of Gight ultimately devolved on Catharine Gordon—who, in 1785, married the Hon. John Byron, and became the mother of George Byron Gordon—Lord Byron, the poet. The estate was sold in 1787 to liquidate Captain Byron's debts, and was bought by George, third Earl of Aberdeen.

The Castle of Gight is situated amid most picturesque surroundings. It stands on the verge of the Braes of Gight—a deep gorge in the valley of the Ythan, the steep banks on both sides being beautifully wooded. Only part of the walls, a hall on an upper floor, a lobby with groined arching in the roof,

¹ See also "Some Old Families," page 171.

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and three vaulted rooms remain. It was inhabited till 1795. There is more than one rhyming prophecy regarding Gight, all credited to the ubiquitous Thomas the Rhymer. Looking to the characteristics of the family and its complete extinction, there is a certain appropriateness in one of these prophecies—

Twa men sat down on Ythan brae,
The ane did to the ithers say,
“ An what sic men may the Gordons o’ Gight hae been ? ”

Another great Aberdeenshire family was represented in Buchan by the Forbese of Pitsligo, whose castle is still to be seen near Roseheart.¹ The estate of Pitsligo was carved out of that of Philorth, Sir William Fraser of Philorth assigning the Petslegach lands (Pitsligo and Boyndlie) to his only daughter, Agnes, in 1423, on the occasion of her marriage to Sir William Forbes of Kinaldy, son of Sir John de Forbes of that Ilk, Lord of the barony of Forbes, commonly called “ Sir John with the black lip.” This Sir William Forbes built the Castle of Pitsligo—or, at least, the tower, the oldest part—in 1424. The tenth knight in succession, Sir Alexander Forbes, was made a peer in 1633, taking the title of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo ; but the peerage was attained in the person of Alexander, the fourth Lord Pitsligo, one of the most romantic figures in Buchan history. He took part in both the Jacobite risings—that of 1745 as well as that of 1715, though on the second occasion he was over 67 ; and after Culloden he spent ten years in hiding on the skirts of his estate, being closely pursued by the Hanoverian soldiery and having several wonderful escapes from capture. He formed the model for Aytoun’s

Good old Scottish cavalier,
All of the olden time !

The Castle of Pitsligo must have been a rather massive building, of plain, not to say rude, design, and having no pretensions to architectural beauty. A portion of the two lower storeys is still standing, and there are a number of panels on the walls of the gateway containing coats of arms, initials, and dates. The Castle was unroofed after being sold to Mr. Garden of Troup in 1759, and the building allowed to go to ruin. Its farther dilapidation was fortunately prevented when Sir William Forbes, the celebrated Edinburgh banker and

¹ See also chapter on “ Some Old Families,” page 167.

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friend of Sir Walter Scott—a descendant of the Pitsligo family—bought the Castle, along with a portion of the estates, from Mr. Garden in 1780. The Castle is now the property of Sir William's lineal descendant, Lord Clinton.

About three-quarters of a mile east are the ruins of the Castle of Pittulie—an irregular building, with a front about 60 feet in length. A tower at the north-west angle seems of a more recent period than the other parts of the structure, the dates of these older portions as at one time recorded on the walls being 1651, 1674, and 1727. It is conjectured that the Castle was originally built by the Fraser family (of Philorth), and was added to by a family of Cumines to whom the estate was sold about 1670. Sir William Forbes acquired it shortly after he bought Pitsligo. Three miles west of Roseheartly are the scanty remains of the Castle of Dundargue, situated on a high peninsular rock of red sandstone. A reputed stronghold of the Comyns, Earls of Buchan, it was—after the “harrying of Buchan” by Robert the Bruce in 1308—held by Henry Beaumont, who claimed the Earldom in right of his wife; but it was besieged in 1334, by Sir Andrew Moray, Regent of Scotland, Beaumont being compelled to surrender.

Returning along the coast eastward, we have three castles of some note in Fraserburgh and the near neighbourhood. What is now the Kinnaird Head lighthouse is in reality the tower of an old castle, supposed to date from 1570; in its close proximity is a Wine Tower, of which still less is known. A mile or so to the south is Cairnbulg Castle—one of the most imposing edifices in Buchan even when it was in a ruinous state, and none the less so now that it has been restored to something like its original grandeur, the new portions being in perfect harmony with what was left of the old structure. The chief feature of this old structure was a large oblong keep, dating from the end of the fifteenth century; and additions of later date (built about 1545) included a round tower. Cairnbulg formed part of the extensive domains of the Comyns and then of the estate of Philorth; but it has changed hands repeatedly since the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is now the property of Mr. John Duthie, who has the credit of the restoration work, which was carried out in 1896-7. Two miles farther south is the Castle of Inverallochy, “a bare and desolate ruin.” Nothing is known of its origin or its history. It is supposed

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to have been one of the many castles belonging to the Comyns, and there is a rather mythical legend to the effect that a stone over the entrance bore the very dubious inscription quoted on page 160 (Chapter on "Some Old Families in Buchan).

Still farther along the coast, and south of Peterhead, we have the small remains of the Castle of Boddam, formerly the seat of the Keiths of Ludquharn, and the fragment of the old Castle of Slains, the ancient seat of the Earls of Erroll, destroyed in 1594, when James VI. marched into Aberdeenshire after the battle of Glenlivet, to compel the submission of the Earls of Huntly and Erroll, the powerful Catholic lords. "Such was the end of Old Slains!" says a writer; "but who can speak of its beginning? It was probably a stronghold of the Pictish Mormaers of Buchan when St. Colm founded the Kirk of Deer in the sixth century. It was afterwards in possession of the Comyns of Buchan, and on their fall was gifted by Bruce along with the hereditary office of High Constable to Hay of Erroll in recognition of his aid in establishing the independence of Scotland." Turning inland, there is at Ellon the tower of the old Castle—all that remains of the ancient "Fortalice of Ardgight," "a very great house, the great halls having two rows of windows, and being twenty-eight foot high." And in the Parish of New Deer stands all that is left of the Castle of Fedderate, nearly all the best stones of it having been taken away by the farmers for building, in the early years of the nineteenth century—such, at least, is the statement of the writer of the parish article in the "Statistical Account." Here, again, we have a castle without a history, and have to be content with an "It is said"—said that Fedderate was one of the last strongholds held by the partisans of James II. (and VII.), who took refuge there after the battle of Killiecrankie, but "were pursued and expelled from thence by King William's troops."

Accepting that definition of Buchan which embraces the whole region between the sea and the Ythan and the Deveron, there would remain a few old castles still to be described. The most notable of these is the Castle of King-Edward (or Kynedor) in the valley of the Deveron, though exceedingly little of it is left—"scanty remains of the once proud residence of the family of the Comyns, Earls of Buchan; the forlorn remnant of a greatness that could measure itself even with royalty." The Comyns form the connecting link with

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the Celtic Mormaers, William Comyn having married, in 1210, the only child of Fergus the last Mormaer, and becoming thereby Earl of Buchan. He was the founder of the Abbey of Deer, and he was also the founder of a family that became the most powerful in Scotland, one of his descendants, "Red Comyn" of Badenoch, being a competitor with Bruce for the Scottish throne. This Comyn was slain by Bruce, who then had himself crowned King, whereupon Comyn's cousin, the third Earl of Buchan, took up arms in opposition, only to meet with a crushing defeat at Barra, near Inverurie, in 1308, which was followed by the "harrying of Buchan" that has already been referred to.

The Castle of King-Edward is first mentioned in a charter dated 1273, and may thus have been built by the second Earl of Buchan, or even by the first Earl. It was probably not occupied as a residence after the fall of the Comyns, but it was still maintained as the head of the barony of King-Edward, at least as late as 1495. The ruins are minutely described, with speculations as to the general plan of the building, in a little work, "Ruined Castles in Banff," by the late Mr. James Spence (Edinburgh, 1873). Mr. Spence wrote that "Of the castle very little now remains beyond a few masses of masonry showing the main lines of the walls, and the position and area of the principal towers, or chambers on the ground floor." Mr. Spence also furnished an account of the ruins of the Castle of Eden, a mile and a half nearer Banff, supposed to have been built—*circa* 1630—by a Patrick Leslie, four times Provost of Aberdeen, described by Spalding as "a vehement Covenanter."

This district of Buchan contains several other castles of interest and importance—Fyvie especially, and also Towie-Barclay, Hatton, Delgaty, and Craigston. But as our article has already exceeded reasonable dimensions, and as all the castles just named are still in use for habitation, farther allusion to them is hardly called for. Our main purpose has been to deal with those castles of Buchan that are in ruins (Cairnbulg was a ruin not so many years ago and so is included), and whose ruins reflect the history of past times and the career of families that have become extinct. The theme is an entrancing one and is susceptible of much greater elaboration than space has permitted; but enough has been said, it is hoped, to show that in its castles alone the district of Buchan possesses a rich heritage, replete with historical and

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genealogical interest. To cite authorities would be tedious—it would, for one thing, involve the enumeration of many papers in the *Transactions* of the Buchan Field Club ; but satisfaction may be expressed at the preservation of pictures of the castles (mostly by the late Mr. James G. Murray) in “Grass of Parnassus from the Bents o’ Buchan,” published by Mr. David Scott in 1887. Reference may also be made to “The Castles of Buchan,” by the late Rev. N. K. M’Leod, Ellon, likewise published by Mr. Scott (Peterhead, 1895), and to Macgibbon and Ross’s “Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.”

R. A.

CHAPTER V.

Ellon: Before and During the Reformation Period.

IN all accounts of Ellon, at the dawn of its history, mention is made of the transaction between the Mormaer (or Earl) of Buchan and a certain Uthred, one of the conditions of which is, that the latter shall attend yearly three sittings of the Earl's head court at Ellon. In the "Book of Deer" there is twice a note to the effect that gifts (not specified) had been made to the Church of Ellon by different Earls of Buchan. In a place of importance, the Church was the object of bounty, after the example of Queen Margaret and David I., the "sair sanct for the croon," as he was styled by James VI., the self-esteemed Solomon, in groanful tones. Other gifts to the Church had been made at a very ancient date. There was an endowment for four choristers, called Scolocs, to assist in the ceremonial worship of the Church. There was also a provision for candles to burn before the high altar. All these matters date before the end of the 12th century.

The Earl's Hill, an elevated mound or platform on which the Earl and his suite took their places when court was held at Ellon, stood near to the northern bank of the Ythan, in front of the present New Inn. Where the Inn and its buildings now stand was an open, though somewhat trodden, green sward, where the great assemblage ranged itself, for, in a charter of much later date, viz. 1515, the ground there is described as "le comon grene." It is likely that the present square, itself a green at the time, uninterrupted by buildings on the western side, had run out in that direction for some indefinite distance. Although it is about two hundred years since the New Inn, or rather its predecessor, was erected, it still bears the name, but that very name would denote that it dated from a comparatively recent time in the history of Ellon. By a writer in 1721, the first New Inn was described as a most commodious house, surpassing most of the hostleries in Buchan. Speaking broadly, one half (all on the eastern side, and with no secular lands intermingled) of the

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parish of Ellon in very early times belonged to different branches of the Church. St. Andrews had the largest share, including the town of Ellon. On the extreme east the Knights Templar had their portion, and, on their suppression, it went to the Order of St. John. The lands of Bishop's Birness (now Dudwick) went to the Cathedral of Aberdeen, and, on the south side of the river, the lands of Fechil were gifted to the Abbey of Deer about 1219 by William Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and his Countess, Marjory. The western half of the parish, again speaking broadly, was altogether in secular hands, held of the Crown, or of some potent nobleman. Somewhere between St. Andrews' lands and those of the Templars, the Abbey of Kinloss had a portion of no very great extent, together with detached pendicles on the river, known as the Candlands, as it lay upon them to supply candles for the Church of Ellon.

The Wars of Independence against Edward I. and his son mark a great dividing line in the history of Scotland and a downfall for Ellon. Instead of the three or four lines in which Barbour deals with the harrying of Buchan, in 1308, it is to be wished he had given ten times the number. In his youth he might have conversed with many who were in the prime of life at the time of the harrying, and he could have told much that would have been of great interest at the present day. However, what he says is forcible enough, and Ellon, as one of the high places of the Earls of Buchan, had most likely been laid in smouldering ruin. Degraded to the ranks, it would have had to plod on alongside other villages of less repute through the dark centuries. One would be slow to conceive of the rude dwellings of the time, were there not minute details of them left on record. Many of them had side walls composed mainly of turf, and, of course, divoted on the roof, and thatched with rushes or heather. About 1543, one Gilbert Annand had erected "a house built of stone and lime from the foundation." It was built between the churchyard and the river part of the Candlands. There is no comment made upon this marvellous house. The fact is left to speak for itself. It was known as the Stone House of Ellon at the time. In 1674 the manse of Ellon was a rambling hovel, so dilapidated and threatening that the minister took up his quarters in a chamber at the head of his "closs," a humble enough refuge, but one which would not tumble about his ears in a hurricane. In 1621 the schoolmaster of Tarves had so misconducted himself that the Presbytery

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ordained him to be banished from the parish, and, in order to ensure his departure, ordained that his house should be demolished.

In the latter days of Robert the Bruce, the Church of Ellon and its revenues were bestowed upon the Abbey of Kinloss, the Abbey paying stipends to a prebendary and a vicar-choral in the Cathedral of Aberdeen, and to the priest of Ellon. As there is no mention of Kinloss having had any connection with Ellon before, it may have been at this time, and from the Bishop of St. Andrews, that it acquired the land which it held in Ellon, candles being rendered to the Church in return. A gleam of light comes through the darkness of the fourteenth century when the Bishop of St. Andrews holds an inquest in the Church of Ellon. The likely reason for his undertaking the long and toilsome journey had been to correct abuses and check encroachments which were being made on his rights. He is seen refuting the claims of some and ordaining afresh the obligations (as to candles for the Church, a workshop in Ellon, &c.) lying upon others. From the number of persons mentioned in this, and other deeds, as having allotments upon the hill of Ardgith, which was a main part of the "Scolaria," it would appear that it was a coveted feuing site for parties of some rank or means, and a more favourable one about Ellon could not have been found. Two females are mentioned in the number. The whole southern slope of this hill is now enclosed within the policies of Ellon Castle.

Again there is a long darkness, but throughout it all, of one thing we may be sure, for it is shown by after-light, that the Chamberlain of Kinloss was duly gathering in the teinds of Ellon and turning them to account. From about the year 1500, to the Reformation in 1660, some gleams of light fall upon the later Roman Catholic times in Ellon, but the picture is not altogether a pleasant one. From the greatly increased value of its possessions the Church had waxed fat, and, being the envy of neighbouring land owners, had to be at strife with them for its rights. Even churchmen with one another were at variance, the Abbot of Kinloss being in litigation with the Abbot of Deer as to the teinds of Fechil. But about 1532 the Abbot, Thomas, makes great renovations upon the Church of Ellon, and adorns it highly within, and builds the great house of Abbotshall upon the river where he, and succeeding Abbots, prosecute the salmon-fishing to great advantage. Salmon and trout abounded

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in the Ythan from time immemorial, and many a kipper had hung from the smoke-stained rafters, and many a salmon, clean or unclean, had graced or disgraced the boards of the citizens of Ellon, and been a great boon in "times of dearth," which were sometimes very severe.

But the Reformation came on. The Vicar of Ellon appears to have gone over with it, and been appointed Reader in the Church, and so had remained in his manse and glebe—at least he bears the same name—John Greg. But the Reader had to serve in several churches besides Ellon, and so it was left with but little spiritual oversight for nearly a generation, when, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a duly qualified minister was appointed. He and his Kirk Session had a heavy task before them in the reformation of the people. But the life and habits of the people of Ellon, mostly on their shady side, are told in a general way in many a Session Book of the country. One seat, at least, of the church did not mould for want of occupancy—the seat of repentance. On one or two occasions, it could not accommodate all who had qualified for a sitting. But with all the Sunday drinking and brawling and fighting, Scotland could not have been what it was if there had not been many a quiet household such as that depicted in "The Cotter's Saturday Night," where the inmates were humbly seeking after the light to which the long services of the Church, and often dreary sermons, vaguely pointed.

"Men's evil manners live in brass,
Their virtues we write in water."

One characteristic of the people is noticeable, namely, their slowness and reluctance to forsake the old order, and yet their complete acquiescence in the new if sufficient time was given them. But sufficient time meant a long time. When they had been weaned from Rome, they settled into the Episcopacy of James I. and his son, and their leaning towards it became more marked as time went on. All through the changes and troubles of the seventeenth century one looks in vain for a token of Covenant zeal in any record of Ellon, and at the Revolution, when Presbyterianism was finally established, the people sat contentedly under their Episcopalian minister until his death, more than twenty years after. On the settlement of a Presbyterian minister, there was some opposition, but no open outburst. Two years later, however, the first Jacobite Rising, under the Earl of Mar took place, and the people hoisted their true colours and rejoiced. Their rejoicings may have extended over more days

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than one, but at least the 27th September 1715 was one of these days. In the New Inn (then veritably *New*) and in the abundant ale-houses, bumpers were being drained to the health of the Chevalier. The Presbytery had appointed a meeting for that day, but, in the words of their own record : "This day the Brethren did come up, but because of the confusion of the times and the uproar among the people, occasioned by the proclaiming of a Popish Pretender, they found it not proper to enter upon business, nor safe for them to stay." Thereafter the Episcopalians turned the minister back from the Church and took possession of it under their own minister, Mr. Keith, for four months. The laird of Watertown's son, with some retainers, joined the Jacobite army and fell at Sheriffmuir.

Before the Rebellion of 1745 took place, a new generation had arisen. The Episcopalians were now fewer in numbers. The minister was not interfered with, but a Government spy, who had been mingling with the people of Buchan denounced them, in language inherited from the army in Flanders, as altogether on the side of the rebels.

In 1715 the people almost unanimously restored Episcopacy in the Church. A hundred years later, however, the number of their descendants who adhered to the Church of their great-grandfathers had dwindled to a mere sprinkling on the Kirk road when compared with the crowd which issued from the Established Presbyterian Church.

In 1602, when the Church had to undergo extensive repairs, after its long neglect since the Reformation, the Session erected what was called a Bell-house, and had a public clock placed on its top. For half-a-century it gave the time to the households around, of which few, if any, could have boasted of a watch or clock. But in 1653, when a party of Cromwell's troopers were quartered in Ellon, it was ruined by the "insolencie of trouperis." It is not said how, but probably the "honest sonsy face" of the clock had been too tempting a target for some of them. Their musket balls would have been as fatal to the inner works of a clock as to the works inside a human chest. These troopers also demolished the place of repentance in the Church.

It is a question if ever the clock was repaired, as it is not mentioned again. Not so, however, with the place of repentance. It was restored and did duty for many generations.

T. M.

CHAPTER VI.

The Rabbling of Deer.

THE famous riot of 1711, which is known to history as the Rabbling of Deer, has been treated from many points of view. The tacketty wit of William Meston, the Jacobite dominie, has given it a special place in the literature of the north-east coast : and it has long been a landmark in the ecclesiastical polity of the shire. On the present occasion I shall treat it as a chapter in the history of the Gordons, as I have been able to piece together part of the hero's family history, and have been supplied by the courtesy and painstaking of the Rev. J. B. Davidson, Peterhead, with the statement of the case in the Presbytery records, hitherto an untapped source of information on the subject.

That the Rev. John Gordon should have been admitted to his kirk and set up in his pulpit by force of arms was a typical example of Gordon "guidin'" : but that he should have represented the Presbyterian side of the struggle against easy-going Episcopalianism is less in keeping with the traditions of the house, of which the head, at this time, the second Duke of Gordon, was a Roman Catholic. As a matter of fact, the whole outlook of the typical Gordon character had no sympathy with the strenuousness of Presbyterian Calvinism with its indisputable logic, its mortifications of the flesh, and its general disbelief in the right to live. That right was the unquestioned and fundamental policy of the Gordon family, who, having come as complete strangers into the shire in the middle of the fifteenth century, had by the sheer force of their vitality, and an inadequate perception of *meum* and *tuum*, raised themselves to a power of the first magnitude : and that can never be done by the possessor of the sickly conscience, which has been so wonderfully analysed by that great (if unsuspected) Calvinist, Henrik Ibsen.

The Rev. John Gordon, however, came of a family that had been tamed and disciplined by city life and more or less levelled by a highly developed sense of municipal communism, as opposed to the temptations to be cock of

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the walk which is forced on the laird, even when he is little. Furthermore, I suspect that the leaning towards Calvinism had been encouraged in the family from the fact of their connection as merchants with Holland, where the spirit of the distinguished Swiss found a sympathetic audience.

John Gordon's family was connected with Holland in a double way. His father John Gordon (1654-1730), Provost of Aberdeen in 1706 and in 1716, was the nephew of Alexander Gordon (1626-1692), Provost of Aberdeen in 1688-89, and started life as a merchant in Campvere. His uncle the Rev. Charles Gordon had been minister of the Scots kirk at Campvere 1686-1690, being imprisoned by the French in the former year. He then came to Scotland on a call to Dumfries and was subsequently minister of Dalmeny (1690-95) and of Ashkirk in Selkirk (1695-1710), having refused a call to the chair of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, in 1698.

Provost John Gordon, who mortified 1000 merks to the Aberdeen Kirk Session in 1724, married Janet Gordon and had the following issue:—

- (1) John Gordon, baptized February 28, 1683; died in infancy.
- (2) John Gordon, admitted an infant burgess of Guild, November 12, 1688; became minister of Old Deer 1711, and died 1718.
- (3) Alexander Gordon, admitted an infant burgess of Guild, November 12, 1688: died August, 1728.
- (4) Charles Gordon, ship captain.
- (5) Anne Gordon, married Robert Stewart of Bridgeford (1670-1749), Provost of Aberdeen 1714, 1716, 1720 and 1724: died 1749.

The Rev. John entered Marischal College in 1702, at the age of fourteen, taking his M.A. duly in 1706, the year when his father became Provost of the Braif Toun. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen on April 24, 1710, and ordained on April 6, 1711. Wodrow calls him ("Analecta" i. 328) "a very pretty youth," so that he was hardly the protagonist required by the fierce circumstances of the time.

These circumstances were created by the death of the Rev. George Keith, minister of Deer (from 1683), which occurred on July 14, 1710. Keith, under the powerful patronage of his namesakes, the Earl Marischal family, was safe in his Episcopalianism. But as soon as he died the Presbyterian party resolved to replace him with a man of their side, while the leading heritors were

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anxious to put in Mr. Livingstone, and failing him, Mr. James Maitland of Inverkeithny.

The impasse was a familiar one, for the gentry in the north usually encouraged and incited the people to maltreat the Presbyterians. Wodrow ("Letters" xi. No. 151) says that when probationers went to preach in vacant congregations, "the gentlemen in the parishes cause take the bottom out of the pulpits, and put in tubs of water: others raise children, newly buried and put them into the pulpits." There was, however, much trouble to be faced at Deer before a probationer was even nominated.

The first step was to declare the kirk vacant, and when the Rev. James Anderson proceeded to do this "at the kirk stile," he was met with opposition. He was not permitted to preach in the kirk, the kirk officer being violently kept back by a "multitude of tumultuous persons in the streets," while the heritors took possession of the keys. So Anderson was forced to conduct his service in the house of Mrs. (Gilbert?) Clerk in the town. The Rev. Mr. Duncan had also attempted to preach in the kirk, but the "rabble gave him abusive language, opposed his entering the churchyard, by forcing him back and putting violent hands upon him." They also knocked off his "hatt," so that he too had to take refuge in Mrs. Clerk's house, where he conducted his service. So when the Presbytery met at Old Deer on August 8 (1710) they found the church doors locked and a rabble in the streets insulting them "in their very quarters." They therefore instructed Mr. Udney to consult the brethren in Aberdeen, and they appointed a committee to interview the recalcitrant heritors.

This committee had very little success, for at the next Presbytery meeting, wisely held at Crimond, on September 5, they had a sad tale to tell. George Ranken of Auchrynie, whom Udney had taken in hand, declined to interfere on the pretext that he was only a wadsetter. The laird of Forhill, interviewed by Mr. Brown, denied all knowledge of an attempt to settle a minister against the Government, but the heritors would endeavour to preserve as much of the stipend for Keith's widow as they could. The laird of Kininmonth entreated the Presbytery to temporise. The laird of Gavel gave the same answer and Colonel Ogilvie promised to assist the Presbytery in settling the church. The Presbytery were not satisfied, so they commissioned Mr. Thomas Gordon to write a pressing letter to the heritors, approaching them through the laird of Kininmonth.

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No reply was sent to this mandate by the time of the next Presbytery meeting, which was held at Tyrie, September 12. So Mr. Anderson and Mr. Thomas Gordon were directed to write Colonel Buchan of Auchmacoy and his son to order that the church doors should be "made patent" to them. They next summoned the rabblers, but when they met again, at Lonmay, September 26, none of these appeared.

Meantime the Synod of Aberdeen had taken the matter into their own hands by appointing John Gordon, who was then a probationer, to preach at Old Deer. He may have been chosen through the influence of the Provost, John Ross of Clochcan and Arnage, who was a staunch adherent of the Church of Scotland, and represented his niece as a heritor of the parish. Gordon duly made his appearance at the kirk, but he could not get admittance, being forced to preach at the faithful Mrs. Clerk's house. On December 26 he preached (on Isaiah lix., 20) before the Presbytery meeting at Strichen, and was approved, and at the same meeting, the names of the following heritors favourable to him were handed in—Provost Ross on behalf of his niece; John Buchan of Coinach; Robert Martin of Burntbrae; John Fullerton of Dudwick; Colonel Ogilvie of Lonmay; Captain Stewart and William Ker. The opposing heritors included James Keith of Crichtie, James Keith of Bruxie and George Ranken of Auchrynie, who all appeared in person and handed in a commission signed by some brother heritors, Auchmeddan, Troup, Scott of Auchtidonald, Clachriach, Gavel and Sapplinbrae, desiring that the call should be sent to Maitland, whom the laird of Pitfour also favoured. The Presbytery brushed the suggestion of Maitland aside, for various reasons, especially the slamming of the kirk doors in their face. Crichtie in indignation thereupon intimated an appeal to the Synod or the Assembly; so John Gordon went on with the elaborate steps involved in a call. On February 28 (1711) he delivered his exercises at Strichen, and preached from Colossians i., 12.

March 22, 1711, was the day appointed for the ordination of the young man, and it proved a great day in the religious history of Buchan. The Presbytery met at 8 o'clock in the morning, at Strichen, when they were faced by William Bowman, Alexander Ramsay in Edinburgh, notar publick, with two witnesses, producing a proxy from James Keith of Crichtie, James Keith in Bruxie, and George Ranken of Auchrynie, protesting against Gordon. The

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Presbytery, however, were quite unrepentant and set off for Old Deer to proceed with the ordination at noon. When they arrived, however, their boldness received a check, for they soon saw that they were "like to meet with remarkable opposition by a great rabble of people convened about the church and churchyard."

For the inner history of the rest of that famous day we have to go to other sources than the Presbytery records, which are extremely meagre on the point, as if half ashamed of the means taken to enforce their claims and of the general treatment they received. According to Wodrow, who was of course on the Presbyterians' side, the Presbytery had taken the precaution of commandeering a little battalion of armed men from Aberdeen to enforce their right of entry. Wodrow says that the Aberdeen party consisted of forty men, and included Provost Gordon, the young minister's father, and some ministers "who had all a great value" for the lad. William Meston, the Jacobite satirist, has left us a rollicking description of the creation of this little army in *Mob contra Mob*, a satire of some 900 lines, which was not published, however, till twenty years after the riot. Meston's father had been the blacksmith of Midmar; so the satirist adopted the big hammer swing, and dealt his opponents those crude and heavy blows, which ended in his being deprived of his professorship in Marischal College four years after the Old Deer affair. He pictures the Gordon gathering as a motley mob of swashbucklers:—

About the ports of Aberdeen
The hotch potch rabble did convene,
Of different names and different natures
Complexions, principles and features;
Some Hectors, Tories, bullies, ranters,
Some true-blue saints and Covenanters,
Old Consuls and old fornicators
Were now become new Reformators,
Both messengers of God and Sathan,
And many of the tribe of Dathan;
Some Pharisees and hypocrites,
Consultors, scribes and parasites,
Mechanicks some and aqueductors
And proppers of old ruin'd structures;
Some who lived, as my author tells,
Not by the kirk but by the bells.

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Malignants too did help afford
To fight the battle of the Lord,
Which was the cause (as say the Godly)
That they came off so very oddly ;
Some of the mob spurred on with conscience,
And some with maggot, some with nonsense,
And most of all, as wise men think,
Went not so much to fight as drink.
Thus fifty troopers and some more
Armed, as we have said before,
With infantry which made a force
Equal in number to the horse,
Set forward all with one accord,
Leaving the city Bon-Accord
Inspir'd with mighty resolution,
Because they fear'd no opposition ;
Some were for this kirk, some for that kirk,
And some no mortal knows for what kirk,
Yet all of them their course did steer
To storm and take the Kirk of Deer.

Perhaps the reader here may wonder
How Tories could commit this blunder,
And in a Presbyterian quarrel
Expose themselves to act or peril.
They only did what hath been done—
There's nothing new beneath the sun,
A myter'd-head born in our nation
Opposed the Scotch toleration,
And still this prelate boldly ventures
To plead and write for the dissenters.

You would think on reading the Presbytery minutes that the Presbytery did not know of this force, for they simply state that "hearing that the Laird of Keithfield, Justice of the Peace, with Mr. Alexander Thomsons, Town Clerk of Aberdeen, were in the town [they] called them for their advice and assistance in the present affair." Thomsons first of all suggested that the keys of the kirk should be asked from the church officer. So William Hay, an Aberdeen notary, was commissioned to carry out this mandate, which was promptly refused. Then Thomsons suggested that Keithfield, as a Justice of the Peace, should "make patent" the doors of the kirk. This task was also consigned to

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the unhappy Anderson, supported, however, by several of Keithfield's band. When they came to the kirkyard stile, the party were met by "a great rable, armed with guns, swords, battons and great stones." Keithfield requested the defenders "in his Majestie's name to give peaceable access to this said church." So far from doing anything of the kind, the mob "assaulted the said Justice of the Peace with the gentlemen and ministers alongst with him, pitifully wounding them to the great effusion of their blood : which obliged the Presbytery to retire without performing their work." That is the modest statement of the case in the minutes. Meston, however, enlarges with great gusto on Keithfield's advance to the kirk door, "attended by his guard de Corps"—

A bulkie messenger and brawnie,
Of a complexion somewhat tawnie,
With sullen aspect led the van,
On Mr. Justice his right hand :
And one who never did succeed
In planting kirks, the left did lead :
By whose advice the mob proceeded
A little farther than they needed.
At the first prospect of resistance,
Some sculking stood at a good distance,
Until the first assault was over
That they some courage might recover ;
Resolving if the van were victors,
To follow on as stout as Hectors :
But if the first should not succeed
To make their heels defend their head,
They judged it a piece of folly
To venture upon the first volley ;
But had the en'my chanc'd to yield
They'd been the foremost in the field.

Wodrow himself gives a far more intimate account of the affair than do the minutes. He says that on the first advance, nobody appeared. Keithfield then ordered his constables to go to the outer gate of the churchyard and force it open. Mr. Gordon's men went after them into a narrow "passe" between the side wall of one house and the gavel of another. All at once the place became alive. The house tops fill full of people armed with stones with which they began to pelt the invaders in the "passe" beneath them, and

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hurt some ministers and others. We are indebted to Wodrow for the information that the invaders discharged two muskets in the air to frighten their assailants: "but, this not prevailing, the Aberdeen's men, several of them being hurt, offered to shoot among the rabble, but were prevailed with by the ministers to desist, otherwise there had been several lives lost in the case." In his "Correspondence" (i., 218) Wodrow says that the musket shots "dissipated the rabble: wounded some of them but not dangerously."

Meston, of course, takes quite the opposite view, revelling in the horse play of the occasion:—

But they no sooner did attack
The gate than they were driven back,
With many a pelt upon their skin,
By wives who lin'd the walls within.
A meagre fellow with thin lips
Run first a preacher through the hips,
Which was the signal fixt upon
For male and female to fall on;
Then in the front with stones they maul'd them,
And in the rear with cudgels gall'd them.
A certain female, call'd the Twitter
Laid Ratiosacra in the gutter,
Who prostrate so with life at stake
Cry'd out aloud for mercie's sake.
He lay in peril for to smother
Until a young malignant brother
Came up who lost his thumb sinister
Rescuing the fanatick min'ster;
And in a very proper season
Set up the oracle of reason.
Then from the crowd a plowman prest
And thus in haste the priest address,
Without the usual decorum
Of preface, standing close before him—
"Why are you here in manner hostile?"
Quoth he—"We come to preach the Gospel."
"Where read you in the Holy Word
Of gospelising with the sword?
You seem apostles of the Turk."
"Peter" quoth he, "had sword and durk,
And us'd them too is most clear
In cutting off of Malchus ear."

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Seeing that nothing could be done, the Presbytery resolved to perform the ceremony at New Deer, at three o'clock the same afternoon. Meston, of course, interprets this as a cowardly retreat.

No sooner did the Amazons
Discharge a volley of big stones,
And Buchan plowmen charge with flails
But front and rear turn all their tails,
And Kirk-knight-errants ran with speed,
And every one got on his steed,
Nor need the reader long demur
To know if then they used the spur ;
Whatever use they made of bridle
The spur and whip were never idle :
Which makes the thing to be admired
That men with zeal so much inspir'd
Rode faster home, spurred on with fear
Than they advanced to Old Deer.

The Presbytery duly proceeded to New Deer. In their absence the rabble in Old Deer insulted all Gordon's supporters. Wodrow says they went into the house where some "interteament" had been prepared for the Presbytery, "and bring out all there meat, and ale and wine : and drink, as is said, the Pretender's health in the streets." The whole affair had shaken young Gordon's nerves, for if his flock were to be so violent when he was supported by his armed friends, what would they do when he was left alone? So, according to the Presbytery minutes, when they came to New Deer, he begged the Presbytery not to go on with the ceremony, asking for some time to "consult the Lord in the matter." The ceremony was, therefore, adjourned for a week, at the end of which Gordon was found to be too ill to attend. As a result it was not till April 6 that Gordon was ordained, the ceremony being performed at Aberdeen as it was feared that any attempt to carry it out at Old Deer would lead to a repetition of the riot.

As force had failed, Gordon's friends summoned the law to their aid and the services of Lord Grange were retained to investigate the dispute. John Smith, Messenger, Aberdeen, was employed to serve summonses on the rioters. This seems to have frightened the recalcitrant heritors, for it was reported at a Presbytery meeting held at Rathen on May 22 that the affair "was come to an

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amicable agreement," Gordon being accepted by them. They agreed that four of the rabblers should acknowledge their faults before the Congregation and that the Presbytery's expenses in the whole affair should be refunded. At last on June 12 Mr. Udney was appointed to preach at Old Deer and rebuke the rabblers.

Gordon's lot does not seem to have been a happy one. Late in 1716 or in the beginning of 1717 he went to preach at Longside. When he came within "two stone casts" of the church, the people met him, and as Wodrow puts it "paid his skin to very good purpose." A certain Robson, "a jesuitical body," who had been a preacher there, entered the church in full canonicals beneath Gordon's very eyes. Gordon threatened to read the Riot Act, but the people would not listen, and Gordon was pursued out of the place by a hundred and fifty old wives. So he went to Aberdeen for a party of soldiers, as David Brown, writing from the town on January 29, 1717, told Wodrow ("Correspondence" ii. 223-4).

Gordon did not long survive these painful experiences for he died between January 21, and February 25, 1718, when his representatives advised the Presbytery of his decease.

Gordon seems to have been twice married, for one of the items in his will was the annual rent and profit of the sum of 2000 merks Scots money, as a part of the principal sum of 3000 merks resting to him by John Gordon of Fechil, and Dr. James Gordon, younger thereof, confirm to the contract of marriage betwixt the defunct and umqll. Barbara Gordon, his first spouse, dated September 23, 1713, and that from Martinmas 1715, to February 1718, being the time of the defunct's death.

Gordon's will which was confirmed, January 26, 1722, showed that his old opponent, James Keith of Bruxie, owed him £12 10s. Scots of silver stipend, due on the crop of 1717, while Rev. Alexander Auchinleck, the minister of Fraserburgh, owed him £31 9s. 6d.

The pacific strain in Gordon's blood came out in the case of his brother Charles, who was a ship captain. He seems to have been in the Dutch trade, for Row speaks of his going to Holland in 1715. By 1734 he had settled down at Arnhall in Fettercairn, choosing that as a residence apparently because his brother-in-law (and executor), Robert Stewart, was the factor upon the

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forfeited estates of Lord Southesk, and occasionally resided there himself. (Cameron's "Fettercairn," p. 120.) Very soon after this time Arnhall was leased by, and became the favourite residence of, Sir James Carnegie, ancestor of the present Lord Southesk, and was ultimately sold to Lord Adam Gordon in 1780.

We catch glimpses of Captain Gordon in the Kirk Session Records of Fettercairn. On August 11, 1734, the Minister acquainted the Session that he had received from "Captain Charles Gordon at Arnhall two guineas for the account of the poor, because he had not the opportunity to give them at and about the sacrament time, he being disappointed in waiting thereon by reason of indisposition of health."

On February 16, 1735, the Minister reported that he had a commission from "My Lady of Phesdoe" to cause warn James Mitchell in Balnakettle before the Session and rebuke him for his scandalous language, and for his falling in passions on the Sabbath day anent a coy in debate betwixt him and Captain Gordon with some of the servants, and likewise for his rude and unbecoming language to the Captain when once in his house. Mitchell "being warned to this day now called in, acknowledged what was laid to his charge, owned yt was in sin and fault, and that he never blamed the Captain for any injury he had met with, but only his servants; he promised never to be guilty of the like in time coming and was dismissed."

Charles Gordon must have died soon after this date, for on November 1, 1735, there appeared at Stonehaven (Sheriff Court Books, Stonehaven), before Arthur Shepherd, Sheriff Depute, James Milne, writer in Stonehaven, "procurator for the after designed Robert Stewart, and gave in the testament and disposition underwritten, desiring the same to be insert and registrate in the Register of Probative Writts of the shire of Kincardine." The will runs—

"Be it knowen to all men be thir present letters, me Charles Gordon, sone lawfull to the deceast John Gordon, late Provost of Aberdeen, for someikle as I am at present in good health, and perfect and sound (blessed be God) in mind, memory, and jugement, yet nevertheless considering myself with all mankind subject to mortality and certain of death although most uncertain of the time and manner thereof, do therefore judge it proper and expedient to settle and order my wordly affairs and business as follows. And first I make, nominate, constitute, and ordain Robert Stewart,

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late provost of Aberdeen (with the burthen alwayes of the debts and legacies after spe[cific] it) my only executor haill and universal legator and intromittor &c. with all and sundry goods, gear &c. which shall happen to pertain or be resting owing to me the time of my decease. Likewayes I hereby leave and bequeath the legacies underwritten to the persons after mentioned, viz.

“To Alexander Stewart, eldest lawful son to the foresaid Robert Stewart, my whole right and title to the house formerly belonging to George Cruickshank, merch^t. in Aberdeen presently possessed by his spouse Anna Gordon with shops, booths, cellars &c. of the same lying in the west side of the Broadgate of Aberdeen.

“To Master John Stewart, second son of said R. S. the sum of £1800 Scots money, with my whole wearing apparell, linens and books.

“To Robert Stewart, youngest son of R. S. the sum of £1800 Scots.

“To Janet, Anna, Isobell, and Wilhelmina Stewarts, daughters to forsaid R.S. the sum of £2400 Scots equally amongst them.

“To Elspet Anderson, my servant, for her care of me in sickness and honest service, I appoint to her the interest of 1000 merks Scots, and I ordain that the forsaid sum of 1000 merks shall be paid into the seaman's box of Aberdeen at the term of Whitsunday or Martinmas next, and immediately following the decease of the said Elspet Anderson; and the interest thereof to be given yearly to poor seamen's widows of the said burgh of Aberdeen.

“Likewayes I ordain that Anna Gordon, my sister, and spouse to the said Robert Stewart, shall liferent the forsaid sums of £6000 Scots money left as herein particularised to her children during all the dayes of her lifetime &c.

“In witness whereof written by the forsaid Charles Gordon upon stampt paper I have subscribed thir presents: at Arnhall, the sixteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and thirty three years, before these witnesses, William Mitchell, gairdner in Arnhall, and John Carnegie, servitor to the said Charles Gordon.

CHARLES GORDON.

William Mitchell, witness.

John Carnegie, do.”

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One of the legatees, John Stewart, Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College, died on March 13, 1766. His wife Jean Gordon, daughter of Lieutenant Robert Gordon, Montrose, died March 11, 1766, and their daughter Margaret, died on the morning of the same day as her father. Both were buried in the same grave, on Saturday, March 15, 1766 ("Aberdeen Journal").

Another of the legatees, namely Elspet Anderson, did not long survive the captain, for there is recorded at Stonehaven on February 2, 1738, a deed which was, however, subscribed at Aberdeen, January 9, 1736, being a discharge to Robert Stewart from Thomas Farquharson, merchant in Aberdeen, and "present collector and manager to the seamen's box of Aberdeen, bearing that, as the now deceased Charles Gordon, shipmaster in Aberdeen, lawful son to the deceased John Gordon, late Provost of Aberdeen, ordained, that the sum of 1000 merks should be paid at Elspet Anderson's decease to the seamen's box, and the interest given yearly to poor seamen's widows of said burgh." Robert Stewart paid up the money at Martinmas, 1735. Among the witnesses to the discharges, is Alexander Gordon, shipmaster in Aberdeen.

The seafaring instinct in the family appeared in another branch, for Charles's first cousin George, son of the minister of Dalmeny, was also a captain, and died as a planter and merchant in Maryland. He was dead by November 11, 1747, when his sister Janet, then residing in Edinburgh received a birthbrieve. Perhaps there were other branches of the family alive after this date, but I have failed to trace them. We know enough, however, to throw an interesting light on this civic family, who though well disciplined themselves, had to run the strange gauntlet of a time that was a good deal more picturesque than our own day.¹

J. M. B.

¹ *Note.*—I have received valuable help from the Rev. J. B. Davidson, Peterhead, who transcribed the minutes of the Presbytery, and from Dr. W. Macnaughton, Stonehaven, who has made a special study of Kincardineshire genealogy.

CHAPTER VII.

Men of Literature in the North-East during the Stuart Period.

IN dealing with the literature of the North-East during the Stuart period, it seems desirable first of all to premise that Buchan has not yet produced an Iliad, a Hamlet, or a Faust; but in spite of this, some of Buchan's literary influences in the past are of real import, some are interesting, and some unique. The present chapter will deal generally with literary influences, during Stuart times, or, specifically, with what appears important, such as interesting literary personages or episodes, connected with the North-East. Though never a literary centre, and though isolated, if not remote, from any such, it is surprising how much Buchan and the North-East have in a more or less direct way been in touch with literature. We may even claim for it not infrequently a literary atmosphere. We may safely reckon the dawn of literature in Buchan as occurring about a thousand years ago. It is extremely fortunate that we are able to bring forward evidence which proves that this is the case. Scotland a thousand years ago was a country rude, primitive and semi-barbarous. Existence was a struggle. The field for the cultivation of art and literature was not a favourable one. A rigorous climate, a barren soil, an unlettered semi-savage people and hungry and bellicose neighbours gave little incitement to the development of such tastes and less opportunity of putting them into practice. Literature, as we think of it, did not exist. Clerics were the only men of any learning, feudal lords the leaders and rulers, the majority of the population vassals and dependants. Yet we have the records still in existence of a community in our remote corner of the kingdom, where there were some aspirations and strivings after something higher, and where a thousand years ago they did endeavour to lighten up that stage of the world's journey. I refer to what is perhaps the oldest extant of Scottish records, the "Book of Deer." This interesting old document has already been dealt with (see section iii., chapter ii.).

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Scottish vernacular literature really begins with John Barbour's Historical Epic, "The Brus." Barbour is supposed to have been born about 1316. His birthplace is unknown, but is presumed to be Aberdeenshire, as there are said to be Aberdonian accents in his work. Whether he was a native or not, we know him as Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and also, what constitutes our special claim on him, parson of the Parish of Rayne. He was a contemporary of Chaucer and may have met him, for we know he travelled in England, visited Oxford several times and travelled through England on his way to St. Denis in France in 1365, and again in 1368, either pursuing his own studies or superintending those of others. There are some points of similarity between his language and that of Chaucer. Barbour's language is from the Northumbrian or Northern English—what has been called the "Inglis of the northern leid." His great work did much to fix this dialect which he called "Inglis" but which came afterwards to be called Broad Scots. The liberality of his views, his fair-mindedness, his approach to toleration, as well as his language make him appear more modern than much of the literature of the two or three succeeding centuries. His is our great national Epic. He sings the heroic age with spirit and passion. The glamour of this class of literature we know depends on the singer as well as on the subject, so that while the art of the singer contributes to the fame of the hero, the glory of the hero also enhances the reputation of the singer. Barbour's "Brus" constitutes the fountain-head of Scottish patriotic literature. It was followed a century later by Blind Harry's "Wallace" which continued the patriotic note, though narrower in compass. It was more shrill in tone, and more intense; and although sometimes peevish, it was sincere and had great popularity. Pinkerton tells us that the demand for Barbour's work was very great amongst the common people, which he says "was very creditable to them." These works of Barbour and Blind Harry circulated over Scotland for four or five hundred years, and as they, and the national aspirations, were in complete harmony, it would be hazardous to place limits to their influence on the national character. Barbour's "Brus" is, however, much more than mere patriotic declamation. Barbour has two heroes, "King Robert of Scotland" and "Good Sir James of Douglas," and one can hardly say which he looks on as the greater hero:—"Off *them* I thynk this buk to ma," he says, which is a pretty good indication that the power and fame of the House of Douglas was

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nearly equal to that of the King. His language through the whole poem is pointed and pungent, and his views broad and liberal. Running through the whole, the patriotism is founded on the high note of personal liberty and independence. Here is what we may call his keynote:—

A ! fredome is a noble thing !
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking ;
Fredome all solace to man giffis ;
He levys at ess that frely levys !

and subsequently :—

Schortly to say, is nane can tell
The halle condition off a threll.

Although he was always proud of his hero, we can, I think, detect a slight note of regret at what the exigencies of war compelled Bruce to make poor Buchan submit to :—

Now ga we to the king agayne,
That off his wictory wes rycht fayne,
And gert his men bryn all Bowchane
Fra end till end, and sparyt nane ;
And heryit thaim on sic maner
That eftre that weile fyfty yer
Men menyit "The Herschip of Bowchane."¹

His narrative is carried on from first to last with simplicity, but always with dignity. He is always courteous, and fair to his opponents, and that he was kind-hearted and humane is evident from his lingering over any such trait in his hero.

²Recent investigations by German and English scholars have thrown much additional light on Barbour and his times, and raised some very interesting questions. There are various opinions about the matter, but what seems to be the most reasonable conclusion is, that Barbour, before he wrote the "Brus," had translated from the French "The Buik of the Most Noble and Vaieland

¹ Barbour's Bruce ; Jamieson's Edition, 1869. The spelling differs in the various editions : e.g. Skeat, 1894 ; Innes ; and Mackenzie, 1909.

² J. T. T. Brown ; The Wallace, and Bruce restudied (Bonn 1900). George Neilson : John Barbour, Poet and Translator (London 1900). Dr. Albert Hermann ; Untersuchungen über das Schottische Alexanderbuch (Berlin 1893).

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Conqueror, Alexander the Great," into Scots. His mind was so full of this, and so saturated with the form and diction of the former work that he moulded the "Brus" after the same fashion. There are also very good grounds for believing that he translated both "The Troy Fragments" and the "Legends of the Saints." These latter, in part at least, written by him, would in all probability be the last literary work he did. There are personal allusions in it which suggest that in all likelihood it was done in the quiet parsonage of Rayne, in the evening of his days, for somewhat sadly he says :—

I ma nocht wirk
As mynistere of haly kirke
For gret eld and febilnes.

In another place he deplores his failing sight, and other infirmities of age, and alludes to his travels as a young man ; the internal evidences all point to this as his latest work, and done in retirement from a busy life.

Various opinions have been expressed about him as a poet. Wharton, for instance, said of him, "That he had adorned the English Language by a strain of versification, expression, and practical images far superior to the age." That Pinkerton should prefer his work "to the melancholy sublimity of Dante," we might now-a-days think more creditable to his patriotism than to his judgment.

The field of medieval poetry was not a wide one. You had the allegory, the priestly legend, the exhibition of chivalry and prowess in the knightly romance, and these were the staple products of the poet. There are evidences that Barbour had an intimate knowledge of current literature, but he is not bookish. He is from first to last a man of affairs, a man of action. The brisk energetic movement of the poem suggests the camp more than the cloister. We find here and there in the poem, homely kind-heartedness, amiability and tolerance, a sense of pathos, but above all a grim joy in battle. His language at first seems somewhat difficult, but, to anyone intimate with our Buchan dialect, it is with a little perseverance wonderfully easy. The narrative is entirely historical. We have, however, no evidence in it of facts distorted for poetical effect, and are proud to have some claim on the Father of Scottish poetry and Scottish history.

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Hector Boece (1465-1556) was first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and in his later years Rector of the Parish of Tyrie, in Buchan. He was born in Angus, received the rudiments of his education in Dundee, and then proceeded to Paris about 1485, where he attended the College of Montaigu, which was conducted on the Spartan principles of severe discipline and monastic poverty. He became regent there, probably about 1492. As class-fellows he had the famous Erasmus, Patrick Panter, and John Major. While Principal of King's College, he kept up a familiar correspondence with Erasmus. Patrick Panter—like himself a native of Angus—was afterwards Secretary to James IV., and Abbot of Cambuskenneth, while John Major, who afterwards was in the Colleges at Glasgow and St. Andrews, had John Knox, Patrick Hamilton, and George Buchanan as pupils. Boece returned to Scotland at the request of Bishop Elphinstone to assist him in the foundation of a University in Aberdeen. Elphinstone had previously obtained a bull for this purpose from Pope Adrian VI. James IV., in requesting this bull, urged amongst other reasons that "These northern parts of his kingdom were inhabited by a rude, illiterate and savage people, and they had scarcely among them men capable of preaching the word and administrating the sacraments." The College was founded in 1505, fully equipped for teaching. The salaries were certainly moderate, Boece receiving forty merks (£2 4s. 6d.) a year. In spite of this, the work was carried on with enthusiasm and success. We have contemporary and independent testimony of this from Monk Ferrerius, a Hungarian who visited Scotland, to the effect that "Aberdeen was the most celebrated of the Scottish Universities of that time." Boece's works were written in elegant Latin. The first work, "The Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen," was printed in Paris in 1522. An edition of this was issued by the New Spalding Club in 1894. His chief work, "The History of Scotland," was issued in 1527. Boece's style is said to be founded on that of Livy, and he further resembles that historian in that the fluency and grace of the narrative were first considered, accuracy and fact being very subordinate considerations. The history was, by the request of James V., translated by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, in 1530.

The Lives of the Bishops is perhaps the more valuable of the two works. Boece here quite creates the atmosphere of his day. The age was credulous; the world was full of prodigies, omens, and unaccountable wonders; men were

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taught to believe, never to question or ask the reason why. They lived ever in a conscious atmosphere of mystery, dread, and miracle. This was Boece's world, and from this standpoint his history was written. He had none of the critical spirit; his history is fabulous almost beyond conception. He accepts as true any legend, fable, or myth that comes his way. He claims to have used some doubtful authorities, a Veremundus, a Spaniard and an Iona MS., as well as materials collected by Bishop Elphinstone. It is difficult to decide how far he was influenced by patriotic zeal to do his best for the honour of his country, or how far he was the victim of his credulous disposition. We can certainly at least blame him for not exercising some discretion in sifting his facts, but as Dr. Johnson says, "Learning was then rising on the world, but eyes so accustomed to darkness were too much dazzled with its light to see anything distinctly. The first race of scholars in the 15th century and for sometime after, were therefore more studious of elegance than of truth." Boece was laborious, learned, and zealous, and belongs to that famous line of Aberdeen scholars who are said to have "contributed more to Scottish history than the inhabitants of any other part of Scotland."

The overthrow of the Church of Rome and the adoption of the reformed doctrines in Aberdeenshire seem to have been little else than a mere business arrangement. Although there were sufficient evidences of canker in the Church, and considerable murmurings, there were no general uprisings against it, no enthusiasm for the reformed doctrines, no tumult whatever. The last Principal of King's College of the pre-Reformation period and the first of the Reformation period, were both parsons of Buchan parishes, and both men of some note.

Dr. Alexander Anderson, sometime parson of Tyrie, the last rector of Methlick, and Principal of King's College, was said to be a "great scholar and subtile disputant." Not having adopted the Reformation doctrines, he and several of his fellows were summoned to Edinburgh to appear before the General Assembly, in 1561, and were confronted by, amongst others, John Knox, and were severely catechised as to their faiths, beliefs and practices. The conference did not produce any result. Anderson seems to have acquitted himself well, his Catholic friends, such as Dempster, alleging that he was more than a match for even the great Reformer himself. We find some confirmation

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of this from Knox, who, in his History, characterises Anderson as being "more subtile and crafty than either learned or godly and better seen in philosophy than in theology." After the conference he allows that "every one of them remain constant in their own profession." Things went on in Aberdeen as before. Anderson and the whole staff of the College stuck to the Church and to their offices till 1569, when Regent Murray himself with a commission held an inquiry at Aberdeen, with the result that the obstinate doctors were ejected from the University and "the nursery of learning was effectually purged." Anderson died in 1557. He can hardly be called literary, but he was scholarly and a brilliant controversialist. The University did not prosper under him, as one would have expected at that time, his principal occupation being fighting the reformers. There was a mere handful of students; the finances were in chaos. There was one student under him, however, who if he did not profit by his residence at King's, at all events left his mark and engraved his name deep in the records of culture in the north. This was George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal, and founder of Marischal College. We cannot claim him as a literary man, but we can claim him as one who perhaps did more for the culture of the north than any one other man.

George Keith was born in 1553, and his early years corresponded with the ferment of the Reformation. He was born, however, a Protestant, and does not seem to have been diverted from his studies by all the din of the ecclesiastical conflict. We have reason to believe that he applied himself with diligence to his work, and made particular progress in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, besides showing an aptitude for history, antiquities and literature, and even in his early days he ranged himself on the side of the intellectuals in marked contrast to the other strong house in the north—the Gordons—who, although always picturesque, were never blamed for being intellectual. He continued his studies at Geneva under Theodore Beza, who had a very high opinion of him, and, it is believed, assisted in sending him on a tour round the principal courts of Europe, where Keith made a very favourable impression, and no doubt profited much. He succeeded to the Earldom at the age of 28. He was occupied for a considerable time in what perhaps to him was the congenial task of applying the laws against the Catholics, in particular against his hereditary enemy, the Marquis of Huntly. The Gordons, however, had always their own luck, which seemed

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to serve them better than discretion saner men, and somehow they came out of scrapes without seeming a penny the worse. Keith's attentions to Huntly, however, were diverted by his being sent to Denmark in July, 1589, as Ambassador Extraordinary to complete the match between Princess Anne and King James. He was singled out for this important and delicate mission on account of his prudence, his culture—particularly his knowledge of foreign languages—and his great wealth, for he paid all the expenses of the mission. He knew apparently what he was doing, however, for in recompense he got the whole of the lands of the Abbey of Deer.

As King's College and the reformers could not somehow get into proper line, Marischal, after serving on several commissions, trying to rectify matters, announced as a solution that he would found a University of his own, which he did, endowing it with the lands he got from the King, and keeping the clerical element as clear of the management of it as he could. His life was almost wholly afterwards devoted to the organisation and administration of the College, and, to his great honour be it said, to this day Marischal College remains the only University in this country founded by a nobleman.

The first Protestant Principal of Aberdeen University was elected immediately on the deposition of Anderson. Alexander Arbuthnot had studied languages and philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, but was a graduate of St. Andrews. He had afterwards gone to Bourges, and there spent five years studying civil law under Cujacius. He took ecclesiastical orders, and in his own country became a zealous supporter of the Reformation. On 15th July, 1568, he was appointed to the living of Logie-Buchan, being the first minister of that parish. On the Principalship of Aberdeen University becoming vacant, he was selected by Regent Murray for that office, although then only 31 years of age. Logie-Buchan had the benefit of his services only for one year. Besides being able and scholarly, he must have been possessed of administrative ability of a high order. He greatly improved the financial position of the University, which had been neglected while the theological systems were in the melting-pot. He was twice Moderator of the General Assembly. In 1572 he published at Edinburgh an elegant Latin work, "Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris"; he assisted in drawing up a plan of ecclesiastical government for the Assembly. He was selected, along with two others, to wait on King

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James and to request him to dismiss the French Ambassador for his Popish practices. King James, favouring episcopacy, did not regard with much favour Arbuthnot's energy and ability in favour of presbyterianism. When he was chosen minister of St. Andrews by the Assembly in 1583, he received a royal mandate to return, on pain of horning, to his duties at King's College, Aberdeen. The Assembly made a formal complaint regarding this interference of the civil power, but the King replied that he and his Council had "good grounds and reasons in the general state of the north country." Arbuthnot chafed under this arbitrary and unjust order, which is said to have hastened his end. He died in October 1583. Arbuthnot was a man of too fine a fibre for the place he had to fill. Had he been left at Logie-Buchan, and his literary powers had full play, he would have been a happier man and the literature of Scotland would have been much the richer. As it was, his finer powers were dissipated in an atmosphere of hate and passion which would have better suited a coarser nature. He edited Buchanan's "History of Scotland." Three poetical pieces of his, "On Love," "The Praises of Women," and "The Miseries of a poor Scholar," show fine taste and true poetical ability. His friend Melville wrote his epitaph, in which he is styled "Patriae lux oculusque."

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, although normally the whole of Scotland was Protestant, the conversion of Aberdeenshire to the reformed doctrines had been principally what we might call conversion by Act of Parliament. As would therefore be expected, the bulk of the better educated classes continued adherent to the Church of Rome. We are not, therefore, surprised to find the outstanding literary men of the period being Catholics. Thomas Dempster is one of them. His is a unique personality, restless, ambitious, intensely interesting, a man with marvellous talents, great learning, untiring industry, extraordinary memory, but again, completely untruthful, living in a constant atmosphere of broils and quarrels. Such is the picture we have of Thomas Dempster drawn partly by himself, and confirmed by his contemporaries. He was a great scholar, and though few of his works now exist, he was a most voluminous writer. He was born in 1579 at Cleftbog, was son of Thomas Dempster, laird of Muiresk, his mother being one of the Leslies of Balquhain. He attended school, first at Turriff under Andrew Ogston the village schoolmaster, afterwards at Aberdeen under Thomas

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Cargill, and then became an inmate of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. From Cambridge he went to Paris. From this time to the end of his career, adventures seem to crowd around him thick and fast. We find him drifting across the Continent, as pupil, professor, tutor; in Belgium, in France, in Spain, in Italy. We get a glimpse of him in Scotland, trying unsuccessfully to recover some of his patrimony from relatives. We find him, sometimes to all appearance, on the high road to success and fame, and then again in the direst straits, when he would be befriended by some of his ubiquitous countrymen, who seemed never to fail turning up at the most critical moment. One of his works was dedicated to James I. of England, who thereupon invited him to England as "Historian to the King." He went, got married there, but the marriage not proving a happy one, his stay in England was of the shortest. The King found that he could not, with impunity, harbour a professed Catholic, and we find Dempster soon again professor of civil law in the University of Pisa. He retired after three years, owing to some domestic troubles. He was next appointed to the professorship of the humanities in the University of Bologna, then the most distinguished University in Italy, holding the chair which entitled him to precedence over all the other professors. This privilege we may be sure was not left in abeyance by Dempster, and considerable disorder resulted for some time until settled by a papal decree in Dempster's favour. He continued to teach here with great success and renown until his death. He had knighthood conferred on him by Pope Urban VIII., and spent the last years of his life in comparative peace and prosperity. Rossi says of him that he was "a man framed for war and contention, who hardly ever allowed a day to pass without fighting either with his sword or with his fists." His devoted admirer, Matthaëus Peregrinius, thus describes his personal appearance;—"He was tall, above the stature of common men; his hair nearly black, and his skin almost of the same colour, his head large, his bodily aspect altogether kingly, his strength and courage equal to that of any soldier." All his writings are in Latin. The work he is now best known by is the "*Historica Ecclesiastica Scotorum*," which is in fact a biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen. He gives sketches of the lives of 1,210 of these, he himself being amongst the number. The book has been described as being "chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary dishonesty." It appears, however, that it was only

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when the credit of his native country was concerned that Dempster drew the long bow. His writings on antiquarian subjects were considered of great value and were very numerous. His reputation extended itself to almost every country in Europe. He had considerable reputation, too, among his contemporaries as a Latin poet. His poem, "Musca Recidiva" went through three editions in the author's lifetime. Dempster died at Bologna, on the 6th September 1625, and was buried in the Church of St. Dominic.

Although he was Dempster's senior, it is most convenient to notice here, James Cheyne, son of the laird of Arnage, and one of his countrymen who befriended Dempster at one time. He studied at King's College, Aberdeen, and in France. He taught philosophy at St. Barbe in Paris, and was afterwards rector of the Scotch College at Douay. He wrote on mathematics, astronomy and astrology. Four volumes of his writings are devoted to Aristotle's Philosophy. One of these, "Succincta in Physiologium Aristotelicam Analysis," published in Paris in 1580, is dedicated to Mary, Queen of Scots. Dempster described him as a man of learning, probity, candour and sweetness of disposition. He died on the 27th October 1602, and is buried in the Cathedral at Tournai, under a marble monument with a Latin inscription.

George Con, or Conn, or as we have it Latinized, Conæus, belongs to the family of Con of Auchry, near Turriff. He was another of those distinguished scholars and authors who were zealous adherents of, and workers for, the Catholic Church. His mother was Isabella Chyn of Esselmont. He was educated at Douay, at the Scots College at Paris, and at Rome. He completed his education at the University of Bologna, devoting himself to an ecclesiastical life. He entered the family of Cardinal Montalto in 1623, from whom he received a handsome legacy six months afterwards. He filled several important ecclesiastical positions, and was the author of several politico-ecclesiastical works, which were animated by a fierce spirit of invective, as well as zeal for his church. He evidently stood very high at the Roman Court seeing he was selected to fill the place of papal agent at Queen Henrietta's English Court in 1636. Rome's ostensible object was to effect a union between the English and the Roman Church, while the real object was to get the English Church to submit to Rome. Con had evidently great influence with Queen Henrietta Maria, and managed not only to make converts to Rome but also to ameliorate

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the lot of the English Catholics. He was said to be a man well informed, of charming manners, and agreeable and fascinating presence. Charles I. found in him a companion such as he dearly loved. Con remained three years at the English Court, and acquitted himself with such distinguished ability that if he had lived he would have secured a Cardinal's hat. He died in Rome on January 10th, 1640, at the age of 42. A life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, was written by him and published in Rome in 1624, and in the same year at Würzburg. He also wrote "De duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos," (which was published in Rome in 1628), and "Assertionum Catholicarum," (published in 1629).

Most of the learned writers we have hitherto had to deal with in this period have been either priests or, at all events, priestly-minded. They were scholars whose works are almost, if not altogether, forgotten. It is therefore very refreshing to be able to turn from these dead politico-ecclesiastical controversies, to forget the fierce sectarian spirit which pervaded them, and to turn to the more healthy atmosphere of scientific and pure literature.

Robert Gordon, the eminent geographer, antiquary, and poet, was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg. He was born at Kinmundy on the 14th September 1580. His father, Sir John, seems to have stood on intimate, almost familiar terms with James VI., as appears from correspondence in which the King solicits a horse of Sir John's selection as a marriage gift, while again he had a personal and apparently very cordial invitation to the baptism of Charles I. Robert Gordon received his education at Aberdeen, and had the honour of being the first graduate of Marischal College in 1597. His further education was on the Continent. He returned to this country in 1600, on his father's death. He married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lynturk in 1608. He bought the estate of Straloch and devoted himself to his favourite studies. There were only three maps of Scotland at this time in existence, and these were inaccurate, almost wholly imaginary, and were the source of constant complaint. Gordon had the real scientific spirit. His geographical maps were the result of painstaking and actual measurements, and to him belongs the honour of being the first geographer who employed actual measurements in the preparation of maps. In 1641, at the request of King Charles, he associated himself with Blaeu of Amsterdam in the production of an atlas, which was

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published in 1648 and dedicated by Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, who had interested himself considerably in the work. So high did Gordon stand in the eyes of his countrymen that a special Act of Parliament was passed exempting him "from taxations, from quartering of soldiers, and from troubling or molesting his house, lands, or tenants, or any of his possessions." To his maps Gordon appended descriptions of the various towns, castles, rivers, and lakes, as well as interesting notes on distinguished families and antiquities. He wrote also a history of the family of Gordon, and collected a quantity of documents and interesting information relating to the Montrose wars. These documents were afterwards utilized by his son, James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay. Portraits of father and son hang in Marischal College. Robert Gordon died in 1661, in the eighty-first year of his age.

James Gordon, his son, graduated at King's College in 1636, and was appointed minister of Rothiemay in 1641. He was left by his father, in 1661, "all mappes, papers, and descriptions, the most part written and drawn with my hand, which conduce to the description of Scotland, and hee to bee countable therefor to the publike." He drew a plan of the City of Edinburgh in 1647, of Aberdeen in 1661, with valuable topographical descriptions. He was the author of the "History of Scots Affairs." The narrative deals principally with the ferment which was caused by the introduction of Laud's Liturgy in 1637, and extends to September 1640. It is of considerable value as giving a contemporary view of that somewhat turbulent period.

Arthur Johnstone, the illustrious physician, and whom Principal Geddes, in his splendid edition of his works in the New Spalding Club, calls "the greatest master of elegiac verse, not in Scotland only but probably in Europe since Ovid's days," was born at Caskieben (now Keith-hall), near Inverurie. The year of his birth used to be given as 1587, but later investigations have put it back perhaps other ten years. His first school education took place at Kintore—why not Inverurie we do not know—at any rate it was at Kintore he learned his Latin :—

Hic ego sum, memini, Musarum factus alumnus,
Et tiro didici verba, Latina loqui.

Strange to say, we do not know which of the Aberdeen colleges he attended, but we know he did study there and made friends with David Wedderburn,

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afterwards rector of the Grammar School, Aberdeen. We then find him, like other distinguished Scottish scholars, wandering over Europe. He was at Heidelberg in 1599, and evidently teaching there in 1601. We next find him at Sedan as professor of logic and metaphysics, where he seems to have passed six years. We find next that he takes his degree of doctor of medicine at Padua in 1610. He must here have studied anatomy under Julius Casserius, as he gives a description of an anatomical lecture by him in his works. Casserius was a distinguished teacher of anatomy in Padua up to 1614. According to Sir Thomas Urquhart he was laureated a poet in Paris in his twenty-third year. Urquhart is, however, our only authority for this. We find him again in Aberdeen, after twenty years' residence in France. He was enrolled as a burgess in 1622. His first wife, a Brabant lady, Marie de Cagniol, died in 1624. His second wife was a Barbara Gordon, said to be one of the Gordons of Newton. This Aberdeen period seems to have been a very active literary one. He appears to have been on not only familiar, but also very friendly terms with the leading men of both Scotland and England. Honours came to him all round. He was appointed Physician in Ordinary, first to Charles, and afterwards to James. He was also appointed Rector of the University and King's College, Aberdeen. He was friendly with Archbishop Laud, Scott of Scotstarvet, Drummond, the Aberdeen Forbeses, and the Earl of Erroll. He completed and published his version of the psalms in 1637. He is supposed to have been encouraged to do this in order to dim the lustre of Buchanan, who was not now a favourite in high quarters. Archbishop Laud gets the credit of being Johnstone's instigator in this work. Great controversy raged for almost a century over the respective merits of Johnstone and Buchanan's translations of the psalms. Scott makes Johnstone's Latin psalms the principal Sunday reading of the Baron of Bradwardine. Auditor Benson, by his somewhat wild enthusiasm over Johnstone's poems, got both himself and Johnstone pilloried by Pope in the Dunciad. The controversy may be said to have been finally settled by Thomas Ruddiman in his famous "Vindication" of Buchanan in the eighteenth century. A number of Johnstone's poems appeared in the "Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum," which was published at Amsterdam in 1637. His poems are, in general, classical, and learned both in subject and form, although there are occasionally some lighter, humorous, playful and satirical pieces, such as the

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address to the Town Council of Aberdeen on the imprisonment of the midwife. In his lighter vein we have also "A Fisher's Apology," where we have Johnstone showing his keen delight in angling and singing its praises before Isaac Walton. Again in the epistle to Robert Baron, we find Johnstone painting in somewhat sombre colours the life of a rustic on the banks of the Gadie. To us it seems somewhat pedantic that Johnstone should have, in all his writings, stuck so pertinaciously to the Latin language, but the temptation to do so in these days was very considerable. Latin secured the Scottish scholar at once the whole of literary Europe, giving him thus a wider as well as a more appreciative audience, than if he had confined himself to his native Scots.

Dr. William Johnstone, Arthur's younger brother, was also a man of some note. He was a professor at Sedan, and subsequently the first occupant of the Mathematical Chair at Marischal College. Another Latin Poet, John Johnstone, born at Crimond about 1570, studied at King's College, Aberdeen, and made the usual pilgrimage of the Continental Universities, where he studied for eight years. He belonged to an older branch of the same family as Arthur and William Johnstone. We find him at Helmstadt and Geneva, and subsequently the colleague of Melville at St. Andrews, where he ably assisted Melville in his resistance to King James's efforts to introduce episcopacy. He was the friend and correspondent of the learned and fanciful Justus Lipsius. His relative, Arthur Johnstone, incorporated several of his poems in the work already mentioned, the "Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum," along with poems of several other Scottish Latinists of the period, such as John Barclay, Thomas Dempster, Thomas Reid, David Leech, and George Strachan, all Aberdeen University men.

William Guild, who was born in Aberdeen in 1586, was the son of an armourer, was sent to the recently-opened Marischal College, qualified for the ministry, and was appointed minister of the Parish of King-Edward in 1608. He had the degree of D.D. conferred on him for various theological works he wrote, such as:—"Moses Unveiled," "Harmony of all the Prophets," and a work directed against Purgatory, the kind of writings which were popular in these days. He seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of popularity, and in 1631 he was appointed by the magistrates of Aberdeen to one of the pastoral charges in the city. The country at this time was in the heat of the struggle between attempts of the Stuarts to impose episcopacy on the one hand, and

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somewhat wild and lawless zeal of the Covenanters on the other. Guild did his best to sit on the fence. He made friends with the Bishop of Winchester, and got appointed one of the King's Chaplains, and when Montrose with some considerable force demanded that the Aberdeen Clergy should sign the Covenant, he did so "with reservations." Dr. William Leslie, principal of King's College, having refused to sign the Covenant, was deposed, and Guild got the appointment. The appointment seems to have helped him to make up his mind more definitely, for we find him, at least for a time, very zealous on behalf of the Covenant. Andrew Cant was now a force in Aberdeen, and seems to have distrusted Guild, and poisoned the General Assembly in regard to him. A commission reported on him, and ordered the removal of Guild and his colleagues; but the colleagues did not remove, and the Principal sat still. General Monk, however, made short work of the offenders, and appointed John Row as Principal. Dr. Guild was a man of good intentions, but weak. He was kind and charitable, and a great benefactor of learning.

Andrew Cant who contributed to Guild's removal from the principalship was the first minister of Pitsligo, to which he was appointed in 1638. He can hardly be called a literary man, but he was one of the ablest of the Covenanting preachers, and was at once vigorous, fearless, and tyrannical. He was for a time the dictator of Aberdeen, over-awing not only the people but the magistrates as well. The only publication of his we have is "Lex Rex," consisting mostly of anathemas and imprecations, and which ultimately proved his undoing. The magistrates made his position rather unpleasant over this work, and Cant found it prudent to leave the city. He died about 1664.

We cannot afford to lose sight of an incident (connected with a most interesting personage) which seems to have taken place while Dr. Guild was minister of King-Edward. Sir Thomas Urquhart, the Knight of Cromarty, and translator of Rabelais, a graduate also of King's College in 1622, seems to have been resident at King-Edward in Dr. Guild's time, living in all probability at Craigston Castle with John Urquhart. We find his name engraved as part donor, along with Dr. Guild and John Urquhart of Craigston, of massive silver communion cups to the Church of King-Edward. It is refreshing to get this glimpse, although only on our horizon, of one of the most singular characters of his age. It would be hard to define him. We must allow that he had genius,

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also that he was hair-brained and quixotic ; we must also allow that he was always interesting and always picturesque, and that he was learned, industrious and unconventional. He was patriotic, but not very prudent. He possessed an unplumbed imagination, his vocabulary was elaborate and full—luxuriant to rankness, in this respect—almost a match for his master, Rabelais. If ever any man had a mission Urquhart's was sure enough to translate Rabelais, and from him we have a translation, which almost rivals, some say, outrivals, the original. He was one of the attractive vagabond type, although by the accident of birth a knight. He was not an unfamiliar type of the Scot in his day and perhaps not an unfamiliar type of the Scot abroad in our own day. "The fantastic Knight with the unbridled imagination" he has been called. We are pleased to meet him here and almost sorry to part with him.

George Cheyne, M.D. (1671-1743), was born at Auchincruive, Methlick, Aberdeenshire, in 1671. He was at first intended for the ministry, but by the advice of Dr. Pitcairn of Edinburgh, turned his attention to medicine and became a student at Edinburgh, under Pitcairn, who was at that time professor of medicine there. He started practice in London in 1702. His first literary work was a statement of Pitcairn's views on Fevers, and a somewhat fierce and personal defence of it, the tone of which he afterwards regretted and apologised for. He wrote in support of some obsolete mathematical theories, which have now no value. When he started practice in London he seems to have lived generously, and, as he was genial, learned and witty, he became a very popular and successful, as well as a fashionable, physician. Free living, however, aggravated a natural tendency to corpulency, and for a time seemed to undermine his constitution. He completely changed his mode of living, and his health was said to have been finally re-established by a course of Bath waters. The personal experience thus acquired changed his whole course of living as well as his professional standpoint. The evils of luxury and the benefits of moderate and especially vegetable diet, were the texts from which he henceforth preached, and were the essence of his many writings. His principal works were:—"Essay on Health and Long Life"; "The English Malady," which was highly praised by Dr. Johnson; an "Essay on Regimen: together with five Discourses, Medical, Moral and Philosophical"; "The Natural Method of Curing Diseases of

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the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind depending on the Body," which latter was dedicated to Lord Chesterfield. Many of his works were translated into Latin, French, and Italian. He was a correspondent of Richardson, the novelist, and had David Hume as a patient. At one time he was said to have weighed no less than thirty-two stones, and the whole side of his carriage had to be made open to receive him. He had a great reputation in his day, and his character is very favourably commented on by his contemporaries.

The last author we have to deal with in the Stuart period is the man of whom Dean Swift said "the doctor has more wit than any of us, and his humanity is equal to his wit." This was Dr. John Arbuthnot, who, although born in Kincardineshire, has many connections and associations with Buchan. He graduated M.A., at Marischal College in 1685. He was the first doctor of medicine who graduated at St. Andrews (11th September, 1696). In 1696 he went to London, and earned his living by teaching mathematics. His first works were of a mathematical nature. He published an "Examination of Dr. Woodward's Account of the Deluge," and his "Essay on the usefulness of Mathematic Learning." He gradually made his way as a physician. By good luck he was at Epsom when Prince George of Denmark took suddenly ill, and this led to his becoming the favourite physician of Queen Anne and all the Court. He lived in constant intercourse with a set of literary men, as brilliant as ever flourished in England. There were Swift, Pope, Gay, and Prior. The variety, as well as the ability, of his writings is remarkable. We have his scholarly and learned work, entitled "Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures," and again his "Essay on the Effects of Air on Human Bodies." Then again his "Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus" and "History of John Bull," show his power of ridicule and satire. He was very careless of his reputation. He would let his children make kites of his papers, scarcely ever spoke of his writings, and seemed to take the least interest in them. He possessed a guileless heart, and the most perfect simplicity of character. Swift said of him:—"He knew his art, but not his trade." His character cannot be better summed up than it was by Dr. Johnson, when he said "Arbuthnot was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his views of knowledge

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by a bright and active imagination, a scholar with great brilliancy of wit : a wit who in the crowd of life retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal." He died in 1735.¹

Ja. M.

¹ The reader will find in section vi., a continuation of this subject. Buchan Authors since Arbuthnot's time are there brought under review by the same writer.—ED.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Traditional Minstrelsy of Buchan.

BY Traditional Minstrelsy is meant the body of songs and ballads that have depended for their life and transmission on voice and ear alone, without the help of the printed page. The intervention at times of chapbook and ballad sheet in this process of oral transmission does not materially affect the situation ; for print was in any case but a stepping-stone from tradition to tradition ; and, in Buchan at least, research tends to show that the influence of chapbook and broadside on the genuine minstrelsy of the district was inconsiderable.

Tradition is a primitive instrument, and belongs to the unlettered classes. Hence the minstrelsy which is traditional is also popular. It is the property of the people in respect of both origin and circulation. For this kind of product a convenient term is "Folk-Song."

Folk-Song is usually contrasted with Art-Song. As far as Scotland is concerned it may be contrasted with "Book" Song. This brings us at once to a position which is simply revolutionary as regards conventional beliefs. People have all along taken it for granted that the true minstrelsy of the Scottish people is to be found in the published collections of so-called Scottish Song, and that our traditional and unrecorded minstrelsy is, both as to extent and significance, but the negligible fringe of native lyrism. This is largely a delusion. The songs of Ramsay, Burns, Hogg, Tannahill, Scott, Lady Nairne, and the rest, have never been adopted and sung by the Scottish peasantry. The minstrelsy of our peasantry has been just that body of traditional song and ballad which collectors and critics have hitherto so largely ignored—vastly greater in extent than book song, and different from it at once as regards words and tunes. Folk-song has doubtless been the foundation of book song ; but its communal character and fitness have been invaded by the individuality of poets and musicians, whose conscious art, aiming at raising Scottish song to a

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higher plane, has largely parted company with popular tastes and communal sanctions. An interesting little illustration may be given. The folk-singer was pleased with

But bring to me a bottle o' wine,
A bottle o' wine and a drinkin' glassie,
And I'll drink to ye a' afore I gang,—
Guidnicht and joy be to my lassie.

Burns took the stanza and re-wrote it :—

Go fetch to me a pint of wine,
And fill it in a silver tassie,
That I may drink before I go,
A service to my bonnie lassie.

With this the critic may be delighted, but the folk-singer leaves it alone.

Into the philosophy of folk-song we have no time to enter. It is pretty fully discussed in our paper, "Folk-Song in Buchan," which appeared in Vol. IX. of the *Transactions* of the Buchan Field Club. Suffice it meantime to say that for the true understanding of folk-song there is demanded a due recognition of its communal character. It is communal as regards its origin, its literary form and expression, its vocabulary and idiom, its musical setting, its subjects, its ideals, its emotional range, its ethical standards. It is of the people, and for the people; and here indeed lies the keynote of the whole situation.

We have specially to deal with folk-song as found in Buchan. Now we must guard against supposing that any particular district has a body of traditional minstrelsy to itself. Folk-song indeed admits of no delimitation either in a geographical or a secular way, reaching forth ultimately to the ends of the earth through a web of countless affinities, and back to primeval times along an endless chain of derivation. But, though its fountain-head cannot be found, it is something to know that its streams are racial. If we take Anglo-Saxon areas we shall find a body of traditional minstrelsy that is more or less common to them all. What of this common stock is found in Buchan may be taken as the result mainly of natural selection, adaptation, and survival. In these processes there has been of course a considerable element of chance; but there has doubtless been also the operation of preferences, so that the folk-song of our district may be taken as in considerable measure illustrative of the character of the people.

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We have stated the situation in a large and general way. Some qualifications are called for. Though ultimate origins in the field of folk-song cannot be traced, proximate origins may be found, or must at least be assumed. Individual songs and ballads must have originated somewhere and somehow. In this view, a certain quantum of contribution to the general stock falls to be credited to every section of our Anglo-Saxon area.

While the old ballads have an accepted form and a sanctioned machinery, there is of course in every individual effort a certain measure of originality, or at least of new material. This is most indefeasible in the case of the historical ballads. The North-East can claim a goodly number of these, and, presumably, what in them is original or fresh is to be credited to the district. When we pass from the ballads that deal with "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago," and get among the more humble lays that turn on the experiences of life "that have been and may be again," we must be careful in assuming even a relative measure of originality. Some of these productions may appear, from names or allusions, to belong to a particular district; but we have always to reckon with the possibility of localisation or adaptation of a less overt kind. Even our Ploughman ditties, which constitute the most indigenous portion of our minstrelsy, are found as a rule to follow types and models. It should be remembered, however, that these questions of origin and evolution are only for the outside critic. The folk-singer himself takes his minstrelsy just as he gets it, and pins his faith to its every statement and claim.

Whatever may have been the origin and history of our native traditional minstrelsy, we incline to think that more of it survives in Buchan than in any other equal area of the British Isles; and certain we are that it has received more attention with us than anywhere else. A brief survey of folk-song research work done in our North-Eastern angle will substantiate this claim.

Peter Buchan, with all his faults, remains the prince of ballad collectors. His "Gleanings of Scarce Old Ballads" (1825), his "Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland" (1828), together with the chapbooks which he issued from time to time, not to speak of his unpublished manuscripts, represent an amount of work in the way of collecting, editing, and printing our traditional minstrelsy, that gives him a place and reputation in this particular field quite beyond serious challenge. It has been the fashion for ballad editors and

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critics to depreciate and discredit Peter Buchan's work by casting doubt on the genuineness of his records. Professor Child is comparatively temperate in his attitude; but Mr. T. F. Henderson, in his "Scottish Vernacular Literature" (1900), goes the length of saying that much of Peter's "Ballads" is a mere farrago of unauthentic doggerel. Peter says that his versions were collected for him by a blind folk-singer of the name of James Rankine. The critics have fastened on this, and, concluding that Jamie could make as well as sing a "stroud," have blamed him for faking much of the material which he supplied to Buchan. These critics know little about Jamie; and, besides, while they largely misapprehend the general ballad situation, they fail in particular to take into account the separateness of our North-Eastern angle. We have managed to find out a good deal about Jamie, and have got it well established that the man, while gifted with an excellent natural memory, was so markedly deficient in intelligence as to be quite incapable of composing anything. Further, as is well known to those who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter at first-hand, the folk-singer only gives what he has learned. Faking, when it takes place, is the work of editors who, obsessed by literary ideals and standards, are tempted to doctor records that may be incomplete or halting. Peter Buchan's versions of the old ballads are often suspiciously complete, and here and there would appear to have been edited. For faults of this kind, where they can be established, we would blame Peter himself and not poor Jamie Rankine. But, while admitting that Peter is far from impeccable, we hold by the general authenticity of his work. On the whole question we have much to say; but there is no time for it just now. The matter, however, may be brought to a simple issue. Critics, ensconced in armchairs in distant cities, tell us what is *not* found in minstrel Buchan. Some of us who have gone about Buchan for years collecting and recording with utter fidelity every scrap of its minstrelsy on which we could lay hands, are prepared to say what *is* found in the district. And what we have found tends in large measure to prove that Peter Buchan's records are in the main authentic.

Mrs. A. F. Murison, in 1873, made a MS. collection of some 40 traditional ballads gathered in the Old Deer district for Professor Child's great work, "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" (1882-1898). In 1901, Mr. John Milne, Maud, published "Buchan Folk Songs," a small collection of local songs and ballads, with interesting notes.

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The collectors of our native minstrelsy to whom we have referred deal with the words only. The tunes also have received attention, at the hands of other workers. In the early part of last century, William Christie, of Monquhitter, dancing master, violinist, and composer, set himself to collect old inedited ballad airs. By-and-by his son, Dean Christie, joined in the work, and at the time of the old man's death the collection amounted to nearly 250. More unpublished airs were afterwards discovered, and the collection was ultimately published as "Traditional Ballad Airs," arranged from copies procured in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, in two quarto volumes (1876 and 1881). Words are given along with the airs. Somewhat unfortunately the Dean saw fit to edit his materials, which detracts considerably from the value of his work for us.

Mr. Geo. Riddell, Roseheart, who is an authority on folk-tune, has contributed several traditional airs collected by him in Buchan to the *Miscellanea* of the Rymour Club, Edinburgh (1908 and 1909).

A new folk-song movement has arisen. Its aims and methods are scientific. Its programme at the present stage gives first place to the work of collecting. The original alliance of verse and tune is preserved, both members being recorded with equal care and fidelity. One characteristic of folk-song is its fluidity. Versions vary indefinitely, and, as there is no ultimate standard of appeal, each version is *prima facie* of equal authority. It has been the fashion in the past to get over this difficulty by presenting an eclectic text, and for popular purposes this is still necessary. But the new movement aims at recording all variants—discovering affinities the while, and tracing derivations. The æsthetic side of the subject is by no means overlooked; but the main end in view is doubtless to get at a science of Comparative Folk-Song.

With the formation of the Folk-Song Society in 1899 the new movement took definite shape. As far as Scotland is concerned the movement may be said to have begun in 1904, when the New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, turned its attention to the older popular minstrelsy of the North-East, and asked the present writer to prospect and report on the feasibility of making a collection of this minstrelsy; the result being that he was instructed to proceed with the work, the Rev. Jas. B. Duncan, M.A., Lynturk, being associated with him as

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co-editor of a volume—"Folk-Music of the North-East," to be produced by the Club. Grateful acknowledgment must also be made of financial aid rendered to the work of research by the Carnegie Trustees.

While the full results of our research will appear in the New Spalding Club volume, it is in view to give to the public a selection of the songs and ballads which have been collected—words and music, with pianoforte accompaniments. Something has already been done to give the public some idea of our work and its results. "Folk-Song in Buchan," by the present writer, has been referred to. Besides dealing at length with the principles of the subject, it contains a number of specimens—words and tunes—of local folk-songs. To the *Miscellanea* of the Rymour Club we have contributed several specimens of our Bothy Ballads; and to the *Buchan Observer* we have contributed a series of articles, now in its third year, on the Folk-Song of the North-East, in which have been produced over 300 versions of traditional songs and ballads recorded in the district, with notes.

We would now say something about what we actually find in the field of local minstrelsy, dealing in the first place with the words. We have already indicated that while Buchan is, as regards folk-song, but a section of a wider field, the minstrelsy which it has produced or annexed may be expected to show the influence and impress of local character. This will be so far illustrated as we proceed; but we should like to call special attention to the matter of language. The Buchan dialect is admittedly distinct and characteristic. Remembering, however, the general tendency of lyricism to raise language to a higher plane, we must not expect to find much of the undiluted vernacular in our folk-songs. Education has made our peasant bilingual in a way, so that in the use of language he readily becomes barometric. The more indigenous ditties may be expected to give the best illustration of the local dialect. Thus in "The Souters' Feast," which seems to belong to Central Buchan, we may be prepared to find a verse like the following:—

An ill-faured sklype cam' fae Crimon',
A perfect scunner to the women;
A muckle, hypal, haveless loon,
Fae the Fite-Steen cam' hyterin' doon.

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In songs of wider vogue, however, the Doric tends to get diluted :—

O' a' the trades that man can try
The beggin' is the best,
For when a man is wearied
He can sit doon and rest.

The Scotch of the old ballads retains a good deal of its old-world dignity :—

Yonder he stan's and yonder he gangs,
The weary Heir o' Linne ;
He stan's alane on the caul' causey,
And nane will lat him in.

It may be pointed out in passing that when, as often happens, a trochaic disyllable occurs at the end of a line, the ballad-singer frankly shifts the accent to the final syllable—with characteristic effect. His example should be followed by the reader or reciter of ballads.

Songs and ballads imported from the South usually keep their original English :—

I was brought up in Sheffield,
But not of high degree ;
My parents doated on me,
They had no child but me.

Familiar from earliest years with our metrical Psalms and Paraphrases, the Northern singer takes quite naturally to ballad English.

Our native minstrelsy is roughly divided into ballads and songs. The distinction turns mainly on length, many of our so-called songs being essentially ballads, as embodying a tale. While the old-world minstrelsy as a whole has been dying out during the past generation, the old ballads are disappearing faster than the songs, the conditions of modern life being unfavourable to long entertainments. Versions of a goodly number, however, can still be picked up in Buchan. Taking Professor Child's "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" as our standard, we find that of the three hundred ballads contained in that work we have secured local records of fully eighty. Several of these are fragmentary ; while more than twenty fall to be credited entirely to one source—Miss Bell Robertson, New Pitsligo, whose recollections of old-time ballad

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and song have been so exceptionally extensive and valuable that her name deserves special mention in connection with our research work.

There are the legendary ballads. One of the oldest and best, as it is still, we are glad to say, one of the most popular, is "Johnnie o' Braidiesleys" :—

Johnnie arose on a May mornin',
Called water to wash his hands ;
Says, " Lowse to me my twa grey dogs,
That lie bound in iron bands."

The ballad may belong originally to the Borders, but the Northern singer has localised it, as in the last verse :—

Johnnie's good bend-bow is broke,
And his twa grey dogs are slain ;
And his body lies in (bonnie) Monymusk,
And his huntin' days are deen.

More purely local are "Andrew Lammie," and "Sir James the Rose," best known in an eighteenth century version. These two ballads are great chap-book favourites, and, significantly enough in this connection, are rarely heard sung.

No ballad belonging to the North-East is more popular than "The Laird o' Drum" :—

The Laird o' Drum is a-huntin' gane,
All in the mornin' early ;
And there he spied a weel-faured may,
She was shearin' her father's barley.
" My bonnie may, my weel-faured may,
It's will ye fancy me O ?
And will ye gang and be Lady o' Drum,
And lat your shearin' be O ?"

Nowhere is the pastoral note more authentic and fine :—

" I canna wear your silken goons,
They wad reestle at my heel O ;
But I will wear the colour o' the yowe,
For it sets my body weel O.

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“ I canna wash your cheena cups,
Or mak' a cup o' tea O ;
But weel can I milk my daddie's yowes,
Wi' the cogie on my knee O.”

“ Lang Johnny More ” is the raciest of our Northern ballads :—

There lived a man in Rhynie's land,
And anither in Auchindore,
But the brawest lad amo' them a'
Was Lang Johnny More.
Young Johnny was a clever youth,
A sturdy, stoot, and wicht ;
He was full three yairds about the waist,
And fourteen feet in hicht.

Of ballads historical and quasi-historical our county can claim a fair number. Among these the place of honour belongs to “ The Battle of Harlaw. ” :—

As I cam' in by Dunidier,
And doon by Netherha',
There was fifty thousan' Hiellanmen
A' marchin' to Harlaw.
Wi' my dirrum du, dirrum du,
Daddie dirrum day.

There are several ballads not included in Child's collection which, whatever their age may be, have the main characters of the old ballad, and obtain equal recognition from the folk-singer. “ The Hireman Chiel ” may be taken as a specimen :—

There was a knicht and a baron bricht,
And a knicht o' high degree ;
And he had only ae young son,
And a brave boy was he.
He was brought up at nine good schools,
And sae was he at ten ;
And sae weel's he learned to haud the ploo
Amang his father's men.

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Passing from the legendary and historical ballads that have more or less of the accent and idiom of other days, we come to a class which, while by no means of yesterday, have lost much of the old-world note, and begun to acquire the accent of a nearer day. They are mainly importations. "Jack Munro" is well known :—

There was a wealthy merchant
In Chester town did dwell ;
He had a lovely daughter,
And none could her excel.

This lady she was courted
By many a gallant knight ;
But none but Jack the sailor
Could prove her heart's delight.

"The Bonnie Lass o' Fyvie," if not originally local, has at anyrate been exceedingly well localised :—

There was a troop o' Irish dragoons
Cam' marchin' up thro' Fyvie O ;
And the Captain's fa'en in love wi' a very bonnie lass,
And her name it was callèd Pretty Peggy O.

Oh, green grows the birks on bonnie Ythanside,
And low lies the bonnie Lewes o' Fyvie O ;
Our Captain's name was Ned, and he died for a maid,
He died for the bonnie Lass o' Fyvie O.

There are in circulation among our folk-singers a number of comparatively modern productions which may be called ballads, although the impersonal note has been lost and we are treated to a narration in the first person. The themes are almost always doleful, the tone lugubrious, and the literary style poor.

We come to songs. As already indicated, these cannot in very many cases be differentiated from ballads with any degree of confidence, so much of the ballad character running through all our traditional minstrelsy. Love is of course the main theme of popular as it is of artistic song. But love in folk-song exhibits a characteristic restraint, passion being too pronounced a mood

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for the communal sense and sanction. Hence, no doubt, the fondness for the narrative form, as being less compromising. "Mormond Braes" is the most popular love song in Buchan. Although ostensibly indigenous, it is, we rather think, mainly an adaptation, albeit a happy one :—

As I gaed doon by Strichen toon
I heard a fair maid mournin',
And she was makin' sair complaint
For her true love ne'er returnin'.
It's Mormond Braes where heather grows,
Where aftimes I've been cheery ;
It's Mormond Braes where heather grows,
And it's there I've lost my dearie.

Some of our love songs are the most genuine of pastorals. "Cauries and Kye" is an excellent example :—

Once on a fine summer evening
A gay couple I did spy,
'Twas a young man and a maiden
A-courtin' at the kye.

Sentiment as well as setting is fine :—

"But I'll moin you to anither,
She's far mair suitin' than I ;
She has plenty o' gold yellow guineas,
And plenty o' cauries and kye."

"Clothes are a mochy pose, love,
And sheep might go far astray ;
And the laddie that marries for siller
Weds a' his pleasures away.

"The ox may hang in the plough, love,
The cow may drown in the myre ;
But the laddie ne'er wants his riches
That marries his heart's desire."

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More often than otherwise love episodes as narrated in folk-song have an unfortunate issue. One of our best-known Northern songs is "Allan Maclean," which is understood to belong to the middle of the eighteenth century:—

Get all things in order,
I'll write wi' my pen
The lucks and misfortunes
Of Allan Maclean.

I was born in the Highlands,
A minister's son,
Brought up with good learning
Till my schooling was done.

I went to the College,
A student to be;
But the wedding at Westfield
It quite ruined me.

George Donald, John Allan,
Macgregor and I,
We went all to the dancing
Pretty girlies to spy.

We danced and we drank,
And we took great delight,
Till bonnie Sally Allen
Came into my sight.

More commonly, however, it is the girl who tells the story. As a rule, the lack of reticence tends to bar quotation. We must be careful, however, not to confound a standard of taste with an attitude to morality. While this caution applies to our treatment of the old ballads and many of the older songs, it must be admitted that there is a considerable body of traditional minstrelsy still in circulation which is so frankly pagan in its dealing with sexual relations that it must be relegated to the *Index Expurgatorius*.

While love runs through most of our minstrelsy, it may be worth while to change our standpoint and treat a number of our popular lyrics as songs of

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Life and Work, and Character. Country life and interests may well be expected to bulk largely in the folk-song of a district like Buchan. Among the operations of the rural year Harvest holds chief place, and is celebrated in several popular ditties. "Johnnie Sangster" represents the "composed" song :—

O' a' the seasons o' the year,
When we maun work the sairest,
The harvest is the foremost time,
And yet it is the rarest.
We rise as seen as mornin' licht,
Nae craters can be blither,
We buckle on oor finger-steels,
And follow oot the scyther.

More thoroughly native is the note in "The Lothian Hairst" :—

On August twalt fae Aiberdeen
We sailèd in the *Prince*,
And safe arrived on Shawfield's shore,
The harvest to commence.

We followed Logan on the point,
And sae weel's he laid it doon,
And sae nimble as he led oor squad
Owre mony's the thristy toon.

There is a special kind of ditty, the Ploughman Song, to which we have already referred as having first claim to be considered indigenous. It deals with the experiences of a farm-servant while fulfilling his half-yearly engagement at some "toon"—characterising farm, farmer, fellow-servants, horses, food; and not always "in complimentary mood." These ditties may not show much lyric gift, but for sincerity and conviction they are unsurpassed. "Guise of Tough" may be taken as a favourable specimen :—

I gaed up to Alford for to get a fee ;
I fell in wi' Jamie Broom, an' wi' him I did agree.
Tum a hi dum do, tum a hi do day ;
Tum a hi dum do, tum a hi do day.

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I engaged wi' Jamie Broom in the year o' ninety-one,
For to ca his second pair an' be his orra man.

Fin I gaed hame to Guise o' Tough 'twas on an evenin' clear,
An' oot about some orra hoose the gaffer did appear.

"I'm the maister o' this place, an' that's the mistress there,
An' ye'll get plenty cheese an' breid, an' plenty mair to spare."

I gaed to the stable my pairie for to view,
An' fegs they were a dandy pair, a chestnut an' a blue.

.

We hae a gallant bailie, an' Wallace is his name,
An' he can fair redd up the kye fin he tak's doon the kaim.

The various trades that flourish in a rural community enjoy their meed of song. The Miller seems to get most attention. "The Miller o' Straloch" is a popular ditty :—

I am a miller to my trade,
I'm miller at Straloch ;
I'm a curious cankered carlie,
My name is Willie Stroth.

Next to the Miller come the Blacksmith, the Mason, and the Shoemaker.

Sometimes very prosaic achievements become matter of song, as in "The Buchan Turnpike" :—

'Twas in the year auchteen hun'er an' aucht
A road thro' Buchan was made straucht,
When mony a Hielan' lad o' maucht
Cam' owre the Buchan border.

'Twixt Peterheid and Banff's aul' toon
It twines the knowes an' hollows roon,
Ye scarce can tell its ups fae doon,
It's levelled in sic order.

The Hielan' and the Lowlan' chieils
Cut doon the knowes wi' spads an' sheels,
An' bored the stanes wi' jumpin' dreels,
To get the road in order.

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While the Buchan folk-singer is most deeply interested in bucolic themes and presentations of rural life in general, some other kinds of life and occupation make wonderfully strong appeal to his imagination. Soldier Songs are among his chief favourites. Many of these must have been brought to the North by natives who had served in Continental wars. They are often in the form of a personal narration, and sometimes centre in a love episode in which we have the willing maid, her unwilling father, and the press-gang, with the ultimate return of the hero in the nick of time to claim his sweetheart. "The Lass o' Benachie" is a good specimen :—

I fell in love wi' a bonnie lass
At the keepin' o' her cattle ;
Her father he had me beguiled,
And sent me off to battle.

The ballad contains some vigorous stanzas :—

I made open doors o' double deals,
I made locks and keys to splinter ;
My passion flew while my sword I drew,
And so boldly I did enter.

In our review of Folk-Song in Buchan, we have travelled several centuries beyond the Medieval period, and have reached quite the end of the Stuart period. Although not therefore belonging to the period to which this section of *The Book of Buchan* is devoted, mention may be made in conclusion (as no other opportunity is afforded in these pages) to quite a number of martial ditties belonging to the period of the Napoleonic wars, among which "The Plains of Waterloo" is entitled to first place.

Songs of the Sea are also very popular with the rustic singer, and he knows a lot of them. The love interest, which is seldom absent, is usually of a romantic and picturesque kind. A girl may disguise herself and follow her lover on board ship :—

Young Susan was a blooming maid
Of valiance stout and bold ;
And, when her sailor went on board,
Young Susan, we are told,

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Put on her jolly sailor's dress,
And daubed her hands with tar,
For to cross the raging seas in love,
On board of a man-of-war.

Sometimes the sailor is so long away that when he returns his sweetheart fails to recognise him, and he is able to test her fidelity by playing a game of bluff. "The Single Sailor" is a great favourite :—

"I wonder how you could love a sailor ;
I wonder how you could love a slave ;
For he's maybe married, he's maybe drowneded,
And the wide ocean become his grave."
"If he be married I wish him pleasure ;
If he be drowneded I wish him rest ;
But for his sake I will never marry ;
The reason why—because I loved him best."

There is a branch of seafaring minstrelsy in which Buchan is specially interested, and to which it has made some contributions—Whaling Songs. Of these "The Whaler's Song" is the most popular :—

Once more to Greenland we are bound,
To leave you all behind ;
With timbers firm and hearts so warm,
We sail before the wind.

We do not go to face the foe
Upon the raging main ;
We only sail to catch the whale,
And we'll soon return again.

There is a considerable Fishing population along our coast. They do not seem to have any old traditional minstrelsy connected with their special calling. If they have, we have failed to recover any specimen of it.

The music of our folk-songs is quite as characteristic as the words, and, as a rule, of much higher merit and significance. The subject is somewhat technical, and cannot well be explicated without illustrations. Under the circumstances, therefore, a few words must suffice.

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In practically every case a folk-tune is much older than the words with which it may happen to be allied, having done duty, as a rule, for a succession of lyrics down the generations. All the oldest and best of our folk-tunes appear to be Celtic, many of them treating the melodic quatrain according to the characteristic scheme in which there are but two lines of distinct melody, repeated and arranged as per the formula *abba*. This corresponds with the rhyme-scheme of Tennyson's "In Memoriam" stanza. The old melodies in their original form have only one strain; contain no transitions; and, practically, admit no accidental except at times the flat seventh, *ta*. Many of them are in the old modes. The most common is the Dorian, in which the melody ends on the second of the scale, *Ray*. Pretty frequent too is the Aeolian, ending on the sixth, *Lah*; and fairly frequent the Mixolydian, ending on the fifth, *Soh*. Many of our old melodies are in the Pentatonic scale, the 4th and 7th, *te* and *fa*, being omitted. In folk-tune as collected at first-hand variants are innumerable, and affinities often bewildering.

The above account of the Traditional Minstrelsy of Buchan is necessarily very incomplete, but it may serve to give the general reader some idea of the subject. For the sake of those who take a more intimate interest in Folk-Song it may be worth while to give a short list of the Ballads and Songs which, as far as our particular records tend to show, are in a kind of front rank as regards vogue and popularity. The order is not to be taken as indicating much in the way of relative preference.

G. G.

OLD BALLADS.

Laird o' Drum	Battle of Harlaw
Lang Johnny More	Fair Rosie Ann
Binorie	Clyde's Waters
Bethelnie	Lord Douglas
Dowie Dens o' Yarrow	Lord Thomas of Winchbury
Lord Beichan	Duke of Gordon's Daughter
Hynd Horn	Keach in the Creel
Captain Wedderburn	Young Allan
Beggar's Dawtie	Cowdenknowes
Gight's Lady	Sir James the Rose
Johnnie o' Braidiesleys	Glasgow Peggy
Beggar Man	Lord Ronald
Andrew Lammie	Elfin Knight

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SONGS AND LATER BALLADS.

Mormond Braes	Jolly Butchers
Barnyards o' Delgaty	Aikey Fair
Drumdelgie	Swaggers
Donside Emigrant's Farewell	Caroline of Edinburgh Town
Allan Maclean	Parks o' Keltie
Rigs o' Rye	Single Sailor
Cauries and Kye	Bogieside
Nairn River's Banks	Banks of the Nile
Bonnie Udny	Peggy in the mornin'
Ythanside	Bonnie Lass o' Fyvie
Banks of sweet Dundee	Bonnie Lassie's Answer
Banks of Claudy	Carse of Braemise
Rosie Anderson	Lass o' Glenshee
I will set my good ship	Lions' Den
Jamie Raeburn	Sheffield Apprentice
Ellen of Aberdeen	Tarves Rant
Jock Hawk	American Stranger
Nancy Whisky	Young Susan
Orange and Blue	Miller
False Bride	Jack Munro
Tardy Wooer	Banks o' Skene
Beggin'	Plains of Waterloo
Bleacher Lassie	Road to Dundee
Erin's lovely home	Sailing Trade
Forglen's (or Strichen's) Plantins	Sailor Boy
Charlie Mackie	Wicked Wife
It fell about the Mart'mas time	North Highlands
Whaler's Song	Miller o' Straloch
Diamond Ship	Foundling Baby
Braes o' Strathdon	Wily Auld Joker
Lass o' Benachie	When I was a maid
Blaeberry Courtship	Girl I left behind
Fair o' Balnaminna	Servan' Lasses
Irish Boy	Glencoe
Irish Girl	Lass o' Fintray
Feeing Time	Jolly Ploughboy
Hireman Chiel	Donside

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Old Peterhead.

No. 1. Corner Stone, Fish House, Buchanhaven. No. 2. Stone over door in Longate.
 No. 3. Peter Buchan's Printing Establishment.

See page 288.

Section V.—Burghal Buchan

CHAPTER I.

Introductory

THE burghal history of Buchan and the North-East generally falls now to be considered. Owing to the mass of historical events which are associated with burghal life and to the interest surrounding them, a special section has been devoted to burghs. We can all the more readily do this, without destroying the historical sequence of *The Book of Buchan*, because of the fact that our burghs sprang into existence during the latter part of the Stuart period and run right from pre-Union days down to modern times. In this section we thus pass from the Stuart to the strictly modern period, through the life history of the burghs, and we are left free to devote the succeeding and last section of this book to the modern history of Buchan in general.

Burghal institutions were unknown in Buchan until about the middle of the sixteenth century. Scotland was then still an independent and separate kingdom, with a sovereign single house of parliament composed of barons and clergy, the permanent elements, and of burgesses and shire representatives, elements chosen by the select few. But while burghs appeared in Buchan at a late period in purely Scottish history, the burghal system itself was established in Scotland at a comparatively early date. Soon after the Norman conquest, bodies of Teutonic settlers had come north to pursue their handicrafts and to trade with the people. Burghs are clearly of Teutonic origin, and their appearance in Scotland is coincident with the rise of Anglo-Norman power and the wane of the old Celtic dominion in the North-East. (See end of chapter i. section iii., and chapter i. section iv.) There must have been "towns" in Alexander I.'s time (1097-1107), for this monarch, in the Scone Charter, granted dwellings to the monks in Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth,

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and Aberdeen, his "principal towns." Burghs first received recognition as such by David I. (1124-1153), who moulded them after the English pattern. The Church frequently lent its aid to the extension of burghs by securing the emancipation of serfs on the payment of certain sums to their lords. The inborn serfs could then be removed from the feudal estate to towns. By abiding a year and a day in a burgh unchallenged by his lord and former owner after the purchase of a "borowage" or rood of land in a burgh, the serf was no longer a bondman, but a free man and a "burgess." The early Scottish burghs contained two distinct classes, namely, military tenants, in the service of the overlord, and the trading population, which was distinct from the little garrison. The original military section gradually disappeared, and traders who paid "rent" appear in the place of the military tenants. Forty days' military service in the year at the castle was the original obligation of a burgess. In later days the service was compounded for by a payment of money to the constable or of food to the castle. Trade, justice and defence were the primary objects of an old-time burgh. Military and commercial charters were granted by the sovereign for the regulation of customs, fairs, markets, and meetings. The burghs were also accorded the right of electing their own magistrates and of being judged by them. The old burgh courts dealt with illegal sales and trade disputes, as well as with petty offences and the maintenance of peace within the burgh boundaries. The provostship in many cases passed from father to son—that is, it became a hereditary office and was held by the superior of the burgh or a local gentleman of influence.

The Scottish burghs as a body early possessed State powers. We find, for instance, that their representatives set their seals to a State document in 1294 confirming the alliance with France, and the marriage of Edward Baliol with the niece of the French king. From the beginnings of the Scottish parliament on to its absorption in 1707, burgesses, as burgh representatives, sat in parliament and formed the Third Estate. At the parliament of Cambuskenneth burgesses took part in the vote of a grant to Robert the Bruce. The "constituents" of a burgh were the outgoing and incoming councils. Both together selected the commissioner to represent the burgh in parliament. This did not necessarily mean that the burgess remained in Edinburgh during all the time parliament was sitting. We know that many did not. They found

Introductory

residence so expensive that they were content to delegate their powers. Hence the institution of the Committee of the Articles, the inner or working parliament, elected by the supreme body at the commencement of each parliamentary session. The Scottish parliament for many generations was thus a body of electors (hereditary electors, such as barons, and electors chosen by virtue of their office, such as the clergy and the burgesses) who delegated their sovereign powers to the particular group of politicians who happened to have the upper hand in the affairs of the nation, and who as a body were later known as the "Lords of the Articles."

No Buchan burgh was represented in the Scottish parliament. Buchan's affairs in the old days were wrapt up in the interests of the Hays, Keiths, Frasers, and other powerful families, and of the Abbey of Deer, whose abbot was the sole clerical representative. Several northern burghs, such as Aberdeen, Banff, Cullen, and Elgin were, however, represented. How far their votes were used and their influence felt we can only vaguely guess.

Kintore and Inverurie are very ancient royal burghs. The Charter of 1558 states that Inverurie had been a royal burgh beyond the memory of man. It was in existence in 1195, for David of Huntingdon (brother of William the Lion) bestowed *unum toftum in burgo de Inverthurin* along with the tithes of his lands in Inverurie. Of equal antiquity is the royal burgh of Kintore, for a toft (house stance) was given by King William (the Lion) to Richard, Bishop of Moray. Several royal charters were dated from Kintore during the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. Aberdeen as a burgh dates from at least 1180, the year during which William the Lion confirmed to his burgesses of Aberdeen and to those dwelling north of the Mounth "their Free Hanse," as their ancestors had enjoyed it in the days of King David, William's grandfather. In the next chapter the reader will find a brief notice by Dr. Giles of the Hanse of the North-East, and an account by him of many incidents in the lives of burgesses in the North before the Reformation.

Only three burghs of the old type existed in Buchan before the Union. Two (Peterhead and Fraserburgh) belonged to the class styled "burghs of barony," the other (Ratray) was a "royal burgh." The latter has long ceased to exist as a burgh. Peterhead and Fraserburgh have had a continuous existence since their erection as burghs of barony, having gradually passed from

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the original type into parliamentary and police burghs respectively. Old world institutions, customs and privileges still exist, however, in both burghs. These—and notably the institution or foundation called the “Community of Feuars” and their board of management, the “Feuars’ Managers”—are brought under the reader’s notice in the chapters of this section dealing respectively with Fraserburgh and Peterhead. Fraserburgh’s charter was granted to a Fraser in 1546; that of Peterhead to a Keith in 1587.

The royal burgh of Rattray, which had a breathing existence of about a hundred years, deserves notice. Its existence, probably as a burgh, certainly as a port, depended upon the “River of Rattray,” now through obstruction by sand lost in the Loch of Strathbeg. Boece, in 1526, stated that “The rivers of Buchan abound in plenty of salmon, except one called the Ratra, which flows in no smaller a channel than the others and yet receives no salmon.” *Fluvia in Buchania salmonum copiu exuberant, præter unum cui nomen Ratra qui cum haud minore cæteris alveo feratur nullum tamen salmonem in se recipit.* The first notice of Rattray occurs in 1220, when William, the Great Earl of Buchan, provided, in a charter, for the payment of two stones of wax to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin in Rettref in Buchan.¹ In 1324, after the forfeiture of the Comyns, Bruce conveyed Rattray to a Douglas. It changed hands again during the reign of Robert II., and in 1459 James II. made a grant of the lands to the Earl of Erroll, who, at the time, was proprietor of Haddo. Keith of Ravenscraig owned Broadland, and, by about 1560, the interests of the two families so conflicted that the Master of Erroll instituted proceedings against the Earl Marischal, representing that the lands had been in non-entry for a hundred years, and, therefore, that they belonged properly to the Crown. The Earl Marischal submitted himself to any decision the Lords of Council might advise, and the Lords, while deciding in Keith’s favour, advised Queen Mary, for the public weal and the profit of the inhabitants, that the “town” of Rattray should be erected into a royal burgh. This Mary did in 1564. Among the privileges granted to the burgh were those of having millers, texters, butchers, and dealers in cloth, and of administering criminal justice. The burgh covered about 75 Scotch acres

¹ *Transactions of Buchan Club*, vol. i. pp. 114-121. “The Burgh of Rattray,” by James Cumine, Esq., of Rattray.

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(equal to 95·25 acres). The houses must have been frail little buildings, as one of the objects specified in erecting the burgh was that the people might build "strong houses"—presumably houses of stone and lime. The burgesses got the right to set up a market cross, hold a weekly market and two fairs. One of the burgh markets under the name of Barthol Fair was held until the year 1861 in the parish. Mr. Cumine states that the houses of the burgh lined the road passing to the chapel. There was at least one wynd down to the shore, the name of which is still retained as the name of a field, called the "Shores Wynd." We know the names of some of the bailies and burgesses of the burgh, for, in 1571, William Dalgarno of Blackwater, and John Davidson in Sutassie (South Essie) bailies and burgesses representing the burgh, Andrew Watson in Haddo for the Master of Erroll, and Thomas Smith in Broadlands for Andrew Keith of Ravenscraig, were appointed arbiters to fix the boundaries of the burgh muir or commonty.¹ They found that the west march was an auld fauld dyke enclosing the following faulds which were on Haddo—Burghfield, Reghill, Baikieley, Middlefield, Gallowhill, Hempislead and Auchentred, and the Black and Lousie faulds. In 1627, the bailies of the burgh, John Hay, William Dalgarno, and David Rires, gave a charter in the burgh court to an applicant whose father (on the finding of thirteen honest burghers), died possessed of four roods in the burgh. The decay of the burgh must have been slow, despite other inferences to the contrary, drawn from the account of the great sand storm which took place about 1720, and which choked up the channel between the loch and the sea, thus converting the Loch of Strathbeg from an arm of the sea into an inland loch. At all events, Sir Robert Gordon, in his description of Buchan in 1654, states that, at Rattray Head, there was a small inlet of Strathbeg, once a noble harbour, but then (1654) almost obliterated by the sand. Near it, he states, were the *remains* of the town of Rattray. The great storm, no doubt, put the finishing touch to the ruin of the burgh. As indicating something of the nature of the trading of the burgh besides fishing, we learn that a small vessel laden with slates was locked in by the great bar of sand, and was thus the last vessel which sailed into the harbour of Rattray. Mr. Cumine states that the suddenness of the occurrence of the sand storm was evident, from an excavation made by him many years ago.

¹ *Transactions*, Buchan Club, vol. v., p. 201. "Rattray," by John Milne, LL.D.

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The old high ridges of black soil without any admixture of sea sand in it or in the subsoil under it, were exposed during the excavation. Imbedded in the old black soil Mr. Cumine found a halfpenny of Scottish coinage. The head, the inscription *Carolus II. Rex Scotiae, Angliae et Hiberniae*, and the arms of Scotland were quite distinct.

The roofless chapel, of much greater antiquity than the burgh, is all that now remains of the buildings within the burgh boundaries of Rattray. In 1696, we find from the Poll Book, the inhabitants were seven in number. They were the tenants of William Hay, parson of Crimond. Four tenants are specifically termed fishers. These are William Gall, John Jaffray, Thomas Foreman, and John Anderson. The three others have "no trade." They are Andrew Gall, James Foreman, and Andrew Foreman, doubtless relatives of the fishermen. John Scott, the last burgess of Rattray, "dwells not in the place himself," so says the Poll Book. Mr. Cumine had in his possession one of the receipts granted to John Scott by the collector of cess. It is dated 1707 and runs as follows :—

At Aberdeen, the twenty-second May, Seventeen Hundred and seven years: Received from Laird Scot Four shilling eight penys as the proportion of one and ane halfe months Supply Including Collr and Clerk fies and incident charges payable at Whitsunday last, for Lands in the Paroch of Crimond Imposed by Act of Parliament in anno 1706 years. I say Received by me 4 · 8.

(signed) R. Forbes Collr.

We have seen that about the middle of the seventeenth century the burgh was in a state of decay, if not completely defunct. Early in the eighteenth century (about 1730) nearly the whole of the roods of the burgh were purchased by Mr. Abernethy of Crimonmogate. They were included in a Royal Charter in the Barony of Crimonmogate at this date and the Royal Burgh of Rattray finally disappears from history.

CHAPTER II.

Life in the Northern Burghs before the Reformation.

BEFORE any clear history for the North of Scotland begins, there existed a little group of communities along the North-Eastern coast, between the rivers Dee and Ness, which formed some sort of a trading union among themselves, a union characterised by the term *Hanse*, which in later days was to attain to a much greater importance on the other side of the German Ocean. In this early time we know little of central Scotland; civic life first emerges in connection with the convention or parliament of the four Southern boroughs, Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling (*curia quatuor burgorum*), and in the Hanse of the North-East—Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, which received recognition and privileges as an already existing body from David I. in the first half of the twelfth century. In time other boroughs become important, Perth first and foremost, Haddington, Glasgow and Dundee. But the boroughs of the North-Eastern coast precede all of these as active organised communities, with a constitution which is sanctioned and enlarged by David I., but in no way originated by him. Geographical considerations require that Perth must have existed from very early times. Glasgow we know as an early seat of Christian worship. The reason for the early importance of the Southern boroughs and of the Northern Hanse is that they are the Saxon, not the Celtic, settlements, and that from them issued the organisation which ultimately permeated a kingdom whose beginnings had been Celtic and Pictish, and which in course of time had absorbed other elements—Southern Celtic or Welsh in the valley of the Clyde, Norse in the South-West, the Hebrides and the far North, and English between the Forth and the Tweed, the last supplying the powerful leaven which, in the course of generations, leavened the whole lump.

The communities of the Northern Hanse were originally strangers in a strange land, little associations of English-speaking traders, creeping gradually

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northward from haven to haven along the coast of Aberdeenshire and westward along the Moray Firth, surrounded by a Celtic population generally hostile and headed by powerful chieftains who had to be treated with fair words, and often propitiated in more substantial ways. If we possessed any documents from this early period we should find that the situation of these English traders was not more comfortable than that of the early settlers in New England, and that they regarded the Redshanks, as they called their Celtic neighbours, with as little favour as the emigrant to America of three hundred years ago regarded the Red Indian. In Aberdeenshire, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ a great change was wrought by Robert the Bruce, who seems not only to have annihilated the power of the Comyns but, in his harrying of Buchan, to have largely extirpated at the same time the Celtic influence to which the Comyns had succeeded, and which, like other families of Norman origin, they had been curiously happy in controlling and adapting to their own purposes.

But we must be careful not to carry our modern ideas of cities and seaports back to the ages before the Reformation. There was then no "Granite City"; houses of stone and lime, except a few great churches and castles, were hardly in existence before the War of Independence. And from some points of view this was a distinct advantage. We hear of towns like Aberdeen being burnt, but in a little time we find them going on again much as if nothing had happened. The substantial citizen built his house of wood or of wood and plaster, in which handsome houses survive in English towns like Shrewsbury from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to our own day. But in his "close" he often had much inferior buildings—clay or mud-walled "biggins"—which he let out to tenants and which were easily destroyed and as easily restored. From the town walls—for with such neighbours every town had its walls, though they were at best only a superior stone dyke and were often not in good repair and not so well watched as they ought to have been—from the town walls, or still better from the outlook on the tolbooth or the church tower, you might descry in the distance the habitations of the country folk still more miserable—a framework of wattles plastered with clay or mud which, as English invaders noted with surprise, could be rebuilt in three days. But even the best town houses of wood were not lordly mansions of the

¹ *Transactions* of the Buchan Field Club, viii. 204, ix. 80.

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kind that survive in English towns. They were mostly low buildings covered with "feal" or with "thack and rape." Thus when, through accident or the malice of a plundering enemy, they were set on fire, there was little left when they were burnt out. It was an easy matter to level the ashes and begin again. It was different with the great stone buildings. When the Wolf of Badenoch in 1390 burnt the Cathedral of Elgin; when the English invader of the sixteenth century burnt Melrose Abbey, the gaunt smoke-scorched walls were left, and it was difficult, without a vaster outlay than was generally possible, even to make a beginning of restoration. We are told that John Knox advised his supporters to "ding doun the nests and the rooks will flee awa'," and it must be admitted that his followers were only too ready to better the advice. But, as in the case of the buildings just mentioned, neither John Knox nor his followers were to blame for a good deal of the destruction of great medieval buildings, which, unfortunately, is so widely spread in Scotland. Even when they were responsible, the destruction they effected was largely in removing the woodwork, plundering the valuable shrines and carrying off the lead of the roofs, which might be sold for something substantial, or at the worst might be converted into bullets wherewith to pepper the adversary. If this be destruction, it is the fate meted out by modern authorities to some of the earliest and some of the finest of the ancient buildings of Scotland—to the Abbey Church of Jedburgh no less than to the Kirk of Gamrie. In the Reformation period nobody had any interest in going farther. It was the prosperity of Scotland in the century after the Union that led to the destruction of the massive walls of churches and castles. Not till then was the farmer ordinarily housed in a comfortable building of stone and lime, and not till then, therefore, did it occur to him or his landlord that the expense of quarrying or of cartage might be saved by conveying ("convey" the wise it call" says Pistol) such part of the ruins as came handiest or were most likely to be useful to the new farmstead.

The streets were narrow, crooked and ill paved. As a sprightly modern guide book says of a Welsh village, the most eligible building sites were occupied by pig styes. The refuse of the household was hoarded till the spring, that it might be employed as "guiding" for the crofts, which many of the burgesses held in the outskirts of the town. When the proper season arrived, the ashpits and other receptacles were emptied and the unsavoury mass laid on

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the pavement to be carted away. The city fathers of Elgin passed an ordinance that these dung heaps should not lie on the pavement more than three days. An ordinance of some years earlier was probably more effective: if the "guiding" was not removed by the time appointed, any neighbour was allowed to appropriate it and take it to his own land. In Aberdeen there had to be much tidying up when a Royal visit was expected. In 1511 James IV. promised a visit in company with his young wife, Margaret Tudor. The Town Council were naturally all agog to show their good city at its best. It was therefore "statut and ordanit," that no swine, young or old should be allowed to wander in the street for the next fifteen days, on pain of the slaughter or escheating of the animals and the banishment of their owners. The styes or "swn croffis" had under the same penalties to be cleared out on very short notice. The ordinance is interpolated between one commanding those who live at the backs of houses to take their part in adorning the "stairs of the forgait" with arras, and another which encourages all manner of persons to bring into the town for this festal occasion "ony byrkis, holingis (holly), gyrss, herbis, or ony vthir grene flouris."

Aberdeen, which has always been in the van of progress, had a sanitary rate as early as 1479. In that year Sandy Coutts, "for the mending of the causais and the guttaris of the toune and to halde all the gatis of the toune clene, that al men may haf honest and clene passage throuch all the toune," was allowed for every "fire house" a penny, and of all others "outeburges and inburgessis and indwellaris" having chamber or house a penny to be paid by one half of the town at Martinmas and by the other half at Whitsunday. The extracts made from the Council Register by Dr. John Stuart may do the sanitary enthusiasm of the burges body an injustice, but it is long before any such regulation is again mentioned, and Sandy Coutts, however efficient, could not have lived through many generations. In 1511, when the Queen's visit was expected, all who have "myddingis upon the forgait befor thair yetts and daioris" are commanded to "devoid, red and cleng the samyn" under a penalty of forty shillings. Pigstyes, as already mentioned, had to be removed hurriedly from the "heygait."

But in this century and in other centuries, both before and after, there was a grim spectre which stood behind the Provost and baillies and made them now and again think seriously of sanitation. That was Plague. The books

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generally call it *the* plague or pestilence, but it is by no means clear that the destructive malady was always the same. Nothing so deadly ever devastated the island as the Black Death, which wrought such havoc in England in 1349 and extended itself to Scotland later. The ravages of plague were frequent, but nothing approaching this in severity occurred again till the Great Plague of London in 1665, which is said to have carried off 97,000 out of a population of about half-a-million. It was the fear of plague that led to the injunctions often repeated in the records of Aberdeen and Elgin for the inspection of the vennels that are closed and the orders to have them "red and oppinyt." The reason for the occasional closing of the vennels is made clear by the records of Aberdeen in the spring of 1514, a period when the fear of an English invasion after Flodden was still vividly present to the minds of the burghesses. On that occasion all common vennels and open yards where all persons have passage and a thoroughfare are ordered to be closed at once, and every portioner or owner of the same is to pay his share of building them up and making his dikes sufficient to resist "passingeris and stray pepill." If the owner be obstreperous, his tenants are ordered to carry out the operations at his expense. If the tenants also fail, the baillie or officer of the quarter is to have it done and charge it against the rental of the property.

These backways, however, afforded easy access not only to open enemies, but also to the no less dangerous wayfarer who might introduce deadly diseases. When the approach of plague was feared, strict injunctions were issued against receiving or harbouring persons who had arrived from places suspected of infection. Only a few of the gates were left open, and these were kept by armed men of age and strength sufficient to resist the "incummaris and lurdanis that wald mak ony demand." The friends who were to entertain reputable strangers must go to the gate and receive them, and give sufficient guarantee to a magistrate that the visitor was not infectious. As for tramps, with these the authorities had a short and easy way. New arrivals were refused admittance, earlier comers, except those who could prove they belonged to the town, were summarily ejected. In the autumn of 1539, the baillies were ordered each in his own quarter of the town to "cerse (search), vesy, and se all maner of codderaris, vagaboundis and puyr boddeis, quhilkis are nocht native of this towne borne, that hes nocht to leif gudly on thair awin, and command

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and charge thame and ilkane of thaim that thai incontinent remoif tham selfis, thair gudis, gif thai ony haff, furth of this toun, within xlviiij houris . . . under the payne of layng of ane hait irne on thair cheik." If they refused to obey, the baillie of the quarter had assigned to him the pleasing duty of applying the red-hot iron.

The city fathers, whose records are preserved to us for times before the Reformation in the archives of Aberdeen and Elgin, are nothing if not legal. They are great upon law and order. Order indeed they were not always successful in obtaining. Many and varied are the pleas that come before them—most of them trivial enough. But the baillie, or more frequently the assize—the palladium of Scottish as of English liberty—the jury of one's peers, is equal to grappling with any iniquity, however heinous or however petty. Elgin, if not the younger is at any rate the smaller of the boroughs, and most of the cases that come before its burgh court, when they do not deal with the flying of viragoes, are like the squabbles and naughtiness of schoolboys. In the years between 1540 and 1553 for which the records of pre-Reformation Elgin are complete, the same characters cross and recross the stage, most of them like Falstaff's army, "lean and ragged foils." They are so well known to the authorities that they deal with them as if they loved them. They no doubt addressed them in court by their nicknames; it is by their nicknames that the clerk of court records their peccadilloes. It is some time before the casual reader realises that Langsande, who is of frequent occurrence, sometimes as a delinquent, sometimes in other capacities, is in his proper style Alexander Chapman, or that Andro Cabbers is really Andrew Anderson, or Andro Skabertmakar Andrew Cove. With the Dame Quicklys and the Doll Tearsheets of their day they are on equally familiar terms. One such who was dealt with by the wrathful majesty of the law we know only by the name of Dodlok. The stern clerk baffles our curiosity about this interesting personage, merely informing us that for her demerits she was ordered to be put in the gowes (the pillory), and "to stand there till vi hours at even and thereafter banished this burgh perpetual, and if she be apprehended within this burgh in time to come to be burnt upon the cheek with the common seal that seals the firlots."

The law had much trouble with Dodlok, Murial Gower *alias* Gowdelokis, and others. Being banished from the burgh these gentry regarded as a light

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thing. They disappeared till the storm blew over and then once more came forth. You may almost hear the groan of the long-suffering clerk as he records in the case of one of these erring fair ones that she is "banist perpetuall." It can hardly be part of the decree of the court, it must be the outcry of the weary official which adds the clause "as she hath often been aforetime."

Most of the offences which came before these courts would in the present day be described as breaches of the peace, and be punished with a fine and the alternative of so many days' imprisonment. Other cases are petty thefts, which would probably be treated in much the same way. The Crown prosecutes and the penalty exacted certainly does not pass to the person injured. If the criminal has no money or, being a person of leisure, prefers to go to gaol, the Crown has here too made thoughtful arrangement, and his friends, except in very exceptional cases, expect to see nothing more of him till the time appointed has elapsed.

In pre-Reformation days things were very different. The tolbooth, to be sure, figures largely in the records, but the tolbooth was then not merely the gaol, as it was in the Edinburgh or the Aberdeen of the eighteenth century, but what its name imports, the tax collectors' office. It was a roomy place where the Council met, and in Aberdeen the Townhouse or Municipal Buildings had a clock which the authorities regarded with affection and anxiety, when, as will happen with the best of clocks, it went out of order. At any rate no penalty could be too severe for the rascal who would meddle with it. Evil doers are confined in the tolbooth, but generally not for more than forty-eight hours. There were clearly no satisfactory arrangements for watch and ward in the tolbooth of Elgin, for one worthy, finding time hang heavy on his hands, picked the lock and came out. A severer punishment was to be put for a long period in the stocks. At Elgin, in 1545, James Murray and Thomas Humphray dug up, dishonoured and cut to pieces the wooden cross opposite the Greyfriars Wynd. Thomas discreetly disappeared, but James was put in the stocks for eight days and eight nights. His experiences in the way of cramp must have been more varied than pleasant. I suspect he was a disciple of John Knox, and his treatment of the cross was his manner of lifting up his testimony. This would explain the unusual severity of the penalty for an offence which in any case deserved hearty reprobation; if the explanation be right, no doubt James thought he suffered in a good cause.

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The scolds and termagants were generally put for a few hours in the *goves* ; if they persisted in evil doing they were banished from the town. Apart from personal suffering, the penalty was much more of the nature of a penance than of a modern fine. In 1538 an assize of seventeen worthy men of Aberdeen sat upon Bessie Dempster, the spouse of David Spilyelaucht. She was unanimously (*all in ane voce*) found guilty of the heavy and great molestation (*strublens*) and "myspersonyng" of David Reid both in word and deed. She was thereafter ordained to "stand in the Gowistair, be the awyse of the provest and balzes, and to come in the hie Kirk on Sunday nixt cumis, and to gang, sark alane, afore the processiou, vith ane vax candill in hir hand of ane pound, to be offerit to the haly blud lycht, and thairafter to sitt downe on hir kneis and beseik the prowest, balzes and gud men of the toune to requeist and caus the said David to forgyf hir, and to reuok and agane say the vordis said be hir to the said David ; and gif euer scho did or said sic vordis or strublens to him, or ony vther nychtbour of this towne, in tyme cumying, to be baneist thair of for euer ; and the balzes chargit hir to pay the said David the expenssis of the court, and that wes gewin for dome, be the mouth of Johne Scherar, dempstar of court." The cutty stool, which later effeminate generations have swept away as an abomination, was a trifle compared to this complicated penalty.

The town clerk of Aberdeen was a busy man and did not deign to enter into the details of Bessie's shortcomings. The town clerk of Elgin on the other hand doth exceedingly magnify his office. He gives himself airs on his legal language and apes the style of the newly founded Court of Session, and having less to do can afford to be more circumstantial. Among the delicts of that fascinating criminal, Lang Sandy, was the defaming of Ellen Ternway on Easter Sunday, by saying that Ellen slew a pig (*gryis*) pertaining to him and ate the same on the last Easter Sunday (*Paische day that last vas*). Naturally the assize ordains that Sandy shall desire forgiveness at the said Ellen, but also adds a clause which might present more difficulty—he must swear his great oath that he knows to her "bot lauty, honesty and is ane trew persone." But perhaps it is not unfair to suppose that great oaths came easily to Lang Sandy.

Space fails me to tell of his other shortcomings or of those of an even worse offender, David Gaw, who struck Andrew Gibson the policeman's wife, and cast her with her young bairn in her arms into a mire. He was also guilty

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of other more horrible excesses, which brought about his being forbidden to inhabit the burgh for a year to come, or to wear a knife or a sword within the burgh during that space. The second prohibition seems at first sight superfluous, but David, it is contemplated apparently, will "inhabit" outside the burgh but appear within its bounds when the gates are open. Space fails also to tell of the trials of Andrew Gibson, "officiar," whose wife was so shamefully used by David Gaw. She, Effie Sandison, was something of a termagant, and in the previous year had been twenty-four hours in the tolbooth because she "vrangit in the masterfull streking of Ellene Murray with ane tayngis on the gardes" (knuckles). Still earlier Robert Reid had "riven Androu Gibsounis clais"—using violence to an officer in the execution of his duty. Robert had to mend the clothes to the satisfaction of Alexander the Tailor. He had also said behind Andrew's back "that he left his deid upon him"—the pronouns are ambiguous, but Robert seems to have thought he had settled Andrew. For this Robert had to pay a pound of wax to "Sanct Gelis werk"—the festival of Elgin's patron saint. Just before, Andrew had been threatened with dismissal from office "for all the days of his life time" for striking, probably under great provocation, one Margarat Sadlar. Some eighty years earlier Thomas Quelf in Aberdeen had stabbed William Vokat; his punishment was "to sit down on his knee," take the "nakit knyff," with which he hurt William, openly admit he had done wrong and deliver the knife to William to do what he will with it. He has to pay £20 to the Provost (here called the alderman) and Council, to pray William "for the luf of God" to forgive him, to entreat the mediation of the Provost and Council with William, to be "stedable to the saide William in all thingis that he hes ado, and to do him als mikle worschip as he has done him lake at all his power." He has also to pay the Provost, when he asks for it, forty shillings, to be given to the chaplains of the Holy Blood mass, and as William was a guild brother, Thomas, as amends, must pay for a pipe of wine when the Provost and Council charge him therewith.

In 1490 Christian Lilburn, of Aberdeen, for trying devilish cantrips on Sir John Stirling under silence of night, "openly glammerand him," saying she would have him banished from the town "quhilk the said Schir Johne wald nocht hafe sustenit for j^e crounis," had to appear in church at the time of high mass and offer Sir John a pound of wax, and was bound over to keep the peace

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under a much heavier penalty. Margaret Hay, of Elgin, openly slandered Margaret Baffour (Balfour) by saying, amongst other opprobrious things, that she was a witch and that she went withershins about men's houses "sark alane, and hir hayr abone hyr eyne for wyche craft"—a statement which would have delighted James VI., who, just over half-a-century later, fomented the witch-hunting which is among the most disgraceful of the often disgraceful criminal annals of Scotland.

What were the industries pursued in these boroughs by the citizens when they were not engaged in making or administering the local law? Industries were not numerous, and dealt chiefly with the most obvious necessities of life. For important work masons have generally to be brought from a distance. In the foreground appear the fleshers, the cordiners (cordwainers), the baxters, brewsters, barbers, tailors, skinners, smiths and hammermen, listers (dyers), websters walkers and bonnet makers, wrights and coopers, slaters (spelt sclaiters, as it is still pronounced locally). Though apparently in existing records most of these trades have passed into the hands of men, the names which end in *ster*—baxters, brewsters, websters, listers, were originally the names for female tradesmen, whose male rivals were bakers, brewers and weavers. Much later than the Reformation these trades were often in the hands of women, particularly baking and brewing, the latter as long as "twopenny" remained the national beverage. The "Luckies," who kept small public houses and brewed their own ale—and on occasion, unknown to the exciseman, something stronger—survived into the nineteenth century. The reader will remember Sir Walter Scott's story of the Forfar "lucky," who put out her "browst" to cool on her doorstep and found it all drunk up by a passing neighbour's cow. This led to an action at law quite in the pre-Reformation style which is settled by the baillie with a wisdom worthy of Solomon. He asked the unfortunate "lucky," to her amazement, if the cow stood or sat down while she drank the ale. When it was replied that she stood, the baillie gave the verdict against the innkeeper, for the fact of the customer standing while drinking showed that the draught was of the nature of a *deoch-an-doruis* or stirrup-cup, which, according to traditional Scottish hospitality, was partaken of gratis. It is noticeable how, with very few exceptions, those trade names remain common personal names in the district to the present day. The "soutar," who is properly only a cobbler, is

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included generally amongst the "cordiners," though Dunbar has an ironical poem on their merits with the refrain "Tailzouris and sowtaris blist be ye." Other trades there were, such as fishers, who naturally were important at Aberdeen, where so much of the trade consisted in the export of salmon. Beyond fish, the exports of the north-east were mostly confined to skins and wool. In early times this very treeless country had its forest, not for deer but of great trees, the last remains of which in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen—the Forest of Stocket—were jealously preserved by the burgesses against an attempt of Andrew Wood (the great Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, the admiral of James III. and IV.) with authority from Edinburgh to wrest it from them.¹ In the thirteenth century while some of these forests still survived, shipbuilding on a large scale was carried on even at Inverness. In his *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, Cosmo Innes quotes from the historian Matthew Paris a statement that one of the great ships built for the Earl of St. Pol and Blois when he was preparing to accompany Lewis IX. of France to the Holy Land, was constructed at Inverness. "Even if we presume" says Innes, "that the master builders were some of the cunning artists of Flanders or the more distant Marseilles or Genoa (for the armament was fitted out from all these ports), it almost sets conjecture at defiance how the under workmen, the men of the axe and mallet, of the anvil and forge, were to be found in a Celtic village—how even the materials and conveniences necessary for such a work could be brought together without long preparation and too profuse expense in a place like Inverness." It is indeed doubtful if a Celtic village anywhere outside Brittany could ever have produced such a work. But a *Celtic* village Inverness was not, and as long as the towns of the Hanse were communities alien to their surroundings, they had at least, as much to do with the sea as with the land. This no one knew better than Innes, though he seems to have forgotten it for the moment. The truth of the story is, of course, another matter.

In modern times we hear occasionally of the tyranny of Trades Unions. In pre-Reformation times it was at least as conspicuous, though the tyranny was of a different kind. The rules of the trade guilds were extremely strict. Only freemen of the town might practice a trade without very severe restrictions as to time and place. The more important trades at least required an apprenticeship

¹ For the details of this controversy, see Mr. G. M. Fraser's "Historical Aberdeen," pp. 20-1.

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of three years under a competent master. A freeman's wife might carry on a freeman's trade after his decease. But the authorities had their eye upon her also, and if she rashly married a second husband who was not a freeman she might find herself in serious difficulties. The people of Elgin in 1547 sent a considerable detachment to the Scottish host which fought at Pinkie. The Elgin men suffered severely. Various controversies are recorded as to the apportionment of the price of baggage horses lost by men from Elgin. Two or three would join to hire a horse to carry their belongings, but they did not all return and the widows were unable or unwilling to pay the horse's hire agreed upon. Only a few weeks after the battle, the Town Council, "considering the great trouble, scathe and inconvenience which have happened within the burgh in times bygone and now instantly appear to happen through the widows in their marrying within the foresaid burgh without consent and licence of the provost, baillies and council of the same, statute and ordain that if it happens to any widow within the foresaid burgh to marry without licence of the provost etc., in time to come such widow handfasting or marrying shall forthwith lose her freedom commonland and tacks within the bounds of the said burgh, if she any has *eo facto*, and it shall be lawful for the provost etc. to dispoine thereupon incontinent thereafter as they shall think most expedient."

The same crisis led to the passing of a regulation that any freeman or "free woman being widow" who remained out of the burgh for a year and a day should lose the freedom and other advantages already specified. But the widow of one of the citizens killed at Pinkie was able to establish for herself and her child a title to a five years' lease of part of the town lands—a problem of tenancy which, I understand, was a favourite with Scottish lawyers for many generations.

Sometimes persons who were not freemen were allowed to trade within the burgh. If the authorities were not satisfied that the freemen of any particular trade were doing their best for the town they might ignore their privileges, whatever their right to do so may have been. In 1548 the authorities of Elgin stopped unfreemen from using the cordiners' craft, on the understanding that the freemen should stock town and country with "stuff on a reasonable price." Unfree "merchandis and chepmen" were allowed to trade only on Wednesdays, Saturdays and other market days. The quality of the goods offered for sale

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was examined into very carefully. No sooner were a new provost and baillies elected than ale tasters and food inspectors were appointed. At the same time the prices of staple commodities were fixed by regulation. Any political economist who should have told the provost of Aberdeen or of Elgin that prices were regulated by the relation between supply and demand, would soon have found himself in the "goves" at the least, if not "banist the toune." Philip Clerk, the Belman, admitted in 1505 at Aberdeen, that he sold an apple for a penny, when he might have sold three for a penny, and "was in ane americiament of the court." This apparently affected him greatly, for in 1512, when certain boatmen brought in oysters which they were willing to sell at 6d. a hundred, he went round the town with his bell, and told all men that they might have the oysters at 4d. a hundred. Poor Philip had to ask the owners' forgiveness on his knees, and it was ordered that "his crag be put in the goyf at their wyle." Another time he shall be twenty-four hours in the goves and henceforth "secludit" from office. Ale, "the best that may be browine," shall not be dearer than xiid. a gallon, the loaf of wheaten bread shall be iid. per loaf of xxiiij ounces "of sufficient stuf," the penny candle shall be xviii inches in length and "ane beir corne in depnes." If bread is deficient in weight the baxters shall be punished in their bodies and fined viii. shillings; if this makes them abstain from baking, they shall be "secludit from all privilege of bairking" for a year to come. No keeper of stables or other person shall sell dearer oats than iiijd. the peck; if they do, the penalty is escheat of a boll of oats for every default. They must have also sufficient measures. There are many other ordinances of the same kind.

But the bugbears of the medieval tradesmen were the forestallers, who bought goods before they came to the market, and the regraters, who bought to sell again in the same market. Regulations as to these practices are frequent and severe, which shows that the practices were profitable and hard to put down. Two men came from the south in 1540, and bought up grey cloth—homespun—from the country folks round Elgin. They are warned by the provost that on the next occasion the whole of the cloth will be confiscated. In these matters one Farquhar Flessour (or a flesher, for surname and trade are not always distinct as yet) is in such matters nearly as great a reprobate as Lang Sandy was in others. He set off to the Spey and bought fresh salmon

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“in great quantity,” thus “engrossing” as well as forestalling and causing great dearth in the burgh market ; he tried to make a corner in salmon, for he persuaded others to demand a higher price for their fish than they wanted to originally ; he bought mutton from other fleshers to sell again, thus “taking of great winning and causand all sic stuf ryis to ane inconvenient.” Farquhar denied everything, but was found guilty, suspended from selling fish for a year and from the craft of flesher till he should find two or three responsible neighbours to be sureties for his good behaviour ; if he offend again he is to be banished.

John Young used to get salted hides from the baron of Kilravock ; William Donaldson forestalled him and was suspended till he should obtain licence from the whole community of the burgh. Fleshers were not to sell hides or tallow to unfreemen under penalty of confiscation of the articles. In 1402 the authorities of Aberdeen made a list of the worst forestallers they had to deal with. In that list Buchan holds a bad pre-eminence. The very first name in it is Moricius Sutar de Ratry, *forist. et tannator pessimus*. Others are Simon Sutar of Deer, John Scot of Fyvie, Thomas Clarkeson of Aden, Thomas Home at the Grange of Inverugie, Robert Garioch of Auchmacludie, Rogerson of Kirkton of Philorth, William Nicolson of Kininmonth (whose offence was that he got the shoemaker of Deer to make leggings and other things which he sold on market days, and the Aberdeen motto was “no middlemen,”) John Colinson of Easter Tyrie, John Finnieson of Crimond, Michael Sutar of Kinmundy, John Out-with-the-sword (clearly a man not to be trifled with) of Deer, Thomas Hutchison of Rathen, John Thomson of Mill of Aden and various others. The punishments meted out for such crimes were various, and occasionally not without unconscious humour. Alexander Williamson of Elgin passed to the sea-coast and bought twenty iron pots from a French ship before they could be offered in open market at Elgin. Naturally the pots had to be delivered to the provost. But they were not escheated for the good of the town. The provost was authorised to distribute them to the neighbours as he shall think expedient. So the provost’s friends were the richer by an iron pot a piece.

In English University towns tradesmen who lend their undergraduate customers sums of money and put it down as clothes or the like are

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“discommuned,” that is to say, by ordinance undergraduates are forbidden to deal with them for a certain time. In political circles such practices are known as boycotting or exclusive dealing. The medieval community had discovered the method also and turned it to virtuous purpose. In 1543 proclamation was made at Elgin that none should make any market, buy, or sell with Megot Troup, spouse of James Watt, because Megot was known to be an “inordinat delapedar” and waster of her husband’s goods.

Troubles, of course, there were with apprentices and with servants. Agnes Hayme deserted her service, and before leaving struck her mistress and pulled her hair. She must ask her mistress’s forgiveness and stand in the “vine collar” till three o’clock. Magnus Chalmer left his master’s service without just cause and must stay after the term to make up lost time. Marion Duff refused to fulfil her engagement and had to pay eight shillings, a pair of new shoes, and an ell of harden (rough linen) as the half year’s fee, an interesting evidence that three hundred and sixty years ago engagements were by the half year much as at present. Loafers were not encouraged. James Falconer was ordered to “conduce him with ane master and not to pass vagane within this bruch,” under the pain of perpetual banishment.

But all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. The medieval town was not without its pleasures. Shooting at the bow butts was never very popular in Scotland. Experience never taught the Scots, that, when they were defeated by England, it was always the archers that defeated them. Turning out to drill in full panoply was done only in immediate prospect of real war, and was too serious a matter to be regarded as recreation. But every town had the festival of its patron Saint, to which, generally, part of the fines went, and there were processions at Candlemas, Corpus Christi day, and at other times, with the trades marching in order—the order a matter of no little jealousy—and the minstrels playing at the head of them. Aberdeen had its miracle play of the Holy Blood, to lights for which we have seen that fines were given. This was performed at the Windmill hill, not the modern Windmill brae, but the eastern slope at the north end of the Gallowgate. To the medieval town the presence of its Saint was a very real thing. At the battle of the Standard, the English had the host carried on a great waggon into the battle, and attributed the victory to the presence of Christ amongst them. In times of perplexity Elgin elected St.

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Giles provost for the year. The church had no doubt many interesting ceremonies of which little record is left to us. The service to be sure was in Latin, but the knowledge of Latin to some small extent was probably wider than it is now, and the excommunication, the most thrilling of object lessons, was in the vernacular.

There were also occasional visits from the Sovereign and the Court. In the harbour of Aberdeen there were frequently ships from foreign parts, from Bordeaux, it might be, with excellent claret, or Flanders, to fetch wool and bring back cloth, Hamburg or Danskyne (Dantzic), with which from very early times Aberdeen had plied considerable commerce. The number of Scots who worked their way inland from Dantzic with packs upon their backs was legion. The Lithuanians to this day have no word for packman or tallyman but Scot. Even as late as the time of Charles II. there were Scots enough in Poland to subscribe £10,000 for the King, when he was in exile. There were no newspapers, and knowledge of foreign parts was obtained by talk with the skippers of the foreign vessels. The burgh accounts show large sums spent in hospitality, generally on the principle of a hap'orth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack. Great nobles or officers of state occasionally appeared, and for these a "propyne" was required. No doubt life was regarded as full of incident. But in Aberdeen the great amusement of the year was the Abbot of Bon-Accord, who corresponded to the Abbot of Unreason in English towns. In Aberdeen the dues paid by freemen on entrance, which in Elgin were given to the poor, were assigned to the Abbot and Prior of Bon-Accord. These worthies, who were duly appointed by the town, seem to have led a sort of carnival, which not infrequently went farther than the authorities intended or liked. Their greatest glory was in the fifteenth century. By the time that the Reformation had arrived, everybody had grown tired of them. In 1508, out of compliment no doubt to the English fashions that had come in with the young Queen, Margaret Tudor, they were called Robin Hood and Little John. Later we find that young men are requested to have green coats and aged men honest coats, so that they may meet and escort the Abbot of Bon-Accord on Sundays. The business became a bore to all concerned. In 1531 Alexander Knollis, who had been appointed one of the "lords of Bon-Accord," explained to the baillies and community that he could not take office, (1) because he was not

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present at the election, (2) because there were many others as competent as he, (3) because he had a letter from the King to let him off, (4) and, rather contradictorily, that he would take office if the town gave him the old fee. Sandris, as the clerk familiarly calls him, clearly was not an Aberdonian for nothing.

In 1538 two ill-conditioned fellows who objected to "springs and flings and close-bosomed whirlings," gave much "strublens" to the lords of Bon-Accord in "stoping of dansing and plesure dewisit." They had to appear at high mass as usual with a pound candle of wax and ask forgiveness of the Provost for the "strublens, in tyme of thair solace and play." In 1539 we hear that unless the citizens' goods are poynded as of old, they will not attend the procession; in 1542 Alexander Kayn had to answer for his wife's abuse of the lords of Bon-Accord; she had called them "common beggaris and skafferis, thair meltyd wes bot small for all thair cuttit out hoyss." In 1544 there was a grave scandal. An image of St. Francis was found hung by the neck, and the men charged with the deed were kept in custody for trial. It is the first straw showing how the wind was blowing. In 1552 the banqueting of the lords of Bon-Accord was much cut down, and in 1555 all such festivities were abolished by Act of Parliament. In 1562 even the old celebration of Mayday was visited with punishment. Henceforth for a long time Aberdeen was to take her pleasures sadly.

Though the citizens before the Reformation enjoyed a certain amount of frivolity, nothing is more obvious in their records than their desire to make their churches and their services worthy of their Christian faith. For more than a hundred years before the changes wrought in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Aberdonians lavish unending time and thought on the completion and improvement of the great Church of St. Nicholas, their patron. And their interest is not merely in stone and lime, in lead for the roof and other matters of architecture and taste. They have their "Sang Schoill" also, in order that their boys may be properly instructed to sing the service, and they are at charges for priests to look after all such matters. In those days money was scarce—subscriptions for the building of St. Nicholas Church are more often in kind than otherwise, barrels of salmon and the like,—and the wage of a chantry priest was not large. But it was the practice for seven or fourteen householders

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to undertake to supply him in turn with food for a day. As the Reformation approaches, this is found more and more difficult to carry out. The Provost and Town Council of Elgin had much trouble with three such priests—Sir James Kar, Sir Thomas Rag and Sir Thomas Robertson. It need hardly be said that in this case “Sir” is only a translation of the Latin *Dominus*, and is usually applied to a Bachelor of Arts like Sir John Brimblecombe in Kingsley’s “*Westward Ho!*” The wretched priests found that several of the citizens who had undertaken to give them board did not carry out their bargain, and there was no help but to appeal to the magistrates. John Bayne was a passive resister of a very cunning sort. He refused Sir James Kar his board when his turn came, he was even rude enough to say that all his (Sir James’s) mother’s bairns were common thieves. After a time the starving priest was forced to bring John once more before the magistrates, who compelled him to pay up the arrears at the rate of eightpence for each day’s board. Alexander Williamson’s goods had to be poulded for the same reason. At last the magistrates lost patience with all parties, and arranged that, instead of board, Sir James should have twelve marks a year. The Council seem to think they are doing a fine thing; as a matter of fact if the priest’s board was worth 8d. a day, they were reducing this part of his wages from £12 3s. 4d. to £8. But Sir James agreed without demur. Perhaps he thought a dish of herbs in his own chamber was better than a stalled ox with people like John Bayne. The money payment to a chaplain was six marks yearly so that Sir James was not likely to live riotously. Sir Thomas Rag tried to eke out his miserable subsistence by keeping a little school in his own chamber; but this was speedily ordered by the baillies to be closed, and his pupils were told they might attend the principal Grammar School, to be taught by the master admitted by the Provost and baillies. Sir Thomas was a desperate man and apparently his school was not dissolved, for, more than six years after, another order is issued—this time by the Provost “be the advyis of the hail communate”—for the suppression of the school. Sir Thomas may teach in the Grammar School with the master there, but, unfortunately no provision is made for paying him anything, and Maister John Lewis from his stipend of forty shillings in the half year was not likely to subsidise assistance. Sir James Kar was requested to conduct a “sang scoill conforme to his conditioun,” but nothing is said of the remuneration. Perhaps it came

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under his agreement to "uphold God's service touching the kirk and school in times to come as he has done in times bygone."

This is practically all we know of Elgin schools before the Reformation. Aberdeen was early a centre of learning. It had schools as early as the twelfth century. Long before Bishop Elphinstone, Old Aberdeen was a home of Scholarship. In the fourteenth century the earliest poet and the earliest historian of Scotland whose works are extant—Barbour and Fordun—were contemporaries in Aberdeen. About the time that Barbour was born, the Bishop of Moray established a Scots College at Paris. Barbour took students from Aberdeen to Oxford and to Paris. Another writer who overlapped them wrote the lives of the Saints which still exist in a manuscript of the University Library in Cambridge. He incorporated a life of St. Machar because of its local interest, though it did not exist in his Latin authorities. Hard by the Cathedral was Tillydrone, the hill where lived Drone, the terrible opponent of the Saint in his lifetime; no doubt there was still visible the huge stone in shape of a boar, which had been a living boar, as the Breviary tells us, trampling down the Saint's corn till the Saint interfered and turned it into stone. The Saints still worked miracles. An acquaintance of this author, one John Ballormy, from the north side of the loch of Spynie, had the "worm in his shank"—some form of open sore apparently then thought incurable. But he managed to make his way to the Shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn in Galloway and the Saint cured him. St. Machar's stone boar may have been impressive, but the cure of a living man you know is more so.

Aberdeen was always somewhat Laodicean in the theological struggles of earlier times. She had not so much to complain of in the behaviour of the old Church, which, however corrupt in the rural districts and in its monasteries like the Abbey of Deer, had had many men of light and leading in the city. The founding of her University preceded the Scottish Reformation by only half-a-century. Besides the great bishops of that epoch, Elphinstone and Gavin Dunbar, she had great business men like Galloway the parson of Kinkell, who did much both for learning and for the other interests of the town. The appointment of the master of the Grammar School was a bone of contention between Church and town, but the town won. The position of that like many other Schools was no doubt strengthened by the law of 1496 which ordained

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that all landholders should send their eldest sons to the Schools of "art and jure." In the Council Register of Aberdeen the fortunes of the School are frequently referred to. It was long a burning question whether the presentation to the mastership belonged to the ecclesiastical or the civil authority. In 1418, Duncan Petit, Chancellor of the diocese, by a Latin document still extant, wherein it is stated that the collation to the benefice of *Magister Scholarum* is recognised as belonging to the Chancellorship, by the gift of his cap (*per donacionem birreti mei*) on the presentation of the provost and community collated to the office one John Homyll, whom he vouches to be an honest careful man and a discreet master. The said John has been examined as to his qualifications and found to be "of good life, honest conversation, of great literature and science, and a graduate in arts," and is invested with the mastership for life.

In 1479, at the instance of the King (James III.), the Bishop and the letters of request of the Chancellor of Aberdeen, Master Thomas Strathachin was granted by the alderman (provost) and the council five pounds yearly "of the usual payment of Scotland" till he should be promoted to a service within the Kirk of St. Nicholas. The provost for the time being is to see that the payment is duly made, "the sade maistre makand diligent and gude service for the informacion and instruction of the barnyis at his gudely power."

In 1521, there was a dispute as to the authority of whom the master, John Marshall, held his office. Marshall obviously found it a "kittle point." In 1521, he admitted that he held office because it had been offered to him by the town, and was willing to do the townsmen and their bairns all the service in his power, and "ranuersit his compulsatour of the Curt of Royme in all poyntis," except that he wished to be allowed to prosecute at law other teachers of grammar within the burgh. This, however, was by no means the end of the dispute, for in November, 1523, Marshall craved pardon of the townsmen "and confessed that he had the school of them and should have the same as his predecessors had done in time past." The Grammar School was clearly in a poor way, for in the Autumn of 1527, the master reported that the building was "decaden and abill to fall down," whereupon the "maister of Kirk wark" was ordered to "big and mend" the same at the town's expense forthwith.

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Marshall was succeeded by John Bisset, who, in 1529, received from the Head Court a pension of ten marks, and at a special meeting held later in the year, was granted £10 Scots to be paid half-yearly "to help to pay his burd aye and quhill tha provid him ane benefice, peceable, of tene merkis Scottis for all the dais of his liwe, for the rewill and gydin of thair Skuill, taching of tham, becaus now thair said skuill is desert and destitut of bairnis, and wilbe ane lang tyme or it cum to perfectioun, that he ma get mekle proffeit thairof."

In other nine years, a solemn election of a new master was made by the "haill towne, present for the tyme, quhillkis for the maist pairt chesit Maister Hew Monro." Hew was duly presented to the Chancellor, but that officer had a candidate of his own. The solution is not stated, but in 1544, Hew Monro was master when he got a pension of ten marks for the "instructioun and learnyng of the barnis of the scuill, bayth in sciens, maners, vrytingis, and sic vder vertewis" as Hew had previously undertaken to inculcate. No doubt the support of the town had been sufficient to put him in, despite the reluctance of the Chancellor.

On St. Nicholas Day (December 6) it was the fashion for the master to go round to the houses of the citizens with the boy bishop, who figured in the celebrations of St. Nicholas "wark." Every honest citizen was to give them at their pleasure, but the cautious Town Council provided, in 1542, that the soberest (poorest) person they called upon should give at least four shillings Scots. If any citizen refused them admission it was more expensive, for the master had to receive his four shillings, and the baillies exacted a fine of other eight shillings and gave power to distrain for these amounts, because the master "has no other fee to live on." Times were changing, and in 1546 the injunction had to be renewed. Master Hew clearly had fallen on the same evil days which, as we have seen, befel the clerks of Elgin.

In 1549 Gilbert Kintor made a wanton assault on Dave Anderson, "a doctour" in the Grammar School, while in the Church of St. Nicholas. Dave, however, brought out the school-boys, who "invaded" Gilbert Kintor and his brother David, the latter being struck and "strublitt" by a scholar called Skene, with a tree. Hew Monro was acquitted of all part in the disturbance, but all the parties concerned had to find securities for their keeping the peace. A year later Hew resigned, and was granted a gratuity of £40 Scots, to be paid

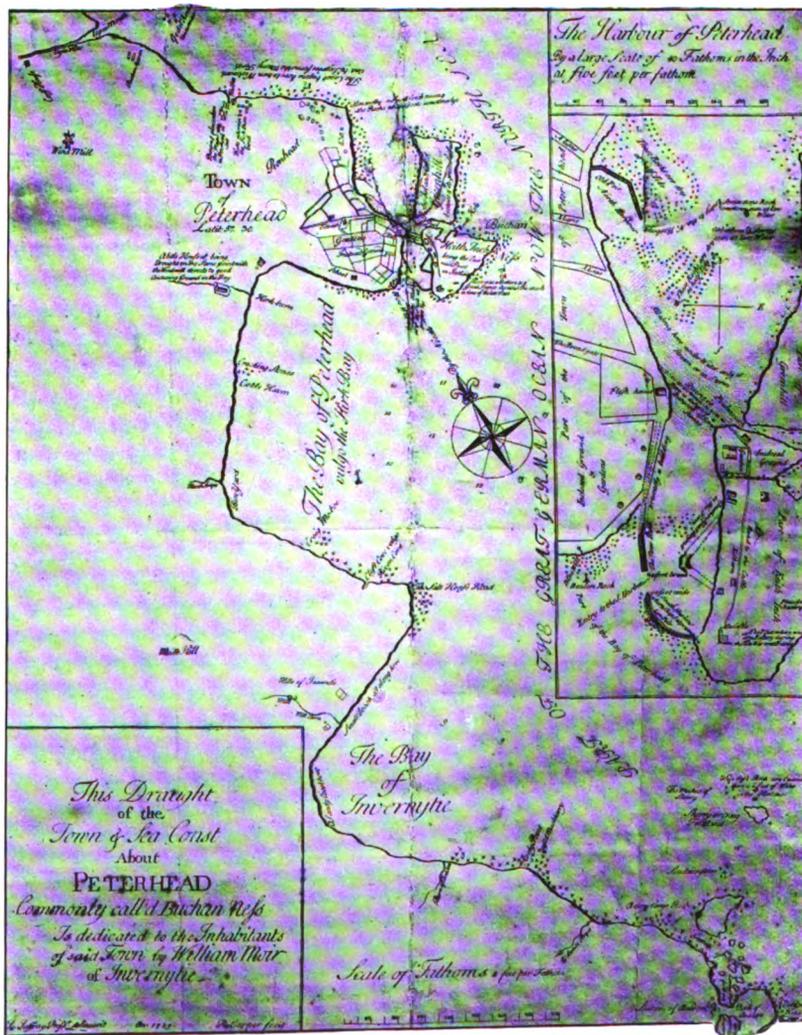
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by instalments. His successor was Master James Chalmer, who apparently was admitted by the Chancellor without demur, and was assigned by the Council ten marks Scots "to induir and continew during the said toonis will." In 1557 Chalmer became a regent in the University of Old Aberdeen, whereupon the Council declared his stall in St. Nicholas vacant. Chalmer demurred, but the Council had the control of the temporalities and ordered these to be paid to Richard Reid. In 1559 the new master, John Henderson, was provided with the chaplainry of St. Nicholas altar. John Henderson saw the old order out and the new order in. His difficulties were internal as well as external. Among schoolboys the Reformation was not popular. There were no more boy bishops and many fewer holidays. In 1569 the scholars at the Grammar School made a formal protest in Latin to the Town Council "anent the abrogatioune of thair awld privilegis and libertie in remaining absent fra the scuill." The harassed schoolmaster also made complaint of the "enormitie of his saidis scollaris." The Council took the matter seriously, and being "ripely advised thereupon," decreed that there should be holidays from St. Thomas's eve "befor Youll" till the morrow of the Epiphany, in other words from December 21 to January 6, both dates included. There were to be no other holidays, and all other "privilege of skaling" which existed before was to be "dischargit and abrogatit in all tyme cuming."

In Aberdeen the Sang School is very much in evidence, and did space permit there might be no less interest in following its fortunes and those of its masters, particularly the redoubtable Sir John Blak, who was its last master before the Reformation. But long since the Sang School formed the subject of a special memoir. The more intricate problems of law and constitution have not even been touched upon. Some communities, like some individuals, live long and prosper without knowing that they have a constitution, and, apart from their prompt "obtempering" of royal commands and the solemn creation of provost, baillies, master of "kirk warks" and the like, one might suspect that in early days the northern communities were not far removed from this happy state. But these and many other interesting questions must be held over, in Aristotelian phrase, for a less exoteric discourse than the present.

P. G.





Moir's Plan of Peterhead and Neighbouring Coast.

CHAPTER III.

Peterhead : Early History and Civic Development.

THE history of Peterhead, as a burgh, dates from 29th July 1587. On that date, nearly six months after Queen Mary bravely met her tragic end at Fotheringay, King James VI. erected Kethinche (alias Peterhead) into a burgh of barony. As there has been some confusion as to the date and manner of erection of Peterhead into a burgh by former writers on Peterhead, it seems desirable to state here the known facts as precisely and succinctly as possible.

Before the Reformation, Peterhead formed part of the lands of the Abbey of Deer, the last two abbots of which were Keiths of the family of Marischal. Robert Keith, brother of William, the fourth Earl Marischal, was really the last abbot (1543-1551), his nephew Robert Keith, second son of the above William and uncle of George the fifth Earl Marischal, having been presented to the Abbey, but only as postulate abbot *in commendam* by Queen Mary in 1560. He is thus known in history as the Commendator of Deer and, having had the good fortune or misfortune to live during the hottest part of the Reformation period, he suffered for whatever cause he had at heart in the following entirely unobjectionable manner. On the 7th July 1587, we find him performing his last act as Commendator, namely, that of signing "A Procuratorie of Resignation of the lands of Deir."¹ This act of resignation was purely formal and preparatory to the King's bestowal upon him and his nephew jointly of all the lands of Deir under the title of the "Lordship of Altric." A charter, effecting this, was granted by King James VI. (29 July 1587). The lands enumerated in this charter (see Appendix, Deed ii.) as belonging to the Abbey include the "fishertoun of Peterhead, with ports anchorages and fishings of the same, the lands of Caikinche² . . ." The charter contains a clause

¹ See Appendix—Deed i. This document is reprinted from Peter Buchan's "Account of the Family of Keith," 1820.

² See Appendix—Deed i. A list of the lands, including the "fishertoun of Peterhead," is also given in the "Procuratorie of Resignation."

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bearing on the lands of Caikinche or Kethinche.¹ It runs as follows:—

And because the lands of Kethinche otherwise called Caikinche lying in the aforesaid parish of Peterugie within our sheriffdom of Aberdeen at the sea shore are sufficiently suitable and convenient for a harbour which may prove a great benefit to the whole country around we have given granted and disposed as by the tenor of this our present charter we do give grant and dispose to the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of Deir for his life and to our said cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage the privilege and liberty of erecting a harbour where the sea was in the said lands of Caikinche where it may most conveniently be made with the haven silver small customs anchorages and other duties and casualties belonging to any free port within our kingdom And also because for the reception of boats ships and strangers frequenting the said port it is necessary to have houses and taverns for entertaining and lodging those frequenting there it shall be lawful to the foresaid persons and their successors to build a town upon the foresaid lands of Caikinche which town so to be built we now as then and then as now have erected and by the tenor of this our present charter do erect into a free burgh of barony and we give and grant to the same all liberties and privileges whatsoever which can belong to a burgh of barony and with power to the said Robert lately Commendator during his life only and to our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees of creating appointing and dismissing bailies harbour masters and officers necessary for the keeping of good government and order as often as shall seem to them expedient.

Thus Peterhead in 1587 was a “fishertoun”—that is to say, using modern language, a fishing village. Its erection into a burgh of barony by James VI. was due to two facts, namely, (1) it was a fishing port and (2) it was suitable and convenient for a harbour which was likely to prove a great benefit to the surrounding district. We know the name of one, at least, of the ships which visited Peterhead port about this time. In the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland we find a complaint at the instance of the Earl Marischal in 1595

¹ See Appendix—Deed ii. The charter is printed in full in Latin and English. In all previous accounts of Peterhead, the error is made of stating that the *Earl Marischal* erected Peterhead into a burgh of barony. Although the same Earl *did* found Marischal College and University of Aberdeen (the only University in the Kingdom founded by a subject) he had no power to make burghs—this was a kingly privilege. Obviously the writers were unaware of the clause in the King's charter of 1587, and erroneously assumed that the contract between the Earl and the feuars (1 June 1593) marked the beginning of Peterhead as a burgh of barony.

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against Thomas Ogilvy who arrived at the port with a ship "callit the 'Bon-adventur' ladynit with tymmer." (See next chapter—"Peterhead Harbours.") It is clear that, from the earliest times, Peterhead has been closely identified with the sea. Its interests have all along lay, and its success has almost entirely depended upon, its fishing, its harbour, and its export and import trade.

Authorities agree that the "fishertoun" most probably embraced the present Roanheads and part of the foreshore opposite Port Henry Harbour, which is the site of the ancient haven or port of the "fishertoun." Kethinche or Caikinche (the present Keith Inch) in 1587 was an island adjoining the mainland. In 1739 the narrow channel between the island and the mainland was closed up with stones and rubbish, and a causeway made. This causeway was called the Queenzie (pronounced Queenie—hence "ower the Queenie"), and in 1849 a canal was cut through the causeway in order to connect the north and south harbours (see next chapter).

Six years after the erection of Peterhead into a burgh of barony, an agreement¹ was concluded between the Earl Marischal and the burgesses of the burgh (fourteen in number), whereby each of the burgesses secured a separate feu upon the payment of a sum proportional to the size of the land allotted, in addition to an annual payment of feu duty. After reciting the names of the burgesses, the deed proceeds to state that, inasmuch as the burgh of barony, lately erected by His Majesty, cannot be sufficiently peopled, furnished with citizens and brought to the state of an honest burgh unless the tenements—at least the yards thereof—be set in feu, either to the present inhabitants or other virtuous and skilful traffickers that will resort to the said town, the high contracting parties agree that the Earl shall, by feu charter, infest each one of the burgesses in the tenements designed to them, and each party agrees to do certain other specified things intended to aid in the expansion and material progress of the burgh. The feuars are granted the right to cast peats in Meg's Moss and to engage in commerce to the exclusion of all others within the burgh. The superior is (as is usual in such cases) to remain provost or baron (odd) bailie (as superior he had been provost for the preceding six years), and the nomination and election of bailies, clerks and other officers is reserved to him.

¹ See Appendix—Deed iii. Original Contract of Feu of the Town of Peterhead [Septimo Octobris 1608].

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The reader is referred to the Appendix (Deed iii.) for details of the original contract. It is of interest to note that burgesses and feuars undertook personal service to the Earl Marischal and to depend upon none other under His Majesty. All the original burgesses appear to have been fishermen, for it is provided in the charter that "every one of them shall have a boat for white fishing, of the which the said Earl . . . shall have the teind fish . . . and such as happen to pass to far fishings the said Earl . . . shall have such teind thereof as the inhabitants of Anstruther pay." The contractors agree to build a bulwark at the haven called Port Henry, and they further agree that the original feuars and their successors shall have commony and pasturage in the Ronheads.

This contract continued in force until 17th April 1775, when it was superseded by a new contract,¹ the parties being the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh (who bought the lands in 1728) and the feuars of that day. From 1587 to 1715, the Earls Marischal (V., VI., VII., VIII., IX. and X.) were the superiors, and as such were the hereditary provosts of the burgh. Owing the adhesion of the tenth Earl to the Stuart cause in 1715, his estates were confiscated to the Crown. They were bought and held by the York Building Company until 1726. This was an unprosperous company, and in 1728 the estates were purchased from the trustees by the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh for £3420. Other portions were bought at later dates, the cost to the Hospital for the whole estates being £8815. The value of the estates in 1861, reckoned at about thirty years' purchase of the gross rental and twenty years' purchase of the feu duties, was estimated by the Governors' land adviser, Mr. Scott of Craiglockhart, at £100,982.

The contract of 1775 effected a transfer of certain lands to the Governors and certain other lands to the feuars. The preamble to the contract states it would be mutually advantageous to divide the lands so that each party might be at liberty to improve their share thereof to the best advantage. The feuars acknowledge the lands "called the Ronheads and yards thereof, Harbours, Keys, Anchorage, Shore-dues, and Petty-Customs" as part of the Governors' estate, while the Governors agree that "the rents and profits of these subjects

¹ See Appendix—Deed iv. Contract between the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh and the Feuars of Peterhead, 17th April 1775.

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shall be received, and applied, by the feuars of the said Town, for the time being, or the majority of them for enlarging, building, repairing and upholding the harbour, piers, shores, and other public works within the Town, in time coming" under the inspection and control of the Governors. To the feuars are allotted the plot called the Rae Moss Park (of which the Recreation Park forms part), the north enclosure called the Buchanhaven Park, the middle enclosure lying between the Geddle and the Ive, the south enclosure lying between the Ive and the Ronhead Park, the Geddle Braes, the land at the Washing Green, the School, the Tolbooth and Tolbooth Green, the Warehouse, Flesh Market and Slaughter House. The parties further agree that a portion of the Raehill and the little Links (south of the Boddam road) together with the "West Links lying by west the Kirkburn" shall remain a commonity in all time coming. The well-known Peterhead surnames of Arbuthnot, Forbes and Robertson appear as signatories to the deed on behalf of the feuars.

Another and final step (so far as the Governors were concerned), in regulating the affairs of the burgh was taken in 1829, when a "Deed of Approbation and Grant, by the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh," was made in favour of the "Baron Baillies and Council of the Town of Peterhead."¹ In 1827 the management of the Harbours had been transferred to a body of Trustees as provided for in the Act just then passed. From the Deed of 1829 it appears that the Earls Marischal, as superiors, appointed four bailies, a clerk, treasurer and town council, from 1593 until 1715. From 1715 to 1752, the superiors appointed bailies, who chose their own clerks and other officers, and there does not appear to have been a committee of feuars acting as Town Council during that time. From 1752 on to 1833, the persons nominated by the superiors as bailies and the persons selected by the feuars as managers, conducted the affairs of the burgh, under the titles of "The Baillies and Public Managers" and "The Baillies and Town Council of Peterhead." In the deed of 1829 the superiors give authority to continue the system of management then in vogue. Of the councillors, four had to be merchants; two, shipmasters; and two, tradesmen. These, together with a treasurer, were elected by the feuars. The main portion of this Deed was destined to be superseded by an Act of Parliament—the Burgh Reform

¹ See Appendix—Deed v. Deed of Approbation and Grant, 9th September, 1829.

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(Scotland) Act 1832, which provided for the popular election of a Town Council with a wider franchise than that existing in Peterhead under the old body.

Owing to the peculiar and, indeed, almost unique nature of the grants to the feuars, as embodied in the charters of 1593 and 1775, some doubts arose as to their rights and those of their managers (who ceased exercising the functions of a Town Council in 1833, in consequence of the provisions of the new Act) to hold the public lands and to administer the property. The electors and, moreover, most of the feuars, believed that the control of the public lands had passed from the managers to the newly constituted, popularly elected Town Council. The minutes of both boards for several years show how active both bodies were in maintaining their rights. Ultimately an action was raised against the Governors and the Feuars Managers by the Magistrates and Town Council in the Court of Session. The case was very ably debated on both sides, and was finally disposed of in the Second Division on the 20th November 1840.¹ The following is the text of the judgment:—

Edinburgh, 20th November, 1840. The Lords having heard counsel for the parties and advised the cause with their revised cases and having also advised the minute lodged for the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital and their Feuars and whole process, in the action of declarator at the instance of the Provost Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead—Sustain the defences for the said Hospital and their feuars and assoilize them from the whole conclusions of the action: And in the counter action of declarator at the instance of the Governors of the said Hospital and their Feuars, Repel the defences for the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead, and find, discern, and declare in terms of the libel,—reserving, of consent, of the Governors of the said Hospital and their Feuars, to the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, right to the market customs levied or leviable within the said burgh and also right to the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council to use, for all municipal purposes, the rooms in the building commonly called the Town-house, hitherto known and occupied as the Town Hall and Court Room, and also the bell in the spire of the said building called the Town House, but without prejudice to the legal rights of the said Governors and their Feuars over the said rooms, bell, and building, in all other respects, and decern

(Signed) D. Boyle, I. P. D.

Signed 27th November 1840.

¹ See Dunlop's Report of Cases decided in the Court of Session, vol. iii. (2nd series), p. 99.

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NOTE. By this judgment the court have found that the whole of the properties conveyed by the contract 1774, and subsequently acquired, stand presently vested in, and belong to, the Feuars of the town and lands of Peterhead, present and to come, comprehending all those persons who at present hold heritable subjects in the said town and land in feu-farm under the Governors of the Hospital, and all who may at any time hereafter acquire such feu-rights, and that the same are vested in and belong to no other person or persons whomsoever, and are held subject to all the conditions, provisions and qualifications contained in the contract of 7th and 16th December 1774; and that the administration and management of these properties also stand vested in the Feuars of Peterhead, present and to come, and in no other person or persons whomsoever, and that the proceeds thereof are to be applied and disposed of in terms of the contract of 1774, for the public good and utility of the Town of Peterhead, as the majority of the Feuars at the time, and from time to time shall think fit, and according to the direction and determination of no other person or persons whomsoever, and this always under the inspection and control of the Governors of the Hospital, or of such other person or persons as they shall appoint from time to time for that purpose, as provided for in the contract of 1774, or as exercised according to use and wont; and, more particularly, that the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead, and their successors in office, have no right or title to the above-mentioned properties, or any part thereof; or to assume the administration or management of these properties, or of any part thereof, and the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, and all other, are prohibited, interdicted, and discharged from molesting and disturbing the Hospital and their Feuars, present and to come, in the peaceable enjoyment and administration of the above-mentioned properties, and disposal of the proceeds thereof in all time coming.

The Town Council, as a result of this judgment, has no control of the Common Good. That remains in the hands of the feuars of the town, who elect their own managers. This condition of affairs is almost without parallel in Scotland. The writer is informed by Mr. Tarras, Fraserburgh, that Fraserburgh and Kirkintilloch are the only other burghs in Scotland with similar bodies managing the common lands. The Town Council, in its municipal administration, is analogous to the House of Commons. The Feuars Managers' Board is analogous to the House of Lords. The board is, indeed, a house of *land*lords specially empowered by ancient charters to administer the lands, under a superior, for the public good and utility of the town.

On the 13th April 1881, the feuars at an annual general meeting adopted

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its present Constitution,¹ which makes provision for the mode of election of the managers and provides that the Preses of the Governors and the Provost of the burgh shall be *ex officio* members, the latter to be chairman in the absence of the former.

In 1909 the Merchant Company of Edinburgh secured by the "Endowments Order Confirmation Act 1909" an amalgamation of endowments and a transference of property whereby the Merchant Maiden Hospital and other endowments were placed under a new board, called "The Merchant Company Education Board," which among other Trusts now manages the Peterhead property of the Company. In the same Act provision is made to amend the contract of 1774 (between the Hospital and the Feuars) so as to enable the feuars' managers to feu, if they think fit, the feuars' lands lying between the Roanheads and Buchanhaven. The Education Board secures one-third the feu-duty paid after deduction of the annual agricultural value and generally controls the feuing of the said lands.²

As already stated the Earls Marischal and the Preses of the Merchant Maiden Hospital were the hereditary Provosts of Peterhead up to 1833. The Provosts of Peterhead since 1833 are as follows:—

- (1) George Arbuthnot of Invernettie, first elected Provost, great-grandson of Thomas Arbuthnot, "The old Bailie o' Peterhead." Born 1775; died 1847. Provost from November 1833 to October 1834.
- (2) Thomas Arbuthnot of Meethill, second Provost, also a great-grandson of the "Old Bailie," and a second cousin to his predecessor. Born 1793, Provost from November 1834 to November 1843. Proclaimed Queen Victoria at the Cross, June 27th 1837.
- (3) Roderick Gray, Solicitor, Peterhead, third Provost. Entered public life in Peterhead in 1811 as junior Baron Bailie and factor of the Merchant Maiden Hospital. Sole Baron Bailie of Peterhead after Bailie Robertson's death in 1832. Continued as last Baron Bailie until November 1833, when that office ceased to exist. Entered the new Town Council in November

¹ See Appendix—Deed vi. Constitution of the Feuars of the Town of Peterhead, 13th April 1881.

² See Appendix—Deed vii. Extract from the Edinburgh Merchant Company Endowment Order, 1909, Clause 15, Peterhead Feuars' Lands.

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1833, but was defeated in November 1836. Re-entered the Town Council in November 1840, and became the third Provost of Peterhead on the ninth of November 1843, which office he held till November 1857. Died 1859. A characteristic portrait of him was painted by Sir John Watson Gordon.

- (4) Captain Alexander Anderson, R.N., fourth Provost, younger son of Dr. Alexander Anderson of Peterhead. Born 5th April 1791; died October 21st 1863. Joined the Royal Navy in 1807, retired and settled in Peterhead in 1841. Entered the Town Council in 1842, became in course of time senior Bailie, and, on the 5th of November 1857, was installed as fourth Provost of Peterhead, an office he held till November 1860.
- (5) William Alexander of Whitehill, Solicitor, Peterhead, fifth Provost. Entered Peterhead public life as Town Clerk in February 1834, which office he resigned on the fifteenth day of November 1860, to be appointed four days later—the 19th—fifth Provost of Peterhead. The youngest son of Gilbert Alexander, leather merchant, he was born in Peterhead in 1802, and died on the 19th April 1885. Provost from November 1860 to April 1885. He was presented with his portrait in oil, painted by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A., by his fellow-citizens in recognition of his long and valuable services to the town. It now hangs in the Peterhead Art Gallery.
- (6) John Henderson Will of Downiehills, Fishcurer, Peterhead, sixth Provost. Provost from May 1885 to November 1888. In his official capacity attended the thanksgiving service in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, June 1887. Died, 4th November 1900. His portrait hangs in the Peterhead Art Gallery.
- (7) John Smith, Manufacturer, Peterhead and Millbreck, seventh Provost. Born at Millbreck, April 1st 1826. Entered the Town Council in 1859; became Treasurer; junior Bailie in November 1863; and afterwards senior Bailie. Retired from public life in 1869, but elected a member of the first Burgh School Board in 1873; and two years later re-entered the Town Council for a three years' term, in the hope of being able to give assistance in allaying the bitter feeling roused by the harbour dispute of that time; and was elected senior Bailie. In November 1888, in deference to a requisition signed by over 1200 of his fellow-citizens, he re-entered the

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Town Council for the third time and was unanimously chosen Provost of Peterhead, a position which he held until 1899. He is a J.P. and an Honorary Sheriff-Substitute. His portrait—a striking likeness and faithful in detail—by G. Fiddes Watt, A.R.S.A., hangs in the Peterhead Art Gallery.

- (8) William Hutchison Leask, Shipowner and Commission Agent. Born at Peterhead, 29th December 1850. Joined the Harbour Board in 1884. Was elected a Bailie in 1893. Was unanimously chosen Provost of Peterhead in 1899, which position he at present holds. Was elected a Feuars' Manager in 1895. He is, *ex officio*, as Provost, chairman of the Feuars' Managers and of the Harbour Board. During Provost Leask's tenure of the provostship the recent important extensions of the harbours were initiated and completed. The scheme for the augmentation and purification of the water supply was also carried out during his provostship. Laid the foundation of the present hospital. Proclaimed King Edward VII. and King George V. at the Market Cross—a unique distinction for a Provost. Has been for many years Provincial Grand Master of Aberdeenshire East. Owned one of the first drifters (1900), and controls a large fleet of drifters. Provost Leask's portrait is being painted by G. Fiddes Watt, A.R.S.A.

There have been three Town Clerks of the burgh since 1833—

- 1833-1860 William Alexander.
1860-1892 Alexander Robertson.
1892-1910 David Martin.

The following is a complete list of Bailies of the burgh from 1833 to

1910:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1833-40 George Mudie, Meethill. | 1840-42 J. Smith Anderson, Merchant. |
| 1833-38 James Anderson, Bank Agent. | 1840-41 John Leslie, Fishcurer. |
| 1833-34 Thomas Arbuthnot, Meethill,
and Nether Kinmundy; after-
wards Provost. | 1841-44 John Souttar, Wood Merchant. |
| | 1841-50 William Simpson, Provision
Merchant. |
| 1834-40 William Gamack, Writer and
Bank Agent. | 1842-50 Robert Kidd, Merchant. |
| | 1844-48 George Skelton, Shipowner. |
| 1838-41 James Hutcheson, Jr., Mer-
chant. | 1848-57 Alex. Anderson, Shipowner;
afterwards Provost. |

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- | | |
|--|--|
| 1850-57 Alex. Robertson, Baker. | 1887-89 Alexander Hay, Merchant. |
| 1850-52 Robert Lockie, Builder. | 1887-93 John Mitchell, Jun., Fishcurer. |
| 1852-57 John Young, Merchant. | 1888-90 Alexander Wood, Fishcurer. |
| 1857-58 Robert Arbuthnot, Merchant. | 1889-96 William Rennie Ross, Boot-maker. |
| 1857-63 Robert Morrison, Baker. | 1890-95 Charles Carnegie, Wood Merchant. |
| 1857-59 Thomas Lawrence, Merchant. | 1893-99 William Hutchison Leask, Commission Agent ; now Provost. |
| 1858-63 George Paul, Merchant. | 1895-99 Robert Sutherland, Flesher. |
| 1859-61 James Smith Anderson, Merchant. | 1896-03 James Wilson, Boatbuilder. |
| 1861-69 John Napier, Fishcurer. | 1899-06 Andrew Philip, Draper. |
| 1863-69 John Smith, Manufacturer ; afterwards Provost. | 1899-06 James Cousins Booth, Downie-hills. |
| 1863-75 William Leslie, Fishcurer. | 1899-06 Alexander Robertson Ritchie, Provision Works. |
| 1869-76 George Maitland, Merchant. | 1903-04 William Martin, Manager, Granite Works. |
| 1869-71 Alexander Ingram, Fishcurer. | 1904-10 William Lyall Birnie, Boat-builder. |
| 1871-85 John Henderson Will, Fishcurer ; afterwards Provost. | 1904-10 George Duncan, Merchant. |
| 1875-81 John Smith, Manufacturer ; afterwards Provost. | 1907-10 John Barron Dickie, Builder. |
| 1876-86 John M'Intosh, Merchant. | |
| 1881-87 David Fraser, Architect | |
| 1885-88 James Reid, Hayfield. | |
| 1886-87 James Aiken, Confectioner. | |

The population of Peterhead, on its erection into a burgh of barony, with its fourteen burgh-feuars, must have been considerably less than 100. Prior to 1801, several estimates of the population of the burgh had been made, the latest being a most careful enumeration by the Rev. Dr. Moir, minister of Peterhead and writer of the article on Peterhead in the *Old Statistical Account*. The most recent census taken in Peterhead is the unofficial enumeration made under the direction of the Burgh School Board on 31st March 1910, by Mr. J. Arbuthnott. In his Report,¹ published on the 21st April, he states that the number of householders within the burgh amounts to

¹ Officer's Report on Census, 1910, Peterhead Burgh School Board. Printed by P. Scrogie *Observer* Office, 1910.

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2917, while the total population of the burgh on the 31st March was found to be 13,383.

The following table shows the population of Peterhead in the years named :—

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1587	under 100	1800	3169	1861*	7541
1727	900	1801*	3264	1871*	8621
1732	950	1811*	3554	1881*	10,922
1764	1266	1821*	4783	1891*	12,226
1769	1518	1831*	5112	1901*	11,794
1790	2550	1841*	6244	1910	13,383
1794	2959	1851*	7298		

* Official figures decennial census.

Fifty years after the foundation of Peterhead as a burgh, it became known as a watering place. A pamphlet written by Dr. Andrew Moor in 1636, in the quaint medical phraseology of that period, describes the quality of the mineral waters of Peterhead, and recommends it as a useful remedy for general debility and other ailments. He recommends visitors while using the waters to “flee perturbation of mind” and thereby shows himself a worthy precursor of the physician of to-day, who wisely combines treatment of the patient with treatment of the disease. Rev. Dr. Laing wrote an account of Peterhead in 1793, and published the results of an analysis made by him, in which he showed the chalybeate nature of the spring called the Wine Well.

A full and excellent account of Peterhead appears in the *Old Statistical Account*, from the pen of Rev. Dr. Moir. He speaks of the promontory at the harbour being called Keith Inch, Chalk Inch, or Ka Kinche, the latter being a probable explanation of “Kaikinche,” in the charters of 1587 and 1593. Dr. Laing’s account is too varied in subject to be adequately summarised. He gives statistics showing goods imported to, and the grain exported from the port. He states that, during the year 1793, 518 vessels arrived at the port, of which, 416 were strangers. It may be of interest to note that about 140 tons of butter were annually shipped from Peterhead. In 1794, there were 52 twist mills in Peterhead, employing about 1134 people in doubling, twisting, and

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spinning. Dr. Moir states, that among the lower classes, "dram and tea-drinking is too frequent, and the too general substitution of spirits in place of malt liquor has a pernicious influence on their health and morals." There was no post chaise in 1736, and no clothier's shop. Dr. Moir deplors the lack of a *firm and steady police*, the want of a proper school-mistress of education, and of more liberal ideas as to education generally. He admits that Peterhead in 1794, was in a very thriving state, and his whole account bears evidence of it.

Two histories of Peterhead were published successively in 1815 and 1819, fully twenty years after Dr. Moir's account appeared. The first, entitled *An Historical Account of Peterhead*, was written by James Arbuthnot, Jr., and includes an account of the trade, shipping, commerce and manufactures, and an appendix containing a copy of the Earl Marischal's charter of 1593. Arbuthnot also gives a list of fishes found on the Buchan coast. By this time, Peterhead had become world-famous as a whaling centre. Arbuthnot supplies statistics of the whaling industry. In 1814, there were seven whaling vessels with a tonnage of 1949. The number of whales caught that year was 164, while 1390 tons of oil were boiled. Peter Buchan, the burgh's first printer, published his *Annals of Peterhead* in 1819. Buchan states in this volume that "Printing was first established in Peterhead as a regular business on 24th March, 1816" by himself. Besides an account of the progress of the town, the *Annals* include some purely literary matter on various subjects. A biography of Buchan was published in 1903.¹

The next account of Peterhead appeared in the *New Statistical Account*, and was written by Roderick Gray in 1837. This account gives details as to the topography, civil history, population, industries and general commerce of the burgh.

For general and detailed accounts of Peterhead the reader is referred to the revised edition of Pratt's *Buchan*, edited by Robert Anderson and published by Lewis Smith & Son, Aberdeen; and to the *History of Peterhead*, written by J. T. Findlay, which appeared in the *Buchan Observer* from 3rd March 1896 to 16th March 1897.

Two maps of old Peterhead are reproduced in this volume. That facing

¹ J. A. Fairley, *Trans. Buchan Club*, vol. vii. pp. 123-158.

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page 275 shows Peterhead as it was in 1739, and that facing page 291, Peterhead in 1805. At both these dates the burgh was still under baronial tutelage. The map of 1805 gives an excellent idea of the progress of Peterhead during the past hundred years. It will be noted that the town north of Chapel Street had been laid out for feuing, but the land in 1805 was still green fields. The prospective streets of 1805 are, however, the actual streets of 1910.

In this chapter we have concerned ourselves mainly with the rise and development of the administration of the burgh. In the following chapter the rise and progress of Peterhead as a port is briefly described. As already stated, readers are referred to the works already cited for full accounts as to the development of the burgh commercially, educationally and otherwise.

On the following pages (289, 290) two tables are given. Table I. gives the annual catch of herrings at the port from the years 1840 to 1910 inclusive. Table II. shows the number of steam and sail boats registered at Peterhead for the years 1890 and 1910. Three interesting illustrations are given facing page 247. No. 1 is from a photograph of the corner stone at the base of the roof of the Salmon Fish House on the banks of the Ugie near Buchanhaven. The date, 1585; the initials, G. K. (George fifth Earl Marischal); and the arms of the Keiths, are clearly seen. This house was built two years before Peterhead was erected into a burgh of barony. No. 2 is from a photograph of a stone above a door in the Longate. No. 3 is from a photograph of the house, also in the Longate, occupied by Peter Buchan and used by him as a printing establishment—the Auchmedden Press—the first in Peterhead.

Peterhead: History and Development

TABLE I.

Showing the Annual Catch of Herrings from 1840 to 1910
at the Port of Peterhead.

YEAR.	NO. OF CRANS.	YEAR.	NO. OF CRANS.
1840	48,595	1876	78,171
1841	56,785	1877	86,353
1842	50,458	1878	122,760
1843	63,740	1879	83,274
1844	44,642	1880	177,297
1845	54,854	1881	106,000
1846	58,051	1882	185,704
1847	55,081	1883	102,103
1848	70,228	1884	162,340
1849	61,844	1885	118,156
1850	31,989	1886	120,194
1851	31,657	1887	116,999
1852	18,048	1888	76,766
1853	34,366	1889	137,352
1854	30,900	1890	154,225
1855	24,244	1891	112,262
1856	33,655	1892	151,307
1857	20,358	1893	197,365
1858	22,456	1894	180,804
1859	17,277	1895	168,855
1860	18,558	1896	165,477
1861	32,435	1897	177,607
1862	52,733	1898	185,810
1863	36,500	1899	62,947
1864	36,350	1900	61,431
1865	22,500	1901	64,384
1866	57,200	1902	141,162
1867	51,200	1903	118,822
1868	72,500	1904	153,878
1869	28,000	1905	155,192
1870	100,000	1906	184,033
1871	107,000	1907	291,713
1872	141,500	1908	209,054
1873	168,000	1909	201,685
1874	170,000	1910 ¹	174,560
1875	138,000		

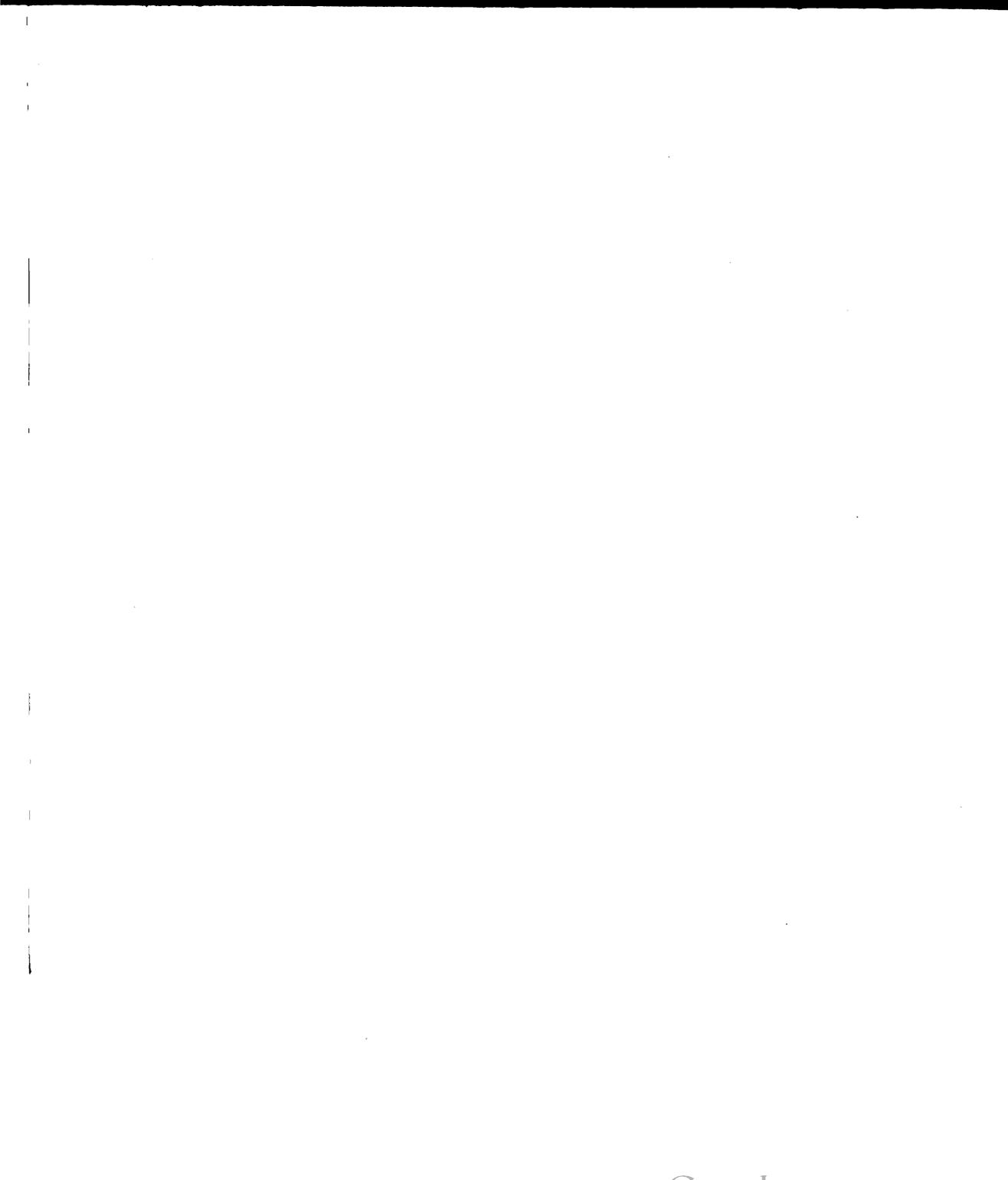
¹ Catch to date of printing, 6th August 1910.

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TABLE II.

Showing Number of Vessels belonging to Peterhead, 1890—1910.

PETERHEAD DISTRICT.	1890	1910
Sail Boats : number . . .	535	199
" value	£56,576	£24,876
Fishing Gear	£50,050	£24,432
Steam Fishing Vessels : number	—	124
" " value	—	£361,200
Fishing Gear	—	£53,568





Ainslie's Plan of Peterhead, 1805.

CHAPTER IV.

The Harbours of Peterhead.

FROM the charters and other documents reviewed in the immediately preceding chapter it will be seen that the harbour of Peterhead dates from a period not later than the sixteenth century. It is highly probable that it was in existence very much earlier in some form more or less primitive at, or in the vicinity of, Port Henry.

The *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* contains additional early references to Peterhead Harbour, of which the following are the most noteworthy. "On 27th May 1595, complaint was made by George Earl Mairshael that in the month of[†] Thomas Ogilvy, son of Michael Ogilvy in[†] arriving at the porte of Petirheid with ane ship callit the *Bonadventur*, ladynit with tymmer, the said Earl had bought the timber from him for repairing the harbour and port of Petirheid; and the same timber being not sufficient for accomplishing that work, the said Earl intended to buy a ship and send her to Norroway for more timber." The Earl bought Ogilvy's ship but was afterwards sued for the ship and certain goods by one "Finla Ferne," from whom Ogilvy had pretended he had bought the vessel. The Privy Council denounced Thomas as a rebel for not appearing to answer in his defence.

In the beginning of 1628, a ship of Lubeck was seized by some Scottish merchant ships on suspicion that her cargo belonged to His Majesty's enemies. While being brought to Leith the vessel was wrecked near the port of Peterhead. She was called the *Sanct Marie* and the master's name was Henrich Schult. The cargo consisted of eight score pipes of wine, three score puncheons of syrup and sugar, three score barrels and two hundred *frears* of raisins, and twenty bags of aniseed, the value of which would have proved a fine haul for the Government. Much of the cargo, however, was spoiled, and it is recorded that the people in the neighbourhood vigorously helped themselves to the remainder.

[†] Blank in the original.

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The part of the coast where the ship was lost fell within the jurisdiction of the Earl Marischal, whose rights were "manfully" prosecuted in his absence by his Countess. The dispute as to who was to profit by the capture lasted many months, and the account of its progress and settlement occupies nearly three hundred pages of the *Register*. Eventually it was discovered that the *Saint Marie* was not an enemy's ship but the authenticated property of one of His Majesty's allies, and accordingly the rightful owners were awarded their due.

In 1631 William, Earl Marischal, made application to the Privy Council as follows:—"He intends to build a bulwark and to repair the harbour of Peterheid, which is one of the special ports in the north parts for ships in time of storm and other important occasions, but he cannot procure sufficient timber for the purpose, except from Norway. Owing to the prohibition there of all export of timber unless victual is imported in exchange he can obtain none unless their lordships grant him their license to export thither twenty chalders of victual, half beir and half meal, and this he accordingly craves." Warrant was duly granted and it is presumed the proposed repairs, etc., went forward.

On 5th April 1666, letters of marque to operate against the French King and States of the United Provinces were granted by the Privy Council in favour of Captain James Seatoun of the *Margret* of Peterhead, and others.

One more reference exhausts the matter in the Privy Council *Register* as far as the present chapter is concerned, and is typical of the period. On 8th September 1630, Margaret Lumsden in Futtie, Mallie Cowper there, and Marion Rodgie, dwelling at the shore of Aberdein were accused of witchcraft whereby they destroyed "ane boate belonging to Peterheid quhairin there perished or died twelffe or threttein persons."

In the year 1705 was passed an Act of the Scottish Privy Council authorising a voluntary contribution within all the parish churches of the three Lothians, and within those north of the Firth of Forth, for building and repairing the harbour of Peterhead. Further aid was obtained in 1729, and again in 1735, through the good offices of the Convention of Royal Burghs, when attention was drawn to the splendid situation of the harbour of Peterhead and the great use made of it by ships trading north, particularly on occasions of storm and tempest. On 6th February 1738, at a meeting of shipmasters at

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Leith, twenty-three of those present adhibited their signatures to an attestation which declared that, in their opinion, the harbour of Peterhead was the best situate of any place in Scotland for all ships sailing in the North Sea, and if repaired and improved, as proposed by the inhabitants, many ships trading in these seas might be preserved that were cast away. In proof of the sincerity of their convictions the subscribers not only voted a sum out of the funds of the society, but made a voluntary contribution out of their own pockets in support of such a charitable and laudable undertaking. The Town Council of Edinburgh, too, joined in the good work, and on 14th February 1739 appointed a voluntary contribution to be made by the citizens and inhabitants of Edinburgh in the second week of the following month of March in aid of the Peterhead harbours.

It is thus abundantly evident that early in the eighteenth century the harbour of Peterhead was well known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and was recognised as a safe and convenient landing place on the north-east coast. In this connection it will be remembered that the so-called Pretender, James, stepped ashore at Port Henry to further his cause in the first great Jacobite rising of 1715, and that during the troublous times of the "forty-five" Peterhead was one of the ports that were a constant source of anxiety to the Government. A sloop of war was ordered to Peterhead and was detailed for patrol duty outside the harbour during that critical period.

The illustrations to *The Book of Buchan* include the reproduction of a very rare plan of Peterhead and its harbour as they appeared in the year 1739, which, it will be observed, is also the date of the plan. Preserved amongst a huge collection of autograph letters, prints, plans, broadsides, and other items of literary interest bequeathed by the late W. F. Watson, of Edinburgh, to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, is what appears to be a re-issue of this rare plan of Peterhead and its harbour. It bears the following description:—This Draught / Of the / Town & Sea Coast / About / Peterhead / Commonly call'd Buchan Ness / Is Most Humbly Dedicated / to the / Parliament / of Great / Britain / an : 1749 / Jo. Jaffray Presbr. delineavit / R. Cooper fecit. The harbour is shown in separate section on the face of the plan and is described as follows:—The Harbour of Peterhead / By a large scale of / 40 Fathoms in the Inch / at five feet per fathom.

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In his *Geographical Collections* published by the Scottish History Society, Walter Macfarlane gives the following quaint and entertaining account of the Peterhead Harbour about this time :—

Extract from “A Description of Peterhead.”

Next is the Harbour ; one most com̄odious, which imbosomes itself in the said Keyth Inch, and makes a Defence from the East by the Inch & numerous Rocks round about. The Inch is thinly built, but of good Buildings, these that are, the Earles Marischall not being willing to few it to any. Yea the foresaid George Earle Marischall was offered for this Inch several Tuns of Gold by the Dutch, it being advantagious for their summer fishing in the Northern Seas, and because of its excellent situation.

The Harbour in it called Port Henry hath its name from one Henry Middelton in Clerkhill, who in the said E. George his time was instrumental under the said Earle to have this erected from an open shore to a secure Harbour ; and it hath been by the care and pains of the late E. William and this present Earle George brought to what it is now, to receive all from North, East, & South to their very great advantage and security both in storm and calm.

It hath on the South side a Bay that is called the South Road which will contain several hundreds of ships most securely at Anchor except when the Wind bloweth from the East.

There is a North Harbour very secure, called Saltcote hive which from its name, together also with another place a mile south, called Salthouse head, gives me to apprehend, there hath been Salt made in these places of old, before the erection of the Town, to serve the Inland Countrey of Buchan.

Betwixt these two Harbours, as a Guard to the Town on the East side, is a great tract of Rocks or great stones scattered and are of great bigness and firm, and not condensed but separate Whinways which doth beat back the violent surges of the sea. Along this tract of Rocks runs a violent Tide very impetuous called Trot-Valley, that several Mariners, who have been great Travellers, have admired its impetuosity in most fair Weather.

In this Town is one of the best Fishings that is on the North Coast, for all white fish, except Herrings, and they have a singular skill in fishing, so that their Fishes are a Proverb in the Nation.

The Inhabitants are very Civil and discreet to all strangers and very helpful in times of shipwrecks or other dangers and give all possible aid, and supply to all that arrive at their Coasts.

This Town after its first erection, did number twenty sail of good ships belonging to itself altogether, and were employed by the Merchants of Edr. for conveying the granaries of Caithness, Sutherland and Ross to the south land : but by the ruine of the Bulwark, their number decayed though now again they are repairing their losses.

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It is to be observed, that the English, when they had founded their Cittadells of Inverness, Air, Leith &c. coming to see the stance and site of this place, were much grieved for not seeing it sooner, it being most commodious for a Cittadell or Garrison ; and to have been improved to an excellent Port to the Eastern seas.

There are several ships built here, of one or two Decks, and have all the properties of good sailing, which are set upon Stocks in the said Inch, and are lunched thence very easily.

This Inch every 24 hours is twice environed with the sea, and so makes a pleasant Peninsula.

It is a very pleasant and healthfull air, and very serene, without Fogs or Mists, though it be imbosomed in the German Ocean, and all the Canicular days, almost, ye will find a gentle breath of North East Wind from off the sea to cool the heat on the Mainland.

It is remarkable, that two ships, one coming from Fifeness and another from Cromarty, may come with one and the same Wind viz: Westerly, and arrive here at one and the same instant ; and can go no further either Southward or Northward. Which ariseth from the situation of this Town, which draws into the form or fashion of a Tongue or Wedge from Taymouth and Murray firth, and casts the Countrey or Mainland into the form of a Triangle in all well drawn Mapps.

These things with many others are noticeable, which the Magistrates should be required to give account of. I have set this down, & appeal to all the Skippers of the South Firth for the verity of the premises.¹

About the year 1770 the harbour authorities sought the advice of John Smeaton, C.E., famous for his Eddystone Lighthouse, and for the Forth and Clyde Canal, of which he was surveyor and engineer. Mr. Smeaton was author of the design which, by an adaptation of Keith Inch, provided what is known as the South Harbour. The improvement of the harbourage thus went on until, in 1806, there was accommodation for from fifty to sixty sail of vessels of moderate draught. It is noteworthy that the authorities, continuing to pursue an enlightened policy, spent between 1797 and 1846 fully £67,000 on the upkeep, &c., of the harbour.

For a long time only works of a minor description were undertaken by the Trustees, but in 1873 an Act of Parliament was obtained for improving Port Henry Harbour and for the deepening of the South Harbour. An unfortunate

¹ Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1908, Vol. III., pp. 229-31.

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difference of opinion immediately arose as to the relative importance of the North and South Harbours. This led to a Parliamentary conflict involving not only the loss of much valuable time, but the wasteful expenditure of about £17,000 in legal and engineering charges. During the progress of the dispute a Bill for the amendment of the 1873 Act was promoted, but it was thrown out in 1875. This was followed by the Peterhead Harbours Amendment Act of 1876, which put an end to active hostilities. Under the Amendment Act the South Harbour was deepened and improved, and a portion of the works at Port Henry abandoned. Between 1873 and 1888 the Trustees spent on actual improvements a sum of £58,000.

The most important development of the harbours in recent times dates from about the year 1896. It was felt that the additional area secured by the work undertaken in 1873-6 was insufficient for the accommodation of the large fleet of vessels resorting to the port during the herring season—in other words the inadequate area tended to neutralize the unique geographical position of the harbours. But the difficulty of obtaining the funds necessary for further extension was long regarded as insurmountable. In 1892 a special Committee, appointed to consider and report on a proposal to spend £21,000 on improvements, unanimously reported adversely on the project, adding that “they were not sanguine in their expectations that funds could be obtained for the purpose” from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. Fortunately these counsels of despair were not adopted. A vigorous movement in the direction of further extension was initiated, with the result that a new Act of Parliament was obtained in 1896, in virtue of the powers of which not only has Port Henry Harbour been completed and deepened to 6 feet below L.W.O.S.T., but the inner basin of the North Harbour, and the South Harbour throughout the whole area, have been extended and deepened to 12 feet below L.W.O.S.T. In addition the reclamation of a large area has been effected in the South Bay. These works involved a further outlay of £142,000, of which £98,000 was obtained on loan from the Public Works Loan Board, and £28,000 as a free grant by the Treasury. A remarkable increase in the fishing has accompanied these improvements, and Peterhead at the present moment occupies the premier position in the world as a herring fishing centre. The revenues have risen correspondingly. For example, in 1870 they amounted to less than £5000;

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in 1876 they had increased to, in round figures, £8100; and in 1909 they had attained to upwards of £17,600, a sum which it is expected will be exceeded during the year now current. Notwithstanding all the additional facilities provided, serious congestion continues to be experienced during the herring fishing season, and already the Trustees are considering how this can best be met.

Time and again the opinion of the highest experts, engineering and nautical, has been requisitioned; and these have invariably emphasised the singularly favourable position of the harbours of Peterhead for the accommodation of the fishing fleet and for the shelter and convenience of shipping generally. Given wise and courageous management, it is difficult to set a limit to future possibilities.

In 1846 the question of providing a national harbour of refuge was mooted, Peterhead being indicated as a desirable spot. After many vicissitudes, much wire-pulling, and years of deliberation, the proposal caught on and found effective expression in the Peterhead Harbour of Refuge Act passed in 1886. The *Seventh Annual Report* of the Prison Commissioners for Scotland, year 1884-85, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, had previously published the following information:—"A Sub-Committee was appointed, with Treasury approval on 9th July 1883, to assist the Convict Labour Committee to decide on the most suitable position for the proposed harbour of refuge. This Committee also fixed upon Peterhead as the most suitable site, and on 21st March you directed us to place ourselves in communication with Sir John Coode, the Engineer-in-Chief appointed by the Lords of the Admiralty, under whose direction the Harbour Works are to be carried out." In the month of July 1885, a vote of £5000 was granted by Parliament for the purchase of land at Peterhead for prison purposes, the intention being to build a penal establishment and to employ the labour of Scottish convicts on the harbour of refuge works. The purchase of land for harbour and prison purposes was negotiated by the Resident Engineer, acting for the Board of Admiralty, and was concluded in the month of March, the ground acquired being Salthouse-head, at the southern extremity of the South Bay. A beginning was immediately made with the respective buildings contemplated by the two departments, and on 7th August 1888, the first batch of convicts arrived. A

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portion of the Prison buildings was erected by contract, but after the arrival of the convicts they were employed in the extension of the cell accommodation and the erection of additional quarters for the staff. An interesting plan showing the position of the Convict Prison and Works was issued by the Prison Commissioners in their *Eleventh Annual Report*, year 1888-89. This plan also shows the proposed breakwater, now well on the way to completion, and the railway afterwards constructed to the quarry at Stirling Hill purchased by the State. The erection of the various Government buildings transformed the appearance of the South Bay by adding the bustle of life to what was previously a desolate spot.

In days gone by Peterhead Harbour was the chief centre of the whale fishing as it is to-day of the herring fishing. What the future may have in store for it who is to say? The premature arrival of Germany as a naval power of the first class has suddenly made the North Sea of greater importance than ever to Britain. The harbour of refuge now under construction at Peterhead is no longer necessary for the exigencies of ordinary sea traffic, and may before long be utilised for naval purposes. Should this come to pass, the Harbour of Peterhead in its dual capacity may yet rank among the great anchorages of the Empire.

J. A. F.

CHAPTER V.

Famous Visitors to Peterhead

WE do not know—we can never tell—when the stranger first set foot within our gates. Back in the old time when this islanded outpost of the land was nothing better than a wind-swept, rock-bound cape fringed by a cold and wintry sea, the visitor must often have been an unwilling guest—some shipwrecked mariner, it may be, tossed on shore, some bird of passage brought hither by unhappy chance, some outlaw driven to seek shelter from human kind, some mortal striving in the mist. The inhospitable shore line was the frontier of a district almost as desolate and austere, and for the invader, if any ever came that way, an empty conquest it would prove. Buchan from the coast, even less than a hundred years ago, presented a foreboding and uninviting picture to the traveller by sea. “Not a tree to be seen,” writes Sir Walter Scott in his diary on board the Lighthouse yacht, when off this land on the 31st of July, 1814; “nor a grazing cow, or sheep, or even a labour-horse at grass, though this be Sunday.”¹ Little, indeed, was there to attract men from more kindly soil and sunnier skies, and the long, long night of unrecorded years was an age of silence. The voices of the distant past have not died away in our hearing—they were never raised.

And yet—we like to think some Celtic visionary centuries ago trod this sombre strand and dreamt of the unborn time when it should be a paved street. It may be the mind of the poet gave him the eyes of the seer. Perhaps he saw that if a town should rise here it would spring from the wealth of the sea rather than from the increase of the land. Even to-day we speak of Peterhead (quietly among ourselves) as “set in a corner,” and from this inconvenient and stubborn geographical fact it could never hope to be the true centre of the agricultural activity of the district. But it is far otherwise with

¹ *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*. By John Gibson Lockhart. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. 1902. Vol. IV., p. 163.

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the harvest of the sea. The racing tides around it teem with fish justly famed ; the bay is a sure shelter for sea-weary ships ; the harbours of the town are the natural points of departure for "Norroway ower the faem" and the wide white lands of the Arctic. The early navigators knew all this full well, and we are prepared to find them the first visitors of whom we have any record.

They were Dutch fishermen—these pioneers. That they came to Peterhead every summer more than three hundred years ago in the pursuit of their calling in Buchan waters is significant testimony to the quality and quantity as well as to the wide fame of our rock fish. The Keith Inch and the Greenhill were the headquarters of this Dutch, and possibly Scandinavian, colony ; but nearly all traces of their occupation have now been swept away. A few old Peterhead people may remember, perhaps, a quaint building which once stood on the Keith Inch facing the South Harbour. Its style of architecture was peculiar, and clearly indicated a Dutch origin. It was built chiefly of timber with a covered verandah or balcony on the south side, and an outside wooden stair leading to the upper storey. Erected in 1616, no doubt it owed its origin to some enterprising Dutchman who had come here to minister to the temporal wants of his countrymen. No signboard had this old tavern, but it was always spoken of as "The Crack." To the Peterheadian of the nineteenth century this word conveyed no meaning beyond indicating this particular house within the meaning of the Act ; but it is simply a corruption of the Dutch *kraecke* = carack, a large deep round-built three-masted vessel formerly used by the Portuguese in their trade with the East Indies. What more likely name could there be for a Dutch sailor's tavern than this *kraecke*? Within its old walls, too, used to be given out in the palmy days of the whale and seal fishing, as in other public houses of "the shore," the *fooi* or *foy*, a Dutch word which signifies drink money, contributed by the owners, captains and officers of the vessels about to set sail for the Arctic regions. We cannot claim, it is true, an exclusive local application for this word, because Pepys uses it in his famous diary ; but at one time it was known to every Peterheadian in a degree unknown to-day.

These are, after all, very slight evidences of our earliest known visitors, and their coming and going would be of relatively small importance were it not for one great historical assertion. Those first summer visitors from Holland

Famous Visitors to Peterhead

lend a tremendous significance to the statement of the garrulous parson of Rothiemay—the Reverend James Gordon, to wit, the contemporary author of a *History of Scots Affairs from 1637-1641*—that the most famous of Dutch admirals, Martin Heppertzoon van Tromp, he who is said to have swept up the Thames with a broom at the masthead, was the “sonne of a Scottish father, one Harper, borne at Peeterheade, in Buchaine.”¹ Harpers there were in Peterhead in the sixteenth century, and what more probable than that one of them should return south with the Dutch fishers and settle in Holland? If this story could be well substantiated, few visits to Peterhead have led to such historic consequences.

During the troubled years of the seventeenth century Peterhead, although far removed from the storm centre of civil strife, frequently received visitors of quite another type from those industrious Dutchmen, and with an altogether different mission. Soldiers came amongst us—Irish mercenaries, Highland rebels, Covenanters, Royalists, and even Roundheads. In 1607 there was an insurrection among the islanders of the North and West, and to the aid of the Lowland men gathered at Inverness King James sent some of his Irish troopers; and towards the end of December of that year two Irish companies were driven by stress of weather to put in at Peterhead. The great Civil War of a generation later did not affect Peterhead very much; the varying tide of conflict swept elsewhere. There is a tradition that Montrose visited the town, but it cannot be authenticated, and possibly is untrue. The Earl Marischal of that day was at first a Covenanter, but in 1648 he turned Royalist, and after entertaining King Charles II. in his Castle of Dunnottar in 1650 he was arrested by the English Parliamentarians on the 28th of August 1651, and carried prisoner to the Tower, where he remained until the Restoration of 1660. His estate suffered with his changed fortunes. The troopers of the Covenant who had been quartered over the Presbyteries of Deer and Ellon in 1644 were now followed by Cromwell's English soldiers. Peterhead appears to have been the headquarters of the Roundheads in Buchan; and the Keith Inch was their camp. “In this Inch,” indignantly writes the Royalist Countess of Erroll in 1680, “I have seen six hundred men in tents in the time of the rebellion, and these rebels of the English nation garrisoned it for several years.”

¹ Published by the Spalding Club. Vol. III., p. 84.

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The Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745, especially the former, profoundly affected the civic history of Peterhead. During the memorable winter of 1715-16 the town was the theatre of several picturesque incidents. At the outbreak of hostilities the Jacobite party were, of course, in power. Some old Spanish guns were mounted on the Tolbooth Green; an "Act of Counsell" ordained "guaird to be kept every night," the town for this purpose being divided into four wards; and 138 men and ten women made up the list of the "whole ffenceable inhabitants." Moreover, "twelve ffenceable men" went to Fraserburgh with George Leith, and in a spirited manner proclaimed the Old Chevalier as His Most Gracious Majesty King James III. against the wishes of the town's superior, the Lord Saltoun of that day. The Chevalier was also proclaimed at the market cross of Peterhead at the foot of Broad-street, on the site now occupied by the Reform monument, and Baron Bailie Thomas Arbuthnot, the Earl Marischal's factor, was the leading spirit of the ceremony.

This whole-hearted Jacobite fervour of the inhabitants made it safe ground for Jacobite sympathisers in France and elsewhere to touch and possibly dictated the now historic landing on Scottish soil of the Chevalier de St. George, the Old Pretender, or King James III., as he was variously called. Even as early as 1708, when only twenty years of age, he had thoughts of landing on the Buchan coast; several papers found in 1837 in a secret drawer at Slains Castle indicate this purpose, but it was not until 1715 that he ultimately arrived. He came after the Jacobite army under the Earl of Mar had taken the field, after the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought, and while the troops were suffering from the inaction of divided counsels. Louis XIV. had died at a critical moment in the fortunes of the Stuart House, and not only was the Chevalier's landing inauspicious at the very outset, but it was also quite without influence upon the course of the military campaign.

Late on the night of the 22nd of December, 1715, O.S., the Chevalier arrived off Peterhead from Dunkirk "in a very small fishing barck, with only two servants," or, as other accounts have it, five or six gentlemen. Deeming it at first unsafe to land in the town, the little vessel, well armed and with a cargo of brandy, crept along the shore and attempted to run up the river Ugie. But "the night was wet an' late the tide," so throwing all caution to the winds, a landing was effected at the old pier of Port Henry Haven. The distinguished

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visitor was graciously received by Bailie Arbuthnot and lodged overnight in the character of a naval officer in the house of his son-in-law, Captain Park, at the south or Broad-street end of the Longate. This old house, which latterly belonged to a Mr. James Annand, was not demolished till the beginning of last century, when it was taken down and rebuilt by the proprietor.

Several anecdotes are preserved of the Chevalier's visit to Peterhead. The mother of Dr. William Bruce, an old naval surgeon who practised in his native Peterhead as a doctor about the opening of the nineteenth century, conspicuously figures in one of them. She was closely related to the Arbuthnots, and consequently a staunch Jacobite. Devoured with a desire to see the "King," she "put on the servant's mob-cap and apron, carried into the parlour a cup of chocolate, and saw the rightful heir of Britain's throne standing with his cocked hat pulled over his eyes in deep despondency before the fire." It is further told of James that "after his return to France he wrote letters to his Peterhead friends, and astonished them by saying that he was willing to give his cousin, the Elector of Hanover, called George I., a retiring allowance, and the nominal title of Sovereign over Great Britain and Ireland." This, however, may well be doubted; it is of a piece with the assertion made by Peter Buchan that the Chevalier was privately visited by his ally, the Earl Marischal, in Peterhead, which could hardly be seeing that the latter and his brother were both with the Jacobite army in the south; indeed, Earl Marischal first met his King on Scottish soil at Fetteresso Castle.

There is still preserved in the Arbuthnot Museum a copy of a letter written in Peterhead by the Chevalier on the night of his arrival in Scotland. We are left to conjecture who received it, but it is believed to have been written to Bolingbroke, at that time by force of circumstances a Jacobite and a citizen of Paris.

Peterhead Dec. 22nd 1715.

I am at last thank God in my own ancient kingdom as the bearer will tell you with all the particulars of my passage and his own proposals of future service.—I wrote the queen the news I have gott and gave a line to the agent in attendant that I send you from the army a letter from my friends to whom I am going to-morrow.—I find things in a prosperous way and hope all will go well. If friends on your side do their part as I

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have done mine. My compliments to —— tell him the good news I
cant write to him for I am weary and won't delay a moment the bearer.

J. R.

A local Jacobite song—"My Mantle"—celebrates the landing of the Old Chevalier at Peterhead, and gives some account of his reception there. It was sung for many years in the neighbouring parishes of St. Fergus and Crimond as a New Year and Christmas pater. "I cannot say," writes Peter Buchan in 1825 in an editorial note to this song in his *Gleanings of Scarce Old Ballads*, "that it possesses much merit ; but, as a local piece, I was fond of giving it a place, particularly when everything relative to the unfortunate House of Stuart is sought after with such avidity, and held in such estimation ; and, to some of the Stuart's votaries, what will no doubt be a strong recommendation is, that this note was written upon the identical table at which James VIII. eat his first diet of meat on his landing in Scotland, as it is now in the possession of the Editor."

Here begins this guid New Year,
My mantle, my mantle ;
Guid bless a' that's present here,
My mantle's on the green hay.

Oor maut-gaugers they're bit loons,
My mantle, my mantle,
They herrie the country an' borrow touns,
My mantle's on the green hay.

They tax the country verra snell,
My mantle, my mantle,
As they were officers frae hell,
My mantle's on the green hay.

King James is land't at Peterheid,
My mantle, my mantle,
An honour great to us indeed,
My mantle's on the green hay.

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The night was wet an' late the tide,
My mantle, my mantle,
He couldna unto Ugie ride,
My mantle's on the green hay.

He slept a night in oor guid toun,
My mantle, my mantle,
Upon a guid saft bed o' doon,
My mantle's on the green hay.

In the morning when he raise,
My mantle, my mantle,
The Marischal's Bailie brushed his claithes,
My mantle's on the green hay.

He sought neither horse nor steed,
My mantle, my mantle,
But the auld mare carried John Reid,
My mantle's on the green hay.

He's come to set auld Scotland free,
My mantle, my mantle,
Frae cursed Hanover tyranny,
My mantle's on the green hay.

Them that does not wish him weel,
My mantle, my mantle,
May Highland clans wi' German steel
Lay their mantles on the green hay.

Although a victim of ague at the time, the Chevalier remained only one night at Peterhead. On the morning of the 23rd he left the town on horseback. It is said he rode along the Longate, past Buchanhaven, and so west by the old turnpike that skirted the south bank of the river Ugie, to Inverugie Castle, on a flying visit to the widowed Lady Keith. Certain it is he passed the next night at Newburgh, thus in the course of a few hours severing for ever his connection with Buchan and its capital. In ill health, in disguise,

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accompanied only by a handful of horsemen, he came to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his House, but

The nicht was wet, an' late the tide.

Peterhead played a less important part in the '45. Several of its leading inhabitants were "out," but the Keith influence was a tradition already a generation old. Yet the town ranked with Aberdeen, Stonehaven, and Montrose as one of the four chief Jacobite seaports; and in January, 1746, Admiral Byng's squadron with its base in Leith Roads endeavoured to patrol or blockade the entire Eastern coast from the Firth of Forth to Peterhead, and later as far as the Moray Firth, in order to prevent supplies reaching the Highland army in retreat. But the dozen or fifteen vessels which he had at command could not do it. Several ships from France and Spain arrived in the harbour with troops and arms for the Jacobites. On November 27, 1745, the Reverend John Bisset, the famous Whig minister of Aberdeen, wrote in his diary¹ that "300 French are landed at Peterhead"; and on the 27th of January, 1746, "a French ship came into Peterhead with money and arms, three or four French officers, and some gentlemen." . . . "The above mentioned French ship at Peterhead is now called a Spanish ship." She was, in fact, a Spanish privateer in the Jacobite service, and she succeeded in landing at Peterhead nine tons of gunpowder, three chests of money, and several chests of small arms. The whole cargo was well on the road to Montrose by land before Captain Balfour, of H.M.S. *Bridgewater*, stirred. He captured, it is true, the empty ship and burned her after removing her captain and crew of 35 men.

In this connection the following extract from a letter written by Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the second Duke of Gordon and Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Banff and Aberdeen under the Jacobite *regime*, to James Moir, laird of Stonywood, may be read. It is dated from Huntly Castle, 31st October, 1745:—

You may believe it gives me the greatest satisfaction the arival of so many ships from France; there is one landed at Peterhead with arms and money which will oblidge you, or some person you can confide in, to go to that place with such a partie as you can raise, and forward the armes,

¹ *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*. Aberdeen. 1841.

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military stores, and money to such places as you can find proper officers that have power to receive, and forward them, as no time must be lost of haveing the whole transported to Dunkeld. Be sure to have the French officer well used, and if they have letters for any of the gentlemen at the Princes Court, let them be forwarded, per express, to Perth, and from that Lord Strathallan will forward them to Edinburgh; if any more ships is arived, you must be diligent and carefull to have cargos, and gentlemen forwarded as above.

It is not certain whether Moir himself went to Peterhead to superintend the unloading of this vessel; that he raised a company for carrying out the work there is little reason to doubt. Immediately after the failure of the Rising the following men were charged with being rebels, for assisting in the "unloading the Spanish ship at Peterhead":—Willaim Baird, silk dyer; John Cristal, wright; George Steill, merchant;—all of Aberdeen; David Cristal, wright; William Edward, shoemaker; James Moir, shoemaker;—all of Old Aberdeen; and William Findlater, shoemaker, Spittal; in all, seven men. None of the Peterhead Jacobites were accused of rendering assistance in the work of unloading. On the 21st of February a ship of 150 tons, flying French colours and carrying money and arms, touched at Aberdeen on her way to Peterhead; and later in the campaign the French garrison of Montrose, to the number of 700 men, baulked of an escape thence by sea owing to Byng's vigilance, were compelled to march to Aberdeen and afterwards to Peterhead.

On the 17th of March, 1746, the coast division of the Jacobite army under the command of Lord George Murray reached the neighbourhood of Keith in its retreat northward. The parole for the 17th and 18th was "Mareschal and Peterhead." In less than a month afterwards Culloden was fought and lost; and during the summer of 1746 a Hanoverian cavalry regiment overran Buchan from its headquarters at Peterhead. Aberdeenshire as a pronounced Jacobite county received in hiding many of the most prominent leaders of the defeated rebel army. A party of twelve or thirteen persons, including Lord Ogilvy of Airlie and Hunter of Burnside, after skulking some time in Buchan, got a vessel which conveyed them to Bergen in Norway. It is believed that those gentlemen remained for a long time in hiding on the bents of St. Fergus, but at last got abroad from Peterhead.

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This, however, is little more than tradition ; but one at least of the Jacobite leaders is definitely known to have got safely away from the town. He was the young and talented Lord Lewis Gordon, who after hiding for several weeks in a peat-stack embarked on a vessel which sailed one night from our harbour. He died abroad ; useless and unheeded was the touching appeal—

O send Lewie Gordon hame,
An' the lad I daurna name ;
Though his back be at the wa',
Here's to him that's far awa' !

The intimate associations of the Keith family with Peterhead debar us from regarding any members of that noble house simply as visitors to the town, but the last occasion on which the future Prussian Field-Marshal was in his ancestral borough may be noted if only for its melancholy setting. The little-known Jacobite rising of 1719 was the last time the Keiths of Inverugie took up arms for the Stuarts. The abortive insurrection was started by the landing of several hundred Spaniards on the West coast of Scotland. James Keith, leaving Havre in a small vessel with some Jacobite friends whom he had induced to come with him, after narrowly escaping the English fleet, found his brother with the Spanish troops at Stornoway. "Their attempt," says Dr. John Hill Burton, "led to the incident in history called the Battle of Glenshiel. The project was acutely conceived. It was intended that, while Ormond landed with a large expedition in England, the little body of Spaniards and Scottish Jacobites should march through the glens and surprise Inverness ; but an unexpected attack by Wightman with a superior force, on the borders of the wild Loch Duich, crushed the attempt at its opening." The battle was not in itself decisive, but news having arrived of the failure of Ormond's expedition, next morning, after a consultation, the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war "on condition their baggage shou'd not be plunder'd, and everybody else took the road he liked best. As I was then," writes the younger Keith in his interesting memoirs,¹ "sick of a feavour, I was forced to lurck some months in the mountains, and in the beginning of September having got a ship, I embarked at Peterhead, and 4 days after landed in Hollande at the Texel, and

¹ *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith, written by himself, 1714-1734.* Published by the Spalding Club. Edinburgh. 1843. P. 52.

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from thence, with the Earl Marischal, went to the Hague." Never again was the future Marshal to revisit his birthplace, nor even to return to his native country.

The last visit of his elder brother to Buchan, forty years later, was even more pathetic. On the 25th of May, 1759, his attainder was reversed by the British Parliament, and in 1760 he made what has been described as a triumphal tour through Britain. When he arrived in Edinburgh he was received with great distinction and given the freedom of the city. "Wherever his Lordship went," says a contemporary record, "his presence diffused such a joy as might naturally be expected on the appearance of so worthy a representative of so illustrious and ancient a family, after an absence of nearly half a century." About the time of his pardon, too, the Earl had the good fortune to succeed to the estate of Kintore, which had been preserved in a collateral branch of the family by an entail. Afterwards he set about re-possessing himself of Inverugie, and in 1761 purchased the estate of St. Fergus from the Trustees of the York Building Company for £12,620 10s. On the 23rd of February, 1764, writing to Hume, the historian, Earl Marischal says:—"I am now laird of Inverugie. I bought my estate farthest north. There was no bidder against me, and great applause of the spectators." It is believed that he intended to shelter his vitriolic friend, Jean Jacques Rousseau, at Inverugie Castle; but before any arrangements could be made, Rousseau had changed his mind. Had he accepted by any chance the Earl's hospitality Buchan would have had no stranger visitor.

After an absence of almost fifty years, Earl Marischal resolved to revisit Inverugie. "Notice of this had reached Peterhead, and everything in and around the little town wore a gay aspect. Preparations were made for a grand banquet in the Keith Mason Lodge, previous to which an address of welcome was to be read before the assembled multitude in Broad-street. When word was brought that the carriage was in sight, the town's folk formed in line, headed by the Magistrates, and marched out to meet their illustrious visitor." In that vast crowd of welcome, two faces only were familiar to the old Earl—Mr. Forbes, one of his old companions, and Mrs. Gordon, his old nurse, bent with age and feeble in her step. Truly, a sad home-coming it was! "The carriage, accompanied by the Peterheadians and the farmers from St.

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Fergus, dressed in their Sunday clothes and mounted on horseback, moved slowly towards the town. When it was drawn up and Mr. Forbes read the address of welcome, the immense crowd hurrahed and cheered in such a manner as Peterhead had never seen before. Deeply affected, the Earl stood in his carriage scarcely able to utter a word." But a still more mournful task was before him—the visit to Inverugie. Attended by an immense crowd, and escorted by the St. Fergus farmers as a guard of honour, he set out for the Castle. As he proceeded, the people gathered from every quarter to give him hearty welcome and to testify their joy at his return. One old man near the Collieburn became so mad with joy that he set fire to his house, for the purpose, he said, of making a bonfire in the Earl's honour, and threw some gold, with which he was to pay his rent, on the top of it, declaring he "wid thack his hoose wi' gowd." Near the Collieburn he met one who had been a companion in many a day's ramble—Mr. Fraser of Mains of Inverugie. He did not recognise him until he heard his name, on which he grasped the farmer warmly by the hand, and chatted about old times and the various places they passed. It took a long time to reach Waterside, from which the first proper view of the Castle is obtained; the old turnpike, unlike the new, was low-lying all the way from Peterhead to this point, fringing as it did the south bank of the river Ugie. As the Castle came in sight the Earl gazed upon it as one does on the changed face of a friend in order that he may make out some familiar feature. There it was against the evening sky—roofless and tenantless. For a few moments the last of the Keiths stood up in the carriage, his eyes fixed on his deserted hall and desolate hearth; and then in tones of intense grief, expressing himself in English and French, he hastily exclaimed, "Stay the voyage! Stay the voyage!" The place where these words were uttered was known as Steadyvage for many years—so profound an impression did his words make upon those who heard him. The command to return was a poignant cry that lived.

He never saw Inverugie towers again. His secretary, sent to investigate the condition of the place, found it completely in ruins. Earl Marischal accordingly gave up all idea of repairing it, and shortly afterwards sold it to an ancestor of the present proprietor. Influenced, too, by the urgent appeals of his close friend, Frederick the Great, he returned to Berlin and spent the evening of his long and honourable life there.

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Two minor Jacobite poets came to Peterhead in their closing years. One, Smith by name, after following the fortunes of Prince Charles Edward Stuart at Culloden and elsewhere, settled in Peterhead as a violin player; the other, William Meston, erstwhile Professor of Philosophy at Marischal College and the Jacobite Governor of Dunnottar Castle for a season, is said to have died "in straits and poverty" in his poor lodging in the Longate. He came to Peterhead for a reason which in the declining years of his life was attracting people to the town from all over the Kingdom.

This was the medicinal qualities of its mineral springs. During the greater portion of the eighteenth century the flower of the Scottish nobility flocked every July and August to "the waters of Peterhead," while humbler folk betook themselves to "the waals o' Macduff." A gallant company of brave gentlemen and fair ladies they were; and if few among them reached really first rank in history, most were notable figures in their day and generation. The famous Duchess of Gordon held court here; within quite recent years there were people living in Peterhead who remembered seeing her lodging at the New Inn. One of the windows of the old pump room still keeps, it is said, an original pane of glass with the names of the belles and reigning toasts of successive seasons scratched on it by diamond rings. Beattie, the author of *The Minstrel*, and his family, were regular visitors; he was looked upon as the leader in learning and wit. His delicate consumptive son, James Hay Beattie, who, before his nineteenth year, was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the University of Aberdeen, stayed every summer for the benefit of his health in the house of the Rev. Dr. Laing in Chapel-street. Learned divines and doctors of different schools and faiths, "ladies and gentlemen of all ranks and titles, senators, philosophers, military officers, clergy and merchants"—to quote an historian of 1793—were among the jovial company of water-drinkers. Dancing, dicing, chess-playing, card-playing, cock-fighting, golf and cricket, and shooting with the long bow on the Links were the pastimes favoured by this society of a hundred years ago. Every Friday evening a gentlemen's card-party, called "The Club," met in the Ship Tavern in Broad-street, an inn then famous for keeping the best London porter, and now known to us as the Sun Inn. Musical parties were frequent at the house of the parish minister—and altogether the town must have been a gay little place when the Second and Third George were on the throne.

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Two men of world-wide reputation appeared on the scene. The first was at the time of his visit all but unknown to fame. He was a young man twenty-four years of age, considerably over six feet in height, with narrow shoulders, limbs long and awkward. His receding forehead and slightly turned-up and pointed nose formed the obtuse angle or "flap of an envelope," to which his profile has been often compared. His complexion was sallow and muddy, and red hair of the most uncompromising shade set off in striking contrast a pair of bright and eager blue eyes. Although only twenty-four he was already the seasoned soldier of seven campaigns, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army of His Majesty King George II. He had fought in the Low Countries and also at Culloden under the Duke of Cumberland. But, the fighting over, he found regimental life in Scotland monotonous and confined; even flirting with Jacobite ladies proved uninteresting; and the harsh climate of the North little agreed with his delicate frame. A winter of debauch in London further weakened him, and when he rejoined his regiment at Banff in the spring of 1751, he was on the verge of a physical collapse. In these circumstances he came for a fortnight to Peterhead to try the waters, but "without any good effect," says one of his biographers.¹ Possibly so; but none the less he found the company of water-drinkers there agreeable to his social instincts, and of the ladies he wrote quite charmingly to his mother in the south. A letter to his mother, dated "Peterhead, 19 *July*, 1751," is followed by another from the same place and dated "*July* 29, 1751," written to his father, in the course of which he says:—"The mineral water here is famous for the cure of gravel, I can attest its virtue, as I have found great relief from it; I can't say it agrees with me in other respects so well. I leave this place in a few days and return to Banff The weather is sometimes as cold as it is in England in the month of November: I could not have imagined that the climate in any part of this island could be so severe: this is the most eastern point of Scotland." A subsequent letter to his mother, dated from Banff on the 12th of August, tells us frankly what he thought of Peterhead and its people. "Dear Madam," he writes, "I came back from Peterhead much better satisfied with the entertainment I found there, than with the famous mineral water. I drank it for near three weeks with some success as to the principal complaint, but soon

¹ A. G. Bradley.

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found it affected me very violently in the lungs and stomach, and left me a fixed pain in my breast that alarmed me a little, but it begins now to weaken and wear away. I consulted a physician of reputed knowledge, who advises soap, a certain sort of diet and moderate exercise ; to all which I can easily conform, and much more than this, if required, rather than endure pain ; my temper of mind is not fashioned for much suffering ; patience is not the leading virtue there. I should tell you how well I have been diverted and how much I have been obliged to your sex for many cheerful hours ; in general, there were women of good understanding, others of great vivacity and others very handsome ; so that a man could not fail to be pleased with such variety to choose out of ; and for my part, I always think a pretty maid either has all the other beauties or does not want them.”¹ Other than these facts no record of his visit remains ; and some years ago when I stood before his monument on the battlefield of the Plains of Abraham and read that inspired line—“ Here fell Wolfe victorious,” it was difficult for me to realise how few were the years that separated Peterhead from Quebec and yet how distant in other respects were the unities of space and place.

Robert Burns was another famous visitor of the eighteenth century. In the course of his Highland tour in 1787 he was at Banff, on Saturday, September 8th. He breakfasted there, and then set out, presumably on horseback, across Buchan. “ Quite wild as we come through Buchan to Old Deer,” he wrote in his diary, “ but near the village both lands and crops rich-lie.”² Obviously he stayed overnight at Old Deer, and the following morning—Sunday—set out for Peterhead, about which town he has no comment to make. Perhaps he drank the waters and possibly something stronger ; but seemingly neither inspired his muse. The same day he turned south and shook the dust of Buchan from his feet with a hearsay reflection on the morals of the county at large. It was only after reaching Aberdeen he learned to his intense disappointment that when going from Old Deer to Peterhead he was within a mile or so of the home of the venerable author of *Tullochgorum*, whom he could have seen.

¹ *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe*. By Beckles Willson. London : William Heinemann. 1909. Pp. 148-151.

² *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*. Edited by Robert Chambers. Revised by William Wallace. Edinburgh : W. & R. Chambers, Ltd. 1896. Vol. II., pp. 172-174.

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There is no record of a visit of Sir Walter Scott to the town, although tradition is very insistent that he had been there and had lived in a house on the School Brae (now Charlotte-street), or in Lodge Walk. That *The Bride of Lanmermoor* draws its inspiration from the scenes around the mouth of the Ugie must be regretfully dismissed, as also must be the claim that *St. Ronan's Well* owes its inception to this Northern Spa; but that the great Wizard of the North did see Peterhead at least once we have it on his own testimony. He passed it while on board the Lighthouse yacht, and this record is to be found in his diary (already quoted) under date July 31, 1814: "Pass Peterhead, dimly distinguishing two steeples and a good many masts."¹ The steeples are the same we know to-day.

Another visitor about whose coming there is much doubt is Gladstone, who in early life is said to have spent one night in Peterhead. Tradition, widely supported, asserts that he slept in the house above what is still familiarly called "old George Barclay's shop" in the Kirk-square; and so thoroughly was this visit believed in that Mr. Barclay, before the end of his life, evidently satisfied of its truth, rechristened the building Gladstone House. Why Mr. Gladstone should come to Peterhead is not quite clear—but such a doubt is unpatriotic.

The new spirit of learning which so distinguished the nineteenth century accounted for not a few noteworthy visitors to our coasts. The famous geologist, Hutton, saw granite for the first time at Peterhead and Aberdeen, and his *Theory of the Earth*, published in 1788, was a revelation to the scientific circles of his day. Hugh Miller, many years later, also spent some days in and around Peterhead, exploring the geological formation of the seashore. On the 5th of August, 1864, Professor Huxley was a visitor during the course of his Scottish tour; and the well-known naturalist, Frank Buckland, was for some time in the town, and was in correspondence with the late Captain David Gray over whale and seal fishing matters. For several years Coast-guardsmen Peach, whose life is so fully described in Dr. Smiles's *Robert Dick*, was stationed in Peterhead, and employed his leisure in watching the habits of fish which he kept captive in pools among the rocks—knowledge which he placed at the disposal of his more famous friend, the Thurso geologist. The

¹ Lockhart's *Life*. Vol. IV., p. 165.

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work of harbour making, extending as it did over many years, brought great engineers to the town—Smeaton, Rennie, and the Stevensons. It is doubtful, however, if ever the beloved R. L. S. was in our midst. Oscar Wilde, Sir Henry Stanley, George Macdonald, have been among the lecturers who have addressed Peterhead audiences. William Thom, the weaver poet of Inverurie, visited the town for several summers to dispose of his wares in Broad-street, and descendants of his are here with us to-day. George Gilfillan, when he came to Peterhead to lecture or to preach in the old “Brae Kirk,” was accustomed to stay with the writer’s grandfather; and it was the practice of the younger members of the household, when the worthy divine had retired to rest, to put on his boots and brag at school next day that they had stood “in George Gilfillan’s shoes”!

Arctic explorers have brought their vessels into the bay before disappearing into the silence of the northern latitudes, and probably the most famous of all these expeditions was the ill-fated company that sailed into the unknown with Sir John Franklin. Some Peterhead men were members of his crew, and grim relics of the expedition may be seen in the Arbuthnot Museum to-day. It was on a Saturday in May, 1845, that the *Terror* and *Erebus* passed Peterhead on their way northward; and on the Monday following the *Enterprise* sailed from our port for the whaling grounds. On the 26th of July, 1845, the *Enterprise* was the last vessel to see the expedition, in Melville Bay.

About 1856 Prince Napoleon, a cousin of Napoleon III., landed at Peterhead *en route* for Iceland, Greenland, and the Davis Straits, the object of his expedition being scientific. The yacht *Reine Hortense* took on board a Peterhead ice-master (Arbuthnot), and the tender, the *Coctye*, another Peterhead man (Allan) in a similar capacity.

Fourteen years later, during the momentous summer of 1870, Prince Napoleon returned on the Imperial yacht *Jerome Napoleon*, on his way to explore the Spitzbergen coastline. The yacht dropped into the bay on Tuesday morning, July 5, with a distinguished company of scientific and literary men on board. Foremost among these was Ernest Renan. The French Consul, Mr. Keith Forbes, was immediately communicated with; and a little before 6 o’clock the same evening the Prince and his suite landed and walked through the town to the railway station, where they took train for Aberdeen. Carriages

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had been engaged to convey the party to the station, but the Prince, being anxious to view the statue of Field-Marshal Keith, erected since his former visit to the town, as also the portrait of Earl Marischal in the Townhouse, walked on foot. The party closely inspected the statue, which had only been put up two years before; visited the Town Hall; and then left for the station. From Aberdeen, where Wednesday was spent, His Imperial Highness and suite proceeded to Inverness; thence he returned to Banff, drove across the country to New Maud (now Maud Junction), and arrived once more in Peterhead by the 4.15 train on Thursday afternoon, July 7. Many people, we are told in a contemporary account, turned out to see these visitors. Renan, of course, was the uneasy attraction. One of the two local papers (*Buchan Observer*) was then edited by Mr. James Annand, who afterwards became the Member of Parliament for East Aberdeenshire; and his reporter (perhaps himself) is allowed a picturesque latitude in describing the distinguished Frenchmen. "Renan," we read, "is a rather elderly man, say 60 years, stoops slightly, and has a Scotch appearance. He is best described by the word 'mannie.' The Prince is stout, has the Napoleonic nose and chin, and altogether looks a hearty although rather stern gentleman." The visitors again walked through the town; a boat from the steamer was waiting them in the harbour; and the vessel sailed soon afterwards, taking with her Mr. Alexander Gray, formerly chief officer of the Peterhead whaler *Eclipse*. They left on the evening of the 7th July; and at Tromsø, in Norway, where the yacht next touched, was received what Renan prophetically calls "the dismal telegram informing us that war was certain and would be immediate." The tour was abandoned—France had need of them in her hour of crisis.

Renan himself has left a brief account of this visit to Aberdeenshire. Writing to his old friend, Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, at that time M.P. for the Elgin Burghs, on the 19th of August of that year, he says: "Vous avez su peut-être qu'il y a six semaines, j'ai fait une petite tournée en Ecosse, à Aberdeen, à Inverness, à Banff, avec le Prince Napoleon. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que j'ai beaucoup songé à vous, et que nombre de fois je me suis informé si vous n'étiez pas dans ces parages. Le prince aussi desirait beaucoup vous connaître."*

* *Ernest Renan: In Memoriam.* By the Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893. P. 80.

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The events so full of national tragedy and national humiliation which rapidly followed upon that visit to Peterhead must have coloured their impression of the town and coast, and it is more than probable that Prince Napoleon's recollections of Peterhead are reflected in an article on "Les Derniers Stuarts," which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of June 1st, 1875, and as the "impressions et pensees d'une Reine" is attributed to the Queen of Holland. Thus she describes in biting phrase this landing place of the Old Chevalier: "La triste grève de Peterhead, devenue aujourd'hui le rendezvous de ceux qui s'embarquent pour les navigations boréales, a déjà les aspects mélancoliques, les lignes fuyantes la verdure sombre des rivages polaires. Le prétendant, en touchant cette baie funèbre, put croire descendre chez les morts. L'aspect de la patrie lui dit peu de chose; rien ne put l'élever au-dessus de son naturel étroit et défiant." This is a picture drawn with a heavy heart, but with relentless faithfulness. "The sad shore of Peterhead" it is likely ever to remain, yet for all those brought up within sound of its sea's complaining, it holds a wistful charm that lures them homeward.

J. T. F.

CHAPTER VI.

Fraserburgh : Its Foundation and History.

FRASERBURGH is the second largest town in Buchan, and rivals—and very nearly approaches—the “capital,” Peterhead, in population and commercial importance. Like Peterhead, too, it occupies a prominent position on the coast, being situated at the extreme north-eastern corner, at the point where the coast line turns abruptly westward and the spacious Moray Firth opens out. Much more appropriately, indeed, than the “old University town between the Don and the Dee,” may Fraserburgh be described as

Looking out on the cold North Sea,

for it is built on its very edge and faces a large expanse of water to west and north and east.

Proximity to the ocean has rendered much of the adjacent country treeless and bleak, resulting in a monotonous landscape that would be depressing were it not counterbalanced by the keenness of the prevailing winds, the tang of which stirs the blood and is a potent factor in contributing to the physical vigour and mental power of the inhabitants. But this proximity to the ocean, nevertheless, has been the making of Fraserburgh, which has prospered greatly by the rich harvest of the sea. Doubtless, fishing has been prosecuted here from the earliest times, and of recent years it has grown into a large and profitable industry.

The situation of Fraserburgh must have made its selection as a shipping and fishing place inevitable, even at a remote period. Little is known of its early history, but that it has a respectable antiquity is abundantly evident. As its name implies, it is called after the Frasers—the Frasers of Philorth—who for centuries have been the dominant family of the neighbourhood. These Frasers are descended from Sir Alexander Fraser of Touch-Fraser, in Stirlingshire, who was Lord Chamberlain of Scotland in the second quarter of the fourteenth century (1325-32), and had for spouse a sister of King Robert the

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Bruce (see section iv., chapter iii.—“Some Old Families”). His grandson, also a Sir Alexander Fraser, married Johanna, second daughter of William, Earl of Ross, and received the lands of Philorth in satisfaction of his wife’s claims as heir-portioner of the earldom. These lands had formed a part of the ancient earldom of Buchan, which, on the final overthrow of the Comyns, was divided by Bruce among his friends and followers, one of them being the Earl of Ross. They comprised very considerable portions of the present parishes of Fraserburgh (formerly called Philorth), Rathen, Pitsligo, Aberdour, Tyrie, and Strichen, the Philorth estates to-day being a mere fragment of the once vast possessions of the Frasers.

The town of Fraserburgh—which originally bore the name of Faithlie—owes its foundation and much of its early development to two lairds of Philorth, the seventh and eighth, both of them named Sir Alexander Fraser, the eighth being the grandson of the seventh, his father (who died without succeeding to the estates), having married Beatrix Keith, daughter of Robert Keith, Master of Marischal. Sir Alexander, the seventh laird, constructed “a convenient harbour” at Faithlie, and received a charter from Queen Mary, dated 2 November 1546, erecting the place into a free burgh of barony:—

CHARTER ERECTING FAITHLIE A BURGH OF BARONY, 1546.

Apud Sanctandros, 2 Novembris 1546.

REGINA &c.,—quia Alexander Fraser de Phillorth, pro ejus vicinorum infra vicecomitatum de Abirdene commorantium commodo, portum versus mare infra terras suas de Faythlie, vicecomitatu Abirdene, in quo naves et cimbe per tempestates invase refugium habere possent, construxerat—pro bono servitio dicti Alexandri inde et aliusmodi impenso, et pro hospitacione &c., creavit VILLAM DE FAITHLIE—in liberum burgum baronie;—concedendo inhabitantibus potestatem emendi et vendendi &c., et ut essent burgenses, et ballivos &c. annuatim eligerent, ac tenerent crucem foralem et fora ebdomidatim diebus Lune et Sabbati, cum liberis nundinis annuatim ad festa Sancti Michaelis archangeli et Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et per eorundem octavas, cum tollis &c. :—TESTIBUS *ut in aliis cartis* &c.
 (“Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. Regnante Maria.” No. 25. Vol. 1546-1580, p. 5.)

(Translation.)

At St. Andrews, 2nd November 1546.

The Queen, etc. Whereas Alexander Fraser of Phillorth for the convenience

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of his neighbours dwelling within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen has built a harbour upon the sea shore within his lands of Faythlie in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen in which ships and vessels overtaken by storms may be able to find refuge, doth for the good service thus and otherwise rendered by the said Alexander, and for the purposes of hospitality, etc., erect the town of Faithlie into a free burgh of barony; granting to the inhabitants the power of buying and selling etc., and that there may be burgesses and bailies, etc. annually elected, and that they may have a market cross and weekly markets every Monday and Saturday, with free yearly fairs at the feasts of Michaelmas and St. John the Baptist to endure for eight days, with tolls, etc. Witnesses as in other charters, &c.

The succeeding Sir Alexander Fraser not only inherited the ambitious designs of his grandfather, but had still more ambitious plans of his own. On coming into possession of the lands of Philorth in 1569, he "began to build a large and beautiful town at Faithlie," laid the foundation of the "Tower of Kynnairdshead, since called the Castle of Fraserburgh," erected a church, improved the harbour, and "continued to beautifie and enlarge the town in publick buildings and fine streets." (Crawford's "Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland," quoted in the "View of the Diocese of Aberdeen.") A charter of reinfestment in his lands, which he obtained from James VI. on 9 April 1588, contained a grant of novodamus erecting Faithlie into a free port and burgh of barony. It was in the following terms:—

CHARTER OF RE-ERECTION, 1588.

Apud Halyrudhous, 9 Aprilis 1588.

REX confirmavit et, pro bono servitio, de novo dedit ALEXANDRO FRASER de Phillorth, heredibus ejus et assignatis quibuscunque,—terras et baroniam de Phillorth, terras de Abirdour, vicecomitatu de Abirdene; terras de Tibertie et Utelaw, vicecomitatu de Banff; omnes in baroniam de Phillorth ab antiquo unitas; terras de Scattertie cum piscariis, terras de Faithlie et Tyrie, cum portu de Faithlie ac villa et burgo baronie ejusdem, in baronia de Kinedwart, vicecomitatu de Abirdene; terras de Kirktoon-Tyrie, in baronia de Abirdour, vicecomitatu de Abirdene; cum castris, maneriis, molendinis, silvis, piscariis, tenentibus, &c.;—quas idem Alexander resignavit:—INSUPER rex de novo erexit VILIAM DE FAITHLIE in liberum burgum baronie, cum libero portu; cum potestate dictis Alexandro &c ballivos et alios officarios eligendi et deponendi pro rationabilibus causis; cum potestate burgensibus ad *lie pak*, peill, emendum et vendendum &c.; cum potestate dictis Alexandro &c. habendi pretorium, crucem foralem, fora heptomadatim die Lune et die Sabbati, cum

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liberis nundinis bis in anno, viz. S. Michaelis archangeli et S. Joannis Baptiste, cum privilegio cujuscunque nundine forum tenendi pro 8 diebus, ac custumis earundem, ac parvas customas portus dicti burgi, tam per mare quam terram, levandi, pro intertenemento dicti burgi et sustentatione dicti portus; cum potestate dictis Alexandri &c. resignationes terrarum &c. infra dictum burgum recipiendi, easdem quibuscunque personis concedendi, curias burgales die Lune, die Mercurii, die Veneris statuendi:—PRETEREA rex omnes dictas terras &c. in liberam baroniam de Phillorth incorporavit, castrum de Phillorth principale ejus messuagium ordinando; et,—per bonam experientiam prudentie dicti Alexandri et de ardente ejus zelo in propagationem Evangelii,—advocationem rectoriarum et vicariarum ecclesiarum parochialium de Phillorth, Tyrie et Cremond, in diocesi de Abirdene, cum omnibus capellaniis et prebendis altaragiorum infra dictas ecclesias, ad dictam baroniam univit:—REDDENDO annuatim pro dicta antiqua baronia 3 sectas ad 3 placita capitalia vicecomitatus de Abirdene; pro Scattertie 3 sectas ad 3 placita capitalia dicti vicecomitatus ac wardam, &c.; pro Feithlie et Tyrie servitium debitum et consuetum; ac pro dictis portu et burgo unum denarium, pro Kirktown-Tyrie unam rosam, pro dicta advocacione unum denarium nomine albe firme:—TESTIBUS *ut in aliis cartis*, &c. (“Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. Regnante Jacobo Sexto.” No. 1526. Vol. 1580-1593, p. 524.)

(Translation.)

At Holyroodhouse, 9th April 1588.

The King confirms and for good service of new grants to Alexander Fraser of Phillorth and his heirs and assignees whomsoever the lands and barony of Phillorth and the lands of Aberdour in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen and the lands of Tibertie and Utelaw in the sheriffdom of Banff, all of old united into the Barony of Phillorth; the lands of Scattertie, with the fishings, the lands of Faithlie and Tyrie with the harbour of Faithlie and the town and burgh of barony thereof in the barony of Kinedwart and sheriffdom of Aberdeen; and the lands of Kirktown Tyrie in the barony of Aberdour and sheriffdom of Aberdeen, with castles, manor-places, woods, fishings, tenents, etc., which the said Alexander resigned: Moreover the King of new erects the town of Faithlie into a free burgh of barony with a free harbour; with power to the said Alexander, etc., to elect bailies and other officials and to depose them for reasonable causes; and with power to the burgesses to “pak, peill,” buy and sell, etc.; with power also to the said Alexander, etc., to have a tolbooth, market cross, weekly markets on Monday and Saturday and free fairs twice in the year, namely at the feasts of Michaelmas and St. John the Baptist with the privilege of holding each fair for eight days and of collecting the tolls thereof and the small customs of the port of the said burgh both by sea and land for

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the maintenance of the said burgh and support of the said harbour ; with power likewise to the said Alexander, etc., to receive resignations of lands, etc. within the said burgh and of granting the same to any persons, and of holding burgh courts on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays : Moreover the King incorporates the whole lands foresaid, etc., into the free barony of Phillorth and appoints the Castle of Phillorth to be the principal messuage thereof ; And from the good experience he has of the prudence of the said Alexander and the ardent zeal he has for the propagation of the gospel the King unites to the said barony the advocation of the rectories and vicarages of the parish churches of Phillorth, Tyrie and Cremond in the diocese of Aberdeen with all chaplainries and prebends of altarages within the said churches : Paying annually for the said ancient barony three suits at the three head pleas of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen ; for Scattertie three suits at the three head courts of the said sheriffdom of Aberdeen, and ward, etc. ; for Faithlie and Tyrie the customary service ; for the said harbour and burgh one penny ; for Kirktoun Tyrie one rose, and for the said advocation one penny in name of blench farm. Witnesses as in other charters etc.

Another charter was granted on 1 July 1592, creating Faithlie a burgh of regality with a free port, “ and ordaining that the same shall in all time coming be called the burgh and port of Fraser ” ; and by a third charter, dated 4 April 1601, James VI. ratified and confirmed to Sir Alexander Fraser and his heirs all the grants specified in the charters that had preceded this one. This 1601 charter was as follows :—

CHARTER ERECTING FRASERBURGH INTO A BURGH OF REGALITY, 1601.

Apud Halierudhous, 4 Aprilis [1601].

REX confirmavit DOMINO ALEXANDRO FRASER de Phillorth et Fraserburgh militi—terras et baroniam de Phillorth, terras de Abirdour, vicecomitatu de Abirdene ; terras de Tiberty, de Utelaw, vicecomitatu de Banff ; extendentes ad 20 libratas antiqui extentus, ab antiquo in baroniam de Phillorth unitas ; terras de Scatterty cum salmonum piscariis super aqua de Doverne, Phaithlie et Tyrie cum portu de Faithlie, villa et burgo baronie earundem tunc vocata Fraserburgh, in baronia de Kynedwart, terras de Kirktoun de Tyrie in baronia de Abirdour, cum castris, maneriebus, molendinis, silvis, piscariis, tenentibus &c., advocatione rectoriarum et vicariarum ecclesiarum et parochiarum de Phillorth, Tyrie, Cremond et Rathin, cum capellaniis et prebendariis omnium altaragiarum earundem, terras de Inveralloquhy, cum fortalicio, manerie, lacu, piscationibus, molendinis, terris molendinariis, aqueductu a lacu ad molendinium, cum terris de Foitre et (vel de) Inverurie et earum molendino

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vocato Denend, —quas idem Alexander resignavit :—INSUPER rex, pro magnis pecuniarum summis persolutis, suprascripta dicto Alexandro de novo dedit, includendo etiam villam et terras de Carnebulg cum cimbis et piscariis, *lie lynkis* et cuniculariis :—PRETEREA rex erexit dictas villam et BURGUM DE FRASERBURGH cum integris terras infra bondas ab antiquo nuncupatas Faithlie, et ceteris pertinentiis,—in liberum portum et liberum burgum baronie ac liberam regalitatem ; cum potestate dicto. Alexandro ballivos, thesaurarium, decanum gilde, consules, burgenses liberos &c. creandi et eligendi ; cum potestate burgensibus ad *lie pack* et *peill*, emendum et vendendum &c. ; cum potestate habendi pretorium et crucem forealem duoque fora heptomadatim die Lune et die Sabathi, cum liberis nundinis bis in anno, viz. Sancti Michaelis archangeli et Sancti Joannis Baptiste, pro 8 diebus, cum custumis &c. ; cum potestate dicto Alexandro custumas, anchoragias et *lie heavinsilver* dicti portus tam per mare quam per terras levandi et pro sustentatione dicti portus applicandi, et piscarias salmonum &c. tam in aquis salsis quam dulcibus infra bondas dictorum burgi et portus cum *lie wrak* et *wair* et *lie fische-bait* ibidem, ad libitum disponendi ; et cum potestate dicto Alexandro Fraser resignationes terrarum &c. dicti burgi recipiendi et eas quibuscunque personis jus habentibus disponendi, curias burgales et curias regalitatis tenendi, transgressores puniendi, decollandi, pendendi submergendi et urendi ;—et cum potestate dicto Alexandro collegium seu collegia infra dictum burgum edificandi, universitatem erigendi et dotandi, rectores et alia necessaria membra eligendi et deponendi, statuta faciendi &c. ;—et omnia suprascripta incorporavit in liberam baroniam de Phillorth, ordinando fortalitium et maneriem de Phillorth principale fore messuagium :—TENENDAM dicto Alexandro et heredibus masculis ejus de corpore legitime procreatis et assignatis, quibus deficientibus, legitimis et propinquieribus heredibus ejus masculis quibuscunque cognomen et arma de Fraser gerentibus, et eorum assignatis :—REDDENDO pro dicto burgo cum pertinentiis unum denarium, pro Kirktoon-Tyrie et Kairtmyres unam rosam, pro dicta advocacione unum denarium nomine albe firme ; pro ceteris unam sectam ad placitum capitale vicecomitatus de Abirdene ad festum Sancti Michaelis archangeli, cum juribus et servitiis debitis et consuets ; tascando wardam et nonintroitum ad 300 libras annuatim, maritagium ad 2000 libras—PROVISO quod si dictus Alexander, aut alii heredes tallie, decederent absque heredibus masculis de corpore procreatis, heres ad dictam baroniam succedens persolveret heredibus feminis de corpore heredis mortui procreatis uni vel pluribus 20,000 libras :—TESTIBUS *ut in aliis cartis* &c.

(“Reg. Mag. Sig. Reg. Scot. Regnante Jacobo Sexto.” No. 1167. Vol. 1593-1608, pp. 403-5).

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(Translation.)

At Holyrood, 4th April [1601].

The King has confirmed to Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth and Fraserburgh, knight, the lands and barony of Phillorth, and the lands of Aberdour in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, the lands of Tiberty and Utelaw in the sheriffdom of Banff extending to Twenty pounds of old extent and of old united into the barony of Phillorth; the lands of Scatterty with the salmon fishings upon the Water of Deveron, Phaithlie and Tyrie with the harbour of Faithlie, and the town and burgh of barony thereof now called Fraserburgh, in the barony of Kynedwart; the lands of Kirktoon of Tyrie in the barony of Aberdour, with castles, manorplaces, mills, woods, fishings, tenents, etc. and advocation of the rectories and vicarages of the churches and parishes of Phillorth, Tyrie, Cremond and Rathin with the chaplainries and prebends of all altarages thereof; the lands of Inveralloquhy, with the fortalice, manor place, loch, fishings, mills, mill lands, water-race from the loch to the mill, with the lands of Foirtre and Inverurie and mill thereof called Denend and which the said Alexander resigned. Moreover the King for great sums of money paid down of new grants the before-written to the said Alexander, including likewise the town and lands of Carnebulg with boats and fishings, the links, rabbit warrens, Furthermore the King erects the said town and burgh of Fraserburgh with the whole lands within its bounds of old called Faithlie, and their whole pertinents, into a free port and free burgh of barony and a free regality, with power to the said Alexander to appoint and choose bailies, a treasurer, dean of guild, councillors, free burgesses, etc., and with power to the burgesses to "pack" and "peill," buy and sell, etc., with power also to have a tolbooth, market cross and two weekly markets on Monday and Saturday, with free fairs twice in the year, namely, at the feasts of Michaelmas and St. John the Baptist, for eight days, with the tolls, etc.; with power also to the said Alexander to uplift the customs, anchorages and haven silver of the said port both by sea and land and to apply the same for the support of the said harbour, and to dispose of the salmon fishings, etc., both in salt waters and fresh within the bounds of the said burgh and harbour, with the "wraik" and "wair" and fish-"bait" there, at his pleasure; With power also to the said Alexander Fraser to receive resignations of the lands of the said burgh and to dispone the same to any persons having right thereto; and to hold burgh courts and courts of regality and to punish transgressors even by beheading, hanging, drowning and burning; and with power to the said Alexander to build a college or colleges within the said burgh, to erect and endow a university, to elect rectors and other needful members and to depose the same, to make statutes, etc.; And he has incorporated all the foregoing into

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the free barony of Phillorth ordaining the fortalice and manor-place of Phillorth to be the chief message: To be held by the said Alexander and the heirs male lawfully procreated of his body and their assignees, whom failing, his lawful and nearest heirs male whomsoever bearing the surname and arms of Fraser and their assignees: Paying for the said burgh with its pertinents one penny; for Kirktoun Tyrie and Kairtmyres, one rose; for the said advocacy one penny in name of blench farm; and for the rest one suit at the head court of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen at the feast of Michaelmas, with the customary rights and services; taxing the ward and nonentry at three hundred pounds yearly, and the marriage at Two thousand pounds; Provided that if the said Alexander or the other heirs of taillie should die without having heirs male procreated of their bodies, the heir succeeding to the said barony shall pay to the heirs female procreated of the body of the deceased heir, one or more, twenty thousand pounds. Witnesses as in other charters, &c.

Incidentally, it is very curious to note that the Aberdeen Town Council—with that sense of monopoly as well as supremacy which often attaches to a county town—took steps in the law courts to have the creation of Fraserburgh as a burgh of regality and free port declared illegal, on the ground that the privileges of trade, etc., granted to Aberdeen included the whole sheriffdom or county. The legal proceedings dragged their weary way along for a number of years, but ultimately Aberdeen abandoned its pretentious claim, and the newly-constituted burgh was left in full possession of all the powers and privileges granted by the favour of the sovereign.

These privileges are set forth in a charter granted by Sir Alexander Fraser to the town of Fraserburgh, dated 22 December 1613. They are also specified in a contract, entered into in the same year between Sir Alexander Fraser, designated "of Fraserburgh," with the consent of sundry parties, and a number of residents—28 in all—"for yam sellffis, and as representing ye bodie off ye said brughe," by which the former undertook to invest the latter in certain tenements individually and made over specific land and rights to the community generally. This latter document sets forth, among other things, that

Ye haill Landes lyand vithin ye boundes of awld callit Faithlie . . . vithe all collages and vniversities vithin ye same ar be owr sowerane lord vnder his hienes gryt seall, for ye cawses therin conteanitt, Erectit, maid, constitut and creat to ye said Sr Allexander, his aires meall & assignayes quhatsumewr. In ane frie port, frie brughe in barrony, & frie regalite, vith frie cheappall, and

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frie chanslarrie, with all priwilages, immunities, and jurisdictiones off frie regelite. To be callitt in all tymes cuming ye brugh, port, & regalitie off Frasarbrughe, withe full and speciall power to ye said Sir Allexander & his forsaides, Baliwes, thesowrar, deane off gillitt, cownsolowres, burgesses, friemen, sarjandes & quhatsomewer vyer officeres, & gowernowres necessar vithin ye said brughe & regalitie for rewling of ye same And vithe speciall power to ye burgesses and frie men off ye said brughe lawfully electit, creat, resawit, and admittit to the libertie therof as veill present as to cu. To pak and peill, and to by and sell vyne vax lining and volne narrowe and bred & all vther merchandries and steppil guides & to have vithin ye said brughe baxsteres, browsteres, flescheres, fischeres, selleres off fische, bleacheres, vobsteres, vakeres, meassones, vrichtes, smythes, viweres, on prikes, sadilleres, barkeres off lader, barborres, tailyeowres, cordoneres, & all vther craftes men perteaning to ye libertie of ane frie brughe. And vithe libertie to ye saides artificeres, craftes men, burgesses, frie men, and yair successorres, ye saides craftes als frilie to us & excers as ony craftes men, frie me, or burgesses vithin yis realme: And to hawe and hald frie marcattes and faires vithin ye said brughe

By this contract, the feuars named in it were constituted burgesses of the burgh and incorporated in the Brethren of Guild thereof, and the market cross, common school, and tolbooth were assigned by Sir Alexander Fraser to the town. The burgesses and freemen were taken bound to uphold the "common works" of the town, to maintain the name of Fraserburgh "to be continewit therein in all times cuming," and to use the arms of the Frasers as the common seal; and, on the other hand, Sir Alexander Fraser made over the customs and harbour market dues, and the right to land fishing boats and gather bait. There was, as already indicated, an assignation of land to the community as well; and in subsequent years this grant became the source of considerable dispute between Lord Saltoun, the superior, and the feuars of Fraserburgh, leading in 1787 to an excambion of land and the conclusion of a new contract. The superiority of the town was (and still remains) vested in the proprietors of the estate of Philorth—in other words, in the successive Lords Saltoun, Sir Alexander Fraser's grandson, the tenth of Philorth, having succeeded to the barony of Saltoun in 1670. The superior was for long the perpetual Provost, his functions being mainly discharged by a Baron Baillie; and the Council consisted of this Baron Baillie, a Treasurer, a Dean of Guild, and thirteen Councillors. According to the report of the Commission on Municipal Corporations in Scotland in 1835, each

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new Council was named by the superior, with the advice and consent of the old Council. All this was gradually changed by the adoption of successive Police Acts. The adoption in 1872 of the General Police and Improvement Act of 1862 and the passing of the Burgh Police Act of 1892 transferred the municipal administration to a Town Council constituted on the ordinary elective principle, and now consisting of fifteen Councillors, including a Provost and four Baillies. The hereditary privileges of the superior as Provost came to an end, and a body of feuars' managers was created under a new agreement between the feuars of the town and the superior. The feuars' managers administer the common good of the burgh, which includes spacious links and several parks and properties. The harbours ceased to be managed by the old Town Council in 1818, when a Harbour Act was obtained.

One of the most striking features of the early history of Fraserburgh is that its founder contemplated making the town the site of a University. If the project was an evidence of the ambitious designs of Sir Alexander Fraser, it was no less a tribute to the intellectual activities aroused by the Reformation. It is a singular circumstance, indeed, that the idea of encouraging the higher learning, and making provision for its promotion, should have occurred simultaneously to two of the leading magnates of Buchan. George, 5th Earl Marischal, founded the College in Aberdeen that bears his name in 1593, and it was in the year preceding that Sir Alexander Fraser obtained royal permission to build "a college or colleges" in the newly-created "burgh of Fraser," and to erect a University which should possess all the privileges of any University "erected or to be erected within our Kingdom." The Aberdeen College was duly established and regularly endowed, and flourishes unto this day; but a provoking uncertainty prevails regarding its compeer in Fraserburgh. Practically all that is definitely known concerning the latter is related in the chapter that follows this one; and even the assumption therein that the Fraserburgh University or College did exist for some years as an actual teaching institution has been contested. Rev. Dr. Lippe, in the Introduction he prefixed to the New Spalding Club's "Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections" (Aberdeen, 1890) maintains that "No positive authority has ever been adduced to prove that the College was opened for students, or even that the buildings were actually finished." There is, he says, no indication of endowment by Sir Alexander

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Fraser or anybody else, and there is no notice of any student ever having attended Fraserburgh College. "In short," Dr. Lippe sums up emphatically, "there is no contemporary notice, direct or indirect, that the College was in actual operation with students in attendance." It seems plain, however, that some buildings had been erected to form the nucleus of a University; and they were actually utilised for College purposes, in a rather peculiar manner, forty years after the collapse of Sir Alexander Fraser's ambitious scheme. A visitation of plague occurred in Aberdeen in June 1647, and lasted till about the end of October, and during the following winter, the two Universities migrated for the session to Peterhead and Fraserburgh, the students of King's College proceeding to the latter place and presumably occupying the old College buildings. The name of one of the streets of Fraserburgh, "College Bounds," is all that survives of a project which, audacious as it appears to-day, must have been really remarkable when put forward in the end of the sixteenth century. It indicates, at any rate, a supreme confidence on the part of Sir Alexander Fraser in the future of the town he had set himself to establish. And, although a modern Buchan historian (Mr. James Moir in "A New History of Buchan"; *Peterhead Sentinel*, 1898) is disposed to eulogise Sir Alexander rather for the foresight he displayed in creating the harbour, saying "it has done more for old Faithlie than the Fraserburgh University ever did," a meed of praise is none the less due the worthy knight for the respect he paid to the inculcation of "the humanities." One indeed may well endorse the remarks of Rev. Andrew Chalmers—"The building of Fraserburgh was a grand and magnificent enterprise compared with George Earl Marischal's contemporary founding of Peterhead. In the latter there is a repelling meagreness and meanness, in striking contrast to the large ideas and unselfish plans of the Frasers. The founding of the University of Fraserburgh by the eighth laird is an instance of a noble altruism 'appearing ere the times were ripe.' We see that there must have been wide thoughts and the larger vision in such a man, as we run over the list of his works—'the Tower of Kynnaid's Head,' the new church, the harbour, 'the publick buildings and fine streets,' and finally the fresh centre of enlightenment." ("Cairnbulg Castle" in *Transactions* of Buchan Field Club, vol. vi.)

At the time of the inception of Fraserburgh, Cairnbulg Castle was the chief residence of the Frasers of Philorth, but it can readily be imagined that a

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man like Sir Alexander Fraser would desire to erect a dwelling for himself in the burgh he was creating and to which he had given his name. He accordingly began, in 1570, the erection of a Castle of Fraserburgh, placing it on Kinnaird's Head—a rocky headland. It was built in the form of a parallelogram, but the tower only now remains, and has done duty as a lighthouse since 1787, when it was acquired for that purpose by the Commissioners of Northern Lights.

On the same plateau as Kinnaird's Head, and about 50 yards distant from the lighthouse, is a roughly-built tower—the Wine Tower, it is designated—beneath which is a cave called the Selch's (or Seal's) Hole. The Wine Tower has three vaulted storeys, the two lower storeys being without windows. The remaining storey is thus described in "Castles of Aberdeenshire" (Aberdeen, 1887):—

"The upper room or storey has an arched window in each wall, freestone carved pendants of coats of arms ornamenting each arch. Three pendants, also of freestone, but of a more elaborate and pretentious character, are placed in the centre of the roof. One represents an eagle holding a key in his beak, the wings meeting behind, and in his talons a shield bearing the arms of Fraser and Abernethy quartered, the bird being encircled by a scroll with the words, 'The glory of the honorable is to feir God.' Another represents two unicorns with horns crossed in front, so as to form, with two swords, a diamond-shaped space, enclosing the bust of a man. The third pendant has two eagles, the crown of thorns, the pierced hands and feet, and the scourge."

According to Pratt's "Buchan" (Revised edition, 1901) the three central pendants are representations of the arms of Scotland, the house of Philorth, and a religious device respectively. The other pendants contain various armorial bearings, including the arms of the Forbese, one of the quarterings of which shield is charged with the three-rosettes pearl of the Frasers. (See illustrations in Macgibbon & Ross's "Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.")

The origin of the Wine Tower is completely unknown. Rev. N. K. McLeod was of opinion that it may have formed part of the enclosing wall of the Castle, being placed where it is in consequence of a communication with the cave below ("The Castles of Buchan"). The late Lord Saltoun suggested that the tower derived its name from a winding pathway from the Castle called the "Wynd," and a few years ago one of the lighthouse-keepers discovered the

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end of an underground passage, built of stone, close to the foot of the tower. "Tradition" would have it that the building is much older than the Castle, but, unless the pendants had been inserted at a later date, this does not seem to be the case. The armorial bearings of the Frasers on more than one of the pendants are identical with those used by the founder of Fraserburgh, who was also the builder of the Castle. The Wine Tower was utilised as a powder magazine or store for ammunition for the Fraserburgh Volunteers enrolled at the time of the scare of a French invasion in 1803, and the windows were then built up with brick.

The history of Fraserburgh is virtually concentrated in its development as a port—in the extension of its harbour accommodation and the cultivation of the industries associated with a population largely seafaring, or dependent on the resources of the sea. Mr. John Cranna, in an interesting series of articles on "Fraserburgh: Old Records and Historical Notes," contributed to the *Evening Gazette*, Aberdeen, February-May 1907, has shown that the first buildings in the town were erected in close proximity to the original pier, and that, a century and a half ago, quite as much as to-day, the great business of the town was done at the harbour. Town and harbour have been closely identified in fact, all through the years, and the community has never been slow to undertake the construction of harbour works, even of a formidable nature and involving large expenditure. The result is seen in the capacious harbours that exist to-day, which afford ample evidence of the energy and enterprise of the inhabitants; and these qualities show no abatement, for an improvement and extension scheme of considerable dimensions is at present in progress. The details of harbour construction need not be here given; they will be found duly set forth in the revised (1901) edition of Pratt's "Buchan."

If, in the development of its harbour works, Fraserburgh has been steadily progressive, as much, unfortunately, cannot be said of other features of the port. They have exhibited a series of vicissitudes, not exceptional perhaps, but none the less noteworthy, particularly as denoting the changing life of the community. There was at one time a local shipping fleet which formed the nucleus of a very considerable industry. Fraserburgh, we are told, "possessed as fine a fleet of sailing schooners as ever left a harbour," and "for speed and graceful lines, the 'Broch' schooners were the pride of the inhabitants and the

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envy of the mariners hailing from neighbouring ports." These schooners were largely employed in carrying herrings to the Elbe and Baltic ports. Although the herring trade on the extensive lines on which it is now conducted is of comparatively modern origin, the trade in one form or another has been prosecuted at Fraserburgh for fully a hundred and fifty years. Mr. Cranna has thus recounted its early beginnings:—

"It was about 1750 that the British Government gave the first encouragement to home fishermen to prosecute and develop the herring fishing on the English and Scottish coasts. In that year one Act of Parliament was passed, and then another in 1753, offering substantial bounties to the crews of all home boats employed in the herring fishing. Before this time, the herring trade of Europe, and exports to the West Indies, where the slaves were fed on herrings, were in the hands of the Dutch, whose fishermen in thousands annually visited the North Sea and the British coasts in pursuit of the silver herring. The trade was of national importance to Holland, but between the advantageous position in which British bounty-paid fishermen were placed, and the destruction dealt to Dutch fishing fleets year after year by British war vessels, the industry was gradually wrested from the hands of the Dutch and taken possession of by the Scotch ports, especially those of the Buchan coast. Fraserburgh played no insignificant part in scoring this great national trade victory, and 'local history' would not be complete if this important fact were overlooked."

From Mr. Cranna we also learn that herring curing was started in Fraserburgh "in earnest" about the beginning of last century. "At the first start of curing," he says, "the fishcurers managed to carry on their very limited establishments on little patches of ground throughout the town, but as the trade developed, more accommodation was required, and the trade cast their eyes on the part of the links abutting the sea shore as suitable ground"; and he cites a minute of the Barony Court, dated January 21, 1815, authorising the letting of lots on the shore at the south end of the town on leases of five years. "Little did these ancient fathers think when they signed the minute," adds Mr. Cranna, "that they were unconsciously inaugurating a movement which was to revolutionise the trade of the town, and hasten its development to an extent that they could never have dreamt of."

For long, the export of herrings provided a regular trade for the local fleet of sailing vessels, and there existed a distinctive class of smart seamen who found abundant employment. About the later "seventies" of last century,

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however, some Norwegian steamers appeared in Fraserburgh, and took away cargoes of herrings. The "innovation" was at first unfavourably regarded by the leading fishcuring firms in the town, but it proved irresistible in the long run, and at Fraserburgh, as elsewhere, sailing vessels were eventually supplanted by steamers. The number of steamers employed in the herring-carrying trade steadily increased, and the employment of sailing vessels proportionately decreased; "slowly but surely at first, and thereafter with headlong speed, the sailing vessels were forced out of one trade, and then out of another, till they became what may be reasonably called an unknown quantity." The decadence of the local fleet is indicated by a simple comparison—whereas, in 1875, there were 19 Fraserburgh-owned vessels with a total tonnage of 1139, in 1902 there were only two, of 58 and 53 tons respectively (See *Banffshire Journal*, 4 February, 1902).

The seal and whale fishing was also at one time extensively prosecuted from Fraserburgh. This industry was as specially identified with the port as the herring fishing is to-day, and every outstanding "event" in connection with it was practically participated in by the town at large. As illustrations of the community of feeling between the "Brochers" and the "whalers," Mr. Alexander Grieve Gavin has supplied the following notes:—

"The making ready for the sailing of the vessels was a lively time in Fraserburgh, both for shopkeepers and others who were connected with the trade. When the day of sailing arrived, it was made a regular holiday by all, old and young alike, even the youngsters at the school getting a 'free day.' On the vessels returning from the fishing, they presented a sight such as is never seen in these practical and undemonstrative days. The sailors always took away plenty of ribbons with them, and with these ribbons they made garlands, with which, on nearing port and home, they decorated the mastheads—the garlands, it is hardly necessary to add, being of all colours.

"When any of the sealing vessels were sighted from the Castle, the news spread through the town like wildfire, and there was an immediate rush to the harbour. Gentle and simple were alike eager to get the latest intelligence from the pilots as to whether the fishing had been good or bad, and as to how this or that vessel had prospered. Even the maid of all work rushed off from her half-cleaned stair-head or her half-cooked 'tatties and herring' to catch a glimpse of her sailor-lad. And if any provisions were left over at the end of the voyage, they were usually sold at a cheap rate—biscuits, rice, barley, &c.—providing a better repast than usual to many of the poorer class of the inhabitants.

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“Among the more celebrated of these Greenland sailing vessels (these were the days anterior to steam) were the ‘Lord Saltoun,’ ‘Lady Saltoun,’ ‘Enterprise,’ ‘Sovereign,’ ‘Melinka,’ and ‘Alexander Harvey.’ The late Captain Stephen, ship chandler, had command of the ‘Alexander Harvey,’ but, before leaving the sea, he sailed the ‘Pearl,’ one of the famous three-masted sailing vessels belonging to Fraserburgh. It was in one of the Fraserburgh whalers that Dr. Gordon Stables took a voyage to the Arctic regions as ship’s doctor.”

A further incident of local life in the old days is narrated by Mr. Gavin:—

“Another ‘great’ day was when there was a launch at the shipbuilding yard; it, too, was a ‘half-day’ with the scholars. The real feature of the proceedings was the keen contest amongst the boys on board the newly-launched vessel to obtain possession of the blue ribbon by which ‘the bottle’ (of whisky or other liquor) used in the christening ceremony was suspended at the bow. The bottle being broken as the vessel started along the ways, there was a rush for the ribbon, accompanied as a rule by no little floundering in the north harbour, to the great amusement of the spectators. The last vessel of any size or importance launched was the yacht ‘La Shiantelle,’ (‘The Little Blessed One’) built by Messrs. Webster & Son in the spring of 1888, to the order of Mr. J. A. Harvie-Brown, F.R.S.E., F.Z.S., who cruised in her along the western coast of Scotland, engaged in scientific exploration. As a matter of fact, Mr. Harvie-Brown took seven seasons’ work out of ‘La Shiantelle,’ visiting, in company with Professor F. H. Heddle and Mr. W. Norrie, the outer and inner Isles of the Orkneys and Shetland, as well as the west coast, the results of their investigations being published in eleven volumes of ‘The Vertebrate Fauna of Scotland.’ ‘La Shiantelle’ is now a fruit carrier in the West Indies.”

Ship-building was at one time actively prosecuted and afforded a large amount of employment, but it disappeared with the disappearance of the sailing vessels, being now only represented by the building of haddock yawls and small boats; and owing to very much the same cause—the supersession of sail by steam—rope-making, once a flourishing industry, had also to be abandoned. In the days anterior to gas lighting, oil-making was extensively carried on. The fisher people were in the way of manufacturing and selling a kind of “black oil” (made from dog fish), which was chiefly used for the antique “cruisie” lamps, in the dim light of which our forefathers were wont to spend “the forenicht.” This indifferent oil was gradually replaced by the product of a local establishment known as the English Oil Factory, but the eventual competition of cheap

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oils proved fatal to the prosecution of the industry, which had in consequence to be given up. Conspicuous among local industries was kelp-making, which was for long prosecuted with considerable success and furnished employment for many men and women. Particular kinds of seaweed drifted on the shore, notably tangle, were collected, and, after being dried and burned were converted into kelp—a substance once extensively used in the manufacture of glass. It has now been almost entirely superseded by barilla ; but in the palmy days of the kelp industry, thousands of tons were made annually. Among other “vanished industries” may be mentioned timber-sawing (by manual labour) and milling (for the manufacture of oatmeal principally).

Against all this, however, has to be placed the development of the herring fishing and herring curing industries, with the accompanying export trade to the Continent, which has much more than redressed the loss sustained by the failure and abandonment of other industries. A counterbalancing effect has also been produced in quite recent years by the setting up of the Pneumatic Tool Works, now giving regular employment to 200 men ; but, all things reckoned, the herring trade may be regarded as the main factor in Fraserburgh’s prosperity. Even that trade sustained a severe check some thirty years ago, arising from injudicious speculation, excessive competition, a temporary restriction of the foreign market, and the unfavourable conditions on which the fishing was prosecuted. A reconstitution of the industry on sounder business lines followed, and since then it has been prosecuted with remarkable vigour and success, Fraserburgh in fact having become one of the largest centres of the herring trade in Scotland, and having for a number of years in succession occupied the premier position. The catch for the season last year amounted to 180,000 crans, of a value of £212,386, landed by over 500 boats, the number of persons engaged in the industry in one form or another being estimated at 8000. (Last year’s catch, however, was below the average: 1908, 245,000 crans; 1907, 316,683 crans; 1906, 190,000 crans). Curing was carried on by no fewer than 85 firms, including eleven kippering and freshing establishments. These statistics suffice to give an indication of the magnitude of the herring fishing industry, but it has to be steadily borne in mind that, apart from the season proper, many of the Fraserburgh boats are engaged in prosecuting the fishing at different parts of the coast well-nigh all the year

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round. The introduction of steam drifters has been the means of very considerably augmenting the range at which the fishing may be prosecuted and consequently of increasing the catch. An extensive white fishing is also carried on, and of course those engaged in the allied industry of barrel-making find active employment. The total value of Fraserburgh fishing fleet is set down in the Fishery Board's report for 1909 at £311,100, the number of fishermen and boys employed being 1785.

With its ever-increasing trade, and the prosperity that follows in its wake, Fraserburgh has of recent years made great strides as a town. Many new streets have been laid out, graced by substantial and handsome villas. The requirements of an increasing population have called for additional churches and schools, the erection of new business premises or the reconstruction of former buildings. And, altogether, the place has a bustling and prosperous air about it almost foreign to one familiar with it a generation ago.

R. A.

CHAPTER VII.

The University of Fraserburgh.¹

IT is not generally known that for a brief period there existed in Aberdeenshire, in full working order, not merely the “Keingis Colledge of Auld Aberdene” and the “Academia” of George, Earl Marischal, but a third legally constituted university, having its seat in the not far distant seaport of Fraserburgh.

On 1st July, 1592, Sir Alexander Fraser, lineal ancestor of Lord Saltoun, obtained from James VI. a charter of Novodamus of the lands of Philorth. In the new grant the town of Faithlie is erected into a burgh of barony, to be called in all time coming the Burgh and Port of Fraser. “Insuper,” so runs the deed, “damus et concedimus plenariam libertatem et potestatem prefato Alexandro Fraser . . . collegium seu collegia infra dictum burgum de Fraser edificandi, universitatem erigendi . . . et generaliter omnia alia et singula immunitatem et privilegium unius universitatis concernentia, in amplissima forma et modo debito, in omnibus respectibus, ut conceditur et datur cuicunque collegio et universitati infra regnum nostrum erectis seu erigendis, faciendi, agendi et exercendi” (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, xxxvii. 481).

Sir Alexander did not allow the powers thus conferred on him to lie idle, for he at once began to erect buildings for the contemplated university. Five years later we find the Scottish Parliament recognising his patriotic exertions, and providing that he should be reimbursed for part of his outlay.

“Our Souerane Lord and thrie estatis of this Parliament vnderstanding that Sir Alexander Fraser of Fraserbrughe, knycht, being of deliberat mynd and purpois to erect ane Vniuersitie within the said brughe, with all priuelegis appertaining thairto, according to the tenour of hes infestment, his begwn to edifie and big vp collegis, quhilkis nocht onlie vill tend to the great decoirement of the cuntrey, bot also to the advancement of the loist and tint youthe

¹ From *Records of Marischal College and University*, New Spalding Club, 1889.

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in bringing tham vp in leirning and vertew, to the great honour and weill of our said Souerane Lord and natioun, quhilke honorabill intentioun and pollicie maid and to be maid be the said Sir Alexander, vpone his exhorbitant and large expensis, aucht and suld be furtherit and advancit, and the said Sir Alexander nocht onlie allowit thairintill, bot also helpit and supportit to do the samin ; Thairfoir our said Souerane Lord and thrie estatis of the present Parliament, for the further advancement of the said brughe and collegis, and for the sustentatioun and intertenement of maisteris, teichearis and officemen, within the collegis of the samin, hes, with expres consent and assent of the said Alexander, dotit, gewin and mortefeit the personagis, vicaragis, prebendareis, chaplanreis and altarageis of the parochie kirkis of Phillorthe, Tyrie, Kremound, and Rathyn, haill teyndis small and great, landis, rowmes and possessionis appertening thairto, proffitis, dewteis, annualrentis, and emolumentis quhatsumevir, and *ad manum mortuam* disponit the samin to the saidis college or collegis ; Provyding alwayis the saidis ministeris of the saidis college or collegis ather serve the cure of the saidis kirkis, or then the saidis maiisteris, with advyis of the patron, furneis sufficient men for serveing the cure of the saidis kirkis, sua that the parochineris be nocht frustrat of the sacramentis, teicheing and preicheing of the word of God " (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, Vol. iv., p. 146 ; December 16, 1597).

There can be no doubt that the arrangement for the supply of teachers herein set forth was actually called into operation. In 1598 Charles Ferme, M.A., "a man of obscure parentage but exceedingly pious," who had been elected one of the Regents in the University of Edinburgh in 1589, was called to the ministry at Fraserburgh, "where there was ane beginning of an University, over which he had charge." (Craufurd's *Univ. of Edinb.*, pp. 33, 42, and Wodrow's *Collections on Life of Ferme*, printed for the New Spalding Club, p. 272.)

The sanction of the supreme court of the kirk was, however, necessary to reconcile Mr. Ferme to his double duties. This was given by the General Assembly which met at Montrose in March, 1600: "Anent supplicatioun given in be the Presbiterie of Deir, makand mentioun that quher the Laird of Philorth having erectit ane Colledge vpon the toune of Fraserbrughe, and agreit with Mr. Charles Ferme to be both Pastour of the said brugh and

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Principal of his Colledge; quhilk burdein the said Mr. Charles refuses to accept vpon him, without he be commandit be the Generall Assemblie: Desyreand, therfor, ane command to be given to the said Mr. Charles to accept both the said charges, as at mair length is containit in the said supplicatioun: The Generall Assemblie having at length considerit the necessitie of the said wark, and how the said Laird of Philorth has refusit to intertaine a Pastour at the said Kirk, vnlesse he vndertake both the said charges, therfor commands and charges the said Mr. Charles Ferme to vndertake and awaite vpon, as weill the said Kirk, as to be Principall of the Colledge of Fraserbrughe." (*The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Vol. iii., p. 958.)

The then incumbents of the other three charges mentioned in the Act of Parliament were—Crimond: John Gordon, M.A., second son of Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir. Rathen: Duncan Davidson, previously Regent in University and King's College, Old Aberdeen. Tyrie: John Howesoun, son of David Howesoun, Minister of Aberdour.

For five sessions the work of the newly founded college probably went on without interruption, but in 1605 the ecclesiastical troubles of the time gave a death-blow to the scheme. Mr. Ferme was one of those devoted sons of the Church who convened at Aberdeen, and constituted the Assembly there in July, 1605, irrespective of the royal pleasure. The inevitable result was that, with seventeen others, he was denounced by the Privy Council on the 18th of the same month "for unlawfully assembling against the letters and charges of his Majesty." Having undergone imprisonment at Stirling, in the Castle of Doune, and for three years in the Isle of Bute, Mr. Ferme was finally allowed to return to his cure, where he zealously discharged his duties, teaching both in public and in private, till, worn out by study and shattered by incessant toil and sufferings, he died Sept. 24, 1617, aged fifty-one. "Through his industry, by the divine blessing, such a light blazed forth that even children could render an account of their faith, and that not without some feeling of piety. A Tydeus in body, he was a Hercules in spirit." (*Hew Scott's Fasti Ecclesiæ Scotticæ*, Vol. iii., p. 626.)

After the death of Mr. Ferme we find no trace of the university. It was, indeed, unlikely that it could survive the removal of its head and the rivalry of

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the now flourishing Marischal College of Aberdeen. Nor have we any evidence as to the nature of the course of study at Fraserburgh. But there is no reason to suppose that it differed in any essential details from that enjoined in the charter of Marischal College (1593), and in the *Nova Fundatio* of King's College, ratified by the same Parliament of 1597.

So late as 1793 a portion of the college buildings was still to be seen in Fraserburgh—a quadrangular tower of three stories. (Sir John Sinclair's *Stat. Acc. of Scotland*, Vol. vi., p. 9.) But this tower was demolished many years ago. A large house to the left on entering the town is said to have been erected with materials taken from the college. Four stones built into the front of this house bear inscriptions, probably renewed at the time of the removal. These are :

Trust in God, for He is good.

His Mercy is for ever.

Give Him thanks for all you have.

For He is the only giver. (Pratt's *Buchan*, p. 158.)

These stones alone now remain to tell of the University of Fraserburgh.

P. J. A.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Burgh of Ellon.

ON the sunny northern slopes of the fertile Vale of Ythan, as an outpost keeping watch and ward on the southern marches of Buchan over against the neighbouring province of Formartine, there stretches for nearly a mile along the riverside the pleasant village now known as the Police Burgh of Ellon. From the glebe on the east to the Craigs of Auchterellon on the west, from the Ellon Castle woods on the north to the river on the south, the area of the Burgh extends to 275 acres, containing $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles of streets and roads; property valued at £6363 of annual rental in 1909, and rather more than 1500 inhabitants. Although actually in the district of Buchan, Ellon has always been more intimately associated with Formartine and the City of Aberdeen, seeing that it falls under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen, and as the centre of an agricultural district it has always been in close association with the Granite City for the purchase and disposal of farm produce.

Across the Bridge of Ellon, a substantial three-arched structure built over the Ythan in 1793, is the extra-burghal suburb of Craighall on the Aberdeen turnpike, near to which the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Rock, designed by the famous English ecclesiastical architect, the late Mr. Street, occupies a commanding position. The rector, Rev. Walter Haslewood, M.A., is an enthusiastic supporter of musical culture in the district.

In the Burgh itself, on the rising ground behind the Peterhead turnpike, and separated from the public road by the lofty walls of solid masonry known as the Deer Dykes—against which immense snow drifts rested up to the very copestones during the unprecedented storm of the New Year of 1908-9—lie the woods and gardens of Ellon Castle, belonging to Arthur J. L. Gordon, Esquire, C.M.G., of Ellon. The ivy covered ruin of the old fortalice and the modern mansion in the Scottish baronial style stand on the same broad terrace

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with its avenue, parterres, and velvet turf. The dark woods form an effective background to the Castle, while in front lie the spacious gardens, so dear to E. V. B., herself a Gordon of Ellon; a wonderful avenue of primeval yews, fish-ponds and fountains, and a fine old sun-dial. It is not the province of the writer, however, to deal with the glories of the ancient history of the lands of Ellon and their Lairds, and he must therefore limit himself to a passing reference to the present owner of the estate, whose experiences in the Diplomatic Service of the late Queen Victoria included a sharp and decisive campaign in the Island of Fiji, which earned for him the Companionship of Saint Michael and Saint George. Mr. Gordon subsequently acted as private secretary to his relative the Earl of Aberdeen when Governor-General of Canada and when Viceroy of Ireland. Mrs. Gordon is a daughter of the late General Sir Alexander Hamilton Gordon, M.P. for East Aberdeenshire from 1875 to 1885. Their only son, Mr. Cosmo Alexander Gordon, came of age in 1907, an occasion of much rejoicing within the Burgh, when a Congratulatory Address was presented to him at a Public Luncheon, after which Mr. Gordon of Ellon announced the completion of his arrangements for the gift of a Public Park to the inhabitants of Ellon. That park, forming part of the Longley and Modley Crofts, contains over 12 acres, including a Curling and Skating Pond. It has now been taken over by the Town Council of Ellon as the Gordon Public Park, and it will in course of time be fenced and laid out for public recreation.

The Manse of Ellon stands on the slope between the Peterhead road and the Ythan, with a fine southern exposure for its garden. The parish minister, Rev. Thomas Young, B.D., a worthy successor of men like "Robertson of Ellon," was inducted to the charge in 1872. The kirk and the old kirkyard lie between the old market place—The Square—and the river. An unpretentious, barn-like structure, reminiscent of an austerity in religious life which Scotland has now forgotten, the kirk stands on ground which has been consecrated by Christian worship for more than 1000 years. Internally the Church was entirely renovated in 1907.

The old Market Square, which occupies the eastern end of the older portion of the Burgh, no longer exhibits the bustle and stir of the old days

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of agricultural prosperity, when the fortnightly cattle markets and the half-yearly feeing markets were held within its boundaries. If the writer may be pardoned for digressing into ancient history, he is fain to recall a picture of one of the last of these cattle markets, painted from the windows of the Union Bank by Mr. James Cadenhead, now A.R.S.A. The crofter with his quey, the Irish dealer with his stirks, the typical Buchan farmer, the cautious chaffering, and the emphatic clinching of the bargain ; all were depicted on the artist's canvas with supreme realistic effect. But now we have changed all that, and the prosaic rap of the auctioneer's hammer has supplanted the hearty smack of Irish palm on Scottish loof.

The extension of the Burgh to the west, the discontinuance of the cattle markets, and the irrepressible migration of the farm servants to Market Street, have obscured the ancient glories of the Square as the business centre of Ellon. There are still two banks and several shops there, but the principal business of the Burgh is now done in Market Street, Bridge Street, and Station Road. Before leaving the Square, however, notice should be taken of the old coat of arms of the Gordon family in the gable of the house next to the Long Close. These armorial bearings are said to have graced the old Tolbooth when it stood on the same site. Somewhere about the north-eastern corner of the Square, as tradition asserts, there stood the house in which Skinner wrote the famous poem "Tullochgorum."

In Market Street, running from the Square to the Bridge of Ellon, are the New Inn, formerly containing the Public Hall, now superseded by the Victoria Hall ; another bank, the Post Office, and various shops and offices. Opposite the New Inn there appears to have been a ford across the Ythan previous to the erection of the bridge in 1793, and an enclosure near at hand marks the site of the Earl's Knowe, where justice of a summary nature was dispensed in ruder times. In continuation of Market Street runs Ythan Terrace, and as these two streets for the greater part of their length have no buildings on their southern side, but gardens stretching down the sloping ground to the river, with ash trees and willows here and there, the view across the river is unimpeded, disclosing the ivy-clad Parsonage, the graceful proportions of St. Mary-on-the-Rock, and the river with its cluster of islands, which in

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their emerald summer garb seem to justify the nomenclature of the township from the Gaelic *Eilean*.

At the corner of Ythan Terrace and Bridge Street is the Buchan Hotel, facing the Bridge, and on both sides of Bridge Street are busy shops of all kinds. Following up that street till it joins the New Deer road at the Burgh boundary, one passes on the left the Ellon Public School, the main block of which was reconstructed in 1909, at a cost of about £3000, and contains 11 classrooms, a central hall, cloak rooms, &c. There are dwelling houses for the headmaster and the janitor at the ends of the building, and a separate infant department. Accommodation for teaching 572 children has been provided for. The headmaster is Mr. Donald Cameron, M.A., F.E.I.S. Between Schoolhill and the Burgh boundary Bridge Street skirts the policies of Ellon Castle, an interesting glimpse of which may be obtained from the West Lodge gate along the grand avenue leading to the western extremity of the Terrace.

From the north-west corner of the Square other two streets leave it—Schoolhill, running between the Castle grounds and the Town Gardens to the back of the school; and Station Road, which leads to the westmost extremity of the Burgh at the Craigs of Auchterellon. Along Schoolhill there are several fine villas on the higher ground fronting the south. In Station Road there are numerous buildings of note, such as “The Chestnuts,” belonging to Sir James Reid, Bart., M.D., LL.D., K.C.B., Physician to the King; the commodious block of buildings erected by the Ellon Property Investment Co., Ltd.; various other private residences; and the Victoria Hall. This last named building, which was erected by public subscription in 1900 to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, occupies a central position in the Burgh on the site of the old cricket field, and is most conveniently and admirably adapted for all public purposes. Since its erection its architectural aspect has been enhanced by the addition of a handsome clock tower in memory of the late Bailie James H. Brown, the prime mover in the Hall scheme, whose tragic death by an avalanche on the Wetterhorn in August, 1902, caused universal sorrow throughout the Burgh and far beyond. The Victoria Hall cost about £3000, and contains a large

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hall, committee room, library, ladies' room, armoury, and hall keeper's accommodation. At the junction of Station Road with Union Street is the United Free Church, built in 1894, to which Rev. Charles Simmers, B.D., was elected minister in 1906. It has been suggested that a Bowling Green should be formed in Union Street. Surely the public spirit of the good citizens of Ellon is sufficiently keen to appreciate the benefits of such an institution in their midst, and to further its realisation by every means in their power as an additional inducement to attract summer visitors to the Burgh.

On the other side of Station Road, lying towards the river, is the Gordon Public Park, to which reference has already been made. It contains a very neat and serviceable pavilion for the use of the football players and cricketers, which was erected by public subscription, and has now been handed over to the Town Council along with the park. Further along Station Road are the two auction marts, one on each side of the Great North of Scotland Railway. At the Monday weekly sales a brisk trade is done in agricultural live stock, the business being conducted more expeditiously but less picturesquely than the old-time methods in the Village Square.

On the west side of the railway the Burgh lies within the estate of Auchterellon, belonging to John Rae, Esq., the Provost of Ellon. The railway station comprises the old offices, somewhat limited in accommodation for modern requirements, which did duty for the original Buchan line, and also the spacious waiting rooms erected on the island platform, which also serves the Cruden Branch. Close to the station is the Station Hotel, built in 1890, the most modern of the hostelries of Ellon. Further west in Commercial Road are the Boot and Shoe Factory erected by the late Mr. William Smith, the pioneer of that industry in Ellon, containing a complete electric plant for driving the machinery and lighting the works, and the handsome mansion built by Mr. Smith, now the property of Councillor Milne. Between Commercial Road and the Burgh boundary are the Craigs of Auchterellon, picturesque enclosed spaces of rough ground which in summer time, when the broom and whins are covered with golden bloom and the trees are green with foliage, lend loveliness and charm to the scenery and enhance the

Burgh of Ellon

amenity of the private residences as yet sparsely scattered along the pleasant roadside.

There are several pleasant summer walks in and around Ellon such as the "Ladies' Mile" up Bridge Street and the New Deer Road to the Cruden Railway and thence to Station Road past the Gordon Hospital for Epidemic Diseases, a cluster of buildings just outside the Burgh erected in accordance with modern hygienic requirements by the Ellon District Committee for patients from the District and the Burgh, and managed by a joint-committee of District and Burgh representatives. Another favourite route is through the Craigs of Auchterellon and along the Kinharrachie Road, whence a pleasing view can be obtained of the woods of Esslemont and the winding stream of the Ythan descending the valley and passing out of sight under the lofty arches of the railway viaduct. A complete panorama of the Burgh can be obtained from Hillhead of Fechil or the Esslemont Road on the south side of the river, and a quiet stroll along the Aberdeen turnpike reveals the old and new castles of Ellon with their gardens, terraces, and woods in quiet beauty.

The ideal summer walk, however, near Ellon is down the Braes of Waterton. Leaving the Square by Castle Road along the Deer Dykes and passing the modern parish burial ground, the visitor takes the road to the Meadow of Waterton, where the works of Messrs. Mitchell & Rae stand on the river's bank within reach of tidal flow. Through a wicket gate a footpath leads past the ruined keep of the Forbesees, lairds of Waterton, along the steep banks of the river clothed with tree and whin and broom. Following the winding Ythan past the Doocot Island, under the rocky cliff face where the primitive targets of the ardent volunteers of the early 60's can still be discerned, up the Rustic Steps, and along the river bank under the shady trees, the walk down the Braes of Waterton in summer will gladden the heart of the visitor, as he watches the placid swans on the bosom of the waters and listens to the splash of the leaping trout and the frequent call of the cuckoo in the Logie Woods across the stream, even although the panting tug with its train of barges should appear on the flood tide to disturb the universal harmony.

One cannot speak of Ellon without referring to the excellence of the trout and salmon fishing in the Ythan, which, however, is now in great measure

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reserved by the riparian proprietors for their own enjoyment. At certain seasons of the year tickets may be obtained for the Ellon Castle water, and during the whole season for the tidal water at Macharmuir, the Haddo House water above the Tangland Bridge, and the various tributaries of the Ythan. The record for an Ythan salmon is believed to be held by Dr. Fowler, of Ellon, who in 1892 on the Ardlethen Pool on the Haddo House water landed a magnificent fish weighing $44\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

Within easy reach of Ellon are Newburgh for trout fishing in the estuary of the Ythan and golf on the links; Collieston, famous for rock scenery, speldin's and shortbread, whither brakes are run from Ellon on Wednesdays and Saturdays all through the summer and early autumn; Cruden Bay by railway for golf; and Haddo House and the Braes of Gight by road.

Ellon possesses an abundant supply of excellent water, the principal source of which is the Harewell on the Hill of Ardgrain, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of the Burgh. The drainage system is thoroughly efficient and there has been no serious outbreak of epidemic disease within living memory. The eastern portion of the Burgh is supplied with oil gas from works managed by the Town Council, and the streets are lit with that illuminant so far as the mains extend. In Auchterellon and the outskirts of the Burgh oil lamps are employed for lighting the streets. One particular characteristic of the Burgh is the excellence of the foot pavements, which are laid with concrete in all the principal streets. Telephonic communication was introduced in 1908, and there are now telephones at all the hotels and a Public Call Office at the Post Office.

By a Charter of Queen Anne, Ellon was erected into a Burgh of Barony on 4th February 1707, and it was formed into a Police Burgh on 1st December 1893. Of the original Commissioners only two—Provost Rae, who has been Chief Magistrate of the Burgh during all that time, and Councillor Ruxton—still remain on the Town Council; and of the original officials only two also—Mr. William Coutts, Sanitary Inspector, and the writer—are still in the employment of the Council. Of the citizens who have served on the Council in their day and generation one may mention in addition to Provost Rae, Councillor Ruxton and the late Bailie Brown, to whom reference has already been made, the names of Ex-Bailies Leys, M.D., and McLennan, and the late Bailie

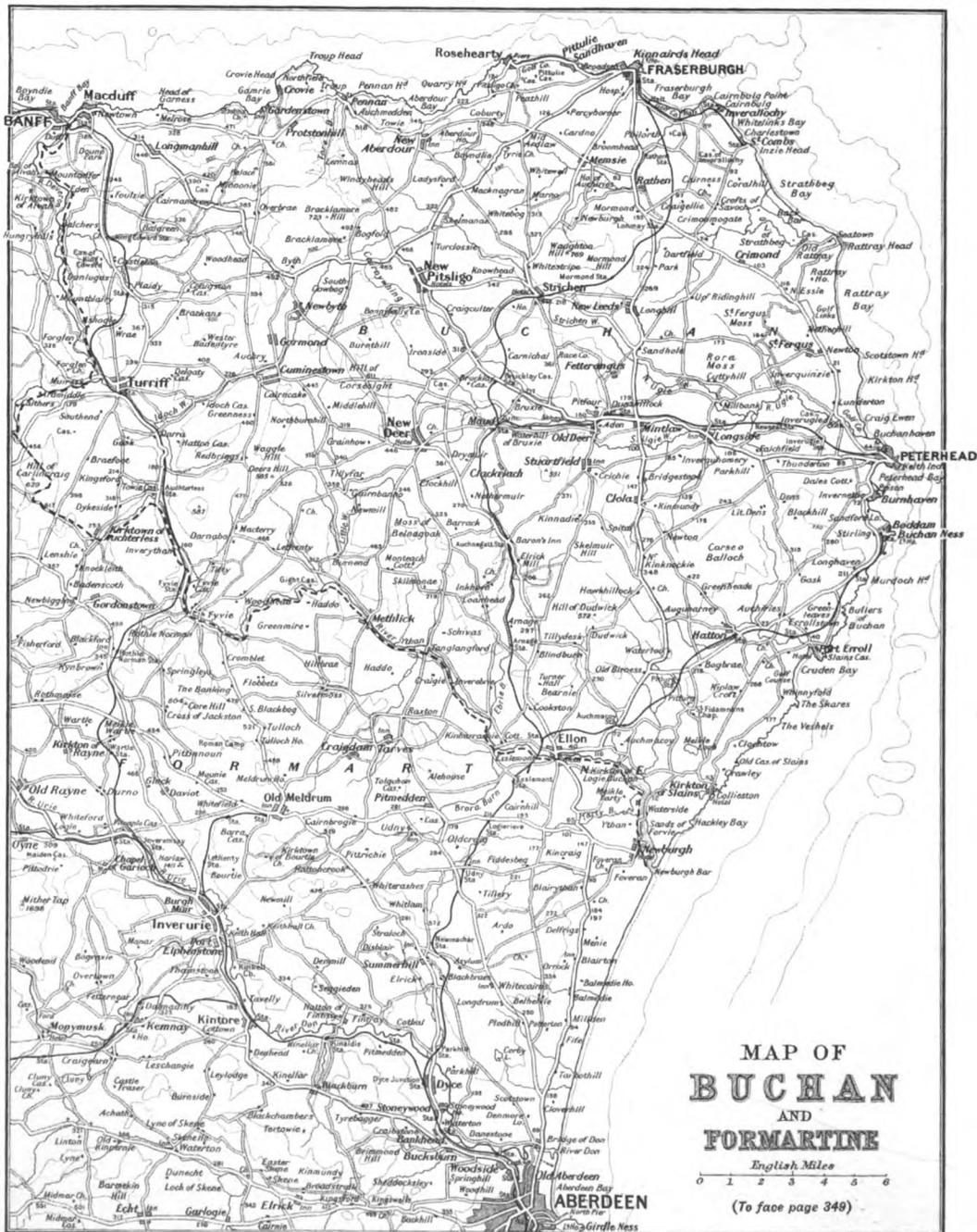
Burgh of Ellon

Henderson, whose handsome donation towards the Public Park as well as his assiduous, unassuming attention to the poor and the sick will keep his memory green for many a day ; and Ex-Dean of Guild Ruxton, "of piercing wit and pregnant thought," who now worthily represents the Parish of Ellon on the Aberdeen County Council. The meetings of the Town Council are held on the first Thursday of every month. The arms of the Burgh are those of the ancient Earldom of Buchan, viz. :—Azure three garbs or. Ellon is also, for Local Government purposes, the headquarters of the Ellon District, which comprises the Parishes of Ellon, Tarves, Methlick, Udney, Foveran, Logie Buchan, Slains, and Cruden.

A. J. R.

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MAP OF
BUCHAN
 AND
FORMARTINE

English Miles
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6

(To face page 349)

Section VI.—Modern Buchan

CHAPTER I.

Introductory

SO great were the changes initiated at the Union in 1707 that the death of Queen Anne in 1714 and the consequent extinction of the Stuart Dynasty marked the beginning of a new era for Scotland. The centre of political power was transferred from Edinburgh to London and, although there were momentary oscillations in 1715 and 1745, the changed centre was maintained. When the sovereign and independent parliaments of Scotland and England disappeared and the parliament of Great Britain came into existence, all danger of a renewal of the periodic, time-hallowed and disastrous Scoto-English wars vanished for ever.

For this reason it is convenient to reckon modern history in Scotland as beginning with George I. Modern Buchan, therefore, considered as to time is Buchan from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present time. The concluding chapters of this volume, constituting Section VI., relate to Buchan during that period, namely, two centuries. The burghs are of course excluded, since they have been brought under review in Section V.

But what *is* Modern Buchan? What extent of territory in the North-East of Scotland is named Buchan? Quite briefly and generally, Buchan is the north-east corner of Aberdeenshire and is bounded on the west by the Deveron and the Ythan (see map on opposite page).

Anderson,¹ in Pratt's *Buchan* states that "Buchan comprises the following parishes, which may be classified as the outer and inner parishes respectively. Commencing at the mouth of the Ythan, and passing along the eastern border, the outer parishes are Forvie—overblown with sand, and the

¹ Pratt's *Buchan*: Revised by R. Anderson, 1901, p. 10.

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name as a parish almost forgotten—Slains, Cruden and Peterhead ; on the north-east and north, St. Fergus, Crimond, Lonmay, Rathen, Fraserburgh, Pitsligo, Aberdour and Gamrie, which extends to the Deveron ; on the western border and between the Deveron and the Ythan, part of Forglen, including its church, King Edward and Turriff ; and on the south-west and southern border, lying along the north-east bank of the Ythan, part of Auchterless, with its church ; part of Fyvie, with its church ; part of Methlick, part of Tarves, part of Ellon, with its church, and part of Logie-Buchan. The inner parishes are Longside, Old Deer, New Deer, Strichen, Tyrie and Monquhitter. Buchan, however, is now ordinarily regarded as comprising sixteen parishes—Aberdour, Crimond, Fraserburgh, Longside, Lonmay, New Deer, Old Deer, Peterhead, Pitsligo, Rathen, St. Fergus, Strichen and Tyrie, constituting the Presbytery of Deer ; and Cruden, Ellon and Slains, in the Presbytery of Ellon. A number of *quoad sacra* parishes have been formed out of some of these parishes in recent years, including—Ardallie, Blackhill, Boddam, West Fraserburgh, Inverallochy, Kininmonth, Maud, New Pitsligo, East Peterhead and Savoch. Territorially reckoned, and following the boundary line of the Ythan, Buchan also embraces portions of the parishes of Logie-Buchan, Methlick and Tarves.”

The western boundary is somewhat difficult to trace. According to the same authority,¹ “the boundary on the Deveron is at the point where the Herne or Heron Burn falls into the river about three miles above Turriff, and a quarter of a mile below Drachlaw. The whole course of this streamlet is little more than a quarter of a mile. Before the marsh out of which it rises was drained, the Heron Burn, for great part of the year, was a tiny rivulet ; now it scarcely amounts even to this. Its course is through a deep and narrow ravine, forming part of the boundary of the parishes of Turriff and Inverkeithny, and of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, as well as of the district of Buchan. Ascending the ravine and then holding in a direction almost due south by the compass for about a quarter of a mile, and near the apex of the hill of Drachlaw, the Caerlin-ring is reached, or, as it is locally termed, the Cairn-riv stone—which marks the boundary of the district at this point. This stone approaches in shape to a triangular prism—its broadest side being about eight and each of the other two sides about six feet. It stands at a short distance from the public

¹ Pratt's *Buchan* : Revised by R. Anderson, 1901, p. 6.

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road from Turriff to Inverkeithny, on a field on the Backhill of Drachlaw. From this point the boundary of the district runs in a south-westerly direction to the Hare-stone, on the farm of Feith-hill, about two miles and a half from Drachlaw. This stone had also been part of a Druidical circle, and is now nearly all that remains of it; it projects above ground about three feet. From the Hare-stone of Feith-hill, the boundary proceeds in nearly the same south-westerly direction for about a mile when it reaches the Woof or Oof stone, on the hill of Monduff, which indicates not only the limit of the district, but also that of the parishes of Forgue and Inverkeithny, the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, and the estates of Cluny, Gariochsford and Drumblair, which all meet at this point. Thence the line turns southward till it reaches the source of a streamlet on the northern borders of the farm of Lenshie. This rivulet forms the boundary, till it meets another small stream at the Mill of Gariochsford. The united stream flows down by Thornybank, and forms the boundary till its confluence with the Ythan at the farm of Knockleith."

Ancient Buchan included what is now modern Buchan, and also Formartine. Probably, in more remote times, parts of ancient Moray and Mar were included in the Mortuath. Aberdeenshire was formed out of the two earldoms, Mar and Buchan. Ancient Mar included the Garioch and Strathbogie, while ancient Buchan included the thanedoms of Belhelvie and Formartine. On the disappearance of the feudal system we find Aberdeenshire divided into five districts—Mar, Garioch, Strathbogie, Formartine and Buchan. The two latter districts, taken together, are usually spoken of as East Aberdeenshire.

Buchan has only one hill of any note, Mormond (769 feet). It is seen from almost any spot of rising ground within the district, as the country is, as a whole, flat and undulating. Such eminences as the hills of Caik, Turlundie, Culsh, Brucehill and Corsegight are connected with Mormond. The hills of Skelmuir, Dudwick, Skilmafilly, Belnagoak and Balquhindachy, and the Plover and Stirlinghills take their rise at the coast near Boddam. The chief rivers are the Deveron, the Ythan and the Ugie. The two first named form the greater part of the western boundary of Buchan. The Ugie bisects the district from New Deer to Peterhead. The smaller streams are the Water of Turriff, the Little Water of Gight, the Black Water of Gight, the Ebrie, the Water of

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Cruden and the Water of Philorth. The courses of these and others in the district are given in Pratt's *Buchan* (1901 edition, page 14). The reader will also find the general features of the district fully described in that volume.

The chapters in this section do not purport to give a historical account of modern Buchan. That would require a volume to itself. The following chapters deal only with certain features, such as dialect, literature, education, agricultural and social conditions. They may be helpful to those desiring to form a mental picture of the district during a period of great changes and embracing the past two hundred years.

CHAPTER II.

The last of the Earls Marischal.

THANKS to the enterprise of the Spalding Club, which has published his *Memoirs*, to the stirring nature of his history, to his marvellous genius as a soldier and his tragic death at Hochkirch, everyone is more or less familiar with the history of Field-Marshal James Keith.¹ This figure, so brilliant and picturesque and so well calculated to fire the popular imagination, has somewhat overshadowed the more modest, though not less interesting career of his elder brother, the Earl Marischal. His own habitual reticence as to his personal affairs and the fact that he has apparently left no papers behind him have made it difficult to trace in detail the story of his life. The outstanding facts, however, can be gathered from contemporary documents, and they may be briefly sketched as follows:—

George Keith, tenth and last Hereditary Marischal of Scotland, better known as Milord Maréchal, was born in Kincardine in 1684 (? or 1687). He came of an illustrious house, as the title of Lord Marischal had been borne by his family for over five hundred years. His father, William the ninth Earl, Lord Keith and Altree, who was a Protestant, was “a man of great courage and vivacity, with a soul capable of great things, but no seriousness of purpose.” His mother, Lady Maria Drummond, daughter of Lord Perth, who had been Grand Chancellor of Scotland under James I., was a fervent Catholic and staunch Jacobite. She was the authoress of the well-known ballad, “Lady Keith’s Lament,” and it was mainly owing to her influence that her son George, and his younger brother James, the future Field-Marshal, ranged themselves under the Pretender’s banner.

We do not know very much about the earlier years of the brothers. The *Memoirs* of James, the Field-Marshal, tell nothing of their childhood and early youth. “Memoirs,” he says, “are commonly so tedious by the recital of

¹ A memoir on Field-Marshal Keith, by Mr. Robert Anderson, Aberdeen, has just appeared in the *Transactions* of the Buchan Club.—ED.

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trifling accidents which happened in childhood, that it renders them not only uninteresting to the reader, but often loathsome to those who wish to employ their time in any useful way." He therefore plunges straight into the relation of the events which followed the death of Queen Anne, when he was aged 17 and his brother George was a few years older. We know, however, that the brothers were carefully educated, from 1703 to 1710 under their kinsman, Robert Keith, Bishop of Fife, and later under William Meston, the Jacobite poet, who was afterwards appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, which College was founded in 1593 by an ancestor of the Keiths. That the elder brother always retained an interest in this College is shown by the fact that shortly before his death he wrote from Potsdam to Hume, then in Paris, asking him to take occasion of some gentleman going to Scotland to "forward my old baton of Marischal to the Marischal College of Aberdeen, and at the same time make them my compliments; hoping they will receive the useless present as still a mark of regard and affection."

George Keith, of whom there is a very fine portrait, from the original by Pierre Parrocel in the possession of the Earl of Kintore at Keithhall, was short in stature and slight in build. His face was a noble and beautiful one and his eyes were large and dark. His personality was one of singular charm. The fearlessness, sense of honour and generosity which were his outstanding characteristics, were combined with great modesty and simplicity, with absolute freedom from any trace of personal vanity, and with much wit and kindly humour.

In 1712 he succeeded his father as Earl Marischal, and in the same year he was appointed by Queen Anne, who had much liking and esteem for the young soldier, to be Captain of the Guards. He fought with distinction under Marlborough, winning by his courage and capacity on several occasions the approval of the great General, and later on he became Colonel of the Horse Guards, which he commanded until the death of Queen Anne.

When that event took place, the Earl, who had remained strongly attached to the House of Stuart, wished to proclaim the Pretender King of England at the head of his troops. By this intrepid move he expected to carry the people with him, but Ormonde, with whom he consulted, hesitated and held back, and, owing to this indecision, the psychological moment was lost. The Earl himself was solemnly condemned to death by the Parliament of England; his

The last of the Earls Marischal

titles and possessions were forfeited, and of all his honours the only one that remained to him was that of being Earl Marischal of Scotland, by which title he ever afterwards signed himself, as a kind of tacit and constant protest. As he once wrote : "I shall keep it under the good pleasure of King George, who has not the power to deprive me of it, for I enjoy it, if it will not offend him to say so, with better right than he possesses the crown of Great Britain, since the title was that of my fathers ; and if I cannot prevent him signing himself, as he does, George the King, at least I shall always sign myself, with his permission, 'The Marischal of Scotland.'"

When his project of proclaiming the Pretender as King in England had failed, the Earl hurried north to take part in the preparations for Mar's insurrection of 1715. He wrote personally to James, begging him to come over to Scotland to take part in the struggle. "A sovereign deprived of his rights," he wrote, "ought to share the perils of those who expose their lives to restore them to him." On his way north, he met at York his younger brother, who was hastening to London to ask for a commission, and who joined the Marischal and returned with him to Scotland. They hurried to Aberdeen, where along with Mar, on September the 20th, they proclaimed King James the VIII. from the Market Cross. They served together through the rising and fought in the right wing at Sheriffmuir, where James Keith was wounded. When the Jacobite troops were forced to retire and disperse, the Marischal gave the fugitive Prince an asylum at Fetteresso and planned his escape from Scotland, but refused to accompany him. "Your Majesty," he said, "must take care of yourself for the sake of your friends. I am going to share the misfortunes of those of them who remain in Scotland ; I shall gather them together again and shall not leave without them." After James's departure the Marischal and brother led the remnant of their troops by way of Aberdeen to Ruthven, which, as James Keith says in his *Memoirs*, lying in the centre of the Highlands, was judged the best place to dismiss the troops. "From thence every one took the road pleased him best. The low country gentlemen, who could find no safety in their own country, resolved to keep together till they should get to the west sea and so take the first opportunity of getting out of the Kingdom." The Keiths continued their march with Clanranald's regiment, who were going home to the Western Isles, where they arrived about the middle

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of March, after much fatigue. For months the Earl Marischal wandered about, always pursued and always tranquil, through the mountains and islands of northern Scotland. A price was on his head, but confident in the loyalty and disinterestedness of his countrymen, he never attempted to disguise himself to those who sheltered him in their humble homes, showing an unbroken trust and confidence which was never betrayed. It is said that on one occasion he stood among the crowd who knew him listening to the proclamation of a reward for his capture. A little incident has been recorded which shows the humour with which he faced the perils through which he was running. "I am perhaps not so well hidden as My Lord Bolingbroke," he said, "who, wishing to travel unknown, ordered his negro, the only servant who was with him, to say that he was French. The negro, anxious to merit by his discretion the confidence of his master, made answer to all the questions addressed to him: 'He is French, and so am I.'" It is easy to understand the pride and affection with which the Marischal all his life regarded "the brave Scotch people," and the enthusiasm with which he used to recount their gallant fight against overwhelming odds. His jealousy in the struggle was not for the restoration of the House of Stuart alone, but for the interests of his country, which he thought would be thus furthered. When he proclaimed James III. King in Scotland, he required of him a promise to restore to that kingdom the privileges of which Queen Anne had deprived her.

The brothers wandered about for months without any chance of escape, "At last," as the *Memoirs* say, "about the middle of April, a ship sent by the King, arrived for us from France, in which we embarked to the number of about 100 officers, the 20 of April, old stile, and after a very pleasant passage arrived the 12 of May, new stile, at St. Paul de Léon in Brittany."

The brothers went straight to Paris, where they were graciously received by Mary of Modena, who granted them each 1000 livres. About the same time the King allowed them a pension of 200 crowns a year, "which was all his circumstances could allow him." In Paris the Marischal spent the time quietly in study. In 1718, Alberoni, who then governed Spain with the title of first Minister, had resolved to assist King James, to avenge the Whigs for some breach of faith of which he accused them, and in December the Marischal received a letter desiring him to join Ormonde in Spain and to take his brother

The last of the Earls Marischal

with him. Accordingly they embarked in 1719. Their voyage is described by the Field-Marshal in his *Memoirs*, one of the amusing incidents being a magnificent reception, which, much to their surprise was given them by Prince Pio of Savoy at Barcelona, and which was due to the fact that they were mistaken for King James and one of his officers. "I believe," says the Marshal, "he was sorry to have given himself so much trouble about us when he knew who we were, yet he received us very civilly, tho' with some embarrass."

On reaching Madrid they waited on the Cardinal, who told them the nature of the proposed enterprise, that the Duke of Ormonde was already preparing to embark at the Groine and that it was resolved the Earl Marischal should go to Scotland. The Earl, after consultation with Ormonde, went to the Cardinal and settled the plan of the undertaking. His brother went to France to meet the Jacobite leaders there, Seaforth, Glendarule, and Tullibardine, but their divided counsels and jealousies filled him with mistrust, and he returned to the Earl Marischal, grave with forebodings as to the success of the expedition. They sailed, however, and succeeded in reaching the Lewes, where the Earl landed on the Mainland with a small force of Spanish troops. He was anxious to make an immediate descent on Inverness, as yet insufficiently garrisoned, but Seaforth and Tullibardine, who had apparently arranged with the Chieftains that they would rise on the news of Ormonde's landing, refused to move. Whilst they waited, there came the news of the dispersal of Ormonde's fleet at sea. Tullibardine was with difficulty dissuaded from re-embarking and returning to Spain. This vacillation greatly perturbed the Earl, who resolved to put flight out of the question and sent his two frigates back to Spain. The Jacobites then landed at the head of Loch Duich. They were in a sorry condition, as their retreat by sea was cut off and their ammunition, which had been stored in an old castle on an island in Loch Duich, had been seized by the English troops. They took up their position in Glen Shiel, where they were attacked by the English, and after a skirmish of about three hours, in which not above a hundred men were killed or wounded (the only officer of distinction wounded being the Marquess of Seaforth) the Earl's troops were forced to retire to the top of a mountain, whose height prevented the enemy from pursuing them. By this time it was night, and as they had neither provisions nor ammunition, and as "the few troops they had had behaved in a

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manner not to give great encouragement to try a second action," it was resolved that the Spaniards, who numbered 274, should surrender and the Highlanders disperse. The Spaniards accordingly surrendered next morning, on condition that their baggage should not be plundered, and once more "every body took the road pleased him best." The Earl and his brother, after hiding for a time in the mountains, attempted to return to Spain. They embarked at Peterhead, and four days later landed at Texel in Holland. Next day they set out to try and enter France by Sedan. On arriving there, the town-major, finding they had no passports, stopped them, and "without enquiring our names or qualities, ordered us immediately to be carried to prison, which was executed with the greatest exactitude." This fortunately gave them an opportunity of destroying their commissions from the King of Spain, which country was then at war with France, before the town-major, realising his omission, sent to enquire if they had any papers which could account for them. The Earl Marischal happened to have in his pocket a letter from the Princess of Conti, which procured their release. Next day they were set at liberty and continued their journey to Paris. After spending about a month there, the brothers attempted to enter Spain by way of Montpellier, but finding that impossible they separated, the younger going by Toulouse and the Earl Marischal by the Pyrenees, where, after trying to pass through the mountains with a guide, he was unfortunate enough to be arrested by the Governor of Bigor (Bigorre?) and imprisoned for six weeks. He was released by a special order from the King of France, "but with orders to quit the kingdom immediately," for which they had given him a passport to go to Italy. He again joined his brother in Toulouse, and in the beginning of 1720, they arrived at Genoa. Finding themselves so near "the King our Master," they resolved to go to Rome, and a galley being ready to sail they embarked upon her. This voyage is very graphically described by the Field-Marshal. Finding that they had to pass a day in Porto Venere, the Earl Marischal borrowed a felouque from the Captain and went to Cestri de Levanté, where Cardinal Alberoni was then living in disgrace. After the Cardinal had received him, the Earl began to give him an account of what had passed in Scotland, but the Cardinal "having now no interest in the affairs of Spain, desired to be excused hearing it any further than what concerned himself, whom he was glad to see safely returned." So the Earl, after passing the night with him, sailed

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back to the galley, and after a perilous voyage, during which they were wind-bound for 10 days, they arrived at Leghorn "one of the beautifullest little touns that can be seen" and gladly bade farewell to their Genoese galley, "heartily glad to get ashore," as the Field-Marshal tells us, "for had we had bad weather, the unskilfullness and timidity of the equipage was enough to have frightened any one."

From Leghorn they made their way by Pisa, Florence and Sienna to Rome, where after about six weeks' stay they took leave of the King to return to Spain. His Majesty, knowing the brothers were in need of money, sent his favourite, Mr. Hay, to the Pope to desire an advance of 1000 Roman crowns on his ordinary pension, which the Pope refused on the plea of poverty. The King therefore borrowed the money from a banker and gave it to them. Returning to Genoa, the brothers stayed there six weeks, "which gave great uneasiness to D'Avenant, the English Minister there," who finally threatened that if they were not ordered out of the territory, as rebels to the King his master, the town would be bombarded. The Senate therefore "having insinuated to us that they would take it for a favour if we would leave the town," the brothers answered that they were only waiting an opportunity to get to Spain. A few days later they were provided with a galley of 14 oars, and, keeping close to the coast of France and passing every night ashore, they evaded the English ships of war, and arrived in 29 days at Valentia, reaching Madrid in July 1720.

In Spain the Earl apparently lived quietly as the official representative of James VIII. He was granted a pension from Spain, but never received any active command, although he was probably present with his brother at the Siege of Gibraltar in 1726. His small pension being very irregularly paid, he was obliged to live more or less in retirement, spending his time mostly in shooting and reading. He remained a Protestant, in spite of the fact that it prevented his promotion in the army, and of the attempts of his great friend, the Duchess of Medina-Sidonia, to convert him to Catholicism. There is a story of her trying to persuade him of the infallible power of a charm granted by the Inquisition for arresting fire, by virtue of which the possessor could go through fire without being burned. "I shall be very glad to believe it," he replied "on condition that I light the fire myself and that I am present when the miracle is performed." The Duchess delightedly consented and had the fire

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prepared, but the priest who should have gone into the fire declared that he would never expose himself to a fire lighted by a heretic. The Inquisition supported the priest in his refusal and showed some resentment of the Marischal's proposal. He was, however, allowed a considerable amount of religious liberty, and even permitted to read what books he pleased, a toleration which he repaid by the respect which he never failed to show to the religious beliefs of others.

Both by taste and habit, however, the Earl was a lover of movement, and before long he grew weary of his life of inactivity in Spain. Once more he returned to Rome, where he lived in James's palace. Here he was regarded with great esteem and was presented by the King with the Order of the Garter. This mark of honour does not seem to have been highly valued by him, as he seldom wore his Garter, giving as his reason that "in order to avoid ridicule it is better to renounce these vain ornaments when he who bestows them is not in a condition to make them respected." The society of the Pretender's court was not congenial to the Earl, who soon longed for more liberty. Hearing that the Duke of Ormonde, under whom he had served in Flanders and Scotland, and who was also suffering for his attachment to the Stuarts, had retired to Avignon, he joined him there. Ormonde, who loved him like a father, welcomed him gladly, and the friends, drawn together by common sentiments and misfortunes, spent a pleasant time in the freedom of Avignon. In all his travels the Earl's constant endeavour was to serve the cause he still loved, and he carried out many secret negotiations, some successful, others not. All the interesting details of these have been lost, as some thirty years before his death he burned all his papers—an irreparable loss to the historian of the Jacobite struggle.

The Earl's journeys, however, always seemed to lead him back to Spain, the country of all others most congenial to him. He loved it for its fine climate, but above all he was drawn to it by his sympathy for the character of the people and his gratitude for its zealous support of the cause he had at heart. Once again he found himself at Madrid, and when in 1733 Spain was at war with France, the Earl offered his services to the King. These were at first refused, the King desiring to be served only by Catholics; but at last the Earl's enthusiasm overcame the scruples of the King, who, it is

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said, omitted to consult his confessor on this case of conscience. The short war being ended, the Earl was living quietly and happily in Valentia, where, he said, "he found good friends, beginning with the Sun," when he heard that his brother, Marshal Keith, who had entered the Russian service, had been seriously wounded in the knee at Oczakow while fighting against the Turks. The Earl immediately hurried to the aid of this beloved brother, travelled over 1000 miles to reach him and found him disputing with the surgeons, who wished to amputate the leg at the thigh. The Earl refused to allow the operation, and carried his brother off to Paris. On their way they visited Frederick William I. and the Crown Prince of Prussia. On reaching Paris some fragments of cloth were successfully removed from the wounded knee and the limb was saved. From Paris the brothers are said to have paid a visit to England, and—although still fervent Jacobites—to have been granted an audience with George II.

From 1742 the Earl was apparently engaged in the Jacobite interest in France, residing sometimes in Paris, sometimes in Boulogne. Here he joined the Association of Jacobites which had been founded in 1741, and which was led chiefly by Balhaldie and Sempil, both of whom he quickly learned to distrust, and to whose policy he was entirely opposed. All his influence and power were exerted to prevent futile and half-hearted attempts to rouse the Scottish people and the sending of small expeditions which could only result in useless bloodshed and misery and in vain expenditure of men and money. His aim was to secure sufficient support from France and to land in Scotland with a strong and well-organised force. Were he able to do this he was confident that the Highlanders would rally to the Stuart standard. Had James, far away in Rome, recognised the strength of the Earl's position and put him at the head of the Association in place of Balhaldie, the history of the Jacobite cause would in all probability have had another ending. No definite orders, sufficient money nor troops being forthcoming, the Earl refused to set sail for Scotland. Charles, losing patience, and having no resource except his courage, appealed to the Earl to accompany him to Scotland. "I need only you alone," he said; "I wish to conquer or perish with my faithful Scottish people." "That is the courage we expect from our King," answered the Earl, "and which we are not surprised to find in you, but you should not uselessly

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throw it away in an enterprise which will only result in sacrificing your friends to your enemies." Charles persisted in his resolution. "Very well," said the Earl, "let us go ; but at the moment we land I shall feel myself obliged to declare to your subjects that we are two brave adventurers who come alone and without support, and to dissuade them from making any movement in your favour, which would merely loose your cause and theirs. They owe you their blood and lives only when they can at least hope for some success." Charles seemed at first to yield to the Earl's entreaties, but whilst matters were still dragging on and the time being spent in useless attempts to conquer the French irresolution, he secretly embarked for Scotland, without having consulted or confided in the Earl, whom he never forgave for this incident and for his candour. When the Earl heard of his departure he would fain have followed his Prince, and he used all his power to try to persuade France to send over a corps d'armée to support him. Unfortunately he soon found that Charles was badly served by his agents at the Court of Versailles, who exaggerated the number of troops which the prince had in Scotland. The Earl refused to maintain this deception and gave the figures as they really were, "loving truth even more than his King," and in order to avoid useless loss of the French soldiers, believing that the sending of small supplies would merely prolong a useless struggle. His part was a very ungrateful one ; his courageous sincerity was misunderstood by the Prince, who showed that he had learned to mistrust his faithful servant. Tired of the Jacobite dissensions and French vacillation, the Earl at last resigned all hope of furthering the Jacobite cause, and sorrowfully resolved to leave Charles's service. To the Prince he wrote that "as he had only served other Kings for the love of him whom he desired to have as his own, he would at the same time resign the service of Spain, and say a sad farewell to the country which he loved so much."

He then attempted to settle in Russia, but at the instigation of the British Ambassador he was, as a Jacobite, refused permission to join his brother at Riga. His brother, who had meantime risen into such high favour with the Empress that she had proposed matrimony to him, and who had thereby incurred the jealousy of the Vice-Chancellor, had gradually lost one by one all his posts, with the exception of the command of two militia regiments. Fearing that Siberia might be in store for him, he also fled from Russia and

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took refuge in Berlin. There he had not long to wait for promotion, for Frederick, recognising his ability as a soldier, at once gave him a position in his army, and within two months of leaving Russia, James Keith was a Field-Marshal in the Prussian army.

The Earl meantime had taken refuge in Venice. Here he lived in something very much like poverty, but beloved and esteemed by the people of the Republic, who showed their consideration for him in every possible way. His poverty and loneliness in no way effected the serenity of his mind. The letters which he sent from Venice to his friends are full of philosophical gaiety and wit, and of humorous comments upon the character and history of the people amongst whom he was dwelling.

Throughout all the adventures and vicissitudes of their lives, the Earl and his brother had remained strongly attached to each other, and had regretted their enforced separation. The time had now come when it was possible for them to be re-united. The Field-Marshal begged his brother to join him at Berlin, and the Earl gladly left "his old friend the sun" at Venice and made his way north to Berlin. To him also the King, so good a judge of men, extended a cordial welcome, and henceforth there grew up between the King and the Earl one of the most remarkable and beautiful friendships recorded in history. It has been suggested that Frederick's first reason for receiving the Earl so cordially was his desire to retain the services of his brother, but if this were so, he quickly learned to value him for his own qualities. The friendship and intimacy thus begun ended only with the Earl's death. Frederick granted the Earl a pension of 2000 crowns, and decorated him with the order of the Black Eagle, which he afterwards wore in preference to the Pretender's Garter, for although he set little store by such dignities, he could not but be touched by this mark of honour. He sometimes, however, permitted himself to jest with his friends upon the multiplications of these "ribbons of all colours" spreading throughout Europe. "They are," he said, "a species of merchandise for which the skill of kings and the vanity of subjects has provided a great market, but which their abundance has greatly lowered in price."

In 1751, Frederick sent him as ambassador to Versailles, an appointment which gave offence to the English Court, but apparently the Earl, having

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renounced the Jacobite cause, did not exert himself actively on its behalf. He had by this time lost to a great extent his regard for Prince Charles and become more and more alienated from his cause. His conduct at Versailles endeared him still more to Frederick, who wrote: "I have felt so greatly the perfidy, ingratitude and wickedness of man, that I might perhaps be excused for no longer believing in virtue: 'le bon Milord' has forced me to believe in it again. This sentiment consoles me, and I am indebted to him for it." The Earl himself, although enjoying his stay in France, had little heart for the mission upon which he was employed, saying that it required a finesse which he did not possess, and which he did not care to acquire.

On his return from France, Frederick appointed him to be Governor of Neuchatel, a post which he accepted gladly, believing that his duties would be peaceful and easily fulfilled. In this he was disappointed. Some quarrel arose with regard to a Protestant minister, whose orthodoxy was doubted by his brethren, and whom the Earl, tolerant as he always was, tried to shelter from the hate of his persecutors. Tired of the religious dissensions between the Lutherans and Calvinists, the Earl begged Frederick to recall him, which he did. During his stay at Neuchatel, an intimate correspondence was carried on between the Earl and the King, one of the letters written by Frederick being a peculiarly touching one upon the death of the Earl's brother, the Field-Marshal, who was killed at the battle of Hochkirch in October 1758.

In December of the same year, Frederick, who was at war with Austria, Russia, France and Sweden, sent the Earl to Spain to carry out a negotiation which had for its object the restoration of the peace of Europe. Failing in his mission, and greatly disappointed by this failure, the Earl returned to Prussia and definitely renounced the *métier* of Ambassador.

During this time Frederick, who was then an ally of England, took advantage of the good terms upon which he was with that country to obtain from King George the removal of the Marischal's attainder, which still existed, although it had for long time been undeserved. The Earl himself was unaware that Frederick had asked this grace for him, which he would not have asked for himself. England, however, was pleased to show her ally this mark of deference and the pardon was granted without delay. In order to benefit by this rehabilitation the Earl took leave of Frederick to travel to England and Scotland.

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Frederick's reluctant parting with his friend has been described by a witness of the scene. They embraced with tears in their eyes. "Remember," said the King, "if you are not happy in Scotland you have a friend here who is constantly missing you, and whose regrets you can banish whenever you will." Some time after his departure Frederick wrote to him: "If I were a maritime power, I should come and carry you off from Scotland."

In London the Earl was received by King George with every mark of distinction, although to a friend who begged for an account of the interview the Earl replied in the parody of a verse of an old ballad:

"The King he turned him roon about,
An' a laich lauch leuch he,
An' he said, 'Yirl Marischal, but for my aith,
Heich hangit ye sud be.'"

Indeed the pardon, although it secured his personal safety, did little else to restore him to his former dignities or possessions, although an Act of Parliament was passed which enabled him to inherit property in Great Britain and to claim the succession to the estate of his cousin, Lord Kintore, who had lately died. This made it possible for him to live in comfort and to satisfy his generous instincts, so long starved by the poverty to which his loyalty to the Stuart cause had reduced him. He made no effort to recover the titles of which he had been deprived, having no need of them for himself and no heir to inherit them. His reconciliation to the house of Brunswick was a great disappointment to the remaining Jacobites in the north, as we can gather from the story of the behaviour of the parish bell of Longside. This bell had been accustomed to ring on each anniversary of the Earl's birthday. On the day when the news of the Earl's having taken the oath to Government reached Longside, it happened that the bellman was ringing the first bell. At this very instant, we are told, the bell was rent from the top downwards, an event which was interpreted by a bystander as meaning: "The deil a cheep mair sall I speak for you Earl Marischal."

From London the Earl made his way to Scotland, where he was greatly touched by the affection and veneration shown to him by his countrymen. He seems to have visited the Kintore estates and to have gone so far on his way to see the Castle at Inverugie, but in spite of the pleadings of his tenantry he could

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not find it in his heart to complete the journey. Reaching a point where a full view of the Castle is obtained, the Earl was overcome by his feelings ; "Stay the voyage," he said, and the spot from which he turned back is to this day known as "stay-the-vage." The people did what they could to show him honour, even electing him to the high office of Provostship of Kintore, and to persuade him to make his home once more among them, but the Earl, now over 70 years of age, could not reconcile himself to the changes that had taken place since his boyhood. The climate tried him, and he missed his old friends. Writing to Hume he says : "My health is totally (not ruined) but deranged since I am in Scotland. Your advice of creeping nearer the sun is most agreeable to an old Spaniard and a sort of Guebre" (Persian fire-worshipper) "by religion." Another inconvenience of which he complains to Hume is the bigotry—"I am afraid also a little hypocrisy"—of his countrymen. "As I passed through Aberdeen," he says, "the churches were resounding with anathemas against those who would have taken their letters out of the post on Sunday." Campbell, then Principal of Marischal College, was one of the zealous preachers whose attitude displeased him. "I can very well understand how these gentlemen like to be absolute sovereigns for the seventh part of the year, but it is not pleasant for me." . . . "Here are my complaints : I have little health and little intellectual pleasure because I am too much bothered by our *Lamas*. On the other hand it is very pleasant and flattering to live in a country in which I have reason to believe everyone wishes me well." In another letter to Hume he says, referring evidently to the high houses in Edinburgh : "Do not be astonished that I do not enjoy myself in this country, where if one's legs are not good enough one cannot visit one's friends who often live high up. The climate is frightful, and the good society is occupied at the bar, in its business or its studies." Moreover the Jacobites began to gather round him and to look to him for guidance. The Earl, feeling greatly the lack of dignity in the life led by the Pretender, and resenting his indifference and want of interest in the people who had suffered so much for him and shown him such generous devotion, had resolved to keep silent with regard to his feelings towards the Jacobite cause, but this self-imposed silence became very irksome and his position grew more and more difficult. He therefore resolved to sell his estates, which passed into the hands of Lord Pitfour, and with tears in his eyes he bade farewell to Scotland for the last time.

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As Frederick was still at war, and there was some difficulty in his returning to Prussia, he again took up his abode at Neuchatel. Here he met and befriended Rousseau, assuring to him and his wife an income of 600 livres, a sum which the philosopher had indicated as being lacking to his happiness, and persuading Frederick also to extend his protection to the refugee, and to shield him from the persecutions of the "Compagnie des Pasteurs de la Souveraineté de Neuchatel," who had addressed a petition to the King, begging him to banish Rousseau from the town. In his reply Frederick says : "His Majesty, far from acquiescing in the demand of the Company, cannot but be very ill satisfied with the turbulent proceedings and the tendency to sedition which the said Pasteurs have shown against a man whom his Majesty honours with his protection." It is sad to relate that after so many marks of interest and generosity the Earl was repaid with nothing but ingratitude, with regard to which, according to his invariable rule, he maintained an unbroken silence. In the unhappy quarrel which took place between Rousseau and Hume, the Earl was led by his sense of justice to take Hume's part. He carefully preserved the letters which passed between him and the two philosophers on the subject, entrusting them to a friend to be opened after his death. Speaking of the incident later, this friend said : "I ought to render the justice to his memory of saying that in spite of the just causes of complaint which he had against Rousseau, I never heard him say a word to his disadvantage ; he only showed me the last letter which he had received, and related to me historically the affair of the pension. This letter was full of insults. 'One must pardon these eccentricities,' said the Earl on receiving it, 'to a man who is rendered unjust by misfortune, and whom we ought to regard and treat as an invalid.'" So truly did he pardon Rousseau that in his will he left him the watch which he always wore, and which was sent to Rousseau's widow.

Peace being again restored to Prussia, the Earl was in 1764 recalled by Frederick to Potsdam, where he lived in a fine and commodious villa which the King had built in the Faubourg for him, and from which he could pass through the garden to Sans-Souci. Here he was absolutely at liberty to come and go, to dine with the King or to stay at home as he pleased. When he announced to the King that he was coming to Court, Frederick paid him every honour, took care that he should find what best suited his taste, and after

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dinner sent him to rest in an apartment in the Castle which was always reserved for him. When he was unable to go to the Castle, Frederick came to visit him in his own villa. Thus his serene old age passed happily away. His domestics were as dear to him as children, and he regarded himself as their father. His old secretary, almost as aged as himself, had been left at Neuchatel, to live quietly on a pension which the Earl gave him, but he could not stay long apart from his beloved master and followed him to Potsdam to die beside him. His servants were of every nationality and religion ; Catholics, Protestants, Christians, Infidels. One of them who came from Thibet, boasted of being descended from the Grand Lama, and was always referred to by his master as "my grand almoner." He was greatly interested in the education of his servants, at the same time leaving them entire liberty as to their religion. "It is my business," he used to say, "to see that they are happy and virtuous in this world ; it is theirs to make their arrangements for the next." He was devoted to animals, allowing them also a great deal of liberty.

Reading was his favourite occupation. Among his chosen companions were Molière, Montaigne and Voltaire in French, Don Quixote in Spanish, Ariosto in Italian, the dramatic poets in English, and all the well known Latin writers. To these he was so greatly attached that he read and re-read them with increasing delight. Towards the end of his life he even congratulated himself on his loss of memory, saying that he would have all the more pleasure in re-reading the beloved books which he had to some extent forgotten. When he read a book in a language with which he was not quite familiar, he always had a dictionary at hand, so that he might ascertain the exact shade of meaning conveyed by any word which was strange to him. In the same way in reading the Gazette, he was wont to consult the map, especially when studying any question of military operation. His conversation was most interesting, his travels and wide knowledge of human nature, his wit and kindly humour, his fund of interesting and curious anecdotes, combining to make his talk a constant delight to the friends by whom he was surrounded, and whom he regarded with such deep interest and affection. He spoke slowly in any language, and expressed himself in original and uncommon phrases and words, which lent an added charm to his talk. A few fragments of his conversation have been preserved, and these with his letters give us some idea of

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his wit, kindness and finesse. Thus the last years of his life passed tranquilly away, one day very much alike the other, but bringing with them no sense of ennui to his noble soul, which throughout the turmoil and perils of his life had never known anxiety or distress.

In 1778, the King was obliged once more to embark upon the war which has left his memory so great and famous. The Earl bade him farewell sadly, not expecting to see him again, and shortly after he became ill with a fever. For six weeks he suffered great pain and weakness, borne without any complaint. Only when his suffering was at its worst he said gently to his physician "I do not ask you to preserve my life, for you evidently cannot take away 50 years from my age; I only beg of you, if possible, to shorten my pain," adding with his usual sangfroid, that he was glad not to be among the Esquimos, who would have killed him instead of letting him be ill in peace. Two days before his death he asked that Mr. Elliot, the English Envoy to Berlin should visit him, saying that he thought it delightful that a minister of King George should receive the last sighs of an old Jacobite. "And perhaps," he added, "you may have some message to give me for Lord Chatham (who had died a fortnight earlier), and as I expect to see him to-morrow or the day after, I shall have pleasure in charging myself with your despatches."

He ordered that he should be buried in the cemetery without any ceremony, fixing the expense of his interment at about three louis, saying that he desired not to have money spent on such an object which might be better employed in succouring the poor. This desire was carefully followed, and he was carried to his grave by the servants who loved him, the last Earl Marischal of Scotland thus sleeping beneath an alien sky.

A. B.

CHAPTER III.

The Buchan Dialect.

WITHIN the limited space at our disposal it would be impossible to do justice to the peculiarities of the idioms, the vocabulary and the phonology of the Buchan dialect. The present chapter will deal therefore with the phonology alone, and for the most part words common to the Buchan dialect and literary English will be introduced. The words and pronunciation are such as I have heard amongst those like myself, natives of the country district within sight of Mormond, and also amongst the fishing population in the villages of St. Combs, Inverallochy and Cairnbulg. In marking the vowel sounds I have used the system adopted by Dr. Joseph Wright in his *English Dialect Grammar*, which is pretty much the same as that of Dr. Sweete. Our dialect is one of the great Northumbrian family, and many of its peculiarities may be accounted for by the long seclusion of the district from the busier ways of commerce, and by the influence exerted on its speech by the Norse element of its population.

Here is not the place to discuss the question as to the time when English was first introduced into Buchan. That has been admirably done by Dr. Giles in his paper on "The making of our Mother Tongue." We hold with him that with the advent of the Southern overlords and their numerous retainers, and also with the development of commerce amongst the principal burghs, Gaelic gradually ceased to be spoken. By the end of the 13th century at least it had almost died out in the district bordering on the sea. The fishing population, isolated pretty much from their country neighbours, have retained many of the older words and vowel sounds, and tend to confirm Dr. Latham's opinion that the Northumbrian was Anglo-Dane rather than Anglo-Saxon. For example we have *wursam* for "pus," but in the country district *mêtr* (matter); *flags* used by all for "snowflakes"; *Karlen book*, the term used by fishermen of old for the book recording the boat's catch of fish; and "dyäg"

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(Dan. "*jagen*") applied formerly to the cloth wrapped about the fingers when hauling the boats on to the beach with ropes, and still used in hauling the catch of herrings into the boats. Then there is the pronunciation of words such as "sea" and "die" just as we find it in Norse *døe*, *søe*. By ancient tradition and by memorials still remaining, Buchan was evidently much affected by Danish incursions and settlements. Besides, there is a great similarity in features between the fishermen in some of the villages and those of Norway. For my part I am inclined to attribute to this source the turning of "wh" into "f," as in "white," "who," &c., the original "hv" becoming "v" and then "f." Our purpose is to shew in detail the difference existing between the pronunciation of the old English consonants and vowels as this has been modified in literary English, compared with the modifications in Buchan. This presupposes that both started from the same originals, yet under different influences.

I. CONSONANTS.

We have just noticed *hv*=*wh*. *Initial w* is generally dropped before the *ū* sound, as in *wood*, *wool* (*ū*), *week* (*ūk*); *Warped* becomes "orpit," and *woman* *ɤ*man. *Initial wr* becomes "vr" in almost all instances, and initial *sw* becomes "sū" as in *swim*, *sweep*, *sword*. The *kw* in *quarter* loses its *w* sound and becomes "korter" (of oatcake), but on the contrary assumes a *w* in a great many words as in *coat*, *coal*, which become "kwait" and "kwait," in *cut* and *cool* which become "kwid" and "kwil," in *cookery* and *country* which become "kwigri" and "kwintra."

O.E. y (*j*=*g*) disappears in *yield* and *year*, and *yule* becomes "il," while we have *irok*=one-year-old hen, and *aion* (geong)=one-year-old bullock. It is introduced before *axe*, *extra* (jaxtra), and medially in such words *bake* (bjäk)¹ &c., *hook* (hjök), &c., *blow* (bljav), &c., *ford* (fjürd), &c., *kill*, *kirk*, *girl*.

L medial disappears in *hold* (had, F. hod), *gold* (gaud), *fault* (fāt), *malt*, &c. *galled* (gā'd), &c. Most words ending in *all*—*ull*, drop the "ll." *Tollbooth* becomes "taubith," and *clock* "knok."

D medial has been retained in many cases as *fadr* (father), *madr* (mother), *wodr* (weather). In the combinations *ndl*, *ndr*, and *nds* it disappears, and in the past tense of verbs becomes *t* after *n* and *r*, and in some cases after *l*, as

¹ It is to be understood that where &c. is put, words of the same termination are implied, and where F. occurs it refers to the fisher pronunciation.

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belt for bald. In *field* and *world* it changes places with d, giving *fidl* and *wōrdl*.

Th and *dh* require little to be said of them. Medially they change into d as in *smithy*, &c. Finally they tend to get dropped as in *mouth* (mū), &c. *Moth* ranks back in "moch" to Mid. English.

The sound of *S Initial* becomes "sh" in many cases, such as in *cinders*, *sew*, *suit*, &c., and is prefixed to many words, as in *slounge* (slündg), *scringe* (skrindg), *snicher*. Final s is turned to z as in *grease*, &c., to sh as in *fleece*.

C (= *K*) is sounded in most cases as in *knife*, *know*, &c. Before vowels the original k (= English *ch*) remains as in *chaff* (kaf), *church* (kirk), *chuckle* (kekl), &c. Fishermen speak of the sea *keffin'* when they see spray rising here and there with the wind against the tide. While O.E. *sc* becomes sh in literary Eng. we have exceptions to the rule, unless such words as *scunner* and *stime* and *skriek* e.g. are from other sources. *Scunner* is from the same root as *shun*, *stime* from the same root as *shimmer*, and *skriek* is the same as *shriek*. Final O.E. k remains as in *bitch* (bik), &c., *thatch* (thak) (n.), (thik) (vb.), *bench* (bink), *trench* (n.) (trink), but *kink* (of a rope) becomes "kinsh" and *ash*, *ēs*, wish *wvs*.

R is always a consonant fully sounded, changing places in *christen* (kirsen), *curds* (krüds), *grin* (girn), and is put for emphasis into *thistle* (thrisl).

B is replaced by p in the fishing villages in such words as *lobster* (lapster), and generally in *neighbour* (nipr).

F and *V* disappear in *shovel* (shil), *stiff* (stei), *shove* (F. shū), and in *give*, *devil*.

N and *T* follow the same rule as elsewhere in Scotland.

2. VOWELS.

We shall now give as condensed a statement of the *Vowel* sounds as is possible.

Short Accented Vowels.

1. *West Saxon ae* (*a*), *ea* and *q* before nasals (ɪ) in originally closed syllables becomes in many cases è, pretty much as in modern Eng., only more emphasised as in *cap*, *shadow*, *glass*, *fast*, &c.; ē in *arm*, *glad*, &c., *tongs* (also ja), *axe* (also ja); a (ō—F.) in *hand* (han, F. hōn) *land* &c.; ā, where an "l" or "t" or "d" final is dropped, in *balk*, &c., *malt*, &c., *fold*, &c.; ai in *womb* (waim), &c. (2) in originally open syllables—è in *saddle*, *shape*, &c.; ē in *maid*, *ladle*,

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&c. ; ā in *whale* (F. fāl), *dawn*, &c. ; ja in *cake*, &c. ; ā and àu and jav in *gnaw*, *saw*, &c. ; èi in *brain*, &c. and words in *ail* ; e in *gather*, *hammer*, *mate*, *lame*, &c. ; ī as in *blaze* and *adze* (ītsh) ; a in *crane*, *make*, &c.

2. *W. Germanic E = O.E. e, and i—umlaut of a (o), eo (ɪ)* in originally closed syllables becomes ā in *wedge* ; ē in *edge*, &c., *earnest*, *smart*, *learn*, &c. ; a in *wretch*, *well* (n.), *straight*, &c. ; ī in *stretch*, *wing* ; ə (i) *help*, *kill*, &c., *bright*, &c. ; o in *whelp* (also i and u), *web* ; èi (also ai and F. oi) in *end* ; e in *fight* (fecht), *straight*, *starve*, *yearn*. (2) in originally open syllables it becomes ī in *mare*, *pear*, &c., *besom* ; èi in *even*, &c., *heave*, *weave*, &c. (F.) *sea* ; e in *eat*, *meat*, &c. ; ē in *play*, *breach*, &c. ; ə (i) *fever* ; jau in *cave* ; a in *yellow* (jalla), *break* (brak) ; ɐ in *weather* (wɛdr), *whether* (fɛdr) ; ā in *reckon* (also ja), *away* ; ai in *way* and *weigh*.

3. *O.E. i* is mostly retained. With regard to our i it seems difficult for any one but a Scotsman to pronounce it. The nearest description of it is the e in German *Gabe*. The greater part of our words with i differ from English simply in this peculiarity, but i becomes ɐ in *bill*, *fill*, &c., *window*, *whistle*, *dim. of child* (chelli), *witch* ; ɪ in *wind*, &c. ; ei in *nine*, &c.

4. *O.E. o (ɪ)* in originally closed syllables, is for the most part retained, but in the fisher communities it becomes au as in *dog*, *hog*, &c., and generally in words containing ol as *bolster*, *folk*, &c. As frequently we have a, especially after cr, as *crow*, *crop*, &c., also in *loft*, *soft*, &c., *top* ; ū (and jū) in words ending with ord, as *sword*, *afford*, &c. ; u in *should* and *would* (also sɛd and wɛd) ; a in *daughter* (as well as dother and F. dosh). (2) in originally open syllables the sound of ɔ is mostly retained, but we have ō in *froth*, *frozen*, *oven* ; i in *nose* (niz), *shovel* (shifl), and au in *over* (aur).

5. *O.E. u* has also mostly retained its original sound, but in some cases it has become ū, as in *fowl*, *sow*, *cow*, *shoulder*, *bound*, &c., where it became changed in English. It becomes i in *summer*, *dust*, &c. ; ɐ as in *Eng. love*, *wood*, *pull*, &c., *put*, *bullock*, and generally with labials.

6. *O.E. y (= i—umlaut of u)* follows in Buchan as elsewhere the same course as i, as in *sin* (sɛn), ɪ in *shut* (v.), *stubble* and so forth.

Long Vowels.

O.E. ā becomes in Buchan for the most part o as in *road*, *rope*, *pole*, or indifferently e as in *cloth*, *rope*, *ghost*, &c. ; ē as in *toe*, *oats*, *more*, &c. ; ā as in

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two, who. Ger. *ae* = *W. Lan. ae* = *Eng. e* becomes *ē* as in *breathe*, &c., *e* as in *Adder*, &c.; *ə* (i) as in *seeds*; *ai* as in *wey*; *ī* as in *briar, dread*, &c., *errand*, *ā* as in *where* (*fār*); *a* as in *let*; and *ʋ* as in *silly*, &c. *O.E. ae* = *i*—umlaut of *ā* gives *e* as in *deal*, &c., *ladder, clad*, &c.; *ei* as in *leave, key*; *ī* as in *breadth*; *ai* as in *sweat*; *a* in *wrestle* (*warsl*); *o* as in *any*; and *ə* (i) as in *ever*.

O.E. ē (1) = *i*—umlaut of *ō* has followed in Buchan pretty much the same development as literary English. We have one or two exceptions, e.g. we have for *qucan* the Gothic sound retained in *kwain*, and *keep* often becomes *kep*. *O.E. ē* (2) = older *ie* also follows literary English except in a few cases, e.g. it becomes *ī* in *die* (F. *oi*), *well* (adj.); *ei* in *hay* (F. *oi*); *ə* (i) in *height, next* (but this word mostly preserves the *O.E.* form in *nīst*).

O.E. ī is retained but shortens the literary *Eng. ae* sound, but in some cases it becomes *ī* as in *wire, write*, &c.; *ʋ* as in *ditch*; *e* as in *Friday*; *ei* as in *iron* (F. *oi*).

O.E. ō has followed literary *Eng.* in many cases, but has in many others turned it into *ī* as in *broom, stood, soon, tool*, &c.; *ə* (c) as in *soot, foot, glove, brother*, &c. Before *ght* it becomes *o* as in *brought*, &c., it becomes *wī* in *school, cool, good*. *ʋ* in *move, prove*, &c. Final *ō* becomes *ī* in *shoe*, and in *do*, which, before a vowel is *div* and also before “not,” as *divna*; *ju* in *enough, tough book, cook*, &c.; *ow* is sounded as *au* in *glow, flow*, &c.

O.E. ū generally remains with far fewer exceptions than in literary *Eng.* Words with *ou* and *ow* are invariably so pronounced, we have *ū* in *dove* (*dū*), *rust, shove*, (F. *shu* otherwise *shiv*), *thumb*; *ʋ* or *o* in *drcught rough*; and *ī* in *Thursday* (*Firsda*).

O.E. y = *i*—umlaut of *ū* has generally followed the course of *O.E. i*. The chief differences *ei* in *mice*, &c., *pride*, &c., *fire*, &c.; *ʋ* in *chicken, thimble, wish*; *a* in *filth*, &c., *ū* in *why* (*fū*); *oi* F. in *fire, dry*, &c.

Diphthongs.

O.E. ēa becomes *ī* as in *eye, breast, tear* (vb.) *red, head*, &c. *ī* in *high, neighbour*; *e* in *flea* (*flech*), *straw, cheap*, &c.; *ei* in *tea*; *jau* in *dew, few*; *ā* in *near, raw*, and *O.E. ēo* for the most part agrees with literary *Eng.* but becomes *ī* in *breast, devil, choose*; *ā* in *chew*; *au* in *truth*; *ju* in *seu, clew*, and *ē* in *fly, lie*.

FRENCH INFLUENCES ON BUCHAN SPEECH.

In adopting words from our ancient friends, the French, we have not followed the English sounds.

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1. *Eng. a.* Where they have the *a* sound we have *e* as in *carry* &c. *value, card, branch, &c.*; for their *ē* sound we have *ā* in *wages, wager, ancient, &c.*, and *a* in *fade, acquaint*, or *ai* in *chain, rein, wait, gase, &c.* or *ei* in *gay, pay, &c.* or even *i* in *change, &c. dame*, and in one case *a* becomes *o* as in *practices* (protiks).

2. *Eng. e.* Where English has the *e* sound we have *i* as in *jelly, pleasure, or ai* as in *question, phaeton, &c.*, and even *ā* as in *famous*.

3. *Eng. ɪ.* For the English *i* sound we substitute our own *ə* (i) or *ɛ* as in *cinders* (shunrs), *risk, dinner* (dɛnr), *ink, pick, &c.* or *i* as in *violent, misery, physic, &c.* *Eng. ī sound* (ea, ee) is generally shortened as in *beak, beef, peace, &c.*, becomes *e* as in *cheat, conceit, &c.*; *ə* (i) in *measles, reason, &c.*, *ai* in *treadle*.

4. *Eng. o.* Here the chief difference occurs in the rendering of *oi*. With us it becomes *ai* as in *oil, boil, &c.*, *join, &c. moist, &c.* and *poison* which is also pronounced *puzhin*, like *fuzhin* from *foison*. *Ou* is generally in Buchan *ɛ* as in *ounce, pronounce, &c. poultry, mount, &c.* *ū* as in *court, count, &c.* *Eng. ō* (oo, oa) gets shortened as in *brooch, cloak, close* (adj.) *roast, &c.*, *wai* as in *coat*.

5. *Eng. ū* becomes *ə* (i) in *put, stubble, just, dozen, ɛ* in *put* (the stone), *bushel, cushion, i* in *judge*, and *i* and *ɛ* in *humble*. For *Eng. ū* sound we have *ē* as in *blue* (tho' *blae* may be taken originally from Norse; *i* as in *use, &c. humour, fool*.

6. For the *Eng. ai* sound as in *quiet*, we substitute *èi* (Kuèit) and in *tailor* we pronounce *telyər*; *i* in *cipher, fibre*. For *Eng. au* we prefer *ū* as in *allow bounty, doubt, gown, &c.*

One thing is noticeable all through, and that is the avoidance of any modified forms of the vowels such as *ü* appearing in the southern countries in *moon, boot, &c.* Buchaners have preferred the clearer vowels owing to their windswept fields perhaps, as well as from their nature. They would consider any great manipulation of the lips as a sign of affectation, and superfluous. Another thing observable is their adherence to older forms and sounds. Among the fishing population, which has been most conservative, many of the older forms of vowels and words of half-a-century ago have almost disappeared. We no longer hear anything like the following illustrations from

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the villages and country districts. The modern fisherman would never be heard saying e.g. “Nū, dosh, ūr daug’s doien. He’s loien at the baek o’ boid, croien for a hoddock,” any more than we should hear in the country districts “Fu’s a’ wi’ ye?” “Oh! we’re a’ geylies and braulies. Fu’s a’ wi’ ye yersel’?” Everywhere, even in Buchan, “the old order changeth, giving place to new.”

Ja. F.

CHAPTER IV.

Men of Literature in the North-East in Modern Times.

FROM the days of Knox to the Revolution settlement (1688) there is no getting past the fact that the cold pietism of the then prevailing teaching of the Kirk froze up learning, culture and taste for letters in Scotland. To harbour any taste for these was looked upon as suspicious, and was frequently treated as a direct revolt against the prevailing authority. The severe code of the Kirk strove to suppress all imagination, sentiment, wit and humour; everything that was worldly was wicked; mirth and gladness were profane and sinful. All secular song, fiction or the drama came under the ban of the prevailing religious tyranny. At this time the Scottish people were, perhaps without exception, the most priestridden and the most superstitious people in Europe.

Modern Scottish Literature dates from the eighteenth century. It was not till that period that we had evidences of a public interest, apart from a scholar's interest, in these matters. The intellectual unrest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had freed Scotland from her feudal bondage. The Reformation, the religious and sectarian disputes, the Union, with the wrangling and political intrigues accompanying and following it; these, with the gradual spreading of education amongst the people, had brought about considerable mental activity. Men had to think, to take sides, to reason, to discuss, to listen to arguments. The battle of the Reformation and the still more virulent battle of the Covenant, had kept before men's minds for over a hundred years the supreme question of eternal life or death to the individual. It was such forces as these that created the middle class in Scotland, and if we dare generalize regarding the mental equipment acquired in such a school we might account for some, if not for many, of the characteristics of the race which still persist and which we might legitimately trace backwards at least to the beginning of the eighteenth century. While

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the intellectual unrest became less, the momentum generated by these intellectual impulses continued, and, being now less restrained, was more easily directed into other, perhaps, more healthy, more fruitful—at all events—fresh channels. The long struggle had evolved some definite form of government—the constitution had at last got adjusted with its equilibrium stable; all acute anxiety over it had passed and men felt they could occasionally turn their attention to other things. Scholasticism was not now a living force; literature became less pedantic, more natural, and more general, and its influence more apparent. Strange to say, we find Scottish literature showing itself first in the tavern. “In taverns Scottish modern literature was born, and the first public it addressed was in a public house,” says Graham in his *Literature of the Eighteenth Century*. In Edinburgh in particular, gentlemen of taste and culture formed clubs, fraternized in dark and dingy taverns and over their ale and claret discussed politics and literature with wit, humour, and no little learning. Some of the latest compositions would be recited, discussed, and afterwards printed and published. Perhaps *the* leading spirit in these clubs was the celebrated Edinburgh physician, Dr. Pitcairn, the Jacobite wit, poet and boon companion, who has been called the Voltaire of Scotland. Thomas Ruddiman, a native of Buchan, was discovered by Pitcairn in Laurencekirk, where he was schoolmaster. Pitcairn had been weather-bound in the village inn there, and on asking for some companionable person had had the schoolmaster recommended to him. His learning and his politics were equally acceptable to Pitcairn, who persuaded him to try Edinburgh, where for many years, as scholar, printer and author, he did so much for the spread of learning in Scotland.

Even in Buchan we find an echo of these clubs. In 1711, James Watson, an Aberdonian, issued from his press in Edinburgh—“The King’s Printing House”—a curious collection of “Scots’ Poems,” amongst which we have the record of the institution and progress of the Buttery College, near Slains Castle, in the parish of Cruden, Aberdeenshire, with a catalogue of the books and manuscripts in the library of that University. According to these records, drinking was the chief study in this University, and degrees were granted in accordance with the students’ proficiency therein. The club was frankly and ostentatiously convivial. This *Collegium Butterense* was a public change-house at the end of the Earl of Erroll’s Gate, between Slains Castle and Cruden Bay,

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and received its name from the landlord, Peter Butter. The record throws a quaint and interesting light on the social habits and intellectual equipment of the period. The house was not in the vicinity of a university and was not a haunt of undergraduates. One would think that its habitués must have been drawn from the resident population, although the abandon of the record suggests youthful irresponsibility and animal spirits, such as we frequently associate with undergraduates. The articles, which the neophyte had, not to sign but to swallow, before being admitted to the school, consisted of drinking a particular glass to every man's health that he knew and then one more, after which he was laureated with a wreath by

"Jacobum Hay Magistrum
In artibus potabilibus,
Et Scientiis bibibilibus,"

and the said Master James Hay then delivered a Latin exhortation to him. We have specimens of the *Theses* too, on appropriate subjects, given. Perhaps quaintest of all, we have the whole furnishings of the tavern given with great gravity as a "Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Butterensi." Amongst the volumes are: "Maximilian Malt-Kist de principiis liquidi"; "Mr. Humphry Hogshead, in usam studiosorum"; "Machiavel Mutchkin's Metaphysical Euchiridion," translated out of French into Scots, and so on. The whole publication shows wit, learning and humour, and is altogether free of the coarseness which might be associated with such publications of that period.

In ballad literature the first name that occurs to us is of course that of Peter Buchan, a name very familiar to all readers of the *Transactions* of the Buchan Field Club. He was our first local worker in this field; his *Gleanings* were published in 1825, his more complete collection in 1828. As a ballad collector of the last century he would rank immediately after Scott and Motherwell. We have Gavin Greig still working this district, and still finding it fruitful, as his contribution to the latest volume of the *Transactions* show. In this field then we need do little more than proudly point to these collections as the product of our district, and to express our gratitude for the capable manner in which they have been preserved for us. The chronological place of the ballad is hard to determine, and it is equally difficult to fix the sequence, if sequence there be, of the epic, the lyric and the ballad. Is the ballad very

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ancient or comparatively modern? Had it an "individual" or a "communal" origin? Was the ballad part of the literary debris of the Middle Ages, and did the degeneration of the minstrel correspond with the advent of the ballad maker? Do not ballads bring us into immediate contact with the antique, pagan, savage, superstitious, elemental characteristics of our race? As is usual in such a controversy, much can be said for either side, and in all probability both classes of ballad exist, the popular ancient ballad and the literary or comparatively modern ballad. We find ballads the common property of the people, and orally perpetuated from generation to generation in a more or less modified form, undergoing these modifications by becoming assimilated always to the vernacular, thus frequently dropping obsolete words or bygone modes of expression and substituting current words and phrases. We find them also acquiring local colour and local application, thus growing, developing and accommodating themselves to their environment like a living organism, but doomed to die as soon as they are recorded. In this way they correspond to the Märchen, or popular tales of the world, except that the fifteenth century is supposed to be the limit of the ballad measure as we now know it, while the Märchen know no limits. The principal characteristic of the old ballad is its simplicity, truth and directness, producing its best effects by surprisingly simple means. The historical ballad must be comparatively modern as the events it records show, and if there be such a class of ballad, it is the one which is more likely to be the product of the "decadent minstrel." Sir Patrick Spens might be cited as probably one of the best specimens of the old ballads. How far it is local, or how far it is only locally adapted, would be difficult to say. There are variants of it, as there are of most ballads, yet all the variants have local allusions. In the version given by Scott we have in the last verse:—

O forty miles off Aberdeen,
'Tis fifty fathoms deep,
And there lies guid Sir Patrick Spens,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

While Buchan's version of the same verse is:—

Half ower, half ower, to Aberdour,
Its fifty fathoms deep,
And there lies guid Sir Patrick Spens,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

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Again, as a specimen of a local historical ballad, we have the *Battle of Harlaw*, quite a spritely production.

Geddie says in regard to our northern ballads that "they gather about the family history and the family ties of the great houses—the Gordons for choice—planted by Dee and Don, and Ythan, 'where Gadie runs at the back o' Bennachie' and in the Bog o' Gight; and they tell of love and adventure and mischance that have befallen the Lords of Huntly or Aboyne, the Lairds of Drum or Meldrum, and even the humble 'Trumpeter of Fyvie.'"

The unlucky Stuarts, sometimes arrogant, and generally provoking in their days of prosperity, had in spite of their faults and weaknesses always a picturesqueness about them. In their downfall they were however the occasion of one of the most genuine outbursts of song that any age or country has ever seen. The poor Stuarts, in poverty and in danger, purified and hallowed by defeat, were taken to the very heart of the nation, and the songs and the music they inspired promise to be as undying as the language.

William Meston, a whole-hearted Jacobite, whom we generally find designated "The Ingenious and Learned," is one of the first local authors of the period. He was tutor to the Keiths, lived at Inverugie, and was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Marischal College, but he never taught there. As a professor, however, he is said to have harangued the Old Pretender in a Latin oration. There is not much literary flavour about his works. His "Rabbling of Deer" has been already fully dealt with, while a full, able and most interesting sketch of his life and works were given by J. T. Findlay in the *Transactions* of the Buchan Club some years ago. His writings are mostly political satires, cynical, witty and clever, tainted by what, perhaps, belonged to his time, a tinge of coarseness.

It was during the eighteenth century that the Scottish School of Philosophy played such an important and characteristic part in giving expression to, as well as helping to direct some of, the principal intellectual forces of the Scottish Nation. Although it originated in and was propagated by the Universities, its influence soon became wide spread and permeated the whole nation.

Thomas Reid, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow and author of two famous works in their days *The Inquiry into the Human Mind* and *Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of Man*,

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was in his earlier years minister of the Parish of New Machar. It was whilst living in the quiet manse of New Machar, taking his solitary walks, tending his garden, pottering at botanical studies, occasionally treating his rustic audiences to sermons of Anglican preachers such as Tillotson, instead of his own; whilst living this idyllic life a book reached the Manse of New Machar which disturbed his intellectual repose, shook the dry bones of his hitherto unquestioned beliefs, and roused him to an examination of the basis on which they rested. As he said, "Suddenly what he thought was firm land seemed to be changed to mirage; what to him had been a reality now seemed all a dream." The book was Hume's first publication *A Treatise on Human Nature*. It would be foolish to say that this was the beginning of his intellectual life and work, but it proved to be the stimulus that roused and quickened that life and before long removed him from New Machar to Aberdeen University and then again to Glasgow to fill the chair of Adam Smith. Before his removal to Glasgow, Reid was one of the members of the "Philosophical Club," or as outsiders called it the "Wise Club," at Aberdeen, which met every alternate Wednesday afternoon at 5 p.m. at the "Red Lion" Inn; all dressed, we are told, in blue coats, bushy wigs and full cocked hats. Amongst other members of the Club were Dr. Gregory, Reid's cousin, Dr. James Beattie, Professor Gerrard, Professor Campbell and Dr. Oswald. They discussed and read papers on Philosophy, Religion, History and Science, and we also know that frequently during the summer holidays they "took the sea" at Peterhead. They drank the waters there, and then were perhaps not the least interesting of the fashionable throng that were known as the "Peterhead water-drinkers."

Dr. James Beattie, "The Minstrel," Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, and author of the *Essay on Truth*, as well as a very considerable number of other Theological and Philosophical Treatises now long forgotten, but which had great popularity in their day, was a constant visitor to Peterhead in vacation period. We find a great proportion of his correspondence "Beattie and his friends" dated from Peterhead. We remember him now only as the author of *The Minstrel* and *The Hermit*, but in his day he was regarded as a profound philosopher, and gained royal favour and great repute in fashionable London circles. His portrait was painted by Reynolds;

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he was the friend of Samuel Johnson and of Burke. Oxford conferred her honours on him, in fact he was treated as one of the celebrities of the time. To his great credit he came out of it all unspoiled, conscious of his limitations, retaining his natural modesty to the end. A most arid and uninteresting biography of him was written by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo.

At least one of his Buchan contemporaries did not take Beattie so seriously as the bulk of his admirers did. Rev. John Skinner of Linshart, Longside, turned Beattie's doctrine of intuitive knowledge or inward light into lively Latin verse, arranged to the tune of his own immortal "Tullochgorum." Although he handled the subject lightly and familiarly, he did not disguise his evident admiration for Beattie in the recurring refrain of "Doctissime Doctorum." For real worth, for genius and for scholarly attainments, few can compare with Rev. John Skinner of Linshart. He seems to have been in every respect a charming character, happy, good humoured and witty, while at the same time a high-minded, zealous and devoted clergyman. His immortal songs "Tullochgorum," "John o' Badenyon," and "The ewie wi' the crookit horn," show one side of him. His sarcastic and caustic Latin Epigrams show another. His polemical and theological studies in the elucidation of the doctrines of John Hutchison—whatever these doctrines were—give us still another phase, while his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* show much patient and laborious work and research, with good judgment and sound sense. He is one of our authors of whom we may indeed be justly proud.

James Hay Beattie, son of Dr. Beattie, spent much of his short life in Peterhead. He was looked upon as a youth of more than ordinary promise; he died at the age of 22. He had been appointed joint Professor of Moral Philosophy with his father two years previously. After his death a collection of his writings was published by his father under the title of *Essays and Fragments, by James Hay Beattie*. He died in 1790.

Dr. Laing, who resided in Peterhead and acted as clergyman to a small congregation which belonged to the "English Church" as distinct from the "Scottish Episcopal," was author of *An Account of Peterhead: its mineral well, air and neighbourhood* (1793). He was an M.D. of Marischal College, which Beattie informed him was given him "as a present from the College on account of their esteem for his *character*."

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George Halket, schoolmaster at Rathen, used to be credited with *Logie o' Buchan* and *Whirry Whigs awa.'* We are sorry to lose him as a Buchan author, but recent researches I am afraid point to the fact that his claim is very doubtful.

William Fordyce Mavor, a native of New Deer, LL.D. Mar. Coll., 1789, was a voluminous and successful author. He published a collection of Voyages in 25 vols. and wrote a series of Catechisms on History, Health, General Knowledge, &c. A very well known book of his is *Mavor's English Spelling*. His *Primer* and his edition of the *Eton Latin Grammar* are still text books in use. He invented a system of stenography, which was at one time very popular.

Peter Buchan (1790-1854), who has already been more than once referred to as a well-known ballad collector, was also known as a voluminous author. Amongst his works are *Annals of Peterhead, An Historical and Authentic Account of the Ancient and Noble Family of Keith, Earls Marischal of Scotland, Peterhead Smugglers of the last century, &c., &c.* Most of his works were printed by himself on a printing press of his own making. His son, Dr. Patrick Buchan (1814-81), was author of the *The Guidman o' Inglismill* and *The Fairy Bride*.

John Burnett Pratt, Buchan's Historian (1798-1869), was born at New Deer, was ordained a deacon of the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1821 and was incumbent of St. James's Church, Cruden, from 1825 to 1869. He published in his day a good many sermons and theological works, all of which are now forgotten; he is now remembered by his *Buchan* and his *Jamie Fleeman*. His *Buchan* was really his life's work. The materials were personally collected and sifted by the author's journeying on foot through every parish in Buchan, for over thirty years. He was preparing a third edition of his work at the time of his death. A splendid edition, edited and brought up to date by Robert Anderson, Aberdeen, and published in 1901, is more exhaustive and reliable.

The Udney Academy in its day played not a small part in the culture of the North-East of Scotland. The following is quoted from J. F. Kellas Johnstone's paper in *Aberdeen Quatercentenary Studies*:—"To increase his paltry income as a parochial schoolmaster, George Bisset (M.A., Mar. Coll. 1783), in 1786, kept student boarders, and thus founded the locally celebrated

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Academy at Udney. At his death, in 1810, he was succeeded by his son, James Bisset (Mar. Coll. 1808 ; M.A., 1839 ; D.D., 1850), then only seventeen years of age, whose ability and energy enabled him to maintain the high character of the establishment. They educated many of our notable alumni, and Professor Samuel Trail (M.A., King's Coll. 1825 ; LL.D., 1847 ; D.D., 1852), Major-General Sir James Outram (Mar. Coll. 1819), William Fasken (M.A., King's Coll. 1811 ; M.D., 1819), William Leslie (M.A., Mar. Coll. 1832) of Warthill, M.P. for Aberdeenshire ; Dr. Joseph Robertson (Mar. Coll. 1822-25) the antiquary ; and John Milne (M.A., King's Coll. 1826 ; LL.D., 1849), Principal of Dollar Institution, are examples of the class of students who passed from the Academy direct to the University." "Adam Thom (M.A., 1824 ; LL.D., 1840 King's Coll.), after holding appointments as teacher at Udney Academy and at Woolwich, where he published *Two Complete Gradus* (1832) went to Canada, became a journalist at Montreal, passed for the Canadian Bar, was appointed first recorder of Rupertsland, and was the author of several works on legal and political subjects, and of *The Account of Sir George Simpson's Voyage round the World* (2 vols. 1847)."

Two important families that have made their mark in the world of letters acknowledged their Buchan origin, namely, the Stephens and Taits.

Sir Leslie Stephen, the well known critic, essayist and historian, gives an account in his life of his brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen (1895), of the Aberdeenshire origin of the Stephen family, who came from the parish of Cruden, and of an ancestor of his, James Stephen, who attended Mar. Coll. 1755-57. He was for a time a reporter on the *Morning Post*, was called to the bar 1782, practised in the West Indies, was connected with Wilberforce in the Anti-slavery agitation and wrote *War in Disguise*, *The Dangers of the Country*, and *New Reasons for abolishing the Slave Trade*—publications which are said to have had a wide circulation and a powerful influence.

In Archbishop Davidson's *Life of Archbishop Tait* we have an interesting sketch of the Taits of Ludquharn, one of the "bonnet lairds." There is a stone in the parish churchyard of Longside over the Taits, with an elaborate Latin epitaph by John Skinner. Thomas Tait was said to have been a mason, and builder of the old bridge of Auchlee, Longside.

Lord Byron, "half a Scot by birth, and bred a whole one" as he tells us,

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was the son of Catherine Gordon, heiress of Gight. His career did not belie his descent. It was a characteristic Gordon one, plus the genius. He was by turns melancholy, picturesque, romantic, and, like most of his progenitors, unfortunate, "the passionate and dauntless soldier of a forlorn hope." In spite of this, he was one of the most stimulating and awakening influences in English Literature since Shakespeare's time.

Sir John Skelton (1831-97)—Shirley, as he was known in literary circles—although not born in Buchan was a genuine product of the district. All his formative years were passed there, and, when his dormant craving asserted itself and the Bohemian spirit took possession of him, he returned to the home of his youth. "I yielded to fate, and here I am in my own particular corner of the wilderness." Has Skelton got the position in the literary world he deserves? "Whare did you get that style?" said Dr. John Brown (Rab) in acknowledging his *Thallata*. One does not wonder at the question, there is a particular charm about his style which captivates most readers. Principal Tulloch thus characterized him:—"Essayist, novelist, poet, and historian, he unites many widely different qualities, and his work is always of the highest order. It is full of thought, of critical capacity, of delightful appreciation, and it has a singular charm of style which attracts and fascinates. In conducting an argument, bristling with facts and loaded with detail, there is yet never wanting the brilliant illuminating faculty characteristic of genius, and the touch which marks the true literary artist." Tulloch further describes him as a delightful essayist, "dainty as a poet and the critic or expounder of other poets, dramatic as a writer of romance, dexterous as a political writer, and devout as the worshipper at the shrine of her of whom Swinburne says:—

Love hangs like light above your name
As music round the shell,
No heart can take of you a tame farewell."

Watts-Dunton says of him, "if Skelton had been an Englishman and moved in English sets, he would have taken an enormously higher position than he has secured, for he would have been more known among writers, and the more he was known the more he was liked." He made his debut in *Fraser's Magazine* in the early sixties with his "Shirley" essays. His *Crookit Meg* is not only delightful as a story but also valuable from its realistic presentation of many

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well-known local worthies. His sympathetic and intimate presentations of fisher-folk, his love for, and knowledge of, the sea, all help to make him more and more a real native of the North-East coast of Scotland. His *Maitland of Lethington* contains more original research, and needless to say it is written in Skelton's fascinating and picturesque manner, while the case for *Mary Stuart* has never been more ably nor more convincingly put. But, perhaps, the most delightful of all his writings is *The Table Talk of Shirley*, in which we have reminiscences and familiar letters of Froude, Huxley, Tyndall, Beaconsfield and Thackeray. The work is written with good taste and temper; tributes are gracefully paid and are set in an atmosphere at once attractive, sympathetic and charming.

There is one more author to be mentioned, peculiarly the property of the North-East of Scotland, namely, William Alexander (1826-94), editor of the *Aberdeen Free Press*. His *Johnnie Gibb of Gushetneuk* is a study of the life and manners in Aberdeenshire in the earlier portion of the last century. The studies are vivid in their realism; the variety of character in a rural community is delineated with great dramatic effect; we have their interests, modes of thought, outlook on life and ways of living all brought home to us as genius only can do. But more than that, we have here preserved for us a language that is fast passing away—the language of our fathers, the pure Buchan dialect. This dialect is dying out, and one day our successors may consider themselves fortunate in having it preserved here in all its classic purity.

This list of authors might have been considerably extended, as many minor writers of the past have been omitted. The scope of the present chapter is not intended to include present-day writers, but a sufficient number has already been given to show that, although never a literary centre, the North-East of Scotland has contributed at least a fair share to the literature of the country.

Ja. M.

CHAPTER V.

Educational Development in Buchan.

EDUCATIONALLY, Buchan, falling as it does within the sphere of operation of the Dick Bequest Trust, is one of the most favoured districts of Scotland. Of the schools participating in the Bequest it has recently been stated that "nowhere in any country are more efficient schools to be found."¹ The object of this article is to glance briefly at some of the ways and means by which this efficiency has been reached.

The written history of Buchan begins with the coming of Columba and his relative Drostan, towards the end of the sixth century. At Deer they founded a monastery, which thus became the centre of enlightenment for the Celtic inhabitants of the district, and it continued to be so for six hundred years, till 1218, when it was superseded by the Roman Catholic Abbey of Deer. The school of the abbey was the local educational centre of the day. There "the scholars were the novices and younger monks who had to be trained for the service of the Church. That there were other scholars here, as elsewhere, may be taken for granted, but as to their numbers, station, and acquirements we are in utter ignorance."² In the various parishes the priest was both minister of religion and teacher, and, generally speaking, "as instructor of youth he was not a marked success."³ The demand for education, especially in rural districts, was exceedingly small, and those who wished to be educated would, as a rule, find their way to the abbey school.

John Knox is usually regarded as the originator of the Parish Schools of Scotland. In his *First Book of Discipline* (1561) Knox sketched a graded scheme of education for the country, embracing (1) the small rural school, taught by the "reader or minister" of the parish, (2) the school of the larger

¹ *Dick Bequest Report* for 1905, p. 13.

² Article by Robt. Wilson, Esq., M.A., in *A Book of the Parish of Deir*, p. 73.

³ *Short Studies in Education in Scotland*, p. 15.

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villages and smaller towns, taught by a separate official (the schoolmaster), (3) High Schools for larger towns, and (4) the Universities. Money to establish his system Knox expected to get from the confiscated revenues of the abbeys and monasteries, but these funds the greedy barons appropriated to their own uses, and opposed the Book of Discipline, which accordingly failed to become law. The General Assembly of the Church—then a power in the land stronger than the somewhat feeble Scottish Parliament—was, however, able to secure the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1616 for establishing a school in every parish; but the heritors defied the law; and throughout the seventeenth century the struggle between the two parties goes on, the Church insisting on the provision of schools, and the heritors resisting the demand. Ignorance was rampant in the land. About the middle of the century (in the Covenanting days) the generality of the country people could neither read nor write.¹ Ultimately the situation became so acute that a further Act was passed in 1696, which, in course of time, became effective, because in the event of the heritors failing in their duty, it imposed penalties, and provided an alternative machinery for carrying out the desired object. Our Parish Schools may therefore be considered to date back to 1696.² During the eighteenth century the aforesaid Act was put in force, and several others were passed with a view to improving the position of the teachers and the schools. In the minutes of the Presbytery of Deer for the early years of the century there are frequent injunctions to the heritors, who, with their Jacobite proclivities, were apt to disregard the Kirk's commands, "to proceed in the good work of settling a competent maintenance for the schoolmaster according to the Act of Parliament to that effect."³ On 5th May, 1702, it was reported to the Presbytery—"anent schools, that some of them are already settled with competent maintenance, and that others find great difficulty through the poverty of the parishes."⁴ The Act ordered that "a commodious house for a school" should be provided in every parish, but the heritors frequently devised expedients for escaping their

¹ *Life of Professor Wodrow*, p. 172.

² The *Poll Book* for Aberdeenshire (1696) gives the name of a schoolmaster in about one half of the parishes of Buchan. The other half doubtless had teachers of a sort too, but they are not recognisable in the Book.

³ *Records of the Presbytery of Deer*, vol. iii. (1701-1710).

⁴ *Ibid.*

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obligations. "In many places the Kirk was used as a schoolroom ; in others the church steeple, a family vault, a granary, a byre or stable, or any dilapidated hovel was utilised."¹ Even when a schoolroom was specially built, it was only a barn-like, "thack-an'-raip" roofed structure of the meanest description, situated in or near the churchyard, and the accommodation barely amounted to as much as a "but and a ben." The statute of 1696 made no provision for a dwelling-house for the teacher separate from the schoolroom. Family life under such conditions was a problem. When George Halket, schoolmaster of Rathen, married in 1718, his heritors thoughtfully turned round his box-bed, making the back of it serve as a partition to divide the school into two apartments, and put in at a cost of £7 10s. Scots a window to light up the narrow chamber they thus made for the teacher and his family.

The furnishing of such a schoolroom was of the most meagre description ; a table or two and a few forms were practically the complete outfit, each form simply a plank with two wooden legs. If, owing to old age or hard usage, it chanced to become a leg short, a prop of sods taken from the heap of fuel lying by the fireside formed an immediately accessible and convenient substitute. The walls might originally have been whitewashed, but the abundance of peat smoke always in evidence, combined with the sooty solution that ran down them from the leaky roof on rainy days, had given them a more or less uniformly brownish tinge, the monotony of which was relieved here and there by streaks of a more decidedly snuffy hue—a simple colour scheme, a sort of study in sepia ! In such surroundings our ancestors in their childhood, after trudging through pathless bog and mire, met, often at a very early hour of the day,² to carry on the pursuit of knowledge, and on these filthy, besooted walls, when their childish brains were weary with the monotonous mill-horse study of the Proverbs of Solomon and the Shorter Catechism, "giving the loose rein" to their imagination, they would trace fantastic resemblances to the human features, to trees, and castles, and fairy palaces—just as we did ourselves when boys and girls, and gazing at the clouds or the firelight.

Sometimes a particular parish might, by a lucky windfall, possess a better school-building than its neighbours. This was the case with Turriff, which, at

¹ *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 425.

² Davidson's *Inverurie*, p. 225.

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the date of the *Old Statistical Account*, had had for a schoolroom for nearly fifty years what had formerly been the Episcopal Chapel. In 1745 the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers demolished the seats and pulpit, and were prevented from setting fire to the house itself by the intercession of the parish minister.¹ Presumably he had an eye to utilising the building in this way. Similarly, at a later date, the parish school of Peterhead had for over forty years its location in the Town-house, till it had to be abandoned "owing to the apartments immediately below it being used as market-places."² It is interesting to note here that Peterhead, even in early times, had developed the ambition of possessing an academy,³ but that in the realisation of such a desideratum Turriff, the western capital of Buchan, beat its eastern rival. About the year 1727, the "ingenious and learned" Mr. William Meston, who, on account of his political principles, had been deprived of his professorship in Marischal College in 1715, started an academy there "for instructing young gentlemen in such sciences as were then taught in the Universities." After flourishing for several years it collapsed, owing, it is said, to the issue of a duel fought between two of the students.

Even after schools had, by the strenuous efforts of the Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions, been established in the parishes, it was no uncommon thing in the eighteenth century to find them, on account of the prevailing apathy towards education, and the studied neglect of the heritors, falling into decay. Such was the state of the schoolhouse at Aberdour, which, in 1792, is reported to have become "quite ruinous." Some Sessions no doubt looked more diligently after the school property than others. For instance, the Session of Logie-Buchan records having "given to a wright for mending a table in the school, 9½d.," and next year it spent other 9½d. "on divots and thack to the school, and to men for putting them on, and for pins."⁴ Fraserburgh was fortunate in having, at the end of the century, "an excellent schoolhouse, with a good carving of Moses and the ten commandments" on the front of it, "found in the College of Fraserburgh, and said to have been intended as the

¹ *Old Statistical Account*, vol. xvii., p. 394.

² *New Statistical Account* (Aberdeenshire), p. 383.

³ *New Statistical Account* (Aberdeenshire), p. 383; and *Old Stat. Acct.*, vol. xvi., p. 541.

⁴ Records of the Kirk Session of Logie Buchan (1723 and 1724).

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altar-piece of its chapel." New Deer, at the same date, was equally happily circumstanced, when it had "a very good schoolhouse," but fifty years later things had there changed for the worse, for we read that "the parish school in the Kirktown is in very bad repair, and the heritors will do nothing to renew it."

The most lurid light of all, however, is cast on the low estimation in which at the time under review education was held, when we come to consider the emoluments and social position of the educators. The schoolmaster's income was made up of salary from the heritors,¹ school fees, and "perquisites" from the Kirk for acting as Session Clerk, registrar of proclamations of banns, baptisms, etc., and sometimes as precentor. The local plutocrat of the profession was the parish schoolmaster of Peterhead, whose total income from all sources was £35. Fraserburgh, Old Deer and Strichen made good seconds with £30 each. New Deer, Longside and Crimond came in a long way behind—in these parishes "the whole living" totalled up to £12. But most of the other parishes appear to have been even worse. At Methlick the salary was "very small," at Rathen "very trifling." The statistician in many cases was evidently ashamed to put it in figures. Not so with the minister of Longside. He says: "The salary is only nine bolls of meal, which the schoolmaster has to collect from the tenants in very small quantities,² and of a consequence at a great loss. The emoluments arising from teaching, owing to the very low price of education, are, at an average of eight years, £4 7s. 6d. a year. Perquisites arising from his offices, as precentor and clerk to the Session, do not exceed £4 sterling. Of consequence his whole living does not amount to more than £12 sterling annually, a sum not equal to the wages of an ordinary farm servant."³ Neither was Longside the only Buchan parish where the salary was paid in meal. The schoolmaster of Fyvie had to collect

¹ By the Act of 1696 the minimum salary was 100 merks (£5 9s.), the maximum 200 merks (£10 18s.).

² The Heritors, by the Act of 1696, could, if they chose, make their tenants relieve them to the extent of half the salary chargeable against them.

³ *Old Stat. Acct.*, vol. xv., p. 282. The average wages of an artisan or ploughman was at this date £14 to £16 a year, and of a schoolmaster £13. (*Old Stat. Acct.*, vol. xxi., pp. 336-341).

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meal from the farmers and crofters, which, "if exactly paid," amounted to 12 bolls. But we know that in bad years it was often far from being exactly paid, and the poor men were frequently reduced to the verge of starvation. In Slains the salary was 6 bolls 2 firlots 2 pecks of meal and 10s. 7d. "in sterling money"—a state of matters truly pathetic. In Logie-Buchan things were even worse. There the salary was the minimum of 100 merks (£5 9s.), and owing to the parish being cut in two by the Ythan it was found necessary to have two schoolmasters, one on each side of the river, with salaries of 50 merks apiece. The first of the two schools was opened in 1723, and the first schoolmaster, Mr. Walter Johnstone, was destined to become famous. He was precentor of the Kirk; and on the last Sabbath of August, 1737, he appeared in the latrone "much disordered by drink, having been in alehouses in the parish the most of the preceding day and all night, as was evident to the whole of the congregation, he being to them unintelligible." This was not by any means his first offence, and he was accordingly censured and superseded in the precentorship. He persisted, however, in continuing to occupy the latrone, and was subsequently deposed from his Session Clerkship as well. Being a pugnacious man, he stuck to his guns, heaped abuse upon the minister and Session, and defied them. Finally his case was appealed to the Presbytery, before whom he made a spirited defence. One of the score of witnesses against him deponed that on a certain occasion, when in his cups, "he pursued his scholars with a wooden shovel instead of the usual instruments of correction, and scared them from attending school." The Presbytery upheld the Session's decision, and forthwith deprived him also of his office as schoolmaster. Poor Walter then migrated to Belhelvie, going farther and farther down the hill, and two years later, returning to Logie, a supplicant for charity, died and was buried there, leaving "a widow and a puir lassie" to swell the roll of the parish poor.¹ Towards the end of the century the two-school arrangement in this parish had to be abandoned for a single school, because the salary of each was so small that "no person qualified for teaching can accept of it."

¹ From the Records of the Kirk Session of Logie Buchan, per Rev. W. G. Guthrie, M.A., Minister.

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Though the parish schoolmaster was thus meanly provided for, a good deal was expected of him. He had to pass a rigid examination, largely in theology, before the Presbytery; had frequently to teach, besides the three R's, Latin, Greek and Mathematics; and was expected from time to time to send pupils to the University. In addition, he had the extraneous duties already referred to to perform. University education at the beginning of the eighteenth century was at its lowest ebb. The students were boys from thirteen to fifteen years of age. The subjects taught were more curious than useful, and till well on in the century the professors continued to deliver their ponderous prelections in Latin. Small wonder then that near the end of the century the minister of Peterhead is found complaining that he could not "recollect above seven or eight who have been at an University from this parish during the past thirty years."

In Buchan, as elsewhere, at the time the demand for education was small. In Peterhead 40 to 50 attended each of the two teachers in the Town-house. Another teacher in the town had 40 to 50 boys and 17 girls, while "nine women" had among them 150 pupils in winter, and more in summer. Fraserburgh had 40 to 50 scholars. From 30 to 40 was the common number in the other Buchan parishes, where recorded. At Ellon the scholars were "not at all numerous," and Fyvie had only 30 to 40, although the school was conducted "on the most approved plans," and the French and English languages were "taught with as much purity and exactness as in most of the English academies, a circumstance," the chronicler complacently adds, "which deserves to be remarked, as few country parishes enjoy the like advantages."

Attempts were made by the teachers to improve their circumstances in 1748, when they made an unavailing appeal to the General Assembly, and to Parliament, and again in 1782, but they were "too poor to prosecute their cause, too uninfluential to gain attention to their wrongs," and it was not till 1803 that a measure of relief came through the passing of the Schoolmasters' Act.¹ By it salaries were fixed to run from 300 merks (£16 13s. 4d.) to 400 merks (£22 4s. 6d.) for twenty-five years, and to be then, and at the end of every subsequent period of twenty-five years, subject to readjustment. Besides, a dwelling-house, "not consisting of more than two apartments,

¹ 53 George III., cap. 54.

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including the kitchen," and a garden of at least a quarter of a Scots acre had to be provided. The superintendence of the schools was continued with the ministers of the Established Church.

With the advent of the nineteenth century a new era began. The spirit of progress and the desire for enlightenment were now abroad. Concurrent with the great increase in the material wealth of the nation, the development of manufactures and commerce, the discoveries of science, the advance of democracy, and the changed conditions and higher tone of social life, it was inevitable that education should accelerate its pace. Previously effort had been expended, first to establish a school in every parish, and next to improve it; now, with the growth of the population in Scotland, which between 1801 and 1871 rose from 1,608,000 to 3,360,000, Acts of Parliament were directed largely towards providing additional schools. Side schools were instituted (1803), and Parliamentary Parish Schools (1838). The Established Church had, in course of time, a large number of schools, as well as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, while, after the Disruption, Free Church schools were planted over the land in hundreds—a few being in Buchan. In addition there sprang up in every parish hosts of Adventure Schools.

The *New Statistical Account* (1842) shows the advance that had been made in education during the previous half-century. Peterhead had now 700 scholars "attending throughout the year" at its parish school and round dozen of other schools. Fraserburgh had "500 children throughout the parish receiving education"¹—about 100 being at the parish school, and the balance distributed among nine adventure schools. Old Deer had increased the number of parochial schools to three, with 40 to 100 scholars at each, according to the season, and claimed to have at the most favourable time of the year for counting nearly 500 scholars in attendance.² New Deer had also three parochial schools, and at these and its half dozen adventure schools the number of scholars had reached the formidable total of 898.³ Space forbids giving the details for all the parishes. Generally speaking the same gratifying progress is recorded all round. Sometimes, indeed, the statistician waxes enthusiastic, as he does at Lonmay over the immediate filling of the new schools built by the heritors in 1820, in compliance with the "supplication made to them," and

¹ Cf. recent Educational Blue Books. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

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gives it as his opinion that "the present happy result is well worthy of the observation of every well-wisher to the interests of Christianity and of general civilization, who has it in his power to 'go and do likewise.'"¹ No doubt, having in view the acknowledged intermittent character of the attendance, the absence of proper registration, and the loose way in which the statistics sometimes bear evidence of being compiled, the figures given must be accepted with the proverbial "pinch of salt." The school buildings had undergone much-needed improvement, the teachers' attainments and social position were higher, the curriculum was being widened and deepened, and the methods of instruction were becoming less mechanical and more sensible. Turriff had a school, built about 1830, which did "great credit to the liberality and public spirit of the heritors." Pitligo had a schoolroom for 120 scholars, erected about 1840, at "no less a sum than £300." On the whole, the impression conveyed in reading the history of the period is that the Buchan proprietors were exceptionally alive to the educational needs of the time, and in the provision and equipment of schools did their duty loyally and generously, while in the building of "subscription schools" their efforts were, as a rule, ably seconded by their tenants and others. Peterhead had not as yet achieved the coveted distinction of possessing an academy (see p. 391), but things were shaping themselves in that direction. The Town-house, with the market in the lower flat and in front of it, had become unsuitable as a schoolroom, and the heritors had agreed to assess themselves in a sum of £400, on condition that the feuars and inhabitants would raise other £300, to erect a new building; but a hitch occurred, and, taking advantage of the delay, "some individuals" proposed "to supersede the parish school by the establishment of an academy on a large scale, to be conducted . . . independently of the supervision of the clergy of the Established Church," albeit "it is not to be supposed that an academy could supply the place of a parish school, although it might with advantage be joined to it." Mr. Roderick Gray, the writer quoted, failed to foresee the rank heresy he was uttering in his somewhat *ex parte* statements! The curriculum, as has just been said, was being extended. In addition to the three R's, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Bible and Catechisms (which still occupied a prominent position), Grammar, Geography, and History were getting introduced,

¹ *New Stat. Acct.*, vol. xvi., p. 215.

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while the “so much approved of intellectual and monotorial systems” were coming into vogue in the larger and better schools.

Such was the position when the Dick Bequest first began to exert what was destined to become a far-reaching influence in the local educational field. James Dick was born at Forres upon 14th November, 1743, emigrated to the West Indies at the age of 19, made a fortune in mercantile pursuits, and at his death, in 1828, bequeathed nearly the whole of it for the benefit of “the country parochial schoolmasters, by law established, in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray.” *Inter alia* his object was “to encourage active schoolmasters, and gradually to elevate the literary character of the parochial schoolmasters and schools,” and he expressly stipulated that the Bequest was not in any way to be used to save the pockets of the heritors. The first payment from it was made for the year ending at Martinmas, 1833. At least one school in each parish participated, and in Buchan the following parishes had at one time more than one, viz. :—Aberdour (2), Cruden (2), Ellon (2), Gamrie (2), Longside (3), Lonmay (3), New Deer (3), Old Deer (3), Rathen (2), Tyrie (2). No other district in the three counties could show a record like this. The allowances from the Trust were “emphatically the reward of merit,”¹ and prior to 1890 the initial condition to be fulfilled before securing them was the passing of what was “truly a very severe examination”² in literature and science. Few non-graduates ever ventured to tackle it, and many a graduate got plucked. The “severity” may be judged from the “record failure” which, tradition says, was made in classics by a classical honoursman and Simpson Greek prizeman of Aberdeen University! That the Bequest has admirably fulfilled the objects of the testator is cordially acknowledged by all who are familiar with the state of education, past and present, in the three counties. Dr. Kerr, formerly Chief Inspector of Schools in the North, says “it has done more for the promotion of advanced education than any fund with which I am acquainted.”³ The credit for its successful administration is in great measure due to Professor Menzies, who was Clerk to the Trustees and Visitor to the Schools from 1833 to 1856, and his still more distinguished successor, Dr. Simon S. Laurie, who held office till within a short time of his recent death. “As a thinker and writer on Education, he had no equal in his

¹ *Dick Bequest Report* for 1865, p. 387. ² *Ibid.*, p. 388. ³ *Memories Grave and Gay*, p. 135.

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day and generation.”¹ Stated in three sentences, his educational creed was :— (1) “ The chief end of education is the formation of character ” ; (2) “ Educate a boy first for manhood, and thereafter for performing some specific service to the community ” ;² (3) “ It is more important to train and discipline the mind than to store it with facts.”³ This also was, and for that matter still is, the creed of the great body of Buchan, and other Dick Bequest schoolmasters, although they are now reluctantly and with frequent misgivings abandoning this higher and more idealistic conception of education, and modifying their aims to suit the spirit of a more utilitarian and materialistic age.

Aberdeenshire has also been fortunate in sharing in another splendid endowment—the Milne Bequest. Dr. John Milne of Bombay, like Mr. Dick, made a fortune abroad, and at his death bequeathed some £50,000 for promoting the religious and moral education of poor children, and at the same time benefiting the teachers of the county, and particularly in the country districts. It came into general effect in 1846 or 1847. The schoolmasters received annually £20 each for educating, without fee, twenty-five poor children. By means of it many a Buchan youth in straitened circumstances, but gifted with superior mental ability, got his feet placed securely on the lower steps of the educational ladder, and so raised himself to a position which otherwise he would never have been able to reach.

Privy Council grants and H.M. Inspector came upon the scene in the “ thirties.” With him, and with the Presbyteries the Dick Bequest Visitor had to co-operate. The examination in religious knowledge bulked largely in the eyes of all the three sets of examiners, and so they worked harmoniously together. At that time, and up to 1872, the annual Presbyterial examination was the great event of the scholastic year. To it the scholars came with shining faces and dressed in their best clothes. Parents, too, attended to see their children put through their facings, and their sympathy with their offspring in such an ordeal—“ benevolent and leniently critical ” though the examiners were according to Dr. Kerr—was probably greater then than now, because the same parsons on stated occasions gave the adults also what was called “ a diet of

¹ *An Appreciation of the late Professor Laurie*, by Prof. Darroch, his successor in the Chair of Education in Edinburgh University.—*Educational News* of 12th March, 1909.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

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catechising.” The schoolboys of Deer in the “sixties” had favourites among the members of Presbytery. One, the minister of a large and important parish, with his kindly ways, beaming face and expansive smile was greatly liked, while his neighbour of the next parish was considered cantankerous. He was a spare little man, buttoned closely into a cut-away coat, with huge choker and white cravat, sharp features—active—keen as a needle—a great mathematician. His rôle was to take the big boys in hand and puzzle them with sums in mensuration. His stock problem was to tie tethers of varying lengths to cows’ tails to let them eat certain quantities of grass. The gross inhumanity of the proceeding didn’t seem to strike his reverence! The examination fittingly concluded with a sumptuous dinner in the manse, followed by unlimited toddy.

These, too, were the days when in Buchan the connection between school and University was closest. Scottish parish schools were never merely elementary. Lads of “pregnant pairts” had always been able to go from them—at least the best of them—straight to the University. This was absolutely necessary, because in Scotland the Middle School was conspicuous by its general absence. In the north-eastern counties where the bulk of the schoolmasters since the first half of the last century have been graduates—indeed they were generally either licentiates of the Church, or studying to obtain licence—higher education was perhaps in danger of receiving more than its fair share of attention. Even in comparatively recent times the charge of neglecting the duller pupils for the sake of the brighter ones has been brought against the local parish schools.¹ To rebut this accusation Dr. Laurie, while admitting that it was probably well-founded when a single man had all the work thrown upon him, says that “both before and since the passing of the Act of 1872, those schools have invariably been most efficient in the junior classes which have been most successful in the advanced.”² From the time when Melvin was appointed rector of Aberdeen Grammar School (1826) it became customary for country boys to go to town for a quarter or two to give their Latinity a final polish before the last Monday of October, “from time immemorial the date of the

¹ In this connection, see *Some Educational Changes and What They Imply* (1909)—pamphlet by Dr. Dey—pp. 9 and 10.

² *Dick Bequest Report for 1904*, p. 45.

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Bursary Competition at King's College." The "Version" was the great feature of the Competition. Melvin was a finished versionist, and students and teachers not only imitated his methods and Latin style, but "modelled themselves so carefully on that great teacher as to take snuff as an essential part of their calling."² The finalities of Latin composition were sometimes responsible for providing amusement to the laity. James Lyall, the distinguished schoolmaster of Peterhead (from 1844) turned the Dick Bequest inspector out of his school "after a debate on the functions of *si* and *qui* with the subjunctive," preferring to miss the grant "rather than to recognise what he considered official ignorance."³ Though classics was the favourite study in Buchan, it produced mathematicians too. The first Senior Wrangler from Aberdeen University, George Slessor, received the whole of his preliminary education from George Hay, the self-educated teacher of a private school at The Gash, Philorth—a wonderful man, and a noted practical mathematician. Another Senior Wrangler, Professor Niven of Aberdeen—one of a distinguished family of mathematicians—was a pupil of Lyall's. The University connection had a most valuable and stimulating effect upon the life of the parish school. To it the Bursary Competition was the great educational event of the year—a day to reckon other dates from—when from almost "every parish school in the North"⁴ scholars, armed with their big lexicons, wended their way to Aberdeen to try their mettle at King's or Marischal College. Subsequently, however, codes and legislation, as will be seen, damped the schoolmaster's ardour, and compelled him to turn his energies more and more away from higher work into less congenial channels.

The local "Old Parochial" of 60 years ago was generally "a man severe and stern to view." Considering that school-keeping was for him usually only a temporary occupation, his ultimate object as already stated, being "to wag his pow in a poopit," there is small wonder that *gravitas* was his distinguishing characteristic. In speech and demeanour he naturally copied the clergy of the day. His dress too had also a tinge of solemnity about it, being of dark and

¹ Country boys usually went to the Grammar School in Old Aberdeen. They took, it has been said, 90 per cent. of the bursaries at King's College.

² *Life at a Northern University*, Quatercentenary Ed., p. xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xiv. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

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sombre colours. The degree of clericality admissible depended upon the stage he had reached—beginning, middle, or end—of his divinity course. For a “stickit stibbler,” or a man who had merely taken “a partial session” at divinity, something like a regulation frock coat was quite sufficient, with a black “stock,” and a collar à la Gladstone. Needless to say, the school discipline frequently inclined towards severity, and the tawse was often unpleasantly in evidence. For this there was perhaps considerable excuse. With only one man in charge in many cases of a large number of scholars, and these of all ages and stages of advancement, repressive measures were rendered inevitable. Disciplinarians of a milder type, however, existed, and these were probably among the men who intended to make teaching their life-work. One such was Mr. Lyall. He kept a tin whistle in his desk, and when work was hard, and he and his scholars began to flag, it was no uncommon thing for him to take it out and strike up the “Braes o’ Mar,” or some such stirring tune, and so restore animation and good humour.¹

At the period under review, more than three-fourths of the schools in Buchan were non-parochial (or private) schools, and the average income of the private teacher, as accurately as it could be ascertained at the time, amounted only to £14 11s. 9d. To many this may seem almost incredible, but it must be remembered that most of these were Dame’s Schools of the very humblest character. The acquirements of the mistress were of the slenderest description, but her “scheme of work” was correspondingly unambitious. It is unnecessary to say that kindergarten, clay-modelling, and brush-drawing were not in it! If she could teach young children to read indifferently she was quite content. This, it has been said, was frequently accomplished by “skipping all the big words and spelling all the small ones.” A favourite method of escaping a difficulty was to tell the child when it stuck at a word, to go on, “That’s a muckle toon i’ the sooth; I ken’t, bit ye’ve nae eese for kennin’t.” In this way the old lady showed her consideration, and maintained the respect of her pupils. Among these worthy women were Jean Lesly of Aberdour,² “Baubie” Walker of Old Deer,³ and Bell “Curshack” (Cruickshank) of Brucklay. On Sundays, Bell appeared at the Kirk with a huge poke-bonnet, a “Sairey Gamp”

¹ *Life at a Northern University*, p. 4.

² *Old Stat. Acct.*, vol. xii., p. 575.

³ *A Book of the Parish of Deir*, p. 74.

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umbrella, and wincey skirts, ample as those of a Newhaven fishwife. The face beneath the bonnet was wrinkled and shrewd, the eyes kindly and colourless. Her voice, even in ordinary conversation, was a level, sing-song monotone—her volubility excessive—her command of Bible English unrivalled. She was a great judge of sermons, a stickler for orthodoxy, and an ecclesiastical polemic of no mean ability. To hear her re-argue (herself giving both sides) some knotty point with a fledgling divine was a treat never to be forgotten. Bell's school stood on the edge of a "sand hole," and it was her duty to levy a charge on every load of sand taken therefrom, and account for the same to the laird's grieve. She was proud to let you know that in the course of her duty she was brought into contact with the laird himself. This piece of information she didn't launch upon you plump and plain, but led you to it obliquely—it came in as an illustration in a discussion on English punctuation, thus: "When-I-am-writing-to-the-laird-I-have-to-put-in-more-clauses-than-when-I-am-writing-to-the-grieve." To further eke out her scanty living Bell kept a cow, for which she had no pasture except what the roadside afforded, and it was no uncommon thing for the way-farer to be startled by seeing, well on towards the middle of a summer night, a huge head and pair of horns loom up suddenly on the highway between him and the darkening sky. The apparition turned out to be nothing worse than Bell's "harmless necessary" cow, with Bell alongside, busy shearing and filling a sack with grass. Though Bell's seminary was of the lowliest description, she could boast of having given the rudiments of his education to a first bursar—now a distinguished professor in London University. Poor Bell! Her outlook was narrow, her acquirements meagre, her ambition small, and her manner peculiar. *Requiescat in pace.* "She hath done what she could."

The years 1860 to 1870, as regards education in Scotland, have been called "the decade of confusion."¹ The number of schools in the country had by this date reached some four to five thousand, under a dozen varieties of management and no-management; the bulk of them were inefficient; many children of school age were growing up without any schooling; and our country was falling behind others in the educational race. To establish a system of National Education became the aim of the statesmen of the time,

¹ *Short Studies in Education in Scotland*, p. 36.

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but the feat was equally difficult of accomplishment with that of Bruce's historical spider! Bills were brought in six times over, and after

“One effort more, the seventh and last”

the great act of 1872 with its sweeping changes was passed into law. It abolished “all jurisdiction, power, and authority possessed or exercised by presbyteries or other church courts with respect to any public schools in Scotland;”¹ established a School Board in every parish; and introduced compulsory attendance. In Buchan, as elsewhere, the School Boards were, especially in the earlier years, and still often are, elected after a war among the ecclesiastical—they can hardly be called religious—sects of the parish; and, having in view the local type of character, no one needs to be told that economy has been the great watchword in their administration. All the same the first boards set to work with commendable diligence to rebuild or improve existing schools, to provide new ones, to improve staffs, and to enforce attendance, and in the course of a few years a great advance had been made.

The Revised Code of England had already been applied to Scotland for ten years, to the great detriment of Scottish education; but now Scotland got an improved Code of its own with, however, a rigid system of “passing” standards and “payment by results”—a principle around which, although the method of its application was from time to time modified and improved, a fierce controversy raged for nearly forty years, till the last vestiges of it were swept away in 1899. In this controversy the teachers of Buchan ably played their part, as the press reports at the time and the minute books of the Deer and Ellon Branches of the Educational Institute of Scotland abundantly evidence. Departmental Codes and inspection, particularly of the earlier type, had, as already stated, a depressing effect upon the higher work of the parish schools. This was specially the case in the “seventies” and “eighties,” but to their credit the local teachers, backed usually by sympathetic Inspectors and Boards, were among those who “kept the flag flying” at a time when many elsewhere, with less lofty ideals, allowed their children to be sacrificed to the Moloch of “high percentages” and “clean sheets.” To illustrate the truth of this statement reference may be made to a newspaper article on “What Buchan Schools have done,” the materials for which had been gathered by the

¹ 35 and 36 Victoria, chap. 62.

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late Sir Alexander Anderson in 1885, at the time when the Endowment Commissioners were holding their sittings. The article appeared shortly after his death in 1887, and deals with three schools only—Strichen, Old Deer and Rathen. Strichen, with its thirty Gordon Bursars (1861 to 1884), had in all probability sent more eminent students to the University in the course of thirty years than any other parish of the same population in Scotland. Old Deer, and its Smith Prizes, had, with over a score of University men in twenty-five years, achieved very high distinction; while Rathen, although it had only been a short time in the field, and was without the advantages to be derived from parish endowments, was showing remarkable promise, and had already sent a dozen men to College, many of them occupying high positions on the Bursary Lists. Had Sir Alexander lived to complete his enquiries and himself write fully on the subject, he would have been able to add to the record numerous other Buchan Schools that had, though to lesser extent, shared honourably in the work of promoting higher education.

Local educational benefactions have just been mentioned in speaking of Old Deer and Strichen. In respect of such the former is the most fortunate parish in Buchan. To it Mr. George Smith of Chicago, a native of the parish, gifted during his lifetime the munificent sum of £10,000 for providing prizes and bursaries, while other testators at various times left small amounts. Strichen comes next with a bursary fund from the bequests of Mr. James Nicol and Mr. George Gordon of some £2000. Mr. James Mitchell, once factor for the Pitfour estates, built and endowed with a salary of £10 each five schools—one in the parish of St. Fergus, two in Longside, one in Old Deer, and one in New Deer. Most of the other Buchan parishes have similar small bequests. By the Educational Endowments Act of 1882 such monies were, in the altered circumstances, devoted mainly to providing local competitive bursaries for the promotion of secondary education; and so effective were these comparatively small sums found to be in discovering and economically developing educational talent that a few years later on the establishment of Secondary Education Committees, bursary-giving from Imperial funds became a recognised feature of the national system of education.

Educational legislation since 1872, of which there has been abundance, has had for its chief object the perfecting of our educational machinery—a

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process in which there is no finality. At every step the education of the people has been regarded more and more as a national concern, and parental responsibility has been correspondingly decreased. Primary education has been made free, compulsory attendance to 14 years of age enacted, further attendance to the age of 17 foreshadowed, a great extension of the continuation-class system suggested, medical inspection of children is imminent, feeding of school children is in the air, and higher education is being reorganised. The old parish school system of Scotland is now to all intents and purposes dead—throttled gradually by red tape! Many think its death has been rather inglorious and perhaps too lingering, and that it would have been more seemly to slay it outright by Act of Parliament, and along with it the small parish school board—replacing the latter by district or county boards. Both, it is acknowledged, have served their day and generation well, and might fittingly have been laid to rest side by side. Altered conceptions of what the subjects of education should be, the gradual rise of the standard of attainment in the various subjects, and the increasing demand for instruction in utilitarian branches are making the grading of schools and the employment of specialist teachers a matter of necessity.

At the present moment grading with its descriptive nomenclature is in a state of unstable equilibrium. When it has become fixed, schools will be classified according to their curriculum into primary, intermediate and secondary. Meantime they are nondescript, higher grade and higher class.

Of the first class—the common state-aided school—there is an abundant supply in every parish in Buchan. Most of these, besides giving the usual primary education, have what is called a supplementary course—their highest class—in which all the better scholars over 12 years of age get for a year or two instruction in subjects of practical utility and likely to be serviceable to them in the ordinary business of life.

At least one school in each parish is in receipt of the Dick Bequest grants, and its curriculum must include for selected pupils, in addition to the above, languages and mathematics.

Higher Grade Schools (or Departments) are now established at Ellon, Fraserburgh, Fyvie,¹ Lonmay, Methlick,² Maud, New Deer, Old Deer, Peterhead,

¹ Part of the parish is in Buchan. ² *Ibid.*

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Strichen and Turriff. These have to be specially staffed and equipped for the teaching of a three years' course in languages, mathematics, science and drawing, as well as for manual work, cookery and laundry work ; and for them is reserved the exclusive right of teaching county bursars, and of presenting pupils for the Intermediate Certificate of the Scotch Education Department—a certificate intended to show that the boy or girl of 15 or 16 who possesses it has received a liberal general education.

There is no Higher Class School within the area, but Peterhead Academy, Fraserburgh Academy, and Turriff H.G. Public School serve the same purposes, that is, they provide a five years' curriculum which prepares students at the age of 17 to 18 for the Leaving Certificate or for admission to a University. These schools are also recognised as Junior Student Centres, which means that they prepare students who intend to become teachers for admission to one of the Training Centres. Schools with a five years' course have a monopoly of educating the holders of the County Committee's secondary bursaries.

Though school grading in this, as in other rural districts, is only in its infancy, and the question is one bristling all over with points that invite and provoke criticism, it seems sufficiently plausible to warrant giving it a fair trial, for after all it is only the present and passing phase of a vast interest whose paramount importance ever keeps it in a state of perpetual flux.

With an ample supply of excellent Primary Schools and a round dozen of Higher Grade ones, with highly qualified and zealous teachers, with School Boards composed largely of men of broad and progressive ideas, with pupils industrious and made of the right stuff, and with sympathetic Inspectors—men of sound scholarship and lofty ideals—education in Buchan may safely be trusted to maintain in the future the high position which it has held in the past.

J. W.

CHAPTER VI.

Buchan in my Boyhood.

A *MEMORY of the Disruption.* It was my good fortune to be born in 1840, when the world was all astir and a new era was being opened. Progress and discovery were in the air, and Science, Art and Industry were undergoing a rapid transition. The advent of steam and electricity bade fair to turn the habitable globe into one great commonwealth, and the opening up of fresh colonies presented attractive possibilities to youthful strength and enterprise. There were, nevertheless, ominous clouds on the horizon, for over the old Earldom of Buchan, and indeed over Scotland generally, there hung the inauspicious signs of impending ecclesiastical strife.

The "Ten Years' Conflict" was not to end without a crisis that would rend the Established Kirk in twain. In those days startling tales were told how the Maelstrom, off the Norwegian Coast, engulfed gallant ships and humbler craft by its malign and mysterious currents. And similarly, by a cruel fate, Scotland from time to time seemed destined to be drawn into discord and danger in the whirlpools of bitter religious contention. Buchan, as a rule, prefers to mind its own business, and has seldom shown much ambition to make history or to startle the world. Its people plod along accustomed ways of action and thought, while potentates live and die, and Governments rise and fall. But when burning questions have arisen in regard to Kirks and Ministers, the wide domain has usually shaken off its somnolence and eagerly joined in the fray. And this was the case, when the non-intrusion controversy deepened and intensified till pastors and people trampled tolerance under foot.

Many a family that had hitherto been rarely disturbed by a note of discord was cast into heated disputes and lost the bond of affection and unity. Public strife broke out like a storm in the night, and communities that had been free from division were now separated into hostile factions. Congregations long in peace and concord were divided into acrimonious groups that spent the winter

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evenings in wrangling over such barren subjects as patronage and popular election. Even the school children flung ugly names at one another and tried to catch some of the argumentative elements that floated in the air. Meanwhile, all unconscious of the prevailing strain and stress, my cradle swung in a thunder-laden atmosphere, and before I was three years old the Disruption was an accomplished fact. From henceforth the Auld Kirk was to sing the Lord's song in a sober bass, and the Free in a shrill soprano, but before I began to take my latitude and longitude the fight that had raged was less bitter than before. Quieter consideration was given to distinctive principles, and the controversial flails that had threshed ecclesiastical straw were hung up to wait for the next grand turmoil, raised by combative Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies.

Naturally as this wordy war died down it left many disputations and expressions behind it like driftwood on a storm-swept shore. Some of these evidently caught my fancy and soon my dawning intelligence began to busy itself with big words and phrases. As through a glass, darkly I could perceive that some sort of upheaval had lately turned Buchan into a battlefield. I would listen eagerly when the pathetic tale was told that the Minister of Old Deer "grat sair," when his bosom friend, the Minister of St. Fergus, determined to come out. And I shuddered when a virulent partisan remarked that it was a wonder that an Angel with a drawn sword had not appeared in those days over the Observatory of Pitfour. Every time the bewildering word "Disruption" was uttered, which was several times a day, I cocked my ears and wondered what this strange expletive meant. Thus by graduated steps I was prepared for entering on the heritage of religious feuds to which every Scotchman was formerly born. And certainly my enlistment in the service came early, for when scarcely four and a half years old, my first milestone or memorial tablet was set up and the record written thereon stands clear-cut to-day. By a singular chance an incident occurred that imprinted itself on my memory and remained undimmed and definite, closing the long vista of my early recollections.

Towards the end of Autumn in 1844, there had been a spell of wet and churlish weather and the Ugie, with its tributary burns, was in flood. Under the guidance of an older companion I had been making futile experiments in

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trying to nurse horse hair into eels, a curious fallacy held firmly by boys of sixty years ago. On the first sunny day I went to inspect the little reservoir we had constructed for this purpose but found it was labour lost. Not a trace of our engineering enterprise remained and I came home weary and dejected in spirit and in flesh. Afraid of being laughed at I found a heap of newly threshed straw, nestled down in this soft shelter and was soon fast asleep. When I awoke the first stars were twinkling overhead, and in a dull and dreamy way I began to practice the pronunciation of that mystic term "Disruption." Apparently it filled me with awe akin to that kindled by "the word that cleft Eldon Hills in three," for it represented nothing on which the sun or moon could shine. Little did I imagine, loitering there concealed from sight with my mind chasing shadows, that I was being searched for far and near. Hours had passed and now a hopeless circle sat round the hearth baffled and disheartened. Then, as was afterwards told, there entered a wrinkled and weird widow, of fortune-telling proclivities, who claimed to possess the second sight. This human cormorant broke the spell of silence by oracularly declaring, that all which remained of me would be found next morning in the Haughs of Rora. A rationalistic neighbour disputed this assertion but received no moral support. Whereupon the widow again took up her prophecy and said that at sunrise the Principalities of good and evil would be contending for the possession of my soul on the gusset of land near where the two Ugies met. This doleful prediction irritated the broad-minded farmer who had previously spoken, and he muttered something uncomplimentary about the Witch of Endor, called his collie dog and left abruptly. Whether he or his dog deserved the credit of catching the sound of a piping voice uttering the oft-repeated word "Disruption" remained an unsettled problem, but I am disposed to think the dog had the quicker ears and keener sagacity of the two. In any case I was speedily picked out of the straw by a rough but kindly hand, and set down in the midst of the forlorn circle to the discomforture of the croaking nonagenarian.

Fully twenty years afterwards, I told this tale of my childhood to Dr. Anderson of Morpeth, whose departure from St. Fergus had drawn the bitter tears of Mr. Morrison of Old Deer. He had gone forth into the world with little more than hope, and the household cradle, which he flatly refused to sell. As the story proceeded I noticed a twitching of the lips and then he laughed

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till his great burly form almost shook the cosy study where we sat. After this he lapsed into silence and retrospection and then said, somewhat sadly, "Do not let that tale be lost for it sums up all the struggle and sorrow of that doleful time. The very air was full of the strife of tongues, and the breakers on Scotstown Head seemed to spell out that weary word 'Disruption.'"

Blight in the Basket and the Store.—The ecclesiastical tempest had scarcely swept beyond the horizon, when another omen of trouble appeared. This no longer touched the outward interests of the kirks nor invaded the invisible realm traversed in the soul's pilgrimage. It made the Buchan folks think less of a heaven beyond the clouds, and more of an America beyond the sea. It was an affair of the earth earthly, but in the sore need of hungry hard-pushed people it threatened to prove a grievous affliction. In plain terms the potato disease crept northward and soon after my Disruption adventure, it was playing havoc in the fields of Buchan. I remember well seeing the blackened tubers turned up from the drills and deep was the depression that prevailed. My eldest brother, who had specialised in botany, created consternation by giving the long and learned name "*Peronospora infestans*" to the mysterious blight. To slip this expression off one's tongue was like attempting to leap an eight barred gate, but I cautiously refrained, remembering my previous disaster.

As may be supposed, the religious warfare died down in view of this tangible misfortune. As an old farmer said, "we've been fechtin' for the kirks, and now neither the Established nor the Free can save the tatties." But this did not avail to stem the torrent of controversy that arose over the supernatural aspect of the visitation. Needless to say the devotees of the Old Kirk laid the blame wholly on their non-intrusionist antagonists, but these had ready and effective replies. One argumentative Free Kirk minister took up the cudgels, questioned my brother's scientific terminology, and substituted "*Phytopathora infestans*" as more correct. Then he fiercely combated the notion that this was a Heaven-sent plague to show Divine displeasure over the Disruption. Had this been the case it would have struck Scotland first, but it had broken out in the Isle of Wight, four hundred miles south of the Border. It seemed unlikely that such far off and exemplary people as the dwellers in that island should be punished because Presbyterian tempests had raged between the Solway and the Pentland Firth.

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English people are usually profoundly ignorant of the religious contentions of Scotchmen, and probably few of the inhabitants of Hampshire had ever even heard of the great Dr. Thomas Chalmers. The "Claim of right" was a battle-cry in Scotland, and the procession of "fathers and brethren" from the Assembly Hall to Canon Mills stirred the people as when Roderick Dhu blew his horn in the Highland pass. All this, however, raised little interest or wonderment south of the Tweed, and sarcastic critics might have said that the Scotch had knocked off the hand-cuffs of Liberty but tied the feet of Truth. Thus the foolish warfare raged till Established and Free Kirk adherents could scarcely control their hands or tongues on the Sabbath Day, and on the "Ways of Zion." Indeed, it was whispered that some pious people took the precaution of worshipping with stones in their pockets so as to be prepared for emergencies. And Admiral Ferguson was recognised as acting wisely in refusing a site for the St. Fergus Free Kirk within a mile of the Auld Kirk door.

In the neighbourhood of my home, superstition manifested itself in an entirely different manner. No Free Kirk had been built within four miles in any direction, and thus there was a pacific circle, roughly drawn, eight miles in diameter. This distance was too great for active bigotry to reach boiling point, and the potato blight had to be accounted for by some occult influence, or by the intervention of Heaven designed to check prevailing iniquity. Such absurd fancies seem incredible now, and if openly expressed would be dismissed as springing from a distorted imagination. But the fact remains that such beliefs held sway in a district where ministers, schoolmasters and medical men were at work, and to which St. Columba had come to shed gospel light more than a dozen centuries before. It was, however, difficult to find any obvious proof of Divine or diabolical influence or instigation being at work. Hence suspicion became concentrated on a poor pilgrim and sojourner with whom I came afterwards into touch. This victim of popular delusion was a harmless and forlorn wayfarer, almost certainly an unfrocked priest, pale and cadaverous and dressed in the ruins of clerical costume. He had certainly an air of mystery and pensive loneliness, and would stand watching the mill-wheels on the Ugie or lie brooding under the shadow of a tree. He was also considered "uncanny," as he bore what seemed to be a pack of an oblong shape, which was never opened in any one's presence.

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He was no mere mendicant, but carried a small stock of apparently foreign-made amulets, medals of saints, and other kinds of charms warranted to protect their owners from human ills or from the evil eye. These were stored in his capacious pockets as the pack was supposed to be private, sacred and sealed. This was the scapegoat chosen to bear the blame of bringing the potato blight into our district and darkening the lot of the suffering poor. The calamity had been slow to invade our borders and the conviction grew that when this wanderer arrived it followed in his track. Great was our astonishment when one stormy night he presented himself at our door and begged for a night's lodgings. My parents by no means shared in the gross superstition of most of the neighbours, and the wearied and way-worn stranger, who was clean though poorly clad, had soon the best hospitality the house could afford. He was woe-begone and reticent, remarking only that long ago he had lost the compass for life's ocean and would never find it again. He had no heart left in him to build up a new future. He had only the King's highway that he could call his own, and the roads of Buchan had little shelter. But fortunately there were generous hearts that readily smoothed the path for weary feet. It mattered not at what altar they bowed if they aided the children of misfortune who had to warm their hands at other men's hearths.

A rough but fairly comfortable bed was prepared for him in the barn, and soon after he went out to this I quietly followed and found a light shining through a splintered crevice in the door. Peering through this I saw a touching spectacle that remains uneffaced in my memory to this hour. The mystic pack, the subject of many strange conjectures, had been opened and a board about two feet long, apparently gilded, had been laid on a bushel measure that had been turned upside down. This improvised oratory had two small candlesticks with lighted candles and between these was a crucifix, the first I had ever seen, and it glittered as if of solid silver. He was on his knees on a pallet of straw covered by what seemed a small prayer mat, and had a book in his hand bound in what must have been vellum. I could hear the low plaintive words in an unknown tongue that were doubtless from a penitential prayer or psalm. In this attitude he continued for perhaps a quarter of an hour, and then the sacred treasures were carefully enclosed in a leather wrapping, and before the last candle was extinguished I could see that he intended to place

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the precious package under his pillow. With true Scotch caution I crept silently to bed, but the crucifix and the stranger's mystical face, like one of the holy prophets in our big Bible, haunted me in my dreams. He had left before daylight next morning, having pencilled a few words of thanks, which those who examined it, pronounced the hand-writing of an educated man.

Years afterwards I bought an old Roman Breviary in an Aberdeen bookshop, the very image of the one I had seen used by the solitary worshipper. It now lies before me with the name "Engledon" written on the blank leaf in a free flowing hand. On the title page are the papal keys and triple crown tastefully linked by a richly embroidered band. It was printed in Cologne, Latinised as Colonia Agrippina in 1647. There is a temptation to fancy that this may be the actual copy borne far and near by the poor sojourner, and that on his death it had fallen into unsympathetic hands. In any case we neither saw nor heard of him again, and the secret of his sorrowful condition will never be disclosed. Whether he was the victim of evil men or of blind chance, or the conscious cause of his own downfall, none can tell, but it is touching to reflect that he clung to his Catholic faith as his strength and consolation.

The above story will show how the scientific spirit had been deplorably quenched in Buchan, or indeed had never been kindled by any live coal from the altar of Truth. Along this line there has been perhaps the most manifest proof of progress during the now vanishing generation. The grandsons of those who were so steeped in obscurantist absurdities would now check the potato blight in a more effective fashion. A man with what we call in England "a knapsack machine" containing a solution of sulphate of copper and lime would be brought to the rescue instead of a fast-day being proclaimed. Very few cobwebs of superstition remain round the processes of agriculture. It is recognised that "the kindly fruits of the earth" expand in their beauty and abundance irrespective of human guilt or goodness. The fruitful soil responds to those who can use it best and the sequence of cause and effect knows no break or variation. The "law of liberty" is not confined to the conscious life of man, but pervades the kingdom of grains and fruits and flowers, and the "Trees of the wood that clap their hands." The scourge that lessened the scanty resources of the cultivators of Scotland, and drew tears even from the eyes of the children, will long hold its place in the memory of a tradition-loving

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people. It will stand in the sombre succession of calamitous times and seasons with "King William's years" and "Black Monday" and the "Snaw Hairst" and the "Year of the short corn." But those who listen to the story will no longer ascribe such misfortunes to Divine caprice or severity. On the contrary, they will regard them as part of the oppressive conditions under which Buchan was reclaimed from waste and barrenness and turned into a fair and fertile land. It is sad to reflect that these patient toilers had not a deeper insight into universal and unchanging laws to cheer and sustain them. It must have been hard to feel that the powers above and below might be expected alternately to caress and crush them. But in spite of this deceptive aspect of natural phenomena the Buchan type of character has been evolved, with its noble elements of fortitude, steadfastness and sincerity.

The Testament and The Tawse.—In the dim panorama of my recollections there are now fresh scenes, accompanied by keen discussions on a more pleasing, or at least, more practical topic. The one absorbing subject was the Repeal of the Corn Laws, but this was too subtle and complicated for a boy of six years old to comprehend. In my childish fashion I had a notion that these outbursts of disputation were like the whooping-cough or a fever, and would run their course and disappear. The Buchan mind gave itself to farming and religion as the two supreme interests for time and eternity. And of course, the Corn Law question came under the category of temporal ways and means, and appealed to the hope of greater comfort and progress. But I noticed that both before and after service on Sundays, it was discussed exclusively as if the bread that perisheth were more important than the bread and water of life.

The men of the congregation divided themselves into three sections, guided doubtless by the instinct of self preservation. These were composed respectively of the farmers, crofters and farm servants, each class having its own particular social creed and its political panaceas. Naturally I could make nothing out of this Babel of opinions, but help came from an unexpected source. A ploughman, who afterwards became an enthusiastic Chartist, had by some means got a copy of Ebenezer Elliott's *Corn Law Rhymes*, and when opportunity offered, he taught me snatches of the more denunciatory poems. It may seem absurd, but at the age of six I began to have a hazy idea that Buchan needed turning upside down. "We labourers," said my ploughman friend, "are

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all like trees bent to one side by the north wind. How could the people be expected, after working and fighting for others, through fifty generations, to grow up straight in trunk and symmetrical in branch? They could not be blamed if they showed a crooked and gnarled and one-sided growth." This teaching was enforced by the ploughman showing me trees in Ardlaw Hill Wood that served admirably as object lessons and I heartily concurred. Here were specimens resembling our well-known nondescripts,—the "natural," the "poacher," the "deserter" and the "dry-land sailor," and my eyes were prematurely enlightened.

Soon after this I spent a day in Old Deer and saw the Manse Garden with the apple trees in full blossom, and a still richer display awaited me in the Abbey Garden of Pitfour. These glimpses of beauty were a revelation, for no such privilege was possible near my own home. A few days afterwards I blurted out the question, at an awkward moment, "Why have lairds and ministers so many apple trees while other folks have none?" I am rather afraid that I also made a still more alarming enquiry why there should be lairds at all, and why ministers should live on mutton, while many other folk had only meal, and milk and kail? These revolutionary sentiments raised serious misgivings and a dour conservative farmer warned my parents that I should soon be a full fledged follower of Tom Paine and a red republican. Two months later (in July 1846), I found that arrangements had been made for my going to school and I duly presented myself before the master to have my attainments tested.

In those days it was as natural to learn to read as to learn to walk, and when the great man handed me a two-penny primer I declined it with something like a look of contempt. A Testament and tawse lay beside him on the window seat, and he laid the latter on his knee and turned up a chapter in Matthew's Gospel. Naturally, I expected to be led through the green pastures of the Sermon on the Mount, or a simple parable like that of the Sower, but he chose a passage containing the names of the twelve Apostles. This was scarcely a fair trial for a fresh recruit, but I cantered easily through the list only stumbling momentarily at the formidable name of Bartholomew. "You'll be Moderator of the General Assembly yet" said the master sarcastically, "but meanwhile you will be none the worse of occasional correction." Then shaking

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the tawse before my face he added "This will maybe help to keep down your prejudice and your pride."

As a rule this distinctively Scotch instrument of torture was used in the school sparingly and with justice. Years after the above incident, when I had attained the rank of head boy, I irreverently found a fitting name for it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The title was in a sense highly complimentary being that of the "Sceptre of Righteousness," but at times the symbol of authority was used in unwarrantable ways. For instance, as the school had no ceiling but an open space above the rafters, where cobwebs curtained the divots, the master had an easy way of stilling a tempest of sound or an outbreak of frolic. Throwing up the tawse into what we called "the aching void" he watched its fall, as guided by the law of gravitation, on the evil or the good. The unfortunate youngster on whom it lighted, whether saint or sinner, had then to carry up the strap to the window seat, and this was turned, *pro tem.*, into an operating theatre. Needless to say, we accepted our fate without delay or demur, and if the tawse made a parabolic curve and fell among the girls, half-a-dozen boys would scramble to undergo the vicarious punishment. This method of discipline may be condemned as being a kind of Monte Carlo gamble, but we took it in good part and harboured no malice. And after all, it was only carrying out the fundamental principle of Calvinism to its logical conclusion.

Besides the tawse, there was another punitive appliance kept as a last resort, and colloquially known as the "Wig." It was a kind of Fool's cap, and round it had gathered a medley of myths and traditions. It was reputed to be lined with the scalp of a North American Indian Chief, brought back by a Strichen desperado from the banks of the Missouri River. Another hypothesis represented it as made by a local Witch sitting on a murdered man's grave at a point on the Ugie where in feudal days three great baronies met. These gruesome notions were however quite unfounded, for it was simply made of rabbits skins, and being suspended out of reach, it was a favourite refuge for spiders and mice. The boy on whose head this odious thing was set had reached the *ne plus ultra* of ignominy. It was reserved for the base and the untruthful or the incorrigibly coarse, mean and low. The rareness of its use added to the solemnity of the occasion and the depth of the disgrace. The master

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prefaced the ceremony by references to the brand on the brow of Cain and the curse that fell on Achan who took of the spoil of Jericho, and then he somewhat incongruously brought in Judas Iscariot and the betrayer of Sir William Wallace.

Such antiquated methods may appear grotesque to captious critics, but the Buchan people owed much to the school-masters of former days. These won for themselves great local influence by their integrity, perseverance, and sound judgment. Accustomed to strenuous activities and unquestioned authority, they were apt to be arbitrary, and parents, as well as children, had to be submissive. But they enjoyed sincere respect and esteem, while the deference shown to the ministers was often mingled with fear. As the saying went, they were dangerous crows to shoot at. The School-buildings of the time were mostly of a makeshift order, and their equipment was primitive and poverty-stricken in the extreme. Money was sent by the Churches to convert the heathen and the Jews, that would have been often better spent in improving these inadequate erections, and cleansing their insanitary surroundings. As for the lairds and factors, they grudged even the pittance of a salary on which the law insisted. In fact, through all the eight years of my early school life, I never knew of a shilling being spent by them for any sort of betterment. Nevertheless excellent results were frequently secured, and under the guidance of these faithful teachers a keen sense of honour was scrupulously cultivated. The old fashioned dominie was proud of his high vocation and, with few privileges and under the pressure of narrow means, he generally performed his arduous task with conscientiousness, patience and zeal.

Obscure Philosophers.—One feature of Buchan life in the forties and fifties was the strange admixture of studious men in humble circumstances dwelling among people who cared little for mental enlargement or progressive ideas. This class has not received the attention which it deserved, although a few members of it, such as Thomas Edwards, have had their biographies written by authors of distinction. From early boyhood these modest and patient students of books and Nature had a strange fascination over me, and when I got into contact with one of them, I felt as if landed on an island in the ocean of ignorance. Few of them emerged from the obscurity in which they were born, and most of them had their intellectual activity checked by the burdensome and narrowing conditions of their life. Some were crofters, and

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others ploughmen, with poor abodes and meagre opportunities for the pursuit of their favourite studies. Nevertheless, they delighted in struggling with the infinitude around them, and feeling after deep secrets in process of discovery. They seldom received much appreciation, nor indeed were they ambitious to gain it, but quietly sought for the sweets of learning, as bees search for the nectar in the flowers. Some of them ventured to fish in troubled waters, and brought on themselves a storm of prejudice, and an evil repute for dangerous notions and heterodoxy.

I remember one who delighted to find vulnerable places in the chain armour of the Shorter Catechism, and who had really an amazing knowledge of how and when the creeds and confessions were written. His capacious "kist" stood in a bare stable loft, redolent of dunghills, and books well-nigh crowded out his Sunday suit. Many a time in that poor bothy, he would, with eager eyes, describe to me the Geneva of Calvin's day, and how the stern author of the Institutes watched Servetus with a keen and relentless glance, till at last the faggots blazed round the headstrong heretic. The presence of such an iconoclast in a district was a sore trouble to the neighbouring ministers. These men of the manse were genial, hospitable and sympathetic, but prone to intellectual complacency. They had got the truth and they wished for no additions or amendments to it. The pulpit was not the place for critical disquisitions, and far less for fresh revelations. A preacher was not there to climb mountain peaks, but to serve as the accredited exponent of a fixed dogmatic system. The obscure philosopher or "sticket minister" was thus a thorn in the flesh, but being backed up by no broad-minded or resolute people, he was usually left severely alone, or coolly catalogued as an atheist. And when aged and infirm, he was turned out like a twenty-five year old horse to subsist as best he could.

Under such conditions, the progress of enlightenment in Buchan was painfully slow, and there, as elsewhere, obstructions and barriers in the way of advancement were hard to surmount. The churches were all alike in one respect, they trusted to the anchor rather than the compass, and the preachers warned their congregations menacingly that any presumptuous exploration of the ocean of theology would inevitably end in spiritual shipwreck and future doom. The ministers of each denomination held the keys of their own

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small sheepfolds and thought them the keys of Heaven and of Hell. Meanwhile, my obscure philosophers sat shivering in their bothies, and, as in a dark corner of Noak's Ark, waited for the flood of superstition to subside. Out of many previous recollections of profitable intercourse with these unappreciated thinkers, I will give a solitary example of how my eyes were opened as by the touch of a magician. In those days geology was in its infancy, and only a few had begun to learn the earth's wondrous story. The shaping of its surface by Nature's agencies of fire, wind, rain, and glacier was undreamt of and also the condition of man in far off epochs.

By good fortune I had got into favour with an elderly lady of large means, whose hospitality and kindness to me were unbounded. While in my twelfth year, I had a double claim to distinction, namely, that I could recite *Tam o' Shanter* from memory and with a certain degree of dramatic effect. The second was, that I had gained the works of Josephus as a prize for unusual proficiency in Biblical knowledge. In the harvest vacation of 1851, the year of the great Exhibition, this Lady Bountiful had entertained me like a prince, and fed my fancy by glowing accounts of the Crystal Palace. During my stay, *Tam o' Shanter* had been graphically produced in an ivy-covered summer house, before an indulgent audience, and the *Twa Dogs* given as an encore. My hostess and her forbears had come from Dumfriesshire and had brought with them a valuable culinary secret, little known in Buchan, that of making mutton hams. This delicacy, ready cooked, was a frequent gift to her favourites, and as Benjamin's mess was of unconscionable size, so I departed, laden with this and other luxuries, sufficient to carry me from Dan to Beer-sheba. As I passed my temporarily deserted school, I turned down the slope to the familiar well, and sought out a hidden drinking cup, from the neighbouring reeds and rushes. With all the scholars on vacation, the place felt lonely, but the Hill of Mormond stood out beyond, like the face of a familiar friend. I thought it strange that we never saw but one side of it as we only see one side of the moon.

While mentally making a resolution to explore its northern slopes, I noticed a worn and wearied man turn off from the highway and sit down beside the well. It flashed upon me that I must play the Good Samaritan, for I noticed that he was utterly exhausted and apparently hungry and ill. I offered

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him a drink of water and said I had more food than I needed and would be glad if he would share it with me. His face lighted up with pleasure and gratitude, and my Lady Bountiful's speciality seemed a delightful surprise. Refreshed and revived, he said with a touch of humour, "Surely you are the boy who won Josephus and who knew how many knives the Children of Israel brought back from Babylon." I admitted that these laurels were mine, but hinted that in the adjoining school, the teacher knew how to keep us humble. There was something in the stranger's face that fascinated me, and I thought of men who had appeared as wayfarers and had returned in royal robes. He told me his simple story and I listened like the wedding guest to the Ancient Mariner. He had a poor little croft somewhere down near the Red Moss, and had nibbled feebly at the ragged edge of this desolate expanse for nineteen years. Now his strength was almost spent, and he had been far up country trying to obtain the mastership of a small side school, but the post was already filled and he was returning home tired and disappointed. He had little to live for, neither wife nor child, but he had a treasure of Truth that sustained him in his pitiful isolation.

He had fathomed the secrets of the new geology, and with that had come, as to the exile on Patmos, the vision of a new earth, or rather of a continuous creative process, the history of which was written plainly on the surface of the planet. "Now," he said, "I will give you your first lesson in the truths of the real creation, clear of the old ignorance and superstition." Much that he said was beyond my depth, but I sought to catch every word as he told how the fiery star-dust had gathered itself into a world, and I remember how his countenance glowed with something of a mystic enthusiasm. Then, pointing to the Hill of Mormond, he showed me how it had been denuded and slowly shaped in contour—how a great stream had swept down its side, scooping out a deep water-course, playing antics with the gravel beds, and leaving the fairy hillocks high and firm like the Bass of Inverurie. He pointed out the shelf where the glacier had lain and gradually receded, while as yet there was no man to watch the wondrous workmanship of nature.

Here was a man, whose ambition was to teach a few children in some poverty-stricken upland district, who had anticipated the discoveries of Sir Charles Lyall, and who would, apart from drawing-room amenities, have

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adorned a professor's chair in Aberdeen University. I accompanied him as far as the Loch of Kininmonth, and, sitting down there, we had another meal out of my satchel, with another wise and learned address. This time it had more of historical than scientific interest. He told me how this so-called Causey of Kininmonth was one of the primeval tracks which the builders of the old stone circles had trodden, and along which the Picts had marched for more than a thousand years. Then the great Comyns had probably roughly paved it to facilitate their access to the fine natural harbour of Strathbeg. For the first time the enchanted land of the Bible lay as in mist and cloud, and all things had become new. Somewhat sadly I returned home, with my satchel empty; but no breaking of bread has ever been more truly a Communion than that sacred feast beside the Dead Sea of Buchan. I had promised to pay my new-found friend a visit, but he died before many months were over. He had scaled heights inaccessible to ordinary human footsteps, and he stood alone like Moses on the Mount of God. It was well that he should pass from his poor environment to the Home of Peace, and doubtless he was resigned and satisfied. The ever active intellect had worn out the fragile frame, but that mind of his, bright as crystal and consecrated to Truth, had cleared my boyish vision. And even now that formless, dreary upland where we conversed seems as if glorified into a Mount of Transfiguration.

Great Books in eager demand.—My intercourse with another recluse who loved literature with a fervent devotion, led me at times into singular adventures. I was eager to provide him with a plentiful supply of fresh literary food, even at the risk of being betrayed into inconsistencies. Out of various reminiscences one brief story may be given that has long held a place in the gallery of my memory. My father being a kind of agent for the famous Clola Library, which provided strong meat for stalwart thinkers, I contrived to smuggle into bothies and garrets many a volume that brightened the poor abodes of these patient and laborious bookworms. At times, however, I had to resort to deeper and more hazardous stratagems to obtain the loan of books of a rarer description. It happened that the much beloved first Minister of Kininmonth Church was the possessor of a library that had accumulated through three generations, and many a precious volume lay buried in his secluded little manse. In the long winter evenings I often spent delightful hours over the simpler of those

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treasures, and when only thirteen years of age I was frequently at work with the assistant master of the school, selecting and cataloguing a new library for the church. Thus at a very early age I lived on the daily bread of literature, and was often reproached for being up in the clouds and unfit for doing any useful and sensible work in the world.

The Minister's books were his close companions, and he would take down a musty volume and say with gentle satire that his elders could tell the value of bullocks but not of books, and if he had to unload, he would not display his literary wares at Mintlaw market. A book had to be loved for itself, not for its worth in gold, but he had fifty at least that would bring as much or more, if sold in London, as so many prime fat cattle. One of these was a precious copy of *Don Quixote*—almost certainly the translation of Thomas Shelton, dating from about 1612. Knowing that my erudite ploughman had long hungered after Cervantes' matchless caricature of a decadent chivalry, I worked out a stratagem to gratify his desire. Under the pretence of being anxious to read it myself, the Minister at once entrusted me with the volume, and I decided to deliver it that same night. Finding some excuse for my early departure, I went out into the darkness with the book buttoned securely in my bosom. It was a wild night, but in those days we cared nothing for discomfort, and as for fatigue, we never felt it. Scarcely had I begun my two miles trudge when the rain swept furiously in my face, and before I had reached the first wayside farm I was in agonies over the danger of having the book drenched and ruined. I knew the people would give me every possible protection, but to ask for this meant disclosing my secret, so by a happy inspiration I raced into the farm yard, and, disregarding the eighth commandment, I pulled out corn enough from the ricks and bedded the book in the long dry stalks. Further, for security's sake, I constructed a sevenfold breast-plate with an improvised straw rope round me like a mendicant friar. Finally I made a kind of shield for my left arm, and faced the battle and the breeze like a miniature Sir John Falstaff. In this guise I presented myself in my studious friend's retreat, and he naturally supposed that a practical joke was in progress. Then from underneath this manifold panoply I produced *Don Quixote*, with not a trace of the tempest through which I had battled. It may seem a trivial tale, but it gives an instructive glimpse of a time noteworthy for an unquenchable eagerness for

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knowledge, and shows how this had to be nursed and maintained under the most adverse conditions.

It must be confessed that now and then such self-educated men were tempted to turn their attainments to account in a rather unscrupulous fashion. One of these, whose sarcastic tongue made people cringe, would have won fame and fortune as a comedian or a professional jester. He managed a farm for a mean and utterly ignorant couple, intensely eager to gather gear though they approached the age of four score. Their sharp-witted overseer, among other duties, had to conduct worship in the kitchen on Sunday evenings, and he turned frequently for his selections to the Book of Deuteronomy among the blessings and curses of the so-called chosen race. Much to the delight of the men and maids, and the terror of the miserly couple, he brought these old-world denunciations up to date, with a fervour and an air of reality that frightened his employers and led to a speedy improvement in the cuisine. Then would come a brief period of peace and plenty with blessings to match, and the overseer actually planned on one occasion a supper of boiled beef and greens to celebrate the conversion of the close-fisted pair. But they stood stubbornly out against this as a piece of gross extravagance. This clever interpolator was nicknamed "The Prophet," and indeed in his versatile nature two widely divergent worlds met. He had a strong and bitter word for every wrong, and all the time a dash of the charlatan in his blood. Needless to say I was quite ready to aid and abet him in this comminatory plot, or at least to become an accessory after the fact. A favourable opportunity soon presented itself for adding some effective touches to the Sunday evenings' devotions. By rare good luck I found a few grimy Biblical prints in a chapman's pack, one being a vivid representation of the delivery of the blessings and curses from Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal. Over the crest of the former the sunshine streamed, while over the accursed peak the lurid lightnings played. This picture, having been roughly framed, was hung in the farm kitchen, and I had an invitation for the unveiling. Naturally it made the niggardly antediluvians shake in their shoes and was a most telling object-lesson. As "The Prophet" pointed the moral, curse after curse, of a decidedly nineteenth century type, rang out like the clank of a hammer or the twang of a bowstring.

All the seven deadly sins seemed to circle round the farmer's larder, and

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the contents of this were depicted as usually fit only for the garbage heap. Bad meal and blue milk, broken herrings and diseased pork were each branded with its own black name. And a sulphurous blast seemed to sweep down from the gloomy summit of Ebal, prognosticating eternal perdition for the farmer who secretly salted dog-fish for home consumption. At the close I hinted to "The Prophet" that neither herrings nor pork were used by ancient Israel. His answer came like a sudden bolt from the blue. It was to the effect that this was not a case for a microscopic historical analysis. For his part he thought that the patriarchs, who knew nothing of oatmeal porridge, finnan haddocks and whisky, scarcely deserved to be credited with having had a Divine revelation. Many such quaint effects of perverted lore and humour could be piled up from the Buchan of my boyhood with its characters of rare originality.

Rent Takers and Rent Makers.—A landed proprietor, who was prominent in Buchan during my boyhood, often said that up till then the lairds had by far the best of the bargain, but the tenants' time would come. He was undoubtedly right in the first part of his statement but the second part was a prophecy that is still largely unfulfilled. The laird of the old school often played the tyrant among his tenants, and his successor may do so still. The protracted task of reclaiming the moors and malarial bogs of the Earldom had required more than a century, but in my boyhood it was drawing towards a close. Too much credit has been given to the landlords for the assistance which they rendered in the carrying out of this colossal achievement, for in the main, it was accomplished by the unaided and life-long labour of three or four generations. By their unremitting toil and considerable money outlay, extensive tracts were largely increased in value, with scarcely any assistance from the proprietors. And in numerous instances at the end of the first lease the rent would be largely raised on the tenants' own improvements. I remember well the long line of little holdings that fringed the southern slope of Mormond, and the harsh treatment meted out to these industrious cultivators by the new capitalist proprietors. In my long rambles during the harvest holidays, I watched the same process of turning the wilderness into fertile fields, and I often wondered why men worked so unweariedly to enrich the lairds. It was said long ago, by an authority on land tenure, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a garden ; give him a nine years' lease of a garden

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and he will turn it into a desert." These indefatigable workers had, as a rule, got a nineteen years' lease of their holding, but no security at the end, and yet they toiled as if it were the fore-ordained lot of man to transform moor and marsh into garden-ground without money and without price.

Agriculture carried on under favourable conditions is an interesting and even an enjoyable occupation and no mere drudgery, sustained only by stolid resignation and endurance. The tillers of the soil have each day's sunshine to brighten each day's work. They live the larger part of their lives under the broad open sky and they are rich at least in light and air and space. They can observe the mysterious unfolding of vegetation from the time when the seed swells and bursts through the soil on to the time when field and pasture and garden have rendered their tribute in due season. They become familiar with the birds and the habits of their four-footed companions, and Nature tells them many a secret if they listen to her voice. All this should give a charm to the work of the sower and the reaper, but the Buchan farmer of sixty years ago was generally bowed down beneath the double burden of over exertion and financial anxiety. My impression is that he seldom murmured or even talked as men do to-day of the emancipation of the land. As for security of tenure, it was but the dream of visionaries. Men seldom theorised over unimproved land values, nor sat down to write long letters to the newspapers about their grievances. There were no socialistic platform orators to dilate on royal grants or to calculate the enormous increment created by the collective energies of the tenants and enjoyed by the landlord class. They could have made out a good case against these owners of the soil, who gathered where they had not strewn and levied tribute without benefit returned.

It is to be feared that the Buchan farmers of former days were too meek and submissive, and their meekness has not brought with it the promise of Beatitude, for in no sense have they inherited the earth. They have always been too much afraid of getting into disfavour with their landlords or of turning the factors into secret antagonists. In my boyhood they gratefully accepted any trifling concession, and were thankful for wondrously small mercies. It would have been better to present a solid front, and openly to oppose the lairds that used their power with undue severity. It seemed to be taken for granted that heritors and their agents were part of the Divine order, and that the

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conditions of a lease, like the ten commandments, had come by direct agency from Heaven. I shall never forget being taken to see the corpse of a small farmer who had dropped down dead at the plough. There was no restfulness in the expression of his face, the eyes seemed to stare into vacancy, and slight flakes of crimson foam had to be frequently wiped from his mouth. He appeared like a runner who had been struck down in the midst of a race, or a combatant that had stood his ground till beaten down by sheer brute force. With boyish curiosity I asked his widow why he had this appearance, and she replied, "He was aye forjeskit like and little wonder,—wi' sic a rent." The poor hurried and worried toiler, buffeted on his high exposed holding by bleak winds, and baffled by an unkindly soil, had suddenly succumbed, and the terrors of the rent day would trouble him no more.

This was no uncommon ending three score years ago, when comforts were few and cares were manifold. Many of my school-fellows, naturally of bright and happy disposition, who might have blossomed out into a finely-developed manhood, grew sour and disheartened, as if fighting a hard battle and foredoomed to slow but certain defeat. Constant toil and anxiety clogged the processes of thought, and outwardly they became ungainly in manner and heedless of the amenities of life. Others silently chafed under the limitations of their lot, and became reticent, querulous and narrow minded, while all ideals and high impulses shrivelled and pined away. And how sad the change from bright and beautiful girlhood to the worn and disheartened condition of the wife and mother, who seemed to wear a heavy chain—not on her body but on her spirit. The Buchan lairds of my boyhood were apparently fair examples of their class, but most of them kept up establishments of a needlessly ostentatious and expensive style. Most of them appeared to be mentally indolent, poor speakers in public, and the high rents that were exacted were often lavished at home or abroad in selfish indulgence. Their imposing mansions with their extensive "policies" were in painful contrast to the squalid homes of many of those who contributed to their maintenance.

The farm buildings were for the most part poorly constructed, generally of stones gathered from the fields, while the interior of the living rooms was dimly lighted and blackened by smoke. As for the means of access, the visitor had commonly to pick his way to the tenant's door over stepping stones and past

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manure heaps, over which innumerable flies buzzed in the summer days. It was a pity that the purest winds in all the world should sweep over Buchan, while such good and kindly people breathed the vile odours of these offal heaps by day, and the vitiated air of their box beds by night. It would have done the laird good to get a spade or a white-wash brush and join his tenants in a grand clean up. Remote from the restless and shallow world of display and fashion these farmers and crofters bore their burden bravely, and though straitened by pecuniary pressure they kept their self-respect and lent a helping hand to those in deeper distress or affliction. For fifty years men have been re-studying this complicated problem of the land. In my youth the battlefield was that of party and class privilege, but now all true workers can base their hopes on the advance of intelligence and justice. The great problem will never be solved by the little agitators who brandish their weapons and raise their warcries. We have had enough of clamour and debate, and this perplexing conflict of interests can be ended only by our most patriotic and discriminating thinkers and leaders, whose calmness will rebuke contention and repress the selfish striving of the passing hour.

A Famine in the Fine Arts.—One serious deprivation and disadvantage of the Buchan people during the early Victorian period was the lack of all influences or objects that could cultivate the æsthetic faculty. Every gateway seemed closed that led into that realm of ideas and feeling which is called the Beautiful. The sense of artistic taste, the discernment of symmetry and harmony, and all that tended to draw forth refinement and delicacy of sentiment seemed in large measure to lie dormant. That very powerful agent of human insight—the imagination—was thus apt to be checked or even entirely blighted. Even when the Fine Arts came with their allurements and knocked at the gates of the grantees, they met with a churlish reception. And when they presented themselves at the doors of the manses the ministers demanded their religious credentials and gave them no hearty recognition. Poetry alone was welcomed, but even this was more frequently honoured in the homes of the poor than in the halls of the great. Architecture, sculpture, painting and even music (worth the name) were usually relegated to the outer court of the temple and the age was satisfied with a bare utility.

In plain terms the popular fancy had become dulled through the want of

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quickenings conditions, and the æsthetic element had become weak from disuse. The popular mind appeared to be engrossed with things material, and was content with the commonplace, if only the hope of Paradise cast a gleam of light over their path. In the inner vision of the Beautiful they perceived no saving grace or any "Well of Salvation." Only over the poetry of Burns would the farmer or ploughman break out into a rhapsody that revealed the living waters still flowing beneath. The Buchan people, at this stage of their development, had thus to pass in pilgrimage through an æsthetic desert, and there were only two great teachers or leaders, both mystic and wonderful, that held the keys and could come to their help. The first of these was Religion in its finer spirit and essence, the other was Nature, that pointed the way into a boundless country of the Beautiful. We may take these in turn and ask how far they were able, three score years ago, to create a world of the imagination.

One may give Religion full credit for pointing its finger to the sky and sternly laying down the law of duty. But certainly in those days, she did not clothe herself in comely garments. Speaking frankly, the churches, even in the larger towns and villages, would have made a fastidious English ecclesiastic shrink and shudder. It was strange that in the heyday of Feudalism the magnates of the Earldom built no great religious edifice except the Abbey of Deer. And of that, after its rough treatment about half a century ago, there remained only one carved stone, showing the face of a saint or angel. In most cases the services in these inartistic sanctuaries were as bare and repelling as their external aspect. The strains of thanksgiving were wafted in a manner that had better not be depicted, and the prayers meandered along well worn lines of precatory platitudes. The sermons were seldom of a kind to touch the imagination or to warm the heart. Apart from the sublime and precious thoughts and language of the Bible, the preacher rarely quoted from the old sacred poetry of the world or referred to the ancient excellence in art. A year's preaching would pass with scarcely an allusion to the memorable events of what was called profane history. As for religious patriotism it was scarcely ever inculcated, and it was a red letter day if the minister brought Scotland out of its customary eclipse and spoke of its ideals or its past achievements. When he allowed this indulgence we were inclined to shout for the curtain to be rung up again that the great drama might go on. But he usually hurried back to

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the glorification of the Jews or turned down the prosaic path that led to dogmatic exposition. It seemed taken for granted that religion could dispense with the love of country. The lessons were to be drawn from the heroic ages.

It would be interesting to know if these "Masters in Israel" had the faintest idea how keenly all this was watched and weighed by the brighter boys and girls in the pews. We fully appreciated the indomitable striving of Saul and David, but Scotland had a David of its own, probably a man rather more after the Lord's own heart. And we were prepared to match his mother, the Saintly Margaret, against any Old Testament heroine. We maintained that the banners which floated over the army of Bruce at Bannockburn, and beneath which brave men fell, were as sacred as any consecrated curtain of tabernacle or temple. The stately traditions and age-long struggle of our own country appealed to our fancy, with mingled pathos and power. There were few memorial tablets or stained glass windows that could inspire veneration for men who had lived noble lives or spoken great thoughts. But nevertheless in a measure we contrived to supply some of the defects of our meagre spiritual nutriment, and shared the dreams and longings of those in more privileged positions. But the enlightened world seemed far away with its atmosphere of art, romance and literature.

While the Episcopalian had some advantage over his Presbyterian brother in the possession of a more picturesque and symbolical liturgy, his religious horizon was often obscured by sectarian intolerance. The persecution of the eighteenth century had left a half-healed sore behind it, and broad hints were thrown out, where organs sounded, that heaven had been planned for a few. We boys were repelled by this exclusive spirit and solaced ourselves with visits to stone circles and mounds, of which more existed then than now. Here we found food for the fancy in brooding over the survivals of a people whose name and memory with that of their gods, had gone into oblivion together. Or we wandered far afield exploring the mouldering castles which told that a great history had passed over the Earldom. From their cavernous keeps the voices of vanished ages seemed to speak, and out of the past would rise colossal figures, with sword and shield, that battled for right and liberty, or mercilessly stained the land with blood. Our veneration was especially stirred by the remnants of the old medieval churches, with their low-browed doors and

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chancel arches, miniature fortresses in a rugged time. We also explored reverently, as holy ground, the immemorial graveyards near them, whose gates stood open for the cattle to graze and the dead to enter. Rarely had the scanty historical remains of Buchan been vigilantly guarded from vandalism and made the objects of pious solicitude. And in at least this respect we boys of sixty years ago were in advance of the lairds and of our present day successors. Nothing shocks me more than to see children playing leap-frog among tombstones of an ancient burial-place whose origin is lost in the night of time. It makes me feel that though the light of new thought may shine the river of reverence may be frozen in its course.

As far as I can judge, boys were far more observant in those old days than now, and nothing came amiss to us that could stir our fancy or break the barriers that divided us from the world's larger life. We would trudge all the way to Peterhead to watch the sailing of the Greenland ships, and would talk as we returned about the fleets of Tyre or Carthage. We learned something of sculpture from the figure-heads of these massive barques, and from the plaster casts of gods and goddesses in the gardens of the lairds. Of painting and heraldry Buchan had little to show, but we made the most even of the Coats-of-Arms on the sign-boards of village inns. We often wondered that Buchan had not built a single city with walls, and gates, and towers, like that pictured in Bunyan's *Holy War*. This being so, we nursed our admiration on the stately mansions of the landed proprietors and through diplomatic friendships formed with butlers and housekeepers, I had ample opportunities of seeing several of their interiors.

This close inspection did not generally, however, lend enchantment to the view. The parks and ponds, and herds of deer, and the delightful walled gardens were more fascinating than the laird's own private surroundings. I had expected to find decorations in alabaster and marble, wine in golden goblets, and curtains of purple, half concealing minstrels with thrilling harp and song. It is needless to say that three score years ago such magnificence did not exist in Buchan. The rooms were large and handsome, but there was usually a lingering odour of tobacco smoke and stale whisky punch. Such pictures as I remember after all these years, were mainly portraits of grisly generals, and stern, starched dowagers, and a sprinkling of biblical subjects, mostly suggestive of

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battle, murder, and sudden death. Herod and his myrmidons were truculently killing the babes of Bethlehem, Joseph's bloody coat was being laid before Jacob, and of course, the body of Absalom was hanging by the hair from a tree. The lairds were (viewed at close quarters) by no means superior beings, and food, drink, and sport seemed to be the leading concerns of their lives. Apparently it did not occur to them that we were entangled in a network of customs, traditions and prejudices that were not only useless but injurious. Fresh forces had begun to work in society and in the material world, and leaders were urgently needed to control and guide this new outflow of power. But instances were few and far between of lairds stepping bravely forward to fight the evils that plagued their heavily burdened brethren.

The foregoing sketches illustrate only a few of the aspects of life in Buchan between the Disruption and the Crimean War. Much of the panorama must remain unseen, and many a quaint personality cannot be portrayed. But enough has been given to show that the district was no paradise of ease and luxury except for a few privileged patricians. Most of its inhabitants had to be content with the essentials of existence, or the stern simplicities of humble station. Certainly there was no danger of children being spoiled by over-indulgence. It was a favourite maxim of the time that boys should not sleep on too soft a pillow. Discipline was severe and rules were rigid, and parents frowned on even harmless freaks and frivolities. But many finely formed characters flowered forth in this ungenial soil, and many a brilliant career owed its shaping impetus to strict but wholesome early training. Looking back across the snows of many winters, I can recall the severity and discomfort that widely prevailed. The damp dusty churches, the cramped and badly furnished schools, the squalid bothies and rudely constructed cottages have left a cheerless impression on my memory. But in those far-off years this primitive environment seldom disturbed us. We wondered at times that so many excellent and amiable people led such meagre lives in a world of abundance and beauty, but we had too much vitality and ardour to fret foolishly over sordid surroundings. Besides we were always on the alert, and subjects of interest changed and shifted like sand-banks in a rapid stream. When misfortune fell near us we had a quiet confidence that if our turn came the furnace of affliction would not be heated beyond the limit of endurance. And though

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Calvinism hung like a dark cloud in the sky, we ignored its gloom and trusted in the Divine beneficence.

In my retrospective moods most enjoyment comes from the remembrance of our close communion with Nature. Famine-stricken as Buchan was in regard to art and science, we instinctively turned to her shrine as that of our Bountiful Mother. History and tradition were precious, but Nature imparted to us deeper secrets that made the Shorter Catechism seem like a barren field. Among my happiest recollections is the discovery that behind all the ploughing and sowing and reaping lay a realm of mystery and a fountain of exhaustless life and strength. Nature became our guide from the harsh spring days to the harvest home, nor left us in the wild wintry season. From her we learned to love the great sweeping landscapes of Buchan and the charming sylvan scenes half hidden in their wide expanse. The crest of Bennachie beckoned to us from afar, but we were satisfied with Mormond as our holy hill and the Ugie as our sacred river. In our eyes Buchan had the greenest grass, and the clearest well-springs, and abundance of flowers that sunnier lands might envy. We looked with pride on her lofty cliffs, and rejoiced in her bracing breezes that nursed her children into fortitude and perseverance. We would travel far to watch the making tide in its glorious strength flowing southward past Rattray Head, and devote a long summer day to enjoy the play of light and shade when a transient peace reigned at the Bullers. Or like true devotees we might go still farther afield to witness the sportive skirmishing of stream and sea at the embouchures of the Deveron, the Ythan and the Ugie. And now after many years' battling with the turbid currents of public life, this soothing stream of Nature's influence flows strong and deep as when it touched my heart in its first freshness and power.

A. C.

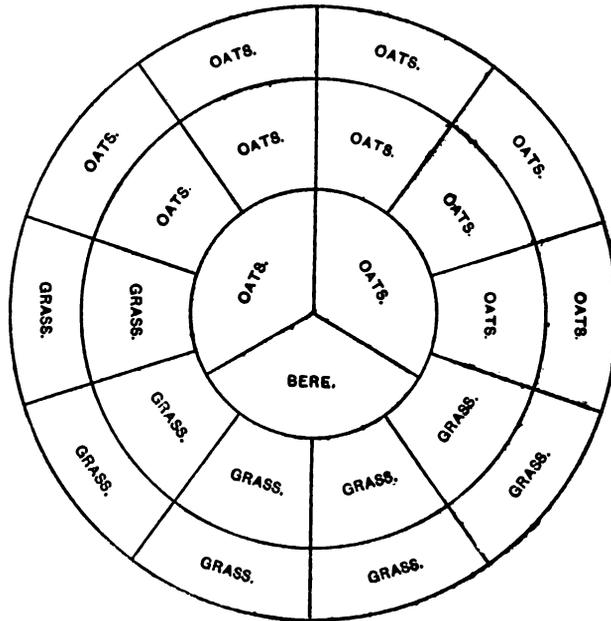
CHAPTER VII.

Agriculture in Buchan.

GENERAL.—Buchan occupies a considerable part of the largest continuous arable area in Scotland, an area of which the western and southern boundary is an irregular line drawn from Aberdeen to Inverness. Within the district of Buchan the system of farming is now stereotyped and well defined, almost too much so, but having regard to the similar conditions of climate and elevation which prevail over that north-east corner, it is not surprising that there should be so little variety in the agriculture. Its soils vary from blowing soils and sodden peats to loams of such tenacity that even in the English midlands they would be called clays, and if methods of agriculture depended on the soil alone there would be much variety in Buchan; it is not the soil however, but the climate which gives the district its characteristic farming. The cool cloudy summer in which, though the rainfall is not heavy, the showers are frequent, is just the climate for root crops such as turnips and swedes. The mild autumn and comparatively mild winter allow the growth and gradual maturation of turnips and swedes over a period unknown in southern counties. The same conditions are suitable for the growth of oats more than for any other cereal, and therefore turnips and oats are the chief arable crops of Buchan. Its soils are too cold and its markets too distant for potato growing, its summers are too cool and sunless for wheat, and it is almost devoid of those upland slopes and hill sides which are the natural grazing ground of sheep. Consequent upon the predominance of oats and turnips there is a system of cattle breeding and cattle feeding excelled in no other part of the world, and, contrary to the custom in many other parts of Britain, the crops are grown for the sake of the stock, not the stock kept for the sake of the crops. It will be interesting to endeavour to trace the development of Buchan farming from the middle of the eighteenth century, when the “new agriculture” began.

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Prior to what is called the new agriculture the farming of Buchan, like much of the farming of the rest of Scotland, was a system of cropping the arable part of the farm in two divisions, known as the *infield* and the *outfield*. The system will be better understood by examining the diagram, which shows in a purely diagrammatic fashion, and not as an example of any particular farm, how the divisions were cropped. The infield was nearest the farm steading and usually included about a fifth of the arable land. It is represented by the innermost circle of the accompanying diagram.



After a diagram by Professor Wilson in the *Transactions* of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.

On this area the cropping was continuous, the land got no rest, but on the other hand it was heavily manured every year, when all the manure from the cattle in the byres was put upon one portion. How full of weeds it must have

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been we can only judge by the old estate laws for the suppression of weeds, and by the condition of our West Highland crofts at the present day. The rotation was oats, oats, bere ; oats, oats, bere ; and the manure was applied to the bere. The outfield, represented by two outer circles, was divided into two unequal portions, the *folds*, the inner of the two outer circles, and the *faughs*, the outermost circle. The folds were divided into about ten fields, only one of which was fenced and that temporarily. One of these ten fields was broken out of grass every year, but in the summer of the last year a sod wall surrounded it and the cattle were left there at night and for an hour or two in the middle of the day. Their droppings thus fertilised and prepared it for the subsequent crops of oats, for which it was ploughed for five or more years, until, in fact, it would grow little more than the amount of seed sown ; after this it was abandoned and gradually covered itself with a sward of grass and weeds. The faughs were treated in exactly the same manner, except that the first oats crop was taken after an early ploughing or ribbing, followed by a second deeper ploughing ; but the faughs were never manured in any way.

With the exception of the farmyard manure no fertiliser of any kind was used, unless lime and ashes can be considered in that category. We read of lime being carried on the backs of horses. Meadows, near New Deer, were stripped of their turf to provide fuel for the ashes, which were afterwards spread over the less fertile fields. The benefit from the ashes was doubtless due as much to the destruction of weeds, grubs and fungi in the turf as to the supply of potash from the burned material. At this time draining was almost unknown, and such draining as was undertaken was confined to open ditches and cuttings. Drain tiles had not been invented, and even stone draining was unheard of on a uniform system. A Buchan farm in those days would therefore present a patchwork appearance, for the arable ground would necessarily be on the slopes of undulations, as all other areas would be water-logged. The grain fields would be cut up and patched with grassy hollows and springy bottoms, on which the necessary herd boy would find his occupation no sinecure. Fences would be absent, for a straight-sided field would be impossible, and a herd boy at six or seven shillings a year would be much cheaper if less prohibitive.

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In those days the grass fields, so-called, sowed themselves, or they may have got a few bushels of sweepings from the hay loft. It was useless to sow good seed even if good seed could be got, as the absence of fences would invite all the stock of the parish to the better pasture in spring and autumn, before the crops were sown or after they were reaped.

The only winter fodder was coarse hay and oat straw, and in years of poor crops or disastrous harvests the miserable, ill-fed, underbred cattle and horses died during the dark days or just managed to crawl to the grass in the spring. Such must have been the system of general cropping and stock keeping up till the middle of the eighteenth century. It must not be supposed that even then the farmers were altogether ignorant or indifferent. There was at least one farmers' club in Aberdeenshire in 1758, which listened to papers by its members and recorded the results of experiments, but it was mainly composed of large landowners and professors of the University. The remoteness of Buchan from the English agricultural centres where some really fine farming had been learned from the Dutch and Flemings was much against its development. Knowledge gradually spread, however, chiefly through such landowners as Barclay of Ury, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk and Lord Erroll. Farmers and farm servants from England with English ploughs and other implements were introduced and the era of the new agriculture commenced. But what was the new agriculture?

It was the acceptance and application of three discoveries. The first was the value of thorough cultivation, as shown by Jethro Tull, in his book, *The Horse Hoeing Husbandry*, published in 1733, and the second was the value of turnips as a cleaning and manuring crop, and for the winter feeding of stock. The turnip and the method of growing it on drills, and cultivating with horses between the drills, worked a revolution in the agriculture of Buchan. Gradually weeds disappeared. The cattle had juicy and palatable fodder to help down the dry and fibrous oat straw, the manure obtained was of better quality, the crops were larger, and the new ideas in regard to the breeding of stock made fences an essential equipment of the farm. That brings us to the third discovery, made by the most famous of all the breeders, Robert Bakewell, namely, that the way to improve stock was to breed from the best and sell the worst, the very opposite of the practice then in vogue. Up to the time of Bakewell, the rule was that anything was good enough to breed from, with the result, as

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one man expressed it, "we were thankful if a foal had four legs." Such a method of selling the best and keeping the worst would seem to us preposterous in the twentieth century, if examples were not still discoverable. Bakewell changed much, if not all of that, and the Buchan farmers became in time the most apt of his pupils.

When the men of Buchan were still wrestling with the cultivation of turnips on the drier parts of their bogs and moor lands, the invention of the drain tile and the general adoption of draining, at least by stone drains, came. Shortly after the tiles, came guano. Now all was comparatively plain sailing. It required an almost superhuman energy, thrift, and patience to make the Buchan peat bogs into dry symmetrical farms, and Buchan was the very place to find those qualities in the virile race of that bleak wind-swept corner.

Armed with his native vigour and intelligence, provided with a squatting lease of a stretch of heather, the farm labourer of East Aberdeenshire, with a pound or two in hand, set himself to make a farm. He built the house, the byre and stable, he trenched the land, and hauled the stones into dykes, he drained the wet spots and spent all that he could spare on lime and guano. Such a one had neither time nor opportunity for high-class farming, but of pioneering and reclamation he was a past master. As the land came into cultivation several crops of oats were taken off and then a crop of turnips to clean it. Following the turnips came barley or another crop of oats with which were sown a bushel or two of perennial ryegrass and a few pounds of clovers. In the next year the field was grazed and perhaps for a second and third year also. Thus the modern system of cropping in Buchan was gradually worked out, and it may be stated with assurance that five-sixths of that area is now on the five, six, or seven rotation or shift, viz., oats, turnips, barley, grass, grass ; or oats, oats, turnips, barley, grass, grass ; or—most common—oats, turnips, oats, grass, grass. This last and most general rotation means that one third of the arable land is in turnips and one half of the entire farm is in grass. Or, put it in another way, the rotation is arranged for the benefit of the cattle and not for the purpose of obtaining directly profitable crops from the soil. It is doubtful whether this is the best method of utilising the soils of Buchan, but it is certainly the general system, and it depends for its success upon skill in breeding and feeding cattle and in the production and management of grass.

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The Buchan farmer is not therefore an arable farmer in the sense in which the word would be applied to an East Lothian or Norfolk agriculturist, but in his own line he will stand comparison with any.

The chief defects of Buchan farming, apart from the question of the rotation, which is a debatable one, are the losses resulting from the open courts and uncovered manure heaps and the inferior quality of the pastures in the second and third years. In no other part of Scotland, where good farming is in vogue, is so much indifference shown to that most valuable of natural fertilisers, the farmyard manure. The absence of covered courts is partly due to the fact that the buildings in the first instance were erected by the tenants, who were obliged to confine themselves to the barest necessities, but it is also doubtless due to the excessive consumption of turnips which results in a quality of manure that would be difficult to conserve in covered yards without an efficient drainage system for that most valuable of the constituents, the liquid. It has been estimated that the fertilising material in the liquid manure is worth sixpence a gallon, and if that is so, the annual loss to Buchan by the drainage of the liquid into the nearest ditch or burn is staggering to contemplate. The management of the grass land, from which so much of the profit is obtained, is not what it should be. In too many cases the fields of second and third year's grass are full of weeds and inferior grasses, such as Yorkshire Fog and Bent, and too many farmers are indifferent to the fact that a larger use of such fine deep-rooted grasses as Cocksfoot and Timothy is the natural and efficient means of improving the grazing.

A further blot upon the agriculture of the East Neuk is the abundance of Charlock or Skellock, that weed of brilliant yellow, so prominent in the grain fields in early summer; a weed which starves the oats, robs the soil of moisture, and takes up space and plant food to the extent of £2 or £3 per acre. Yet this weed can be abolished in a few years by spraying the young plants with a solution of sulphate of copper at a cost of a few shillings. Linked with the skellocks, for the skellocks give it house room and carry it on from year to year, is that dread scourge of the turnip crop, Finger and Toe. On some of the Buchan soils it is always a canker in the crop, on others it appears only occasionally, but on few farms is it entirely unknown. It provides one of the problems for the farmer of the North-East and apparently the solution is yet far

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distant. Another enemy of the Buchan crops is the "grub" or "tory worm," the larva of the Daddy Long Legs or Crane Fly, a legless, headless grub about an inch in length, which may be found under the sods on the fields of lea oats, sometimes in dozens. Exposed to its tireless gluttony the oat fields become bare and patchy and the worst of them have to be ploughed and re-sown. Buchan has the distinction of being the first or almost the first place where the famous Diamond Back Moth appeared nearly twenty years ago, and in a few days turned the fields of swedes into sheets of lace work, for the veins of the leaves alone remained to show where a blanket of dark green foliage had spread.

The Cattle of Buchan.—Buchan has a greater and more famous distinction as the home of a branch of a great new breed of black cattle, the Aberdeen-Angus. Not much more than a century in existence, this breed is now famous in every quarter of the globe, and to Buchan can be traced the blood of one of the groups from which it is derived. The Buchan "humlies," along with the cattle of Angus, are generally allowed to be the conjoint origin of the Aberdeen-Angus cattle. Mr. Forbes, an Aberdeenshire farmer, writing in 1830, says:—

"The cattle in Buchan about half a century ago and earlier might be said to have consisted of horned and polled black cattle in about equal proportions. The polled cattle were of two classes, one large and another small. I knew the small kind well. They were rather puny creatures, always thin in flesh, and very badly used. They were pre-eminently the crofter's cow, as they were able to live through the winter on the straw of oats and bere, and water, if necessary. Of the larger portion of the cattle, about one half were jet black excepting the udder which was usually white. They could not stand starvation so well as the small polls, but with better treatment they gave a heavier yield of milk. When creamed, however, their milk was thinner than that from the small cows."

Possibly those black, hornless and wonderfully symmetrical cattle are not so common in Buchan as they were 50 years ago, for the Shorthorn has invaded their preserves, but the breeding and fattening of them and of the Shorthorns is the great industry of Buchan. The system differs a little in detail, but on many farms the cows are allowed to rear their own and another purchased calf in the natural way, and sometimes a third calf is palmed off on the patient cow when the first pair are weaned. The calves pass the winter on a diet of turnips

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and straw with a very little oilcake or bruised grain, and in the summer they get the grass of the fields and that only. In their second winter they are fattened for the southern market, and here the great, perhaps the hereditary skill of the Buchan farmer is prominent. The cattle are tied up in byres where they get as much turnips and straw as they choose to eat and towards the close of the fattening period a few pounds of cake and corn are added. Yet on this meagre diet, which would amaze an English farmer, they become ripe-fat and bring the highest prices in the London market. But the turnips are good and the straw is good and the cattleman is the most skilful in the world, though wherein his skill consists it seems impossible to discover and perhaps he himself does not know.

The Sheep of Buchan.—Sheep are not so common in Buchan as in most arable areas, but there is a system of sheep farming in the district which deserves passing notice. On a farm of 200 or 300 acres may be found a flock of 200 or 300 ewes, which would seem at first sight far too many for the farm. They are managed, however, in the following ingenious and profitable system. The farmer rents the winter grazing of perhaps a dozen other crofts and farms, and the ewes, in charge of a shepherd, start in early winter on a long slow journey from farm to farm, living on the grass of those who keep no sheep, and returning in spring to their owner for the lambing. During summer they and their lambs graze the home fields until the lambs are sold and it is time to recommence the winter journey. In this way the farm does not get foul from over sheeping, most of the turnips are still available for cattle, stock of a profitable kind are provided for the summer grass, and the land becomes increasingly fertile. The chief expense is in wintering the sheep but that is counterbalanced by the turnips reserved for cattle. The sheep are generally half-bred ewes mated with Border, Leicester or Oxford Down rams. Of course other breeds of sheep such as Cheviots and Blackfaces and their crosses with larger breeds are fattened off on turnips or wintered on grass and stubble in Buchan, but not so commonly or on such a scale as in other similar farming areas.

Horses.—Buchan is notable for a very fine class of draught horses, generally pure Clydesdale, and, as a rule, admirably suited to the conditions of work in the district.

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The Needs of Buchan.—Taking it all in all, the farming of Buchan is very good, and a stranger driving through it in the summer will be impressed by the luxuriant crops of grain, turnips and hay, when he looks around on what cannot be called anything but a bleak, exposed and, under some aspects, a forbidding country. On the cold clay lands of Slains and St. Fergus and on the bogs of Pitsligo the land is seen at its worst and the crops at their poorest, but even there intelligent energy is evident, and the best is made of the worst material.

We may ask without any suggestion of disparagement—for surely all things are imperfect and capable of improvement—what are the needs of Buchan agriculture and how it may be improved still further and made more famous.

The onlooker sees most of the game, and the outsider who has seen the farming in many lands would perhaps formulate his impressions on the following lines. He would be struck by the uniformity and absence of originality in Buchan agriculture. Wherever he went he would find almost the same system of cropping. Of course the explanation of this is the condition included in most leases that the tenant must farm according to the custom of the county or even adhere to a strictly defined rotation. Now that every farmer has absolute freedom of cropping, we may hope to see greater originality in method. The visitor could not help noticing also that the pastures are not as good as the other crops of the farm, and here again their condition is probably due to the former insistence of the landlord or factor on the excessive use of perennial ryegrass in the mixture of seeds. Now that a farmer may sow what he pleases we may expect better pastures. A Colonial farmer, who is constantly seeking for and discussing improvements, would be astonished to learn that the greater part of the oat crop of Buchan is derived from a variety which has been in cultivation for more than a century. He would say “you have bred a world-famous race of cattle in a hundred years; have you not bred better kinds of oats and barley?” A Canadian farmer would wonder to see the hay stacks built by human hands when a few pounds expended on a horse fork would do the work so much more easily and quickly. A Danish farmer would be amazed to observe the cattle of the crofters wandering at will over the small fields trampling and soiling so much of the herbage, instead of being tethered like his own, and perhaps an Irish farmer would suggest that home-made butter is neither so good nor so profitable as

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that made in a creamery. Nevertheless, however much the individual would seem open to criticism, all critics would admire the general excellence of the farming.

And this general excellence is due to the high level of intelligence and the unconquerable courage which has made a fairly good farming country out of most unpromising materials, and when the customs have been sloughed off and farming is recognised as a modern business based upon science and not a traditional art handed down from father to son, that same courage and intelligence will create greater changes than the nineteenth century has seen. The spread of agricultural education, and a better understanding of the results of research and experiment, with land legislation which will render the transference and acquisition of land more easy, will doubtless change the face of Buchan without impairing the strenuousness of its population.

R. B. G.

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Appendices

DEED I.

A Procuratorie of Resignation of the Lands of Deir, in favours of Robert, Commendator of Deir, and George Earl Marischal, 7th July 1587.

UNTO the richt excellent, richt heich, and michtie Prince, oure Sovereane lord King James the sext, be the grace of GOD king of Scottis, zoure heines humble and obedient subjectes, ROBERT Commendator of the Abbay of Deir and Convent thereof, Greeting—ffor asmeickle as we understanding that the Monastical superstitioun for the qlk the said Abbay of Deir was of auld erectit, and foundit, is now be the laws of this realme alluterlie abolisheit, sua that na memorie thairof sall be heirafter ; and considering that the maist pairt of the lands and rentis doitlet to the said Abbay proceedit of auld from the disposition of the proginetor, and predecessor of the richt nobell, and potent lord George erle Merschell, lord Keith, &c. And, that the property of the maist pairt thairof is alreddie set in fev ferme to the said erle and his predecissoris, lauchfullie confirmit be yor Majestie and yor heiness vmqle darvist mother ; and that the remanent of the saids landis ar also sett in fev ferme to oyeris, the auld possessouris thairof. Thairfoir, and for diverss oyeris resonable caussis and consideratiounis, moving ws all with ane avise, consent, and assent, and mature deliberatioune had yr:upon, to haif maid, constitute, and ordainit, and be the tennor heirof makis, constituis, and ordainis honorabille men. And our weilbelouittis Mr. James Wardlaw, Aduocat, — and ilk ane of theme, conjunctlie and seuarillie, aure verie lauchfull, undouted, and irreuocabille procurators, actoris, factoris, and speciall errand beirors ; givand, grantand, and committand to theme, and ilk an of theme, conjunctlie and seuarillie, our full, frie plane, power, quall and speciall command, express bidding, and charge for ws, and in our name, and upon our behalff, with all dew humilitie, and reverence, as becumes to resigne, reuvie, semplr. discharge, or give and demit frae ws, and our successouris, all and sundrie the Landis, Lordschippis, Baroneis, Mylnis, Fischeings, Woodis, Parkis, Forrestis, Mansiounis, Manerplaces, Teinds, Chovis, Vydrts, Teindis, Fruitis, Fermes, Annuelrentis, Marles, Kaynis, Customes, Dewties ; particularlie underwritten Tenentis, Tennendries, and service of frie Tennentis, Orchards, Zardis, and all oyers Profites, Richts, and Emolumentis

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pertaining, or that richteouslie has pertein to the said Abbay, and patrimonie hair of; and quhair of the Abbots and Convent of the same has bene in possessioun in ony time bypast in zor Majesties hands, to the effect under specifect. And for erectioun of the same in ane temporall Lordschip, as follows,—That is to say, the maner, place of Deir, of auld callit the Abbay of Deir, with all the houses, biggings, Orchardis, Zairdis, and odyr pertinents thair of, within the clausoure and precinct of the place; with the mains callit Cothill...The landis of Clerkhill...The landis of Quartailhouse, and walkmylne thair of...The mylne of Crichtie and multures of ye same...The landis of Dennis...The landis of meikle Auchrdie...The landis of Auchmwngel...The landis of Carnebannock, mylne thair of, and multures of the same...The landis of littl Auchrydie...The landis of Craigmylne...The landis of Glauckriauch...The landis of littl Elrick...The landis of Aulmad...The landis of Badforsky...The landis of Auchleek...The landis of Atherb...The landis of Cryalie...The landis of Skillymarno...The landis of Auchmather...The landis of Altrie...The landis of Bippieraw and Parkhouse of Biffie...The landis of Bruchill...The mylne of Bruxie and multure of the same...The landis of Seroghill...The landis of Kerktown of Deir...The landis of Benvells...The landis of meikle Elrick...The landis of Fechill...The landis of Monkieshill...The landis of Grange and Raehill...The fischertown of *Peterhead*, with portis, ancorages and fischeings yr of...The lands of Carkensche...The landis of Monkisholme...The landis of Overalter...The landis of Fouerne, an anuelrent of Threepund, VIsh, VIIId, to be upliftit furth of tilloch...Ane anuelrent of XXXIII sh, IIII d, to be upliftit furth of toukis...An anuelrent of XL sh, to be upliftit furth of sauchok of Kenmondie...The tenementes of landis and houses underwritten, lyand wt:in the burh of Aberdeen; they are to say all and hail the salmond fischeingis of Innerugie, in salt and fresh water...The Abbay mylne of Deir within the wallis of the sd. Abbay...The Kerktown of Deir, all lyand in the scherifdome of Aberdeen...The landis of Barre, lyand in the schrifdome of Banff, with the tennentes, tennendris, feves of frie fermes, service of frie tennentis, richt and privileges thair of quhatsumever, with hail teind schaires and oyderes teindis, profittis, and emolumentis off all and sundrie the erkis and Parochiris of Deir, Peterugie, Fouerne and Kenedward, and hail landis situate within the said Parochiris, all layand within the Diocie of Aberdeen, vnit and annexit of auld to the sd. Abbay, and being ane pairt of the Patrimonie thair of with all richts, privileges and pertinentis quhatsumever pertaining, or that richteouslie myt. haif pertein yairto, in favor of me, the said Robert, Commendator, and of the said George erle Merschell, ffor erectioun of the same landis, Lordschippis, Baronies, and vyders teinds of the saidis Kirkis, and Parochiris, with mylnes, multures, fischings, mansiounes, mains, houses, places, zairds, biggins alsweil being within the precinct and wallis of the sd. Abbay, as ellisquhair within this realme with all maillis, fermes, anuelrents,

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tennentis, tennendries and service of frie tennentes, fev fermes, emolumentis and coronities quhatsumever foresaid, in ane temporal lordschip, to be callit in all tyme ading the lordschip of *Altrie* for enfeftment to be given of the samen be zor heines charter, and enfeftment vnder the greit Seill, to me ye sd. Robert, Commendator foresd. in lyferent for all the dayes of my lyfetym ; and to the said George erle Merschell, his aires maill, and assignais heritable, in dew forme, and na vderwayis, provyding always that in cais the said enfeftment tak not full effect, that this prt. resignatioune and demissioune sal be of nane avail, force, nor effect. And generalie all and sundrie vyderthingis, to do exerce and vce that to ye office of procuratorie in sik causes of law, or consuetude is known to apperteine ; or that we nicht do thairin, or: self, and we war personalie put fferme and stabile, haldane, and for to hald all and quhatsumever things our saidis prors. or any of yame, conjunctlie and severallie, in the premises, richteouslie leids to be done under ye pane of law. In witness of the qlk. thing to this eres of procuratorie, resignation and demissioune, subscrivit with our hands, the comoun seill of our said Abbay is hunging at Edinburgh, the sewint day of July, the zeir of GOD Jm ve fourescoir seven zeirs, before thir witnesses, William Knox, James Hog Andrew Duffous, secretiors to the said Commendator, and Jas. Jamesone, Notar Publict.

ROBERT KEYTHT of Deir,
DAVID HOWESONE,
JAMES BROWN.

DEED II.

Carta Roberti nuper Commendatarii de Deir et Georgii Mariscalli Comitis.

JACOBUS Dei gratia Rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem—Sciatis quia nos memores boni et fidelis servitii quondam nostris nobilissimis progenitoribus felicissime memorie per predi-cessores fidelissimi et charissimi nostri consanguinei et consilarii Georgii Comitis Mariscalli Domini Keyth, etc. belli et pacis temporis his multis etatibus preteritis prestiti et impensi memores etiam constantis perseverantie illos tres comites Mariscalli familie in antiqua sua effectione erga regis et regni servitium cum omni fide obidientia et promptitudine ab ejusdem familie primordio usque in hodiernum diem, et cum predictus consanguineus et consiliarius noster avite virtutis specimen non dubium ediderit ac certo confidamus eum majorum suorum vestigia sequuturum eundem diligimus quasi maxime idoneum qui quedam negotia nostra cum exteris quibusdam principibus et nationibus que

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nullas pati moras possunt et sceleriter confici oportet tracte et gerate in quorum negotiorum tractatione sicuti non ignoramus predictum consanguineum et consiliarium nostrum multas animi et corporis molestias et curas subiturum certo etiam scimus magnam eam pecuniam impensurum pro qua patrimonium suum antiquum oberrare cogetur, nos autem rationem officii nostri habentes estimamus consentaneum non esse ut in nostris et regni negotiis dictus noster consanguineus et consiliarius damnum nimium sentiat ac potius in ani[mo] habentes ejus operam fidem et diligentiam si qua tulerit occasio nobili aliquo munere quod ejus posteris perpetuum ac nobis et successoribus nostris minime grave videri possit compensare ac cum nunc dictus noster consanguineus suis diligentia et magnis sumptibus ejus avunculum Robertum nuper Commendatarium monasterii de Deir et conventum ejusdem resignare renunciare simpliciterque exonerare et dimittere per eorum specialis procuratorii literas suis sub subscriptionibus et sigillo capituli in manibus nostris effecent Omnes et singulas terras dominia baronias molendina piscarias silvas parcas forrestas mansiones manerias decimas garbales aliasque decimas firmas annuos redditus census canas custumas devorias tenentes tenandria libere tenentium servitia pomaria hortos et omnia alia proficua jura et emolumenta dicto nostro monasterio et patrimonio ejusdem spectantes seu juste spectare valantes et de quibus abbates et conventus ejusdem ullo tempore preterito in possessione fuerunt prout in dicta dimissione latius continetur Necnon nos intelligentes magnam partem terrarum prefato monasterio prius dotatam processisse et provenisse per dispositionem progenitorum et predicesorum dicti nostri consanguinei, et quod proprietates majoris partis earundem alias in feudifirma locatur prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Comite Mariscalli et suis predicesoribus per nos et quondam charissimam nostram matrem legitime et debite confirmatur, ac cetera dictarum terrarum aliis personis antiquis possessoribus earundem etiam in feudifirma locate sunt, quamquidem dimissionem resignationem et extradonationem nos recipimus ad effectum subscriptum tantum, intelligentes monasticas superstitiones pro quibus dictum monasterium erectum et fundatum fuit per leges regni nostri jam omnino abolitas esse sic quod de cetero nulla earum erit memoria, et ideo nos nunc post nostram perfectam etatem viginti unius annorum in Parlamento nostro declaratam dedimus concessimus et disposuimus tenereque presentis carte nostre damus concedimus et disponimus prefato Roberto nuper Commendatario dicti nostri monasterii in libero tenementos sive vitali reddito necnon prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis in feodo et hereditate omnes et singulas predictas terras dominia baronias molendina piscarias silvas parcas forrestas mansiones maneria decimas garbales aliasque decimas firmas annuos redditus census canas custumas devorias tenentes tenandrias libere tenentium servitia pomaria hortos et omnia alia proficua jura

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et emolumenta dicto nostro monasterio et patrimonio ejusdem spectantes seu juste spectare valentes, et de quibus abbates et conventus ejusdem ullo tempore preterito in possessione fuerunt viz. maneriem de Deir ab antiquo monasterium de Deir nuncupatum cum omnibus et singulis domibus edificiis pomariis hortis et aliis ejusdem pertinentibus infra clausuram et precinctum dicti loci, cum terris dominicalibus lie Cuthill, terras de Clerkhill, terras de Quartailhous ac molendinum fullonum earundem, molendinum de Crechie cum terris molendinariis multuris et sequelis ejusdem, terras de Dennis, terras de Mekill Auchrydie, terras de Auchinningell, terras de Carnebannoch cum molendino et multuris, terras de Littill Auchrydie, terras de Craigmiln cum molendino terris molendinariis multuris et sequelis ejusdem terras de Glankriauch terras de Lyttill Elrig, terras de Auldmad cum molendino terris molendinariis et multuris ejusdem, terras de Badforsky cum molendino terris molendinariis multuris et sequelis ejusdem, terras de Auchlok, terras de Aucherk, terras de Cryalie, terras de Skillemano, terras de Auchmather, terras de Altrie, terras de Byffie, lie Raw de Byffie et Parkhous de Byffie, terras de Burnehill, molendinum de Bruxie cum multuris ejusdem, cum novo molendino de Bruxie super aqua de Innerugie stante, terras de Skroghill, terras de lie Kirktoon de Deir, terras de Benwallis terras de Mekill Elrik cum molendino terris molendinariis multuris et sequelis ejusdem, terras de Fechill, terras de Mokishill, terras de lie Grange de Rawhill, lie Fischertoun de Peterheid cum portis anchoragiis et piscariis earundem, terras de Caikinche, terras de Monkisholme, terras de Ovir Alterlandis de Foverne, terras de Nethir Alterlandis de Foverne, unum annum redditum trium librarum sex solidorum octo denariorum annuatim levandum de Tullioch, unum annum redditum triginta trium solidorum quatuor denariorum annuatim de Toukis levandum, unum annum redditum quadraginta solidorum annuatim de Sauchoke et Kinmondie levandum, omnia et singula tenementa et domos jacentes infra burgum nostrum de Abirdene dicto monasterio de Deir et patrimonio ejusdem ab antiquo spectantes et quovismodo pertinentes, totam et integram salmonum piscariam de Innerugie in aqua salsa et recenti molendinum monasterii de Deir infra muros ejusdem monasterii, lie Kirktoon de Deir, omnes jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Abirdene, terras de Barrie jacentes infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Banff cum tenentibus tenandriis feudifirme firmis libere tenentium servitiis juribus et privilegiis earundem quibuscunque cum omnibus et singulis decimis garbalibus et aliis decimis proficuis et emolumentis omnium et singularum ecclesiarum parochialium de Deir Peterugie Foverne et Kinnedwart ac singularum terrarum infra parochias ejusdem situatarum, omnes jacentes infra diocesim de Abirdene unitas et annexatas dicto nostro monasterio ab antiquo ac unam partem patrimonii ejusdem existentes, cum omnibus juribus privilegiis et pertinentiis quibuscunque ad hujusmodi spectantibus seu juste spectare

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valentibus : QUASQUIDEM omnes et singulas terras dominia baronias decimas garbales aliasque decimas dictarum ecclesiarum et parochiarum cum molendinis multuris piscariis mansionibus terris dominicalibus domibus locis hortis edificiis tam intra precinctum et parietes dicti monasterii quam extra ubicunque infra regnum nostrum existentes cum omnibus censibus firmis annuis redditibus tenentibus tenandriis libereque tenentium servitiis feudifirme firmis emolumentis et commoditatibus predictis quibuscunque nos pro causis prescriptis ex certa scientia et proprio motu in unum temporale dominium ac feudum nobile et laicum erigimus univimus et incorporavimus tenoreque presentis carte nostre unimus erigimus et incorporamus prefato Roberto nuper commendatario dicti monasterii libero tenemento sive vitali reddito pro omnibus sue vite diebus solummodo ac dicto nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum cum titulo et denominatione domini de Altrie, dando et concedendo prefato Roberto nuper commendatario predicto pro omnibus vite sue diebus tantummodo ac dicto nostro predilecto consanguineo Georgio Comiti Mariscalli suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis predictis omni tempore futuro titulum honorem et statum unius liberi baronis ac domini nostri Parlamenti ratione prefatarum terrarum votum et suffragium in omnibus parlamenti generalibus consiliis et conventionibus habentibus simili modo et adeo libere sicuti aliquis alius dominus Parlamenti habuit habet aut habere poterit ullo tempore preterito aut futuro, Et quod dictum dominium honoretur et decoretur insignibus et armis ut congruit imposterum dominium de Altrie nuncupandum, ac quod dicti liberetenementarius et hereditarius possessor ejusdem et eorum successores domini de Altrie vocabuntur, ac ad hunc effectum nos tenore presentis carte nostre dissolvimus et suppressimus dictam abatiam et monasterium de Deir ac omnes terras redditus decimas proficua et commoditates eidem spectantes et ad qua seu quas nos tanquam patronus ejusdem aut alio quovismodo aliquod jus aut titulum habuimus seu pretendere possumus Et signanter nos cum consensu nostri generalis collectoris pro nobis et successoribus nostris simpliciter renunciamus et exoneramus omne jus titulum que nos habuimus seu pretendere potuimus ad tertiam partem fructuum dicte abacie per quecunque jura parliamentorum acta seu consuetudines sic quod nos et dictus noster generalis collector nullam tertiam ejusdem ullo tempore affuturo precipiemus inhibendo dictum collectorem presentem et affuturum de omni levatione ejusdem simpliciter et imperpetuum, Ac etiam revocavimus exoneravimus et annullavimus tenoreque presentis carte nostre revocamus exoneramus et annullamus omnes et quascunque pensiones quibusvis persone vel personis de tercia dicti monasterii levandas ullo tempore preterito datas seu concessas, decernimus et ordinamus quod eedem nullius erunt roboris valoris nec effectus ullo tempore affuturo, ac etiam volumus concedimus decernimus et ordinamus

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quod nunquam postea aliquis successor tanquam abbas prior seu commendatarius dicti monasterii ad hujusmodi per resignationem dimissionem decessum aut quocunque modo providebitur nec quod aliqua monachorum portio de eodem levabitur quas cum avisamento nostri thesaurarii pro nobis et successoribus nostris simpliciter renunciamus pro nunc et imperpetuum, ac volumus quod terre redditus et decime earundem non taxabuntur taxationibus in contributionibus et oneribus super regnum impositis et imponendis cum clericatu ecclesia et statu ecclesiastico sed quod eadem omni tempore affuturo cum baronibus et temporalibus dominis taxabuntur secundum justum valorem et ratam liberi patrimonii et redditus vulgo lie leving predicti sicuti generalis ordo pro taxatione omnium terrarum infra regnum nostrum capiatur seu statuatur. ET QUIA terre de Kethinche alias Caikinche nuncupate jacentes in parochia predicta de Petirugie infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Abirdene ad littus maris satis apte et commode pro portu sunt et magnum asiamentum toti patrie circumjacenti importare poterint, dedimus concessimus et disposuimus tenoreque presentis carte nostre damus concedimus et disponimus prefato Roberto nuper commendatario de Deir pro vita sua et dicto nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis in feodo et hereditate privilegium et libertatem unum portum erigendi ubi mare fuit in dictis terris de Caikinche ubi magis commode haberi poterit cum pecunia portuaria vulgo lie hevin silver parvis customis anchoragiis et omnibus devoriis et casualitatibus ad aliquem liberum portum infra regnum nostrum spectantibus ac etiam quia pro receptione cymbarum navium et extraneorum ad dictum portum frequentantium necessarium est domos habere cauponas seu tabernas vulgo lie oistlaris pro tractatione et supportatione ibidem frequentantium licebit prefatis personis et eorum successoribus unam villam super prefatis terris de Caikinche edificare quam villam edificandam tam nos nunc prout extunc et tunc prout ex nunc ereximus tenoreque presentis carte nostre erigimus in unum liberum burgum baronie ac eidem damus et concedimus omnes libertates et privilegia quecunque que burgo baronie spectare poterint ac cum potestate dicto Roberto nuper Commendatario durante vita sua solummodo ac prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suis heredibus masculis et assignatis ballivos portus custodes et officarios necessarios pro custodio boni regiminis et ordinis creandi imponendi et deponendi toties quoties ipsis videbitur expediens, ac etiam provisum est quod virtute nostri presentis infeofamenti prefatus Robertus nuper Commendatarius dicti monasterii pro sua vita ac dictus noster consanguineus Georgius Mariscalli Comes sui que heredes masculi et assignati ratificabunt approbabunt et confirmabunt infeofamenta dictarum terrarum domini et baroniarum aut alicujus earundem partes debite et legitime facta per abbatem commendatarium et conventum dicti monasterii cuicunque persone vel quibuscunque personis ac per nos et dictam quondam

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nostram charissimam matrem ullo tempore preterito diem date presentium precedente confirmata, et quod dicti feudifirmarii sui que heredes et successores pacifice gaudebunt et possidebunt prefatas terras ipsis locatas pro solutione devoriarum et servitorum in eorum infeofamentis contentorum prefato Roberto nuper Commendatario dicti monasterii pro sua vita et dicto nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis de quibus suas terras in feudifirma tenebunt simili modo et adeo libere sicuti easdem de abbatibus seu commendatariis et conventibus dicti nostri monasterii perprius tenuerunt dictique Robertus olim Commendatarius predictus durante vita sua ac dictus noster consanguineus Georgius Mariscalli Comes sui que heredes masculi et assignati omnimodo habebunt jus proprietatis et superioritatis quod commendatarii abbates et conventus dicti nostri monasterii in et ad prefatas terras ante dictam resignationem et dimissionem earundem immediate prius habuerunt cum omnibus jure actione et clameo que ipsis ob id competere poterint ad compellendum dictos feudifirmarios suas annuas devorias et servitia persolvere et omnes clausulas et condiciones in eorum infeofamentis contentas perimplere et satisfacere ac pro reductione retractatione et annullatione earundem seu pro expiratione et extinctione ob non perimptionem earundem ut de jure congruit vocare et prosequi simili modo et adeo libere sicuti aliquis alius dominus superior spiritualis aut temporalis suis feudifirmariis aut tenentibus per leges regni nostri facere poterit—PRETEREA cum sumus eo animo ut post dissolutionem dicte abacie de Deir a statu et conditione monasterii et erectionem ejusdem in temporale dominium et feodum laicum ut parochiam predictarum ecclesiarum quarum fructus antea pro sustentatione monachorum in dicto monasterio degentium consumebantur nunc post ecclesie reformationem pastoris solatio in verbi divini predicatione et sacramentorum administratione minime destituantur, nos igitur ereximus sicuti tenore presentis carte nostre erigimus rectoriam sive personatum in unaquaque dictarum ecclesiarum parochialium de Deir Petirugie Fovorne et Kynedward quarum unusquisque rector quam personam dicimus glebam et mansionem sue parochialis ecclesie habeat Et apud eandem ecclesiam continuam facere residentiam tenebitur et cure inserviet, quorum rectorum unusquisque pro suo honesto stipendio et sustentatione preter dictam glebam et mansionem habeat annualem redditum victualium et pecunie subscriptum, que victualia et pecunia decernimus illis et eorum cuilibet qui de dicta rectoria vel personatu providebitur assignari de promptioribus fructibus devoriis et emolumentis ecclesiarum quibus providebuntur ad quantitatem subscriptam incipiendo e cropla et anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo septimo et terminis Penthecostes et Sancti Martini anni ejusdem a quo anno nos ordinamus presens infeofamentum sortiri effectum, viz. rector sive minister de Deir pro sua sustentatione habeat et recipiat annuatim tres celdras farine avenatice et ducentas mercas regni nostri

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monete, rector sive minister de Petirugie pro sua sustentatione habeat et recipiet annuatim tres celdras farine avenatice et centum mercas monete predictae, rector sive minister de Fovorne pro sua sustentatione habeat et recipiet annuatim tres celdras farine avenatice et centum mercas monete predictae, rector sive minister de Kynnedward pro sua sustentatione habeat et recipiet annuatim duas celdras farine avenatice et centum mercas monete antedictae, solvendas ipsis annuatim per dictum nuper commendatarium durante vita sua et post ejus decessum per dictum Georgium Mariscalli Comitem heredes suos masculos et assignatos vel per meliores et magis respondentes tenentes et parochianos dictarum ecclesiarum respective ipsis pro solutione suorum stipendiiorum assignandorum ad terminos infrascriptos viz. dicta victualia inter festa Nativitatis Domini et Purificationis beate Marie Virginis et dicta pecunia ad duos anni terminos consuetos festa viz. Penthecostes et Sancti Martini in hieme per equales portiones et dicti rectores qui ut supra dictum est providebuntur virtute suarum provisionum vel alias quovismodo nullum habeant jus vel actionem levandi vel recipiendi majorem quantitatem fructuum dictarum ecclesiarum quam superius specificatum est nec actionem movere in dicto judicio pro eisdem quovismodo sed ab eadem simpliciter excludentur, Et quod supererit de redditu et patrimonio dictarum ecclesiarum remanebit cum dicto Dominio de Altrie tanquam unitum annexatum et incorporatum eidem, Et similiter dedimus et concessimus ac disposuimus tenore presentis carte nostre damus concedimus et disponimus prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis assignatis et successoribus in dicto Dominio de Altrie plenum jus patronatum dictarum ecclesiarum et rectoriarum earundem toties quoties ullo tempore futuro ob decessum dimissionem renunciationem non residentiam deprivationem aut ob quamcunque causam vacare contigerint ad quas rectorias et earundem quamlibet nos ordinamus dictum nostrum consanguineum presentari ordinario potestatem habenti et commissionem ministros admittere personas sufficientes qualificatas qui habiles et idonei inserviundo curam ministerii fuerint ad dictas ecclesias infra sex menses post notitiam dicte vacationis earundem sub periculo legum regni in similibus causis statutorum. **INSUPER** volumus et concedimus ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris decernimus et ordinamus quod unica sasina apud fundum de Altrie deliberanda prefato Roberto nuper Commendatario de Deir in vitali redditu ac prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Comite Mariscalli suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis in feodo et hereditate nunc et omni tempore affuturo stabit et sufficiens erit pro dicto integro dominio terris et baronia cum singulis annexis connexis partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis earundem non obstante quod non jacent insimul et contigue: **TENENDAS ET HABENDAS** omnes et singulas prefatas terras dominium et baroniam de Altrie specialiter comprehendentes et continentes terras tenementa annuos redditus decimas garbales et alias particulariter

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supraspecificatas cum annexis connexis partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis earundem quibuscunque prefato Roberto nuper Commendatario de Deir in vitali reddito pro omnibus sue vite diebus ac prefato nostro consanguineo Georgio Mariscalli Comiti suisque heredibus masculis et assignatis predictis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo hereditate dominio et libera baronia imperpetuum per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et divisas prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine in domibus edificiis boscis planis moris marresiis viis semitis aquis stagnis rivolis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupationibus venationibus piscationibus petariis turbariis carbonibus carbonariis cuniculis cuniculariis columbis columbariis fabrilibus brasinis brueriis et genestis silvis nemoribus et virgultis lignis tignis lapicidiis lapide et calce cum curiis et earum exitibus herezeldis bludwitis et mulierum cum furca fossa sok sak thole thane infangtheif outfangtheif pitt et gallous cum communi pastura libero introitu et exitu ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis et asiamentis ac justis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtu terra quam supra terram procul et prope ad predictas terras dominium et baroniam antedictas cum suis decimis devoriis annuis redditibus annexis connexis partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis universis sic ut premittitur jacentes spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace absque ulla revocatione contradictione impedimento aut obstaculo quocunque: REDDENDO inde annuatim dictus Robertus commendatarius predictus durante vita sua et post ejus decessum prefatus noster consanguineus Georgius Mariscalli Comes sui que heredes masculi et assignati suprascripti nobis et successoribus nostris summam centum quadraginta librarum in die festi Penthecostes nomine albefirme, tantum. IN CUJUS REI testimonium huic presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus, Testibus predilectis nostris consanguineis et consiliariis Domino Joanne Maitland de Thirlstane milite Cancellario nostro, Joanne Domino Hammiltoun, etc. Commendatario monasterii nostri de Abirbrothok, Archibaldo Angusie Comite Domino Douglas Dalkeyth et Abirnethy, etc., reverendissimo ac venerabili in Christo patribus Patricio Sancti Andree Archiepiscopo, Waltero priore de Blantyre, nostri Secreti Sigilli Custode, dilectis nostris familiariis et consiliariis Alexandro Hay de Eister Kennat nostrorum rotulorum Registri ac Consilii Clerico, Ludovico Bellenden de Auchnoule milite nostre Justiciarie Clerico, et Magistro Roberto Scott, nostre Cancellarie Directore, Apud Halyrudhous vicesimo nono die mensis Julij anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo septimo, et regni nostri vicesimo primo.

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TRANSLATION OF DEED II.

Charter to Robert, late Commendator of Deir, in liferent, and to

George, Earl Marischal, of the Lordship of Altrie, 29th July 1587.

JAMES, by the grace of God King of Scots to all good men of his whole realm both cleric and laic greeting. Know ye that whereas we mindful of the good and faithful service rendered and paid to our late most noble progenitors of most blessed memory by the predecessors of our most trusty and dearest cousin and counsellor George Earl Marischal, Lord Keyth, etc both in times of war and peace these many years bygone, mindful also of the constant perseverance shown by those three Earls of the Marischal family in their old affection to the service of King and Kingdom with all fidelity obedience and readiness from the first beginnings of that family to their latest day, and whereas our foresaid cousin and counsellor has given no doubtful specimen of this ancestral valour and we confidently trust that he will follow in the footsteps of his forefathers we chose him as most suitable to transact some business for us with certain foreign princes and nations which could brook no delay and behoved to be gone about, dealt with and completed speedily in the course of which negotiations as we are not ignorant of the many risks and cares both of body and mind which our foresaid cousin and counsellor had to undergo so we certainly know that he incurred that great expense for which he was compelled to dilapidate his ancient patrimony, and we having respect to our position deem it no wise reasonable that in our business and that of the kingdom he should sustain the smallest loss but having it rather in mind to reward his service fidelity and diligence if any occasion should offer by some worthy gift which might remain to his posterity and not seem burdensome to us and our successors And whereas now our said cousin has by his diligence and at great expense secured that his uncle Robert lately Commendator of the Monastery of Deir and the Convent thereof should resign and renounce and simply surrender and upgive by their special letters of procuratory under their subscriptions and chapter seal in our hands all and sundry lands lordships baronies mills fishings woods parks forests mansions manor houses teind sheaves and other teinds rents annual rents farms cains customs duties tenants tenandries services of free tenants orchards gardens and all other profits rights and emoluments belonging to our said monastery and the patrimony thereof or which might justly belong thereto and of which the Abbots and Convent thereof were in possession in any time past as is more fully contained in the said resignation As also we understanding that the great part of the lands formerly bestowed upon the foresaid monastery came from and were provided by the disposition of the progenitors and predecessors of our said cousin and that the property of the great part thereof is otherwise leased in feufarm to our

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foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his predecessors by us and our late dearest mother and duly and lawfully confirmed and the rest of the said lands are also leased in feufarm to other persons the ancient possessors thereof, which demission resignation and surrender we received to the effect underwritten only understanding the monastic superstitions for which the said monastery was erected and founded to be now entirely abolished by the laws of our kingdom so that hereafter there shall be no remembrance of the same, and now therefore we after our perfect age of twenty one years declared in our Parliament have given granted and disposed as by the tenor of this our present charter we do give grant and dispone to the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of our said monastery in frank teneiment or liferent as also to our foresaid Cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage all and sundry the foresaid lands lordships baronies mills fishings woods parks forests mansions manor-places teind sheaves and other teinds farms annual rents rents cains customs duties tenants tenandries services of free tenants orchards gardens and all other profits rights and emoluments belonging to our said monastery and the patrimony thereof or which may justly belong thereto and of which the Abbots and Convent thereof were in possession at any time bypast that is to say the Manor place of Deir called of old the Monastery of Deir with all and sundry houses buildings orchards gardens and other pertinents thereof within the close and precinct of the said place with the Mains the Cuthill the lands of Clerkhill the lands of Quartailhous and the fulling mill thereof, the Mill of Crechie with the mill lands multures and sequels of the same the lands of Dennis the lands of Meikle Auchrydie the lands of Auchinningell the lands of Carnebannoch with the mill and multures the lands of Little Auchrydie the lands of Craigmiln with the mill mill lands multures and sequels thereof the lands of Glaukriauch the lands of Little Elrig the lands of Auldmad with the mill mill lands and multures thereof the lands of Badforsky with the mill mill lands and multures and sequels thereof the lands of Aucheok the lands of Aucherb the lands of Cryalie the lands of Skillemarno the lands of Auchmather the lands of Altrie the lands of Byffie the Raw of Byffie and Parkhouse of Byffie the lands of Burnehill the mill of Bruxie with the multures thereof with the new mill of Bruxie standing upon the Water of Innerugie the lands of Scroghill the lands of the Kirktoun of Deir the lands of Benwallis, the lands of Meikle Elrik with the mill mill lands multures and sequels thereof the lands of Fechill the lands of Mokishill the lands of the Grange of Rawhill the Fishertoun of Peterhead with ports anchorages and fishings of the same the lands of Caikinche the lands of Monkisholme the lands of Over Alterlandis of Foverne the lands of Nether Alterlandis of Foverne an annual rent of three pounds six shillings and eight pence to be uplifted yearly from Tullioch an annual rent of thirty three

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shillings and four pence to be uplifted yearly from Toukis an annual rent of forty shillings to be uplifted yearly from Sauchoke and Kinmondie all and sundry tenements and houses lying within our burgh of Aberdeen of old belonging to the said Monastery of Deir and patrimony thereof and their pertinents of whatsoever kind All and whole the salmon fishing of Innergie in salt water and fresh the Mill of the Monastery of Deir within the walls of the said monastery and the Kirktown of Deir all lying within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen the lands of Barrie lying within our sheriffdom of Banff with tenants tenandries feufarm duties services of free tenants rights and privileges thereof whatsoever with all and sundry teind sheaves and other teinds profits and emoluments of all and sundry the parish churches of Deir Peterugie Fovorne and Kinnedwart and the several lands situated with the parishes thereof—all lying within the Diocese of Aberdeen of old united and annexed to our said Monastery and being a part of the patrimony thereof with all rights privileges and pertinents whatsoever belonging to the same or which may justly belong thereto :—WHICH all and sundry lands lordships baronies teind sheaves and other teinds of the said churches and parishes with the mills multure fishings mansions mains houses places gardens buildings as well within the precinct and walls of the said monastery as without wherever they may be within our realm with all rents farms annual rents tenants tenandries and services of free tenants feu farm rents emoluments and commodities foresaid whatsoever we for the causes above mentioned of our certain knowledge and proper motive have erected united and incorporated into a temporal lordship and noble and lay fee as by the tenor of this our present charter we do erect unite and incorporate the same in favour of the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of the said Monastery in frank tenement or liferent for all the days of his life only and of our said cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage for ever with the title and denomination of the LORDSHIP OF ALTRIE giving and granting to the aforesaid Robert lately Commendator foresaid for all the days of his life only and to our said well beloved Cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees aforesaid in all time coming the title honour and standing of a free baron and lord of our Parliament by reason of the foresaid lands with vote and suffrage in all parliaments general councils and conventions in like manner and as freely as any other lord of Parliament had has or can have in any time bypast or to come and that the said lordship be honoured and decorated with fitting insignia and arms to be called in time coming the Lordship of Altrie and that the said life renter and heritable possessor thereof and their successors shall be called Lords of Altrie And for this effect we by the tenor of this our present Charter have dissolved and suppressed the said Abbacy and Monastery of Deir and all lands rents teinds profits and commodities thereto belonging

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and to which we as patron thereof or by any other way have or can pretend any right or title And especially we with consent of our general collector for us and our successors simply renounce and discharge all right and title which we had or could pretend to the third part of the fruits of the said Abbacy by whatsoever rights Acts of Parliament or customs so that we and our general collector shall not uplift any third thereof in any time coming inhibiting the said present collector and his successor of all uplifting of the same simply and for ever As also we have revoked discharged and annulled as by the tenor of this our present charter we do revoke discharge and annul all and sundry pensions given and granted to any person or persons whatsoever upliftable in any time bypast from the third of the said Monastery and we decern and ordain that the same shall be of no strength force nor effect in any time to come As also we will grant decern and ordain that never hereafter shall any successor be provided as Abbot Prior or Commendator of the said Monastery to the present by resignation demission decease or any other way nor shall any monk's portion be uplifted from the same which with the advice of our Treasurer for us and our successors we simply renounce for now and all time to come and we will that the lands rents and teinds thereof shall not be rated in taxations contributions and burdens imposed and to be imposed upon the Kingdom with the clergy, church and ecclesiastical estate but that the same in all time coming shall be taxed with the barons and temporal lords according to the just value and rate of the free patrimony and rent commonly called the Living aforesaid as general order shall be taken or appointed for the taxation of all lands within our kingdom : And because the lands of Kethinche otherwise called Caikinche lying in the aforesaid parish of Peterugie within our sheriffdom of Aberdeen at the sea shore are sufficiently suitable and convenient for a harbour which may prove a great benefit to the whole country around we have given granted and disposed as by the tenor of this our present charter we do give grant and dispoine to the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of Deir for his life and to our said cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage the privilege and liberty of erecting a harbour where the sea was in the said lands of Caikinche where it may most conveniently be made with the haven silver small customs anchorages and other duties and casualties belonging to any free port within our kingdom And also because for the reception of boats ships and strangers frequenting the said port it is necessary to have houses and taverns for entertaining and lodging those frequenting there it shall be lawful to the foresaid persons and their successors to build a town upon the foresaid lands of Caikinche which town so to be built we now as then and then as now have erected and by the tenor of this our present charter do erect into a free burgh of barony and we give and grant to the same all liberties and privileges whatsoever which can belong

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to a burgh of barony and with power to the said Robert lately Commendator during his life only and to our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees of creating appointing and dismissing bailies harbour masters and officers necessary for the keeping of good government and order as often as shall seem to them expedient And it is likewise provided that by virtue of our present infestment the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of the said Monastery for his life time and our said cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees shall ratify approve and confirm the infestments of the said lands lordship and baronies or any parts thereof duly and lawfully made by the Abbot Commendator and convent of the said Monastery to any person or persons whatsoever and confirmed by us and our said late dearest mother at any time past preceding the day of the date of these presents and that the said feu farmers and their heirs and successors shall peacefully enjoy and possess the foresaid lands leased to them for payment of the duties and services contained in their infestments to the foresaid Robert late Commendator of the said Monastery for his lifetime and to our said Cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees of whom they shall hold their lands in feufarm in the same manner and as freely as they formerly held them of the Abbots or Commendators and convents of our said Monastery and the said Robert formerly Commendator foresaid during his lifetime and our said Cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees shall have the whole manner of right of property and superiority which the Commendators Abbots and convents of our said Monastery formerly had in and to the aforesaid lands immediately before the said resignation and demission thereof with all right action and claim which can accrue to them thereanent for compelling the said feu farmers to pay their annual duties and services and to fulfil and satisfy all clauses and conditions contained in their infestments and to call and pursue for reduction rescinding and annulling of the same or for the foreclosing and extinguishing thereof on account of the non-fulfilment of the same consonant to the law in the same manner and as freely as any other lord superior spiritual or temporal can do with his feuars or tenants by the laws of our kingdom: MOREOVER whereas we are minded that after the dissolution of the said Abbacy of Deir from the state and condition of a Monastery and the erection thereof into a temporal lordship and laic fee the parish of the foresaid churches of which the fruits were formerly consumed in supplying the necessities of the monks in the said Monastery shall not now after the reformation of the Church be deprived of the comfort of a pastor in the preaching of the Divine Word and administration of the Sacraments we therefore have erected as by the tenor of this our present charter we do erect a rectory or parsonage in each of the said parish churches of Deir Petergie Foverne and Kynedward of which each rector shall have

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what we call the parson's glebe and manse of his parish church and he shall be bound to make continual residence at the said church and serve the cure of which rectors each shall receive for his honourable stipend and maintenance in addition to the said glebe and manse the annual rent of victual and money underwritten which victual and money we ordain to be assigned to them and each of them who shall be provided to the said rectory or parsonage out of the readiest of the fruits duties and emoluments of the churches to which they are provided to the quantity underwritten beginning with the crop and year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty seven and terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas of that year from which year we ordain this present infeftment to take effect, that is to say—the rector or minister of Deir shall have and receive for his support yearly three chalders of oatmeal and two hundred merks money of our kingdom; the rector or minister of Petergie shall have and receive for his support annually three chalders of oatmeal and one hundred merks money foresaid; the rector or minister of Foverne shall have and receive for his support yearly three chalders of oatmeal and one hundred merks money foresaid; and the rector or minister of Kynedward shall have and receive for his support yearly two chalders of oatmeal and one hundred merks money foresaid to be paid to them annually by the said late Commendator during his lifetime and after his death by the said George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees or by the better and more responsible tenants and parishioners of the said churches respectively for payment of their stipends assigned to them at the terms underwritten, that is to say the said victual between the feasts of the Nativity of Our Lord and the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary and the said money at the two usual yearly terms namely Whitsunday and Martinmas in winter by equal portions and the said rectors who shall be provided as is aforesaid shall have no right nor claim by virtue of their provisions or any other way whatsoever to uplift or receive a greater quantity of the fruits of the said churches than is above specified nor to raise judicial action for the same but are *simpliciter* excluded therefrom and what shall be a surplus of the rent and patrimony of the said churches shall remain with the said Lordship of Altrie as united annexed and incorporated therewith. And in like manner we have given and granted and disposed as by the tenor of this our present charter we do give grant and dispose to our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male assignees and successors in the said Lordship of Altrie the full right of patronage of the said churches and their rectories as often as they shall happen to be vacant in any time coming through death demission renunciation non-residence deprivation or any cause whatsoever to which rectories and each of them we ordain our said cousin to present to the ordinary—having power and commission to admit ministers persons sufficiently qualified who were able and

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suitable ministers for serving the cure at the said churches within six months after notice of the said vacancy thereof under peril of the laws of the realm appointed in like cases : MOREOVER we will and grant and for us and our successors decern and ordain that one Sasine to be delivered upon the ground of Altrie to the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of Deir in liferent and to our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage now and in all time coming shall stand and be sufficient for the said entire lordship lands and barony with the several annexes connexes parts pendicles and pertinents thereof notwithstanding that they do not lie together and contiguous :—TO BE HAD AND HELD all and sundry the foresaid lands lordship and barony of Altrie specially comprehending and containing the lands lordships annual rents teind sheaves and others particularly above specified with the annexes connexes parts pendicles and pertinents thereof whatsoever by the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of Deir in liferent for all the days of his life and our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees foresaid of us and our successors in fee heritage lordship and free barony for ever by all their right meiths ancient and divided as they lie in length and breadth in houses bindings woods plains muirs marshes roads pathways waters pools streams meadows pastures and pasturages mills multure and their sequels fowlings huntings fishings peataries turferies, coals and coalheughs, rabbits and rabbitwarrens doves and doveccots smithies maltkilns brewhouses and brooms plantings groves and brushwood firing and theiking stonequarries stone and lime with courts and their exits herezelds bludwits and [markets] of women with pit and gallows sok sak thole theme infangthief and outfangthief pit and gallows with common pasture and free ingoing and outgoing and with all and sundry other liberties commodities profits and easements and their just pertinents whatsoever as well not named as named both under the earth and above the earth near and remote belonging to the foresaid lands lordship and barony abovementioned with their teinds duties annual rents annexes connexes parts pendicles and whole pertinents lying thus as is aforesaid or which may justly belong thereto by any manner of way in time coming freely quietly fully entirely honourably well and in peace without any revocation contradiction impediment or hindrance whatsoever : PAYING therefor yearly the said Robert Commendator foresaid during his lifetime and after his death our foresaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees before written to us and our successors the sum of one hundred and forty pounds at Whitsunday in name of feufarm only. IN WITNESS WHEREOF to this our present charter we have ordained our great seal to be appended, Witnesses, our well beloved Cousins and Counsellors Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, knight, our Chancellor ; John, Lord Hamilton, etc., Commendator of our Monastery of Arbroath ; Archibald, Earl of Angus, Lord

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Douglas, Dalkeith and Abirmethy ; the very reverend and venerable fathers in Christ, Patrick, Archbishop of St. Andrews ; Walter, Prior of Blantyre, Keeper of our Privy Seal ; our beloved servants and counsellors, Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk of our Rolls, Register and Council, Ludovick Bellenden of Auchnoule, knight, our Justice Clerk and Mr. Robert Scott, Director of our Chancery ; at Holyrood house the twenty ninth day of the month of July in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty seven, and of our reign the twenty first year.

DEED II. A.

Apud Dalkeith 26 Septembris 1592.

REX concessit GEORGIO MARISCALLI COMITI domino Keith &c., in vitali redditu, et WILLELMO KEITH ejus filio legitimo primogenito in feodo,—terras, dominium et baroniam de Altrie, continentem terras &c. ab antiquo ad monasterium de Deir spectantes (*enumeratas ut in carta 1309*) ; cum portu ac burgo baronie de Keitinsche, alias Kaikinsche, *lie hevin-silver*, parvis customis, anchoragiis &c. ; terras temporales¹ de Donotter et Fedderresso, terras de Clerkinscheillis, Tulliquhillie, Malamuk, croftas in Banchirie, vicecomitatu de Kincardin ; tertiam partem molendini *lie Schirrefmylne* cum multuris, vicecomitatu Elgin et Forres ; cum molendinis, silvis, piscariis, tenentibus &c. ; terras, croftas, tenementa, annuos redditus et alia olim Fratrum Predicatorum et Carmelitanorum *lie Blak and Quhite freiris* burgi de Abirdene, viz. *the Yairdcroft* (inter *lie* Womanishill, domum Gilberti Andersoun *lie Blakfrerismainis et kirk*, et lacum), *the Sowcroft* (juxta Dennyburne), *lie* Craigwell-Croft, croftas *lie* Cwynghareillis (per Patricium Gray seniore et Joannem Dortie ejus tenentem occupatas), in orientali territorio de Abirdene (inter *lie* Lynkis et croftas Davidis Menzeis senioris *lie* Gallowhillis), 3 rigas extra *lie* Crabstane (inter *lie* *Heidriggis* et Alexander-Lethis-croft) croftam nuncupatam Fill-the-cop (per Agnetem Menzeis et Gilbertum Falconare ejus subtenentem occupatam) in orientali territorio de Abirdene (inter croftam Joannem Irving de Kyncowsie etiam *lie* Fil-the-cop nuncupatam, et *lie* Futheis-myre), rigam (per dictas Agnetam et Gilbertum occupatam) apud *lie* Gallogaithieid (juxta *lie* Breidfurde) 2 rigas in *lie* Fluris (juxta *lie* Gallowhillis), rigam *lie* Barbouris-croft (juxta *lie* Crukitt-myre), rigam inter communes cunicularias *lie* *Commoun-Linkis* et Garrakis-wynde, rigam in territorio de Futhie per Gilbertum Blak occupatam (inter *lie* *Furde-mark* et communes cunicularias), rigiam prope *lie* Gallogaithieid (juxta *lie* Gallogaithillis), *lie* Incroft infra parietes lapideos (per Jacobum Menzeis et ejus subtenentes occupatum) in *lie* Scuilhill (inter locum Fratrum

¹ For *temporales*, other clauses read ecclesiasticas ; the Privy Seal Register.

Deed II. A.

Predicatorum per Gilbertum Andersoun occupatum, *lie* Womanehill et comunem lacum) *lie* Sowcroft prope gymnasium grammaticale, per Alexander Chalmer et ejus subtenentes occupatum (juxta *lie* Deneburne) longam rigam (per Alexandrum Malysoun occupatam) in boreali territorio de Abirdene, *lie* Pringilcroft (per Alexandrum Joffray et ejus subtenentes occupatum) in occidentali territorio croftarum de Abirdene (juxta terras de Rubbislaw), duas parvas croftas contiguas infra dictum occidentale territorium (juxta *lie* Crawstane), longam rigam ibidem per quondam M. Gilbertum Bissat occupatam (inter *lie* Langlandis ad Fratres Carmelitanos spectantes, *lie* Dowcatbray et Viam ad Crawstane) 8 rudas infra territorium ville de Kintor (per Joannem Leslie in Kintor occupatas) viz. 6 rudas in boreali territorio de Kintor et 2 rudas in australi territorio de Kintor juxta communem moram, maneriem cum domibus, hortis, ustrinis, horreis &c., dictorum Fratrum Predicatorum (per Gilbertum Andersoun occupatas), in *lie* Schoilhill (inter gymnasium grammaticale et lacum), cum ceteris terris &c. dictorum Fratrum Predicatorum, et annuus redditus eorundem, viz. annum redditum 10 libros de *lie* Manes de Donotter, 6 libros 13 solidos 4 denariatas de terris de Banchorie et Dawnik, vicecomitatu Kincardin; 10 libros de terris de Fuddeis, 6 libros 13 solidos 4 denariatas de terris de Neu-Leslie, 4 libros de terris de Creichie, 40 solidos de dominis de Petcapill terris de, 40 solidos de terris de Synnaboth, 4 libros de terris de Creichmonmogate, 40 solidos de terris de Ranystoun, 20 solidos de *lie* Hillis de Dyce, 13 libros 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terris de Lyttill Arnage, 30 solidos de terris de Bannacuthill, 8 libros de terris de Ardoyne in Garreach, 40 solidos de terris de Birsmoir, 40 solidos de villa de Inverwrie, vicecomitatu Abirdene; 40 solidos de terris de Segyden, vicecomitatu; 5 libros 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terris de, vicecomitatu; 40 solidos de terris de Forg, vicecomitatu Banff; 8 libros de domino de Lysk terris de, vicecomitatu Abirdene; 24 libros de *lie* Talhous burgi de Abirdene, 4 solidos de terra quondam Joannis Pettirkyin in *lie* Gallowgait dicti burgi, 5 solidos de terra quondam Joannis Litstar ibidem, 10 solidos de terra quondam Margarete Kintor in dicto burgo, 12 solidos de terra quondam Thome Cargill in *lie* Gallowgait dicti burgi, 26 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Elizabethhe Leslie ibidem, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra quondam Patricii Menzeis ibidem 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Elizabethhe Annand ibidem 17 solidos de terra quondam Alane Putra ibidem 12 solidos de terris M. Andrea Gray in *lie* Nethir Kirkgait dicti burgi, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Thome Kay pistoris in dicto burgo, 5 solidos de terra quondam M. Roberti Lummsdene in *lie* Gallowgait dicti burgi, 13 solidos 4 denariatas de terra quondam Marjorie Gray in *lie* Gaistraw dicti burgi, 40 solidos de terra quondam Francisci Chantoun ibidem 40 solidos de terra Elizabethhe Annand in *lie* Schaipraw dicti burgi, 20 solidos de terra Alexandri Culane prope *lie* Fleschous dicti burgi, 17 solidos de terra

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quondam D. Alexandri Robesoun apud portum de Fruthie in dicto burgo, 8 solidos de terra quondam Walteri Brechin apud lie Keyheid dicti burgi, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra quondam Andrea Huntar in *lie* Ovir Kirkgait dicti burgi, 20 solidos de terra domini de Essilmonth in capite dicti vici, 36 solidos de terris Davidis Low in *lie* Castellgait ac *lie* Kirkgait-Nethir in dicto burgo, 52 solidos de terra Joannis Andersoun in Inverrowrie, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Willelmi Rannaldsoun in burgo de Abirdene, 26 solidos 8 denariatas de *lie half-net* de *lie Raik* de Abirdene, 50 solidos de *lie* Braidcroft prope *lie* Justice-mylnes (ad heredes quondam Thome Lindesay spectante), 26 solidos 8 denariatas de lie Justice mylnes (ad Gilbertum Menzeis, prepositum de Abirdene spectantibus), 40 solidos de croftis (prius Gilberti Menzeis, tunc Duncani Donaldsoun senioris et Joannis Donaldsoun), prope dictum burgum; que et qui ad dictos Fratres Predicatores olim pertinuerunt; necnon *lie* Doucatcroft (juxta *lie* Langlandis), croftam *lie* Langlandis et Cuttingis (per Joannem Menzeis et ejus subtenentes occupatam) in occidentali territorio croftarum de Abirdene (inter *lie Suell* et *Hauch* de Clayhillis et croftam *lie* Auchtrude ad quondam Gilbertum Menzeis spectantem), *lie* Pynernwk, Sowcroft et Hill croft (per M. Robertum Chalmer et ejus subtenentes occupatas), jacentes Contigue in dicto occidentali territorio (inter croftam Sancti Joannis Evangeliste, *lie* Deneburne et *lie* Ladywellcroft), cum 2 parvis metis *lie buttis* (per Jonetam Aihous occupatis) in territorio de Futhie (juxta litus maris *lie fludemark*), *lie* Ladycroft-land alias Wellcroft ibidem (inter *lie* Pennernwk, *lie* Cuttingis ad Joannem Menzeis spectantibus Kintoris croft et croftam Sancti Joannis Evangelisti), 8 rudas terrarum, croftam *lie* Pringliscroft (juxta Riblaw), croftam juxta croftam Fratrum Predicatorum, 3 *lie buttis* (per Jonetam Ailhous occupatas), viz. 2 rigas in dicto occidentali territorio prope *lie* Crawstane (juxta croftas Fratrum Predicatorum), et tertiam rigam juxta *lie* Braidcroft, *lie* Welcroft per Joannem Forbes et ejus subtenentes occupatam, (inter *lie* Pennernwk, *the fludemark* et *lie* Hilcroft), maneriem cum hortis, ustrinis, horreis &c. dictorum Fratrum Carmelitanorum (per Willelmum Menzeis seniore et ejus subtenentes occupatam) juxta *lie flude-mark*, parvam domum per quondam M. Jacobum Burnet, tunc per Katherinam Chalmer occupatam (juxta terras Fratrum Carmeritanorum per Willelmum Menzeis occupatas), domum cum horreo et *lie smyddie*, per Alisonam Horner et Robertum Smyth occupatam (juxta hortum Fratrum Carmelitanorum), ustrinam, horreum, et parvam domum (per Andream Nasmyth subtenentem Willelmi Menzeis occupatas), hortum ac duas domos *lie Malthousis*, per Willelmum Menzeis et ejus subtenentes occupatas (juxta *lie flude-mark*), ustrinam super monticulam, per Andream Choris et Helenam Hornar occupatam (juxta Denburne), hortum *lie Stankyaird* (per Willelmum Menzeis occupatum), parvam domum intra parietes Fratrum Carmelitanorum (per dictum Andream Nasmyth occupatam), tenementum cum horto ex boreali parte viridi

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juxta locum Fratrum Carmelitanorum, (per Jacobum Makie et Issobellam Ros occupatam), cum ceteris terris &c. dictorum Fratrum Carmelitanorum; necnon annuus redditus eorundem, viz. annum redditum 12 libras de terris de Ardoyne in Garreach, 26 solidos 8 denariatas de domini Pitcapill terris de, 20 solidos de tribus domibus in villa de Kintor, 20 solidos de villa de Inverrowrie, vicecomitatu Abirdene; 40 solidos de domini Leslie molendino de, vicecomitatu; 26 solidos 8 denariatas de terris quondam Joannis Thow in Cowny tunc dicti comitis, 3 lib. de Freirisglen in *lie* Mernis, vicecomitatu Kincardin; 20 solidos de Lochfildilcroft prope burgum de Abirdene, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Gilberti Malysoun in *lie* Castelgait dicti burgi, 24 solidos de terra Joannis Malysoun ibidem, 20 solidos de terra olim Andree Menzeis prope Fratres Predicatores dicti burgi, 36 solidos de terra quondam Patricii Hanniball in virido dicti burgi, 13 solidos 4 denariatas de terra Andree Guthrie in dicto virido tunc infra dictum burgum, 16 solidos de terra Gilberti Wobster ibidem, 26 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Walteri Fergusson ibidem, 53 solidos 4 denariatas de terra Davidis Tryvet ibidem, 10 solidos de terra Gilberti Burnet in dicto burgo, 13 solidos 4 denariatas de terra Gilberti Kintor apud *lie Kayheid* dicti burgi, 12 solidos de terra quondam Barbare Low in *lie* Castellgait dicti burgi, 24 solidos de terra quondam Parkye junioris ibidem, 20 solidos de terra Patricii Mwe ibidem de terris Alex. Rattray in capite dicti vici, 3 solidos 4 denariatas de terra Willelmi Chalmer extra portum trinitatis de Abirdene, 6 solidos 8 denariatas de terra Joannis Barris in dicto burgo, et 20 solidos de terris Joannis Howesoun in *lie* Gallowgait dicti burgi; cum ceteris terris, annuis redditibus &c. ubicunque infra regnum que et qui ad dictos Fratres Predicatores et Carmelitanos prius pertinuerunt;—quas et quos idem Georgius pro hac carta conficienda resignavit:—Insuper rex, pro bono servitio dicti Georgii ratificavit infeofamenta prius desuper concessa; et dictas terras &c. dictis Georgio &c. de novo dedit; et de novo univit dicto dominio de Deir (Altre?) advocacionem vicarie ecclesie parochialis de Peterugye ac prebende de Deir infra ecclesiam cathedralem de Abirdene, cum decimis garbalibus aliisque decimis terrarum de Fechill, vicecomitatu Abirdene;—quas abbas et conventus de Deir resignaverunt ut ad dominium de Altre annexari possent:—RESERVATIS Roberto domino de Altrie libero tenemento domini et baronie de Altrie cum dictis annexis; Domine Margarete Hwme Mariscalli comitisse, sponse dicti Georgii rationabili tertia omnium suprascriptorum si contingeret; dicto Georgio libertate assedationes longas seu breves locandi absque diminutione rentalis:—Proviso quod non liceret dicto Willelmi aut heredibus ullam alienationem aut assedationem facere absque consensu dicti Georgii durante ejus vite, et post ejus decessum ante etatem dicti Willelmi et heredum 25 annorum absque consensu Francisci comitis de Erroll, Domini Thome Lyoun de Auldbar,

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militis, Alexandri domini de Home, Willelmi Ker de Cesfurde, Domini Jacobi Howme de Coldinknowis, militis, aut eorum majoris partis pro tempore viventium ; et quod quocumque dictus Georgius aut post ejus decessum ejus assignati, dictis Willelmo &c. 20 libros in ecclesia de Donotter sub premonitione 15 dierum persolverent aut in manibus persone responsalis consignarent, haberent regressum ad dictas terras &c. :—Preterea rex voluit quod unica sasina apud Altrie capienda pro dominio de Altrie, sasina apud terras ecclesiasticas de Fedderresso pro terris ecclesiasticis de Donotter &c. (usque ad Schirrefis-mylne). sasina super fundum ubi principalia messuagia dictorum Fratrum, situata erant pro terris &c. dictorum Fratrum, sufficientes essent :—Tenendas dicto Geo. *ut supra*, dicto Willelmo et heredibus masculis ejus de corpore legitime procreandis quibus deficientibus, dicto Georgio et heredibus masculis ejus de corpore legitime procreatis reversuros, quibus deficientibus Roberto domino de Altrie et heredibus &c. (*ut supra*), quibus deficientibus Joanni Keith feoditario de Trowpe et heredibus &c. (*ut supra*), quibus deficientibus Joanni Keith de Ravynniscraig et heredibus &c. (*ut supra*), quibus deficientibus dicto Georgio ejusque legitimis et propinquioribus heredibus masculis et assignatis quibuscunque, arma et cognomen de Keith gerentibus :—Reddendo pro dominio de Altrie 140 libros albe firme ; pro terris ecclesiasticis de Donotter 5½ mercas cum 40 denariatas augmentationis, pro terris ecclesiasticis de Fedderresso 7 libros 14 solidos 4 denariatas, cum 1 bolla *lie serjeand-corne*, et 40 denariatas augmentationis, pro Clerkinscheillis 4 libros cum 40 denariatas augmentationis, pro Tulliequhillie, Mallamuk et croftis in Banchrie 10 libros cum 6 solidos 8 denariatas augmentationis, pro ½ de Schirefmylne 40 solidos, cum 2 solidos augmentationis, nomine feudifirme, necnon duplicando feudifirmam in introitu heredum ; pro terris &c. dictorum Fratrum 40 libros pauperibus hospitalitatis de Abirdene applicandas prout rex dirigeret :—Test. *ut in aliis cartis &c.*

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¹ This Charter contains the following additional names of adjoining owners :—Adam Mar, Geo. Harrowis, Mr. Gilb. Bissat, Geo. Watsoun, And. Dunneis, umquhile Andrew Murray, Mr. George Lumsden, Alex. Rutherfurde, William Umphray, heirs of umq. And. Mar, umq. Gilb. Gray and his heirs, And. Jak, umq. Geo. Bisset, the laird of Garthlie, John Johnestoun, umq. Gilb. Collestoun, umquhile John Andersoun, the college of Abirdene, umq. George Watsoun, Martin Howesoun, umq. Thomas Bissat, umq. Martin Howysoun and his heirs, David Quhite, Mr. Jas. Burnet Gilbert Gray, John Andersoun, Gilb. Collesoun, Duncan Donaldsoun, Tho. Menzeis, Pat. Malysoun, umq. Joh. Barry, Rob. Angus, And. Guthrie, Edw. Donaldsoun, Andrew Williamsoun, Jas. Wysman baker, umq. Tho. Peiry, And. Edy, Tho. Huntare, all in or near Aberdeen ; heirs of umq. Alex. Keith in Auquhorsk, Alex. Chalmer of Balnacraig, Joh. Chalmer in Fintrie, the Altar of the Holy Rood, Pat. Andersoun, John Gordoun of Glasgowforrest, And. Scherare, all near Kintore.

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TRANSLATION OF DEED II. A.

At Dalkeith, 26th September 1592.

The King has granted to George, Earl Marischal, Lord Keith, etc., in liferent, and to William Keith, his eldest lawful son, in fee, the lands, lordship and barony of Altrie, containing the lands and others of old belonging to the Monastery of Deir [enumerated as in charter 29th July 1587] with the harbour and burgh of barony of Keitinsche or Kaikinsche, the haven silver small customs, anchorages, etc. ; the temporal lands of Dunotter and Fedderresso, the lands of Clerkinscheillis, Tulliquhillie, Malamak, crofts in Banchirie in the sherifffdom of Kincardine ; the third part of the Mill called Schirref mylne, with its multures, in the sherifffdom of Elgin and Forres ; with the mills, woods, fishings, etc. lands, crofts tenements annual rents and others sometime belonging to the Friars Preachers and Carmelites, (the Black and White Friars) of the burgh of Aberdeen, namely the Yairdcroft (between the Womanshill, the house of Gilbert Andersoun, the Blackfriars Mains and kirk and the loch), the Sowcroft (beside Dennyburne), the Craigwell croft and crofts called Cwnyng-hareillis (occupied by Patrick Gray elder, and John Dortie, his tenant) in the east territory of Aberdeen (between the Lynks and Crofts of David Menzies called Gallowhills), three rigs beyond the Crabstane (between the Heidrigs and Alexander Leith's croft), the Croft called Fill-the-Cop (occupied by Agnes Menzies and Gilbertum Falconar, his subtenant) in the east territory of Aberdeen (between the Croft of John Irving of Kyncowsie, also called Fill-the-Cop, and the Futhies Myre), a rig (occupied by the said Agnes and Gilbert) at the Gallowgatehead (beside the Breidfurde), two rigs in the Fluris (next the Gallowhills), a rig called the Barbers croft (next the Crukit Myre), a rig between the Common links and Garrakis Wynd, a rig in the territory of Futhie occupied by Gilbert Blak (between the Furde-mark and the common links), a rig near the Gallowgaithead (beside the Gallowgait hills), the incroft within the stone walls (occupied by James Menzies and his subtenents) in the Schoolhill (between the place of the Friars Preachers occupied by Gilbert Andersoun, the Womanehill and common loch), the Sowcroft near the gymnasium of the Grammar School, occupied by Alexander Chalmer and his subtenants (next the Deneburne), the long rig (occupied by Alexander Malysoun) in the north territory of Aberdeen, the Pringil croft (occupied by Alexander Joffray and his subtenants) in the west territory of the crofts of Aberdeen (beside the lands of Rubbislaw) two small crofts adjoining within the said western territory (beside the Crawstane), the long rig there occupied by the deceased Mr. Gilbert Bisset (between the Langlands belonging to the Carmelite Friars, the Dowcat Brae and the road to Crawstane), eight roods within the territory of the town of Kintor (occupied by John Leslie in Kintor) namely six roods in the north

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territory of Kintor and two roods in the southern territory of Kintor beside the Common Moor with the manor place, houses, gardens, kilns, barns, etc. of the said Friars Preachers (occupied by Gilbert Andersoun) in the Schoolhill (between the gymnasium of the Grammar School and the loch), with the rest of the lands, etc. of the said Friars Preachers and their annual rents, namely, an annual rent of £10 from the Mains of Dunnottar; £6 13s. 4d. from the lands of Banchorie and Dawink in the sheriffdom of Kincardine; £10 from the lands of Fuddeis; £6 13s. 4d. from the lands of New Leslie; £4 from the lands of Creichie; 40s. from the lands of belonging to the Laird of Pitcable; 40s. from the lands of Synnaboth; £4 from the lands of Creichmonmogate; 40s. from the lands of Ranystoun; 20s. from the Hills of Dyce; £13 6s. 8d. from the lands of Little Arnage; 30s. from the lands of Bannacut-hill; £8 from the lands of Ardoyne in Garreach; 40s. from the lands of Birsmoir; 40s. from the town of Inverurie in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen; 40s. from the lands of Segyden in the sheriffden of; 40s. from the lands of Forg in the sheriffdom of Banff; £8 from the lordship of Lysk, lands of in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen; £24 from the Talhous of the burgh of Aberdeen; 4s. from the lands of the deceased John Peterkyn in the Gallowgait of the said burgh; 5s. from the land of the deceased John Litster there; 10s. from the land of the deceased Margaret Kintor in the said burgh; 12s. from the land of the deceased Thomas Cargill in the Gallowgait of the said burgh; 26s. 8d. from the land of Elizabeth Leslie there; 6s. 8d. from the land of the deceased Patrick Menzies there; 6s. 8d. from the land of Elizabeth Annand there; 17s. from the land of the deceased Alan Paton there; 12s. from the lands of Mr. Andrew Gray in the Nether Kirkgate of the said burgh; 6s. 8d. from the land of Thomas Kay, baker in the said burgh; 5s. from the land of the deceased Mr. Robert Lumsden in the Gallowgait of the said burgh; 13s. 4d. from the land of the deceased Marjorie Gray in the Ghaist Raw of the said burgh; 40s. from the land of the deceased Francis Chantoun there; 40s. from the land of Elizabeth Annand in the Shiprow of the said burgh; 20s. from the land of Alexander Culane near the Flesh house of the said burgh; 17s. from the land of the deceased Sir Alexander Robesoun at the Fruthie Port in the said burgh; 8s. from the land of the deceased Walter Brechin at the quay head of the said burgh; 6s. 8d. from the land of the deceased Andrew Hunter in the Over Kirkgate of the said burgh; 20s. from the land of the Laird of Essilmonth at the head of the said street; 36s. from the lands of David Low in the Castlegate and the Nether Kirkgate in the said burgh; 52s. from the land of John Andersoun in Innerrowrie; 6s. 8d. from the land of William Rannaldsoun in the burgh of Aberdeen; 26s. 8d. from the half net of the Raik of Aberdeen; 50s. from the Braid croft near the Justice Mills (belonging to the heirs of the deceased Thomas Lindsay); 26s. 8d. from the

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Justice Mills (belonging to Gilbert Menzies, provost of Aberdeen); 40s. from the crofts (formerly belonging to Gilbert Menzies and now to Duncan Donaldson, elder and John Donaldson) near the said burgh; which formerly belonged to the said Friars Preachers; also the Doucat croft (near the Langlands); the croft called the Langlands and Cuttings (occupied by John Menzies and his subtenants) in the west territory of the crofts of Aberdeen (between the Suell and Hauch of Clayhills and the croft called Auchtrude belonging to the deceased Gilbert Menzies); the Pynernuik, Sow croft and Hill croft (occupied by Mr. Robert Chalmers and his subtenants) lying beside one another in the said west territory (between the croft of St. John the Evangelist, the Dene burn and the Ladywell croft) with two small butts (occupied by Janet Alhous) in the territory of Futhie (beside the sea shore or flood mark); the Lady croft land otherwise Well croft there (between the Pennernuik, the Cuttings belonging to John Menzies, Kintore's croft and the croft of St. John the Evangelist); three roods of lands, the croft called Pringle's croft (beside Riblaw), the croft beside the croft of the Friars Preachers, three butts (occupied by Janet Ailhous) namely two rigs in the said west territory near the Crawstane (beside the crofts of the Friars Preachers), and the third rig beside the Braidcroft, the Welcroft, occupied by John Forbes and his subtenants (between the Pennernuk, the flood mark and the Hilcroft) the manor place, with the gardens, kilns, barns, etc., of the said Carmelite Friars (occupied by William Menzies elder and his subtenants) beside the flood mark, a small house occupied by the deceased Mr. James Burnett and now by Katherine Chalmer (beside the lands of the Carmelite Friars occupied by William Menzies), a house with barn and smiddie occupied by Alison Horner and Robert Smyth (beside the garden of the Carmelite Friars), a kiln, barn and small house (occupied by Andrew Nasmyth, subtenant of William Menzies), a garden and two houses called maltheuses occupied by William Menzies and his subtenants (beside the flood mark), the kiln upon the Mound occupied by Andrew Choris and Helen Hornar (beside the Denburne), the garden called the Stankyaird (occupied by William Menzies), the small house within the walls of the Carmelite Friars (occupied by the said Andrew Nasmyth), the tenement and garden on the north side of the Green beside the place of the Carmelite Friars (occupied by James Makie and Isobella Ros), with the rest of the lands, etc. of the said Carmelite Friars; likewise their annual rents, viz. an annual rent of £12 from the lands of Ardoyne in Garreach; 26s. 8d. from the lands of belonging to the Laird of Pitcaple; 20s. from three houses in the town of Kintore; 20s. from the town of Innerrowrie in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen; 40s. from the mill of belonging to the Laird of Leslie in the sheriffdom of; 26s. 8d. from the lands of the deceased John Thow in Cowny, now belonging to the said Earl; £3 from Freirsglen in the Mearns in the sheriffdom of Kincardin; 20s.

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from Lochfieldcroft near the burgh of Aberdeen ; 6s. 8d. from the land of Gilbert Malysoun in the Castlegate of the said burgh ; 24s. from the land of John Malysoun there ; 20s. from the land formerly belonging to Andrew Menzies, near the Friars Preachers of the said burgh ; 36s. from the land of the deceased Patrick Hannibal in the Green of the said burgh ; 13s. 4d. from the land of Andrew Guthrie in the said Green now within the said burgh ; 16s. from the land of Gilbert Wobster there ; 26s. 8d. from the land of Walter Fergusson there ; 53s. 4d. from the land of David Tryvet there ; 10s. from the land of Gilbert Burnet in the said burgh ; 13s. 4d. from the land of Gilbert Kintor at the Quay head of the said burgh ; 12s. from the land of the deceased Barbara Low in the Castlegate of the said burgh ; 24s. from the land of the deceased Parkye, younger, there ; 20s. from the land of Patrick Mure there ; from the lands of Alexander Rattray in the head of the said street ; 3s. 4d. from the land of William Chalmer outwith the Trinity Gate of Aberdeen ; 6s. 8d. from the land of John Barris in the said burgh, and 20s. from the lands of John Howesoun in the Gallowgate of the said burgh ; with the rest of the lands, annual rents, etc. anywhere throughout the kingdom which formerly belonged to the said Friars Preachers and Carmelites and which the said George resigned for the obtaining of this charter : Furthermore the King for the good service of the said George has ratified the infeftments formerly made to him thereof and of new given the said lands etc. to the said George, etc. ; and has of new united to the said lordship of Deir (Altre?) the advocacion of the vicarage of the parish church of Peterugye and of the prebend of Deir within the cathedral church of Aberdeen with the teind sheaves and other teinds of the lands of Fechill in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen which the Abbot and convent of Deir resigned in order that they might be annexed to the lordship of Altrie : Reserving to Robert, Lord of Altrie, the liferent of the lordship and barony of Altrie with the said annexations ; to Lady Margaret Hume, Countess Marischal, spouse of the said George a reasonable terce of all the beforewritten when that shall fall due ; and to the said George the power to grant leases, long or short, without diminution of the rental ; Provided that it shall not be lawful to the said William or his heirs to make any alienation or lease without consent of the said George during his lifetime and after his death and prior to the said William and his heirs attaining the age of twenty-five years, without the consent of Francis, Earl of Errol, Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, knight, Alexander, Lord of Home, William Ker of Cesford, Sir James Home of Coldenknows, knight, or the major part of them who shall be alive at the time ; and that whensoever the said George, or after his death his assignees shall pay to the said William, etc. twenty pounds in the Church of Dunnottar upon premonition of fifteen days or shall consign the same in the hands of a responsible person, they shall have regress to the said lands, etc.

Deed II. A.

Moreover the King has granted that a single sasine to be taken at Altrie shall suffice for the lordship of Altrie, a sasine at the kirklands of Fetteresso for the kirklands of Dunnottar etc. (as far as Sheriffs Mill), and a sasine upon the ground where the principal messuages of the said Friars were situated for the lands etc. of the said Friars : To be held by the said George, as above, the said William and the heirs male lawfully to be procreated of his body, whom failing to return to the said George and the heirs male lawfully procreated of his body, whom failing Robert Lord of Altrie and the heirs, etc., as above, whom failing John Keith, fiar of Troup, and the heirs etc. as above, whom failing John Keith of Ravenscraig and the heirs, etc., as above, whom failing the said George and his lawful and nearest heirs male and assignees whomsoever bearing the surname and arms of Keith : Paying for the lordship of Altrie £140 in name of blench farm ; for the kirklands of Dunnottar five and a half merks with forty pence of augmentation ; for the kirklands of Fetteresso £7 14s. 4d. with one boll of sergeant corn and forty pence of augmentation ; for Clerkinscheills £4, with forty pence of augmentation ; for Tulliequhillie, Malamuk and crofts in Banchrie £10, with 6s. 8d. of augmentation ; for one third of the Sheriff Mill 40s. with 2s. of augmentation, in name of feu farm, likewise doubling the feu farm at the entry of heirs ; for the lands, etc. of the said Friars £40 to be bestowed on the poor of the Hospital of Aberdeen as the King may direct. Witnesses as in other charters, etc.

DEED III.

Original Contract of Feu of Town of Peterhead. [Septimo Octobris, 1608.]

In presence of the Lordis of counsale comperit Mr William Naper procurator speciallie constituit for George Erle of Mershell Lord Keith &c. on thae ane part to the effect after specifeit And siclyk comperit Mr Alexander Cuming procurator speciallie constituit for Johne Daidson James Walker Gilbert Darge Elspeith Nicolson William Hay Gilbert Boid William Bodie and Andro Gray burgess^s of Keith Inche alias Peterheid on the uther part And gaif in the contract underwrittine subscriyvit with yair handis desyring the samin to be registrat in the buikis of counsale to haif the strenth of ane decret of the Lordis yairof with executoriallis to be direct yairupone In maner yairin contenit The quhillk desyr the saidis Lordis thoct ressonabill and ordainit and ordanes the said contract to be insert and registrat in the saidis buik of counsale decernes the samin to haif the strenth of yair decret And ordanes letteris and executoriallis to be direct yairupone in manner yairin

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contentit Quhairof the tennor folloues At Aberdein the first day of Junij the zeir of God 1^{my} nyntie and thrie zeiris [1st June 1593] It is appoyntit agreit and faithfullie oblissit and finallie contractit betuix the richt nobill and potent George Erle Mershell Lord Keith &c. barrone of the burgh underwrittin ffor himselff and takand the burdein on him for William Lord Keith his sone And as lawfull administrator to the said William on the ane part Johne Daudsone William Hay Gilbert Darge William Richie yungar William Richie eldar James Walker Hercules McFerlein William Bodie Elspeth Nicolsonsone William Allane James Smyth Gilbert Bodie Andro Gray and William Muir at the schoir heid burgess^s of Keith Inche alias Peterheid on the uther part bindand and oblessand them yair ares executoures assigneyes successores and posteretic *hinc inde* to otheres vnder the paynes of poynding and horning to pass upone a single charge of sex dayes the ane but preiudice of the othir In maner forme and effect as efter folloues That is to say ffor samekill as the brugh of barronaye perteing to the said Erle heretable callit Keith Inche alias Peterheid laitlie erectit be his Ma^{tie}. doittit and franchissit with priuiledge of brugh as the richt and erectioun yairof proporteis cannot be sufficientlie peipilit and furnesit with cetesenes and brocht to the stait and messo^r of ane honest brugh for decoratioun of the realme weill of nawegatioun and profeit of the said Erle and his forsadis except that the tenementis at the leist the yardis yairof be set in feu ather to the present Inhabitantes of the same or utheres verteues and skilitfull traffactares that will resort to the said towne It is yairfoir and for the caus^s efter following speciallie accordit and agreit betuix the saidis parteis that the said Erle sall for himselff and takand the burdein on him as said is deulie heretable and sufficientlie be feu chartor conteining precept of sesing maid *titulo oneroso* with all claus^s necessar and profetable but regress or reuersion vest seiss and infest ilk ane of the saidis persones and yair foirsaidis in the tenementis and yardis designit to them respective be the boundis and merches subsequent ffor the gresssumes vnderwrittin and for zeirle payment in tyme cuming of yair few dewteis respective *et pro rata* efterwrittin that is to say James Walker and Mariorie Ricard his spous and the aires lawfullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them Quilkis failzcing the said James' ares and assigneyes quhatsumewer in all and hail the northmest tenement and yardis of the said bruche presently occupyit be him extending to threttein rudes metting the samin fra the north to the south and sewin ruddes and ane halff frome the eisstmesst merche to the westmest boundit and merchit this day begynnand at the langstane set in the zerd at the northmest nuik of the saidis ruddes And haldand yairfra lyniallie and directlie to ane merch cairne maid this day at the north westt nuik or yairby off the saidis ruddes and haldand south in the eisst syd of the Kingis common gait to ane merche cairne or stane set this day at the

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southwest neuk yairof and yairfra eist direct to ane uther merche maid this day at the southwest nuik of the saidis landis and yairfra north in the heuch heid directlie to the said lang stane quhair the said first merche beguid ffor tua hundreth pundis Scottes money feu gressum to be instantlie payit be the said James and zeerlie in tymes cuming the sowme of ten shillingis feu maill The said Hercules M'Fersene and failzeing of him be deceis George M'fersene his sone his ares and assigneyes ffor payment of ane hundreth merkis few gressum In all and haill the tenement quhilk he now occupyis contening sex rud in lenth and thrie in breid large lying within the said commoun gait at the west the said bank heid at the eist the said Erles tenement callit the fischous tenement at the north and the tenement occupyt be Robert Walker at the south the feu maill yairof to be zeirlie ten shillingis The said William Richie eldar and Janet Andersone his spous and failzeing of them be deceis the ares of the said William in the tua pairt and the ares of the said Janet Andersone alias Slaikairle in the third pairt of tua tenementis of land contening tuelff ruddis of lenth and sex of breid quilkis sall be dewydit betuix the saidis ares be the proueist bailleis and counsale of the said brugh lying betuix the tenement possessit be Robert Walker at the north William Mure's tenement at the south the said commoun gait at the west and rod quhilk ganges alongis the said bray at the eist the gressum yairof tua hundreth pundis and tuentie shillingis of feu maill To be payit zeirlie in tymes cuming The said William Mure and his foirsaidis ffor four hundreth merkis feu gressum in all and haill tua tenement of landis quhair he dwelles extending to twelff ruid in lenth and sex in breid lying betuix William Richie his tenement at the north Gilbert Allane his duelling at the south the said commoun gait at the west and bankheid rod at the eist the feu maill yairof tuentie schilling The said William Bodie in all and haill ane tenement and zardis contening sex ruddes in lenth and thrie in breid lying betuix the duelling of James Innes at the north the vttermaist pairt of the South Wall of the duelling of umquhile Mariorie Greye at the south the Kingis commoun gait at the west the bankheid rod at the eist the grassum tua hundreth merkis and the feu mail yairof ten shillingis The said Elspeth Nicolsone and her foirsaidis in all and haill ane tenement occupyt be hir at the bak of John Grayes hous^s at the eist the north nuik of hir ain kil barne assending vpe as the tenement markit to James Burnet passes at the said commoun gait at the west and the Kingis gait passand downe to the south as the samin is merchet and proppit this day extending in lenth and breid as said is the gressum yairof tua hundreth merkis the few maill zeirlie yairof ten shillingis The said William Allane and his foirsaidis ane half tenement presentlie occupyt be John Gray contening thrie ruid in lenth and thrie in breid lying betuix the said Elspeth Nicolsone tenement and hous at the north and west

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partes the Kingis gait at the south and bankheid rod at the eist few gressume yairof ane hundreth merkis and few maill fyve shillingis The said James Smyth ane tenement contening sex ruddes in lenth and thrie in breid presentlie occupyt be Cristiane Watsone haivand the Kingis gait on the north and marchit in all remanent partes yairof with carnes and stanes this day the gressum yairof Tua hundreth merkis the zeirlie few maill ten shillingis The said William Richie yungar and Janet Allane his spous the ares lafullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them quhilkis failzeand the said William his ares and assigneyes quhatsumewer yair ane half tenement of land lying vnder the bray extending as said is lying betuix the house of John Richesone at the south James Bodeis and merche cairnes at the west and the hous quhair the said William duelles at the north the gressum ane hundreth merkis and fyve shillingis few maill The said William Hay and Mariorie Hay his spous the ares lafullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them quhilkis failzeing the said William ares and assigneyes quhatsumever In all and haill ane tenement of land presentlie occupyt be them contening sex ruddis in lenth and thrie in breid lying betuix the Kingis gait at the south the hous occupyt be James Smyth at the eist the merche carne set this day at the north and the west partes the gressum yairof tua hundreth merkis and the zeirlie few maill ten schillingis The said Gilbert Bodie In all and haill ane tenement and ane half tenement of land being now his duelling lying betuix the Kirkburne at the south the commoun gait at the north the merche cairne set this day at the west and bak of James Bodeis hous at the eist The few gressum yairof Tua hundreth pundis the zeirlie few maill yairof fyfteen shilling The said Gilbert Darge Oles Kelo his spous and the ares lafullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them Quhilkis failzeing the said Gilbertes ares and assigneyes quhatsumewer In all and haill ane tenement of land occupyt be Robert Walker extending to six ruddes in length and thrie in breid with the muir lying betuix the tenement of Hercules M'fersene at the north the landis of William Richie at the south the Kingis commoun gait at the west and the said bankheid at the eist The gressum yairof Tua hundreth merkis and the few maill zeirlie ten shillingis The said John Davidstone and Barbara Murray his spous the ares lafullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them Quhilkis failzeing the said Johne his ares and assigneyes quhatsumever In all and haill ane tenement of land contening sex ruddes in lenth and thrie in breid lying next Androis Graye's tenement at the eist as the same is and sall be merchit and methit with proppis and merche carnes The Feu gressum yairof being Tua hundreth merkis and the zeirlie few maill ten shillingis and the said Andro Gray and the said Janet Andersone his spous the ares lafullie gottin or to be gottin betuix them Quhilkis failzeing the said Andro his ares and assigneyes quhatsumewer In all and haill the tenement and land

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burgess^s of the said brugh aboue-writtin to sell ony part or portioun of thair said tenementis and landis foirsaidis to ony persone or persones without the express consent and assent of the said Erle and his foirsaidis and ewerie ane of the fewares foirsaidis sall have freedom and libertie as frie burgess^s of the said brugh To haif and use all kind of traffique lesum to burgess^s of brugh of barronay and na vtheres to vse ony kynd of traffique brewing baiking or vther handling within the said brugh but onlie fewares and sic as haif the said nobill erle and his foirsaidis speciall licence and priueledge yairto ffor gyding and rewiling of the quhilk brugh the said erle and his foirsaidis sall elect nominat and chuse baillie clerkis and vtheres officiares necessares and meit for the gouernement of the samin of the nichbouris and fewares of the said brugh actuall Induellares for the tyme within the same The said erle alwyse and his foirsaidis remaning proueast or o^d baillie yairof The said erle sall siclyk receive the air of ony of the saidis fewares that sall happyn to inlaik in yair fateres plaice anent the tenementis and landis respective *supra* mentionat the entrat air payand for his entrie ane angell nobill with dewteis zeirle efter his entrie as is and sall be contenit in this present Contract and the eldest sone to be ressaut as ane frie burgess being enterit to his fateres few with fredome as his father had of befoir payand only to the said erle for his fredome ane purs^s with fyue shilling sex penneis yairin and na vtheres bot fewares to be burgess^s or fredome within the said brugh without the said erle and his foirsaidis speciall priueledge as said is for the quhilkis caus^s the saidis fewares and burgess^s of the said brugh of barronaye obless^s them and yair foirsaidis lelelie and trewlie be the faith and treuth of yair bodeis To serue the said erle and his foirsaides erle of Mershell in yair personall seruice stentes taxationes and impositiones as becomes the Inhabetentis of brughe of barronaye And to depend vpon none vther under his Ma^{tie}. and ewerie ane of them sall haif ane bot for quhyt fisching of the quhilk the said erle and his foirsaidis sall haif the teynd fische The said erle and his foirsaidis giwand the saidis fischares ressonabill fischer landis ffor ressonabill deutie and sic as happynes to pas to far fishingis the said erle and his foirsaidis sall haif sic teynd yairof as the Inhabetentes of Anstruther payes And how sone as the number of the fewares mutes to threttie persones the burgess^s aboue-writtin obless^s them and yair foirsaidis to contribuit proportionallie *et pro rata* to the biging of ane tolbuith within the said burgh with Tua hundreth merkis or yan to pay yair pairt of the said soume to the said for building of the samin and ewerie ane of the fewares aboue-written obless^s them and yair foirsaidis To build vpon the ground of yair tenementis befoir specifeit within the spaice of sewin zeires efter the dait heiroy ane sufficient stane sclaittit hous Tuentie-four foot of lenth and sextein feit of breid And sic plaice yairof as sall be fundin maist cumlie ffor the decoratioun of the said

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Brugh And failzeing yairof ilk zeir yairefter sall pay to the said erle and his foirsaidis ffourtie shillingis few quhill they big the said hous and forder the said erle and his foirsaid obless^s him and his foirsaidis to warrand sic fredome of brugh To the saidis fewares as ony burgess^s in brugh of barronaye hes customable within the realme And to build and erect ane bulwark in the mouth of the hewin callit Port Hendrie for cistment of yair siefering weschellis and sall accomplie^s the samin within halff ane zeir efter that he haif ressaut the gressum of twentie tenementis It is alwayes agreit betuix the saidis parteis that the said erle sall haif the anchorage and dew customes of all outlandis resortares within his said wateres and hewinis with the sysistrie of ewerie weschell bringand Tymbar within the said brugh and sall be seruit and slaikit of sic wares as cummes be strangers within the samin sa far as is necessar for his awin and his foirsaidis vse vpon the first pryce as the samin happynes to be first bocht be the burgess^s of the said brugh and forder that the said erle and his foirsaidis sall haif ane laidding as the necessetic of his advis sall requyre of ewerie schipe or bot within the said brugh be turns south or north as the said erle and his foirsaidis sall think maist expedient The bottes dew frie and the said erle onlie payand the marinellis coistes and wages and the foirsaidis haill fewares obless^s them and yair foirsaidis to gif yair awin personall seruice and concurrence to the erecting of the said bulwark with aikin tymber extending in number as is conteinit in ane Letter subscrivyt with the handis of six of them as are presentlie parteneres of boittes and schippes and the remanent of the saidis fewares obless^s them and yair foirsaidis to give aitkin tymber for building and vphalding of the said bulwark proportionallie *et rata* according to yair fewes how sone it sall happyn ony of them respective To be comperteneres of the frie serving weschelles meit for the inbringing of tymber And the fewares aboue specifeit sall concur alwayes with yair personall seruice for vphalding of the said bulwark being anes buildit alsueill as in erecting of the same It is alwayes agreit betuix the saidis parteis that the fewares aboue specifeit vtheres fewares and burgess^s to be maid within the said brugh sall haif comountie and pasturage In the ronheidis at the north end of the said towne peice land Quhilk wes occupyit be Andro Keith in Aulmad and the peces of land betuix the said towne and the sie except Keith-inche bot nawyse to haif libertie to cast ploddis turres faill or dowattes yairvpon nocht obstant of the quhilk comountie it sall be lesum to the said erle and his foirsaidis to set in few tenementis and zardis vpon sic plaice or plaices yairof as salbe fundin commodious ffor the decoratioun and augmentatioun of the said brugh as oft as they sall think expedient bot it sall nawyes lesum to the said erle or his foirsaidis To gif licence to ony persone to cast peittes in the said moss of Peterheid bot onlie to fewares that is or sall be burgess^s of the said towne

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and the number of spaddes as is aboue-writtin *pro rata* allenerlie according to yair tenement countand for ilk tenement sex ruddes in lenth and thrie of breid And albeit it be above-expressit that nane of the saidis fewares sall sell without consent of the said erle ony part of yair tenementis zit he bindis and obless^s him and his foirsaid to gif yair consent to sic alienationes as ony of the saidis burgess^s sall mak in fawouris of actuall induellars and burgess^s within the said brugh—the enterand tennent doubland the few-dewtie at his entrie And forder payand to the said erle and his foirsaidis ane Rois nobill Prowyding alwayes that it sall not be lesum To any of them To resigne ony les than the half of the tenement designit to them in maner aboue-specifeit without the said erle and his foirsaidis preceding consent had yairto And the said erle obless^s him and his foirsaidis that quhenewir it sall happyn him or them To erect and feu ony tenementis and zardis within the precinck and communitie of the said brugh that the samin be erectit ewer in the places maist ewest contigue and commodeous for the decoratioun of the said brugh And set or fewit to sic as sall be honest nichbouris of the samin and for the mair securitie baith the saidis parteis ar content and consentes that thir presents be insert and registrat in our sowerane lordis buik of sessioun buikis of secreit counsale or commissaris buikis of Aberdein And haif the strenth of ane confest act and Judiciall decreit of the same that executoriallis may pas yairon in maner foirsaid And to that effect makis constitutes and ordanes M^{rs} William Naper and Alexander Cuming aduocattis &c. and ilk ane of them coniunctlie and seuerallie our verie lafull irreuocabill and vndoubtit procuratouris In *uberiore constitutionis forma* haldand firme and stabill In witness quhairof baith the saidis parteis hes subscrivyt thir presentis as efter follous day zeir and plaise foirsaid befor thir witness^s Mr Gilbert Keyth in Auchquhorsk William Gardner Daid Kempt and Mr Thomas Gordoun sic subscribitur Merschell Johne Daidson James Walker Gilbert Darge Elspeth Nicolson Wm. Hay Gilbert Bodie fewares of Keith-Inche alias Peterheid with our handis at the pen led be the Connotares vnderwritten at our commandis becaus we could not wryt our selffis. *Ita est* Mr. Thomas Gordoun *connotarius publicus in præmissis de speciali mandato dictarum personarum scribere nescien ut asseruerunt ad haec manu propria rogatus et requisitus. Ita est etiam Willielmus Gardner notarius publicus in præmissis rogatus et requisitus teste manu me propria* Wm. Bodie w^t my hand Andro Gray wth my hand Mr. Gilbert Keith witness.

Extracted from the Records in his Majesty's General Register House, upon this, and the twentieth-five preceding pages, of stamped paper, by me, one of the keepers of these Records, having commission for that effect, from the Lord Clerk Register.

(Signed) WILL^M. ROBERTSON.

Deed IV.

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Contract between the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh, and the Feuars of Peterhead, 17 April 1775.

At Edinburgh, the seventeenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five years, in presence of the Lords of Council and Session, compeared Messieurs David Rae, and Charles Hay, Advocates, as Procurators for the parties after-named and designed, and gave in the contract under-written, desiring the same might be registered in their Lordships' books, conform to the clause of Registration therein contained ; which desire, the said Lords found reasonable, and ordained the same to be done accordingly, whereof the tenor follows :—IT IS CONTRACTED, finally ended, and agreed upon, betwixt the parties following, To wit William Tod, junior, Merchant in Edinburgh, present Treasurer to the Maiden Hospital, founded by the Company of Merchants of Edinburgh, and Mary Erskine, as being warranted, authorised, and empowered, by the Governors of the said Hospital, conform to their Minute of Sederunt, dated the twenty-fifth day of July, and thirty-first day of October last, to the effect after-specified, ON THE ONE PART ; and Thomas Arbuthnot, junior, James Arbuthnot, junior, William Forbes, and George Forbes, Merchants in Peterhead, William Robertson, Cooper in Peterhead, and Andrew Thom, Wright there—all feuars of the Town of Peterhead, for themselves, and as Trustees for, and in name of, the haill other feuars of the said Town, and as taking burden on them for the said feuars, and also as being specially warranted, authorised, and empowered, to the effect under-written, by a general meeting of said feuars, duly warned and convened for that purpose, conform to an extract of a Minute of Sederunt of said meeting, under the hands of the Preses and Clerk thereof, dated the fifteenth day of October last by past, ON THE OTHER PART ; in manner following :—That is to say, The said parties, taking under consideration that there are certain commonities, lying about the Town of Peterhead, of large extent, belonging, in property, to the Hospital, but subject to certain servitudes to the feuars of the Town of Peterhead, which in that state can be of small benefit to either party, and that it would tend greatly to the interest of both parties, to have the same divided betwixt them, that each party might be at liberty to improve their share thereof to the best advantage : Have now agreed to divide the same, as after-mentioned, and for that effect to grant these presents, in manner under-written ;—Therefore, and for payment of the yearly feu-duty after-mentioned, and in respect of the renunciation herein contained, granted by the said feuars on their part ; the said William Tod, as authorised and empowered, in manner foresaid, in implement of the foresaid agreement, upon the part of the said Governors, by these presents, *sells, annaizies* in feu-farm, letts, and perpetually dispones

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to, and in favour of, the saids Thomas Arbuthnot, junior, James Arbuthnot, William Forbes, George Forbes, William Robertson, and Andrew Thom, six of the present public managers for the Town of Peterhead, or major part of them who shall survive, or continue to act for the time ; and, in case of the decease of one or more of the before named persons, or their declining to act, to the survivors or survivor of them who shall continue to act, and in case of more than one surviving, the major part of them, as said is, and to their Assignees and Disponees, to be from time to time named, elected, and presented to them, by the feuers of said Town, in manner after-mentioned, [for themselves, as feuers of the said Town, in manner after-mentioned], for themselves, as feuers of the said Town of Peterhead, and as Trustees for, and in name of, the hail other present feuers thereof ; and of all such persons as shall, at any time hereafter, become feuers of the said Town or Lands, and the Heirs and Successors of all present and future feuers, in their said feus ; to be improved and applied, as the majority of the said feuers, at the time, and from time to time, shall think fit, for the public good and utility of said Town : But noways to be feued, sold, disponed, or alienated therefrom, in time coming ; and that irredeemably, without any manner of reversion or redemption whatever, All and Hail these parts and portions, of the said commonties of Peterhead, lying near the said Town, particularly after-mentioned, viz.—The field commonly called the Rae Moss Park, containing about fourteen acres, two roods, or thereby ; the north inclosure, commonly called the Buchanhaven Park, containing about seven acres, one rood : The middle inclosure, lying betwixt the Geddle and the Ive, containing about six acres, two roods : The south inclosure, lying betwixt the Ive and the Roneheads Park, containing about sixteen acres, with the three houses built thereupon, and possessed by James Webster, David Turrow, and May Stephen : The Braes lying betwixt the three last-mentioned inclosures and the sea, (but reserving to the Hospital the sole right and property of the sea-weed and ware, on these, as well as on all the other shores of the Estate, with the liberty of drying and burning them into kelp, or otherways, upon the shore banks, and of leading and away carrying the same, either in weed, ware, or kelp, by the roads used and wont ;) as also the House and Yard adjoining to the washing-green, possessed by William Morrison : The School-house, and that part of the School-yard, lying by east the line running from the west gavil of the School-house, northward, to the dyke of the inclosure presently possessed by William Milne, gardener : The Tolbooth and Ground, called the Tolbooth Green, lying within the Town of Peterhead : The Warehouse, and Shades adjoining thereto, situated at the west end of the sand bridge, leading from the Town to Keith-Inch ; (but which Shades are to be taken down, and removed, if hereafter judged necessary by the Governours ;) and the Flesh Mercat, and

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Slaughter-House, situated on the north side of the road opposite to said public Warehouse, all lying within the Parish of Peterhead, and Sheriffdom of Aberdeen ; with the teinds, parsonage, and vicarage of the said lands above disposed : Together with all right and title the Governours have, or can pretend, to the subjects hereby disposed ; but always with, and under the conditions, provisions, declarations, and reservations underwritten, appointed to be contained in the infestments to follow hereupon. Likeas, It is hereby expressly provided and declared, that it shall not be lawful to the persons above-named, nor to their successors in the right hereof, nor to the present and future feuers, or their heirs and successors, to sell, alienate, or dispone, any part of said lands, or to build or erect any more houses, tenements, or buildings whatever, upon any of the subjects above-disponed, (besides the three houses above-mentioned already built thereon), excepting fences for enclosing the ground ; and if they shall do in the contrary, all such alienations shall be void and null ; and such houses, tenements, or other buildings, shall, *eo ipso*, pertain, belong, and accress, to the Governours, as if built by themselves ; and with this provision, likewise, as it is hereby expressly provided and declared, that the disponees above-named, and the persons succeeding to them, in the right hereof, in time coming, shall be bound and obliged to denude themselves of the above subjects, by granting valid and formal dispositions thereof, containing all clauses requisite and necessary, in favours of such persons as shall be elected, named, and offered to them, by the feuars of the said Town, or the majority of them, compearing in a general meeting to be called for that effect—the said majority to be ascertained by the Minute of Sederunt of the said Meeting, or an Extract thereof, subscribed by the Preses and Clerk to the meeting ; and that whenever, and so often, as the persons in the right of the said subjects, at the time, shall be desired or required so to do in time coming, the same being always done upon the expense of the feuars ; and in case the persons presently put in the right of the subjects above disposed, or those succeeding to them therein, shall fail to denude, in manner foresaid, in their lifetimes, whereby it may become inconvenient for the feuars to exercise their right thereto, then the Governours of the said Hospital, and their successors, shall be obliged of new to dispone the foresaid subjects, to such persons as shall be chosen by the feuars, in manner foresaid, in the terms and according to the tenor hereof : And that as often as such new disposition shall be necessary, this being always done upon the expence of the persons demanding the same, and with warrantice from fact and deed only. And in case the Governours, or their successors, shall judge it necessary to raise a process of mails and duties, or proces of declarator of non-entry, anent the premises, after the decease of the persons in the right hereof, it shall be sufficient to call the apparent heir of the person last deceasing in the said

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right, or to call the feuers of Peterhead, by an edictal citation at the door of the Tolbooth of Peterhead, or door of the house or room, in Peterhead, where the feuers commonly meet for public business ; and that, whether the feuers be met at the time or not, a copy of citation being always affixed and left upon the door at which the citation is given : Declaring also, as it is hereby provided and declared, that neither the subjects hereby disponed, nor the rents and duties thereof, shall be subject or liable to the proper debts and deeds of the particular Disponees above-named, or of the persons who shall succeed them in the right hereof, as aforesaid, nor to any dilligence of the law to be used therefore ; all which debts, deeds, and dilligence, are declared void and null, as to any effect against the subjects hereby disponed ; and in case any such dilligence shall be used for affecting the same, the right of the persons for whose debts or deeds such dilligence shall be raised, shall, *ipso facto*, become void and null ; and the subjects hereby disponed shall, from thenceforth, wholly belong to the other persons who shall at the time be in the right thereof, against whom no such dilligence is used : And it is also hereby agreed and provided, That upon the decease of any of the disponees above-named, or of the persons succeeding to them in the right hereof, the right of the person or persons deceasing, shall thereby become void and extinct, and shall not transmit to the deceasing's heirs ; but the deceasing person's right of the premises shall always belong to the survivors, or survivor, who shall be in the joint right thereof with the deceasing, at the time of such decease : And it is hereby agreed to, by both parties, that the washing-house, and bleaching-green, consisting of about one acre of ground, lying on the Raehill, together with that part of the Little Links, lying betwixt the ground belonging to the New Kirk, on the east, and the Kirkburn, on the west, presently occupied as a bleaching-field, shall both remain, in common, to the feuers and inhabitants of the said Town of Peterhead, for the purposes of washing and bleaching only ; and shall lye open in all time coming, for the different accesses through the same, to the Hospital lands adjoining thereto : And it is further declared, and agreed to, by both parties, That the West Links, lying by west the Kirkburn, consisting of fourteen acres, or thereby, shall remain a commonty in time coming, as at present ; but always subject to the powers and priviledges competent to the Governours over the same, as superiors of the said Town and Proprietors of the Estate of Peterhead, by the original contract of feu of the said Town, entered into betwixt the deceased George Earl Marischall, and the original feuers thereof, dated the first day of June, fifteen hundred and ninety-three years : And it is further agreed to, by the feuers, that they, for themselves and successors, shall relinquish and give up all right of servitude and claims of every sort, on or over the rest of the commonty lands of Peterhead, including Meggs Moss, and the hill adjoining to Meickle Cocklaw, commonly called the

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Blackhill, and assign to the Governours the tacks presently subsisting upon the parts of the said commonty, so given up, in all time coming from and after the term of Martinmas last. And the said feuers, in like manner, acknowledge that the lands called the Roneheads, and Yards thereof, Harbours, Keys, Anchorage, Shore-dues, and Petty-Customs, and emoluments arising therefrom, are disposed and belong to the Hospital, as part of their estate; Nevertheless, the Governours, for encouragement of the feuers, and promoting the public good and utility of the said Town, hereby agree that the rents and profits of these subjects shall be received, and applied, by the feuers of the said Town, for the time being, or majority of them, for enlarging, building, repairing, and upholding the harbour, piers, shores, and other public works, within the Town, in time coming; but always under the inspection, and subject to the controul of the Governours, or such person or persons as they shall appoint, from time to time, to that purpose: In the which lands, teinds, and others, above-disposed, the said William Tod, as being specially warranted, authorised, and empowered, as said is, binds and obliges him, and the Governours of the said Hospital, his constituents, and their successors in office, duly to infest and cease the disponees above-named, and their foresaids, upon the said feuers their own charges and expences: To be holden of the said Governours, and their successors, as immediate lawful superiors thereof, in feu farm, fee, and heritage, for ever, for payment of five pounds five shillings sterling yearly, in name of feu-duty; and paying the like sum of five pounds and five shillings sterling, each twenty-fifth year, besides the said feu-duty, in lieu and place of the composition payable by heirs at their entry, and for that effect have granted the precept of sasine under-written: Which disposition above-written, and infestment to follow hereon, with the lands, teinds, and others, above-disposed, the said William Tod, as authorised, as said is, binds and obliges him, and the said Governours, to warrand to the said Trustees, and their foirsaid, at all hands, and against all deadly, as law will, and to free and relieve them of all ministers' stipends, school-master's salary, cess, and public burdens, payable for and out of the lands and teinds above-disposed, bygone, and in all time coming; and hereby assigns to them, for the use and behoof of all the present and future feuers, and their successors in their said feus, to be applied for the public good and utility of said Town, as foresaid, the rents and duties thereof, for all years to come, from and after the term of Martinmas last, which is hereby declared to be the term of their entry thereto: For which causes, and on the other part, the saids Thomas Arbuthnot, James Arbuthnot, William Forbes, George Forbes, William Robertson, and Andrew Thom, for themselves, and as Trustees for, and in name of the whole other feuers of the said Town, and as taking burden on them for the said feuers, and as being specially warranted, authorised,

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and empowered, by a general meeting of the said feuers, in manner above-mentioned, to the effect following, by these presents, in implement of the foresaid agreement, on the part of the said feuers, not only bind and oblige them, conjunctly and severally, and the whole feu of the said Town, their constituents and their successors in the right of the subjects above-disponed, to content and pay to the Governours of the said Hospital, or their successors, or to their Factors and Chamberlains, in their names, or Treasurer of the said Hospital, for the time being, the foresaid sum of five pounds and five shillings sterling, in name of feu-duty, for the subjects above-disponed, at the term of Martinmas, yearly—beginning the first term's payment thereof, at Martinmas, seventeen hundred and seventy-five, for the year preceding that term ; and so furth yearly thereafter, with the like sum of five pounds and five shillings sterling, each twenty-fifth year—to be reckoned from Martinmas, seventeen-hundred and seventy-four (besides the foresaid feu-duty) in lieu and place of the composition payable by heirs, at their entry, together with a fifth part more of the foresaid sum of liquidate penalty, in case of failzie, *toties quoties* : But also for the causes foresaid, have renounced, as they hereby renounce, up-give, over-give, and for ever discharge, to and in favours of the said Merchant Maiden Hospital, and their successors whomsoever, all right and priviledge, servitude, title, interest, claim of right, property and possession, of whatever kind, they, as feuers of the said Town of Peterhead, and the hail other feuers thereof, their constituents, or any of them, or their predecessors, and authors, or heirs and successors, ever had, presently have, or can pretend to, by virtue of the said original contract of feu of the said Town ; or by virtue of their several feu-rights thereof, or any other manner of way, in, upon, or over the said moss, called Meggs Moss, and the hill adjoining to Meickle Cocklaw, called the Blackhill ; or in, over, or upon, the whole or any part of the other commonty lands of Peterhead, (besides those hereby before disponed to the above disponees, for the behoof of the said feuers, and besides those reserved for washing and bleaching greens, and besides the West Links reserved to be a commonty, in time coming, all as before expressed) : Declaring hereby, the commonties discharged as above, to belong now, and in all time coming, to the said Hospital, as their absolute property, free and disburdened from all claim of right and servitude, of every kind, competent to the said whole feuers, or to any of them, any manner of way, in time coming : And the said feuers oblige themselves, and their said constituents, their heirs, and successors, to warrant this discharge and renunciation to the said Hospital, at all hands, and against all deadly, as law will : But reserving always to the feuers of the Town and lands of Peterhead, the liberty and priviledge of casting peats, in the mosses of Peterhead, (excepting Meggs Moss) in manner

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specified in said original contract of feu of the said Town, above-mentioned : And the feuers above-mentioned, hereby assign and make over, to the said William Tod, as treasurer foresaid, and his successors in office, for the behoof of the said Hospital, the rents, maills, and duties of the above commonties now given up to the Hospital, for all years and terms to come, from and after the term of Martinmas last, which is declared to be their entry thereto, by virtue hereof, with the current tacks entered into with the tenants thereof, during the haill space thereof yet to run, and all that is competent to follow thereupon ; and which tacks are herewith delivered up to the said William Tod : And both parties consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session, Register of Sasines, Reversions, &c. or others competent, therein to remain for preservation, and that all execution needful may pass hereon, in form as effeirs ; and constitute for that effect, (Messieurs David Rae, and Charles Hay, Advocates), their Prors., &c. : Attour to the effect the said disponees may be summarily Infest in the lands and teinds above disponed ; to and ilk ane of you conjunctly and severally, the said Governours, their Baillies, in that part specially constitute : It is their will, and they require you, that, incontinent these presents seen, ye pass to the ground of the lands above disponed respectively, and there give and deliver heritable state and sasine, actual, real, and corporal possession, of all and haill the foresaid parts and portions of the commonties of Peterhead, lying near the said Town, hereby disponed, viz. :— The field called the Rae Moss Park ; the north inclosure, called the Buchan-haven Park ; the middle inclosure, lying betwixt the Geddle and the Ive ; the south inclosure, lying betwixt the Ive and the Roneheads Park, with the three Houses built thereupon ; the Braes lying betwixt the three last-mentioned inclosures and the sea, (but reserving to the Hospital the sole right and property of the sea-weed and ware, on this as well as on all the other shores of the Estate, with liberty of drying and burning them into kelp, or otherwise, upon the shore banks, and of leading and away carrying the same, either in weed, ware, or kelp, by the roads used and wont) ; As also the House and Yeard adjoining to the washing green, consisting of twenty falls, possessed by William Morrison ; the School and Yeard thereof, of aforesaid ; the Tolbooth, and Tolbooth Green ; the Warehouse ; Flesh Mercat, and Slaughter House ; —all lying in manner foresaid, with the tiends, parsonage, and vicarage, of the same, to the saids Thomas Arbuthnot, James Arbuthnot, William Forbes, George Forbes, William Robertson, and Andrew Thom, for themselves, as feuers of the said Town of Peterhead, and as Trustees for, and in name of the haill other feuers thereof, or who shall become feuers thereof, as aforesaid ; and the heirs and successors of the said feuers, in their said feus, and that by deliverance to them, or their Attorney or Attornies, one or more in their

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names, bearers hereof, of earth and stone of the ground of the said lands respectively, and a handful of grass and corn for the said teinds, as use is, to be holden of the Governours of the said Hospital, and their successors, in feu farm, fee, and heretage, for ever ; paying, therefore, yearly, the said disponees above-named, and their successors in the right hereof, to the said Governours, and their successors, or their Chamberlains, in their names, or their Treasurer of the Hospital, for the time being, the foresaid sum of five pounds and five shillings sterling, in name of feuduty, at the said term of Martinmas, yearly—beginning the first term's payment thereof at Martinmas, seventeen hundred and seventy-five, for the year preceding, and so furth yearly thereafter, with the like sum of five pounds and five shillings sterling, each twenty-fifth year, to be reckoned from Martinmas, seventeen hundred and seventy-four, besides the foresaid feuduty, in lieu and place of the composition payable by heirs at their entry ; and with and under the whole conditions, declarations, provisions, and reservations, above-written, here holden as repeated, and hereby expressly appointed to be contained in the infeftments to follow hereon, for all other burden, exaction, or secular service, which can be justly exacted or required for or furth of the lands and teinds above-disponed, any manner of way, in time coming ; and this in no ways ye leave undone ; which to do, the said William Tod committs to you full power, by this precept of sasine, direct to you for that effect : In witness whereof, these presents (written upon this, and the ten preceding pages of stampt paper, by James Jollie, apprentice to James Forrest, Writer to the Signet,) are subscribed by both the saids parties, as follows, viz. :—By the said William Tod, at Edinburgh, the seventh day of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four years, before these witnesses, Edward Rutherford, Writer in Edinburgh, and the saids James Forrest, and James Jollie, and by the saids Thomas Arbuthnot, Junior, James Arbuthnot, Junior, William Forbes, George Forbes, William Robertson, and Andrew Thom, at Peterhead, the sixteenth day of December, and year foresaid ; before these witnesses, William Ferguson, Shipmaster in Peterhead, and Doctor David Wilson, Esquire, Physician there—the date, witnesses' names, and designations, being insert by Alex. Ellis, Writer in Peterhead. (Signed) Willm. Tod, Junr., Jas. Arbuthnot, Junr., Thos. Arbuthnot, Junr., William Robertson, William Forbes, George Forbes, Andrew Thom. Ed. Rutherford, witnes ; James Forrest, witness ; James Jollie, witnes ; Willm. Ferguson, witnes ; David Wilson, witnes. At Edinburgh, the twenty-second day of December, seventeen hundred and seventy-four years, the contract beforewritten was presented by James Jollie, writer in Edinburgh ; and is registered in the three hundred and twenty-fourth Book of the new General Register of Sasines, Reversions, &c., and on the 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 leaves of the same, conform to

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the Act of Parliament made thereanent, in June 1617, by me, Depute to Mr John Maule, Clerk to, and Keeper of, this said Register.

(Signed) ALEXR. ROBERTSON, Depute.

Extracted upon this, and the seventeen preceding pages, by

(Signed) JAMES PRINGLE.

DEED V.

Deed of Approbation and Grant, by the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh, in favour of the Baron Baillies and Council of the Town of Peterhead, 9 September 1829.

AT Edinburgh, the ninth day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine; In presence of the Lords of Council and Session, compeared Sir John Hay, Baronet, Advocate, Procurator for the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital, after-named and designated, and gave in the Deed of Approbation and Grant underwritten, desiring the same might be registered in their Lordships' Books, conform to law; which desire, the said Lords found reasonable, and ordained the same to be done accordingly, whereof the tenor follows:—I WILLIAM PATISON, Esquire, Merchant in Edinburgh, Old Dean of Guild of the said City of Edinburgh, and as such, Preses, *pro tempore*, of the Governors of the Maiden Hospital, founded by the Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, and Mary Erskine, Proprietors of the Estate, and of the Burgh of Barony or Town of Peterhead, in the County of Aberdeen, as being specially authorised and empowered by the Governors of the said Hospital, to the effect after-mentioned, conform to their Minute of Sederunt, dated the twentieth day of July last: Considering that, by the Original Contract, or Charter of Erection, of the said Town of Peterhead, entered into between the deceased George Earl Marischal, then Proprietor of the Estate of Peterhead, and Superior of the said Town, and the original feuars thereof, dated at Aberdeen the first day of June, fifteen hundred and ninety three, and registered in the Books of Council and Session, the seventh day of October, sixteen hundred and eight; It is agreed upon, that, "For gyding and rewling of the quhilk Brugh, the said Erle, and his "foresaidis, sall elect, nominat, and chuse, Baillies, Clerkis, and others "Officeares, necessares and meit for the governement of the samin, of the "nichbowris and feuars of the said Brugh, actual Indwellers for the tyme "within the same, the said Erle alwyse, and his foresaidis, remaining Proveist,

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“or od Baillie yairof :” That in consequence of the powers contained in the said Charter, the said Earls Marischal exercised the rights therein mentioned, and, by commissions under their hands, nominated and elected four Baillies, a Clerk, Treasurer, and Town Council, for the guiding and ruling of the affairs of the burgh, themselves remaining Provost or odd Bailie, and continued to make this nomination and election down to the Attainder of the last Earl, in consequence of his accession to the rebellion in seventeen hundred and fifteen : That subsequent to the Attainder of the said Earl, the succeeding proprietor of the Estate of Peterhead, as superior of the said Town, continued to elect Baron Bailies, and these Bailies were empowered to elect their own Clerks, and other Officers of Court ; and accordingly, from the year seventeen hundred and fifteen, till the year seventeen hundred and fifty-two, the Baron Bailies, with the assistance of the Feuars, managed the public affairs of the said burgh : That in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-two, the Feuars appointed a Committee of their number, to meet with the Baron Baillies, so as they might give their advice and assistance in the management of the affairs of the said burgh ; and the said Feuars continued thereafter to meet annually, upon the thirteenth day of April, or upon the next lawful day thereafter, and to appoint a Committee or Council for the ensuing year ; who, along with the Baron Bailies appointed by the Superiors, and the persons thus nominated by the Feuars, have since carried on the public business of the said Town, and managed the Revenue thereof, under the designation of “The Baillies and Public Managers,” and “The Baillies and Town Council of Peterhead :” That by another contract entered into between the Governors of the said Hospital, as superiors of the said Town, and the Feuars thereof, dated the seventh and sixteenth days of December, seventeen hundred and seventy-four, and registered in the General Register of Seisines, &c. at Edinburgh, the twenty-second day of the said month and year, The Governors conveyed to the said Feuars, the subjects therein mentioned, “to be improved and applied, “as a majority of the said Feuars, at the time, and from time to time, shall “think fit, for the public good and utility of the said Town, but always under “the inspection, and subject to the controul, of the Governors, or such person “or persons as they shall appoint, from time to time, for that purpose.” And also, considering that an application has been lately made to the Governors of the said Hospital, in name of the Feuars of the said Town of Peterhead, by authority of a general meeting of the said Feuars, held within the Town Hall of Peterhead, in terms of a previous advertisement, upon the thirtieth day of August, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, stating that for many years past the management of the affairs of the said Town, and the administration and disposal of its Funds, had been vested in the Bailie or Bailies thereof, appointed by the Governors of the said Hospital, and in four Merchant

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Councillors, two Shipmaster Councillors, two Trades Councillors, and a Treasurer, all elected by the Feuars of the said Town; And that, as the said Town had greatly increased in extent and population of late years, it would be of consequence to have a more direct sanction from the Governors of the said Hospital, as Superiors of the said Town, to this system of management, which should be placed under fixed regulations, for the better carrying on the same; And, considering that the Governors of the said Hospital are most desirous to give every aid in their power to every thing that may improve the internal government of the said Town, and promote its prosperity, they have agreed upon a report of a Committee of their number, who visited their Estate of Peterhead, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, and on hearing the correspondence on the subject which has since taken place, to give their sanction to the system of management which has been asked for: Therefore, and for carrying the said system of management into effect, I, in name and by authority of the Governors of the said Hospital, as Superiors of the said Town, and as being duly authorised and empowered, as aforesaid, do hereby ratify, sanction, and approve of the system of management on which the affairs of the said Town of Peterhead are at present conducted, and its funds disposed of and administered; And in name and authority of the said Governors, I appoint the said system to be continued in all time coming, That is, by, and in the persons of the Baron Bailie, or Baron Bailies, to be appointed by the Governors of the said Hospital, as Superiors of the said Town of Peterhead and Barony thereof, or the Superiors for the time being, together with four Merchant's Councillors, two Shipmaster's Councillors, two Trades' Councillors, with a Treasurer, all to be elected by the Feuars of the said Town, in manner and under the Regulations after-written; and which individuals, so to be elected, with the said Baron Bailie or Baron Bailies, are to manage and conduct the affairs of the said Town and Burgh, under the name, style, and title, of "The Baron Bailies and Council of the Town of Peterhead:" Declaring always, as it is hereby expressly provided and declared, that the said Governors shall have full power to elect any number of Baron Bailies they may judge fit, not exceeding four: And for carrying the said system of management more completely into execution, I do hereby, in name and authority of the Governors of the said Hospital, appoint the Rules and Regulations, after-mentioned, to be strictly followed and adhered to:—*First*, that upon the thirteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty, or upon the first lawful day thereafter, and upon the thirteenth day of April, or first lawful day following, in each succeeding year thereafter, the Feuars and Burgesses of the said Town, who shall be qualified and entitled to vote as after-mentioned, shall meet in the Court-room, or other convenient Public-room of the said Burgh, to be appointed for that purpose by the said Baron

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Bailies and Council of the said Burgh, and shall there choose, from among the Feuars and Burgesses of the said Burgh, who shall be qualified or entitled to be elected as after-mentioned,—Four Merchant's Councillors, to be chosen from among the Merchant Burgesses, two Shipmaster's Councillors, to be chosen from among the Shipmaster Burgesses, and two Trades Councillors, to be chosen from among the Trades Burgesses, and a Treasurer of the said Burgh ; and which choice shall be fixed and determined by a majority of the votes of the electors present ; the Treasurer standing first on the Roll of the said Councillors, the Merchant's Councillors next, the Shipmaster's Councillors next, and the Trades Councillors last ; and the Preses of the meeting which shall be held for the purpose of this election, shall determine the order in which the Councillors for the said respective classes, so elected, shall take precedence of each other, by casting lots in the presence of such meeting, and he shall afterwards cause a Roll to be made up of the Councillors in this order accordingly : *Second*, that the Councillors of the said Town who shall be first chosen in the month of April, eighteen hundred and thirty, shall continue in office till the thirteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-one, or first lawful day thereafter, when the Treasurer of the said Town, with two of the Merchant Councillors, and one of each of the other classes of Councillors who stand highest on the Roll, shall go out of office at the election to take place on the said thirteenth day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-one, or first lawful day thereafter, when the new Treasurer, with four new Councillors, shall be elected to supply their places, who again shall remain in office for the space of two years ensuing their election, and no longer, and so on in all time thereafter ; and at each election of new Councillors, the order of their precedence shall be fixed in the manner mentioned under article first, and their names shall be placed at the bottom of the Roll in that order accordingly ; and it shall be competent to re-elect Councillors retiring from office, by rotation, after having been one year out of office ; and it shall also be competent to re-elect the Treasurer every year, while he chooses to remain in office ; and in the event of a vacancy occurring at any time among the said Treasurer and Councillors, by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be competent for the said Baron Bailies and Council, to call a meeting of the Feuars and Burgesses, qualified as aforesaid, (such meeting to be held within four weeks after the date of such vacancy occurring), for the purpose of electing another Treasurer or Councillor, to supply the said vacancy ; and such Treasurer or Councillor so to be elected, shall take the place of the person dying or resigning, and shall remain in office so long only as that person would have continued in office, had he remained a member of the said Council : *Third*, that any four of the said Baron Bailies and Council of the said Town of Peterhead, shall be a Quorum ; and that in all cases, and at all meetings of the Baron Bailies and

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Town Council, and at all meetings of the Feuars and Burgesses, the senior Baron Bailie, if more than one, of the said Town of Peterhead, present for the time being, shall act and officiate as Preses of the said meetings ; and such Preses, besides his own deliberate vote, shall in all cases of equality of votes have also a casting vote, in all matters and questions that may happen to be agitated, and come before the said Baron Bailies and Council of the said Town, or before the Feuars and Burgesses ; and in case of the absence of the said Baron Bailie, or Baron Bailies if more than one, the Councillor whose name shall stand at the top of the List of Councillors for the time, or who shall stand highest in the said List, and who shall be present at such meeting, shall act as Preses at the said meeting, and shall in like manner have both a deliberative and a casting vote, in cases of equality : *Fourth*, that the qualifications necessary to constitute a Feuar and Burgess of the said Town of Peterhead, either for the purpose of voting at the election of the Councillors hereby appointed, or for being elected one of these Councillors, shall be regulated by, and shall be in strict conformity to, the qualifications described in the foresaid Charter of Erection, entered into between the said George Earl Marischal and the said Feuars, as more fully narrated, explained, and provided for, in the sixth and eighth sections of an Act of Parliament, passed in the eighth year of the reign of His present Majesty King George the Fourth, entitled “ An Act for more effectually enlarging and improving the Harbours “ of Peterhead, in the County of Aberdeen ; ” and such qualification shall be ascertained by a certificate, also in terms of the ninth section of the said Act : And lastly, It is hereby expressly provided and declared, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to take away, alter, change, or abridge, the rights, jurisdiction, power, controul, or authority of the Governors of the said Hospital, as Superiors of the said Town and Burgh of Barony, and Proprietors of the said Estate of Peterhead, or of the Community of Feuars of the said Town of Peterhead, in regard to the management of the said Town, and the administration and disposal of its Funds, heretofore exercised by them, in virtue of the said Contracts, Original Charters, or otherwise, except in so far as herein specially agreed upon ; but that the same, in so far as regards the rights of both parties, shall remain as entirely effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if these presents had never been granted ; and more particularly reserving to the Preses of the Governors of the said Hospital for the time, or the Proprietor and Superior of the Estate of Peterhead for the time being, the office of Provost or odd Bailie of the said Burgh, without the necessity of election, in terms of the foresaid Original Charter of Erection or Contract, between the Earl Marischal and the Feuars, in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three : And also declaring, that the whole Revenue, and other Emoluments and Customs of the said Town of Peterhead, shall be used

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and applied for the use and behoof of the said Town and Community thereof; but always under the inspection, and subject to the controul of the Governors of the said Hospital, or such person or persons as they shall appoint from time to time for that purpose. And I consent to the Registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session, or others competent, therein to remain for preservation, and constitute Sir John Hay Baronet, Advocate, my Procurator for that purpose: In witness whereof, these presents, consisting of this and the five preceding pages, all written on stamped parchment, by Andrew Milroy, Clerk to Messieurs James and Walter Jollie, Writers to the Signet, Conjunct Clerks to the said Hospital, are subscribed by me, at Edinburgh, the twenty-fifth day of August, eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, before these witnesses, James Jollie, and Walter Jollie, both Writers to the Signet. (Signed) Willm. Patison, Preses, P. T. Walter Jollie, witness, James Jollie, witness.

Extracted forth of the Records of the Court of Session in Scotland, upon this and the eighteen preceding pages of stamped paper, by me, Thomas Peat, Writer to the Signet, Principal Keeper of the Record of Deeds, Probative Writs, &c. conform to Act of Parliament.

(Signed) THO. PEAT.

DEED VI.

Constitution of the Feuars of the Town of Peterhead, 13 April 1881; 1st October 1889; and 4 May 1901.

THE following is the Constitution of the Feuars of the Town of Peterhead, holding under the Governors of the Maiden Hospital, founded by the Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh and Mary Erskine, Proprietors of the Estate of Peterhead, adopted at the Annual General Meeting of Feuars, held on 13th April, 1881:—

1. On and after the first Tuesday of May, 1882, the power and duty of managing the lands belonging to the Feuars of the said town, and the rents of the said lands, and all other monies and subjects belonging to the said Feuars, and of seeing to the proper application of the said funds for the public good and utility of the said town, shall be vested in a committee of Managers, consisting of the Preses of the Governors of the said Hospital for the time being, or the proprietor of the said estate for the time being, or, in the event of there being more than one proprietor, then a person to be nominated by a majority in number and value of such proprietors, the Provost of the burgh of Peterhead for the time being, and twelve persons to be elected by the Feuars of said town, holding under the said Governors, all as hereinafter provided.

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2. The twelve persons to be elected Managers shall be Feuars of the said town, holding under the said Governors, and shall be elected by the Feuars, qualified as holding under the Governors of the said Hospital, and the first election of such Managers shall take place on the first Tuesday of April, 1882, and the Managers so elected shall come into office on the first Tuesday of May, 1882, upon which day the said Managers shall hold a meeting; and of the Managers so elected, the four Managers who shall have received the smallest number of votes shall go out of office on the first Tuesday of May, 1883; the four Managers who shall have received the next smallest number of votes shall go out of office on the first Tuesday of May, 1884; and the remaining four Managers shall go out of office on the first Tuesday of May, 1885; and, in case of equality in the number of votes, or of there being no contest at the election, in consequence of the required number only having been nominated, the Managers shall, in either case, determine by lot which of their number shall go out of office in any year, and on the first Tuesday of May in each succeeding year the four Managers who shall have been longest in office shall go out of office; and on the first Tuesday of April, 1883, and on the first Tuesday of April in each succeeding year the said Feuars shall elect four persons to supply the places of the Managers going out of office as aforesaid; and the Managers so to be elected shall come into office on the first Tuesday of May after their successive elections, provided always that any of the retiring Managers, unless otherwise disqualified, may be re-elected.

3. Every person, resident or having a place of business within the said town, holding a feu in his own right, qualified as aforesaid, shall be qualified to be elected a Manager, and to be an elector and to vote for the election of Managers, but if any person should be nominated as a Manager, or should appear at the said elections and claim to vote in such election as to whose qualification there should be any doubt, then the returning officer to be after mentioned shall refuse to receive such nomination, or to accept such vote, until he shall receive sufficient proof as to the party's qualification. As to the sufficiency of such proof, the said returning officer shall be the sole judge.

4. The following rules shall be observed with respect to the election of the said Managers :—(1) The preses or chairman of the existing Managers in the year 1882, and the chairman of the Managers in every year thereafter, or some person appointed by him by writing under his hand, shall be the returning officer. (2) On every occasion of the election of Managers, the returning officer shall convene a meeting of electors for the purpose of nominating candidates—such meeting to be hereinafter called the nomination meeting—and shall give notice of such meeting, and of the time and place at which it is to be held, by advertisement in at least one newspaper published and circulated in the town, at least six days before such meeting. (3) Such

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meeting for the nomination of candidates shall be held not later than seven days, nor earlier than fourteen days previous to the first Tuesday of April in each year. (4) The returning officer shall preside at and regulate the proceedings of such nomination meetings, and also at the poll, if there should be one, as hereinafter provided. (5) At any such nomination meeting any elector may, if he consent thereto, be nominated as a Manager by any other elector, and such nomination may be seconded by any other elector. (6) If more candidates should have been nominated at the said nomination meeting than the number to be elected, a poll shall be taken on the first Tuesday of April for the election of the Managers, to be elected in manner hereinafter provided, previous to which the clerk to the Managers (who is to be elected in manner hereinafter provided) shall have caused a list of those proposed as candidates at the nomination meeting to be printed, and each elector on going to the poll shall be furnished with such a list, and shall have also caused intimation to be made that there is to be a poll by advertising the same in at least one newspaper circulating in the town; but if only the number of candidates to be elected be proposed, a declaration by the returning officer that such candidates are elected Managers shall be sufficient evidence of their election. (7) The returning officer shall, within two days after such election of Managers, make a return in writing to the clerk of the names of the Managers so elected.

5. The following rules shall be observed with respect to taking the poll at the election of Managers :—(1) The clerk shall be the polling clerk, and shall provide a suitable place for polling. (2) Votes shall be given personally, and each elector shall be entitled to give one vote for each Manager to be elected. (3) The poll shall open at twelve o'clock noon on the first Tuesday of April, and shall not close till three o'clock afternoon of the same day. (4) At the close of the poll the returning officer and the polling clerk shall sum up the votes, and as soon as possible publish the names of the persons elected Managers by advertisement in at least one newspaper circulated in the town. (5) If two persons have the same number of votes, and both cannot be elected Managers, it shall be decided by lot as to which shall be elected. **ADDENDUM I.**—1st October 1889—Alteration of the Third Item of Rule 5. By resolution passed at the Bi-Monthly Meeting of the Committee of Managers, held on the first day of October, 1889, in accordance with a remit from the Annual Meeting of the Feuars, held on 25th March, 1889, it was agreed, subject to the approval of the Governors of the Hospital to alter the third item of Rule 5 of the Constitution, to the effect of substituting Monday for Tuesday, and that the hours for Polling be from Eight o'clock A.M. till Four o'clock P.M., instead of from Twelve o'clock Noon till Three o'clock P.M. The Governors, by letter dated the 22nd October, 1889, having intimated their concurrence in these alterations, they were finally adopted at the Bi-Monthly Meeting of the

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Committee of Managers, held on 3rd December, 1889, and are now in force. ADDENDUM II.—4th May 1901—Further alteration on Rule 5, Item 3. At the Annual General Meeting of the Feuars Managers, held on 21st March 1901, it was agreed, subject to getting the consent of the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital to the alterations, that the mode of voting for the election of Managers should be by ballot instead of open voting as at present, and it was also resolved to alter the hours of voting to be from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m. in place of from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. as formerly. The Governors, by letter dated 4th May 1901, intimated their concurrence in the above alterations, and the same are now in force.

6. If any of the elected Managers die, resign, decline, refuse, become disqualified, incompetent to act, or cease to be a Manager from any other cause than that of going out of office in regular course as aforesaid, the vacancy thereby created shall be filled up in manner following—that is to say, the remaining Managers shall elect a person duly qualified in his stead, and in every case the Manager so substituted shall continue in office for the same period that the person in whose place he is elected would in ordinary course have continued, and at the expiry thereof he shall go out of office, but shall be eligible for re-election.

7. The rules above narrated, in so far as applicable, shall also apply to the election of the clerk to the said Managers, with this exception, that, in the event of more candidates than one being proposed at the said nomination meeting, a poll shall thereupon immediately be taken, and the chairman shall thereafter declare which of the candidates has been elected—the term of the said clerk's office to be for one year from the first Tuesday in May in each year.

8. All acts and proceedings of the Managers, or of any committee of the Managers, shall, notwithstanding it be afterwards discovered that there was some defect in the election of any such Manager or persons acting as Managers, or that they or any of them had become disqualified, be as valid as if every such person had been duly elected and was qualified to be a Manager.

9. The Preses of the Governors of the said Hospital, or other the proprietor of the estate of Peterhead, or any person nominated on behalf of the proprietors, if more than one, shall be *ex-officio* chairman of the Managers, or, in his absence, the Provost of the burgh shall be *ex-officio* chairman of said Managers; and a deputy chairman shall be elected annually at their meeting on the first Tuesday of May in each year; and at all meetings of the Managers the *ex-officio* chairman, and, in his absence, the deputy chairman shall preside, and, in the event of neither of the *ex-officii* chairmen nor the deputy chairman being present, a Manager shall be chosen as chairman of that meeting; and in case of an equality of votes at a meeting of Managers, the chairman presiding at such meeting shall, in addition to his own vote, have a second or casting vote.

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10. At all meetings of the Managers, five shall be a quorum, and no business shall be transacted at any meeting of the Managers unless a quorum shall be present at such meeting ; and every meeting of the Managers may be adjourned from time to time whether a quorum shall be present or not.

11. The Managers may hold special meetings, and the chairman, or in the absence of all the *ex-officio* chairmen, the deputy chairman, or in case of their refusal, any three Managers, may call such special meetings, or may require the clerk to call special meetings to be held.

12. All meetings to be held under the authority hereof shall be called or announced by cards or circulars, specifying the business to be transacted thereat, and the day, hour, and place when and where the same are to be held, and delivered to each of the Managers, or left at his usual place of abode, or place of business, or put into the post-office twenty-four hours before such meeting.

13. The Managers may at any meeting from time to time appoint committees for such purposes as, in the opinion of the Managers, would be better regulated and managed by means of such committees, and the Managers shall fix the quorum of such committees, and name the chairman, and may continue, alter, or discontinue such committees.

14. Every committee so appointed may meet from time to time, and may adjourn from place to place, as they may think proper for carrying into effect the purposes of their appointment, and shall at each meeting, in the absence of the chairman named by the Managers, appoint one of their number to be the chairman thereof, and all questions shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present, and in case of equality, the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a member of the committee.

15. At their meeting upon the first Tuesday of May in each year the Managers shall appoint one of their own number, or any other person duly qualified as a Feuar, to be a Director of the Peterhead Public Hall Co. (Limited) for the ensuing year.

DEED VII.

Edinburgh Merchant Company Endowments Order, 16th August 1909. Clause 15. Peterhead Feuars' Lands.

WITH respect to the lands hereinafter in this section specified (and referred to as "the specified lands") forming parts of the lands at Peterhead belonging in superiority to the governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital transferred by

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this Order to the education board and originally disposed in feu to trustees for themselves and the community of the feuars of Peterhead by contract entered into between the governors of the said hospital and the said trustees dated the seventh and sixteenth and recorded in the General Register of Sasines the twenty-second all days of December one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four and also registered in the books of Council and Session the seventeenth day of April one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five the following provisions shall notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the said contract or in any deed or instrument which has followed thereon have effect (that is to say):—

(1) The specified lands are the following (that is to say):—

(A) Raemoss Park extending to fourteen acres two roods or thereby;

(B) Buchanhaven Park extending to seven acres one rood or thereby;

(C) The middle inclosure lying betwixt the Geddle and the Ive extending to six acres two roods or thereby; and

(D) The southern inclosure lying betwixt the Ive and the Ron-heads Park extending to sixteen acres or thereby;

but excepting always from the specified lands any parts of the same which since the dates of the said contract have been sold and disposed:

(2) The specified lands are delineated and coloured pink on a plan thereof signed by the Right Honourable the Lord Pentland Secretary for Scotland a copy of which plan shall be deposited at (1) the office of the Secretary for Scotland Whitehall London (2) the office of the sheriff clerk of the county of Aberdeen at Peterhead and (3) the office of the education board:

(3) (A) Subject to the provisions of this section the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars may feu the specified lands or any part thereof and their vassals may erect and maintain buildings thereon but only for the purposes following (that is to say):—

For carrying on the business of fish curing or other industry Provided that such buildings shall unless otherwise agreed between the education board and the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars be used exclusively for these purposes;

For fishermen's houses Provided that such fishermen's houses as may be erected under the provisions of this section shall not exceed two storeys in height and no such house shall exceed in value five hundred pounds Provided further that the extent of the specified lands on which fishermen's houses may be erected as aforesaid

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- (including garden or other ground attached thereto) shall not exceed eight acres except with the previous consent in writing of the education board :
- (B) No buildings of any kind shall be erected in Raemoss Park without the previous consent in writing of the education board until the remainder of the specified lands has been feued :
 - (C) Before any part of the specified lands shall be feued the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars shall submit plans to the education board showing the lines of the proposed roads and drains and such plans shall have regard to and fit in as nearly as may be with the feuing plans of the adjacent lands belonging in property to the education board :
 - (D) The education board shall not incur any liability either to the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars or to the town council of Peterhead in connexion with the laying out of the specified lands or the formation of the roads and drains and the education board shall have a right of servitude so far as they deem it necessary through any lands of the said community of feuars for the drainage of any adjacent lands of the education board :
 - (E) No part of the specified lands shall except with the consent in writing of the education board be feued at a less rate of yearly feu duty than fifteen pounds per acre No grassum or duplicand of feu duty shall be charged in connexion with any of such feus and an obligation shall be imposed in the feu charters or other deeds which may be granted for the payment by the disponees of rates and taxes :
 - (F) The education board and their successors and assignees shall be entitled to payment of one-third part or share of the yearly feu duty payable in respect of every feu which may be granted in virtue of this section Provided that before the division of such feu duty into shares for the purpose of this section a deduction shall be made from such feu duty at the rate of three pounds per acre being the agreed amount of the present net yearly letting value of the land :
 - (G) The trustees and managers of the said community of feuars may with the consent in writing of the education board excamb such portions of the specified lands on such terms and conditions as may be agreed on :
 - (H) The trustees and managers of the said community of feuars may let such parts or portions of the specified lands with power to erect buildings thereon to be used only for the purpose of carrying on the business of fish curing or other industry subject to the condition that the education board and their foresaids shall in every such case of lease

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or let be entitled to payment of one-third part or share of the yearly rent payable in respect of any such let Provided that before division is made of such rent into shares for the purpose of this section a deduction shall be made from such rent at the said rate of three pounds per acre being the agreed amount of the present net yearly letting value of the land :

- (i) The free yearly revenue of the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars derived from the specified lands or any part thereof after deducting the sums payable to the education board or their foresaids shall be applied by the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars exclusively for the public good and utility of the town and harbours of Peterhead in accordance with the said contract in that behalf and according to the use and wont of the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars :
 - (j) No feus or lets of any part of the specified lands under this section shall be granted and no buildings shall be erected thereon until the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars have with the consent of the education board executed a declaration of trust or other instrument so as to give effect to and carry out the provisions and requirements of this section and to secure the interests of the education board and their forsaisds under this section and until such declaration of trust or other instrument has been duly recorded in the appropriate registers for preservation and publication :
 - (k) The trustees and managers of the said community of feuars shall annually on the first day of March or within one month thereafter commencing as at the first day of March one thousand nine hundred and ten forward to the secretary of the education board a full and complete statement of their accounts for the year or period preceding such date showing the amount payable under the provisions of this section to the education board or their foresaids and shall forthwith pay to them any sum which may be due :
- (4) If any dispute or difference shall arise between the education board and the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars as to any deeds or instruments which may be required to carry out the purposes of this section or as to the terms of any such deeds or instruments such dispute or difference shall be and is hereby referred to the professor of conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh for the time being whose decision shall be final and shall be binding on the education board and the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars :

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- (5) The education board and the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars may enter into agreements or other deeds or instruments for carrying out or giving effect to the purposes of this section ; and
- (6) Subject to the provisions hereinbefore in this section contained the said contract shall continue of as full force and effect as if this Order had not been confirmed and all rights not inconsistent with the provisions of this section competent to the education board or to the trustees and managers of the said community of feuars are hereby reserved.

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