

# The Tower and House of Drum, Aberdeenshire

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## ABSTRACT

*On the north side of the Dee and 10 miles to the west of Aberdeen lie the Tower and House of Drum. The nearest of the great houses of the county to the city, it was, from 1323 until 1975, when it was left to the National Trust for Scotland, the home of the Irvines of Drum.*

## THE FAMILY (illus 1)

The family first appears historically at the end of the 13th century in Ayrshire in the district around Irvine, where they held lands from the Bruces, Lords of Annandale. The founder of the Aberdeen branch of the family is believed to be the son of William de Irewine of Bonshaw, or at least of that branch of the family which was settled at Bonshaw. Tradition varies on this; in Dumfriesshire it is held that William's home was Woodhouse Tower, but in Aberdeenshire it has always been claimed that Bonshaw was the family home. And from one of these, William de Irewine's eldest son, also William, was in 1306 to follow Robert Bruce on the path which brought freedom to Scotland and Drum eventually to the Irvines.

William is said to have acted as Bruce's armour-bearer and secretary during the years of his rise to power, and the reward for his loyalty came on 1 February 1323 when, according to the charter still preserved at the castle, he was granted the Forest of Drum, which was shortly afterwards erected into a free barony in a charter of 4 October in the same year. There had only been one slight difficulty. The overly generous monarch had already granted the Forest to Alexander Burnards of Leys, from whom the family of Burnett of Leys and Crathes descends. This oversight was rectified by a charter of 28 March 1324 giving Irvine, amongst other things, the rights of pasturage in the lower Forest of Drum. This in time led to a certain amount of litigation but, and this is curious given the temper of the next four centuries, to little violence.

It is sometimes suggested that the tradition that William acted as the king's secretary is unlikely to be true given the general standard of literacy of the landed classes at the time, and without some supporting proof it would seem implausible. However, there is some circumstantial evidence; in 1328 a William de Irvyne was appointed Clerk of the Rolls, an office he held until 1331. There was also a Robert de Irwyn who was Clerk of the Wardrobe 1329–31. It is possible that these men were brothers, and were appointed by the king at the end of his life in order that his small son should have officers about him on whose loyalty the dying king could rely. It is not entirely accidental that the records suggest that these appointments terminated in 1331 with the invasion of Scotland and the usurpation of the crown by Edward Balliol.

The accounts of the family are, for the first 200 years, to a certain extent confusing. The various

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manuscript sources differ widely, and the two most serious writers on the subject, Lt Col Jonathan Forbes Leslie, and Sir Andrew Leith Hay are not very much better. Nor are matters made any clearer by the custom in the family of naming the eldest son Alexander and the second son Robert, with, however, the unwritten proviso that should the eldest son die before inheriting the estates – and indeed sometimes after inheriting them – his successor should assume the name of Alexander. This custom ended on the death of Alexander Forbes Irvine, 20th laird, in 1892. His eldest son had been christened Alexander, and on his death at the age of six his five-year-old brother had been given the name in addition to the three he had already received at his baptism. When he in his turn died at the age of 24 in 1875, the last surviving brother quite sensibly refused to continue a custom which in his case would have been absurd, and although there was a further opportunity to revive it in 1922 it was allowed to lapse. An additional factor that further complicated the story was the habit of marrying into the family of Keith, the Earls Marischal, and at the same time maintaining a bitter feud with that family.

The worst case of this confusion occurred with the death of Sir Alexander Irvine, third of Drum, who was killed on 29 July 1411 at the battle of Harlaw, when the levies of Angus, the Mearns, Mar, the Garioch, and Buchan together with the citizens of Aberdeen defeated a very much larger force of Highlanders and Islanders under Donald, Lord of the Isles. Sir Alexander certainly had a brother, Robert, and is supposed to have had two sons, also Alexander and Robert. Both Alexanders are said, by different traditions, to have been contracted to Elizabeth Keith, daughter of Sir Robert Keith, Earl Marischal, and similarly both Roberts – the Alexanders having been killed at Harlaw – are said to have changed their names to Alexander, and married the lady.

This story is based on the assumption that although Elizabeth Keith was either contracted or married to Alexander (father or son) the marriage had never been consummated, and that Sir Alexander fearing his own and his eldest son's death had arranged for her to marry either his own brother or his second son. There is almost certainly a basis of truth in the tradition. Earlier histories and genealogies support the view that the fourth Sir Alexander was the renamed brother of the third laird, whilst later writers tend to think that the fourth laird was a son of the third laird; others simply confuse them all. On balance it would seem that it was a son of the third laird who succeeded and who married Elizabeth Keith, since there is a marriage contract between her and Alexander Irvine of Drum dated 11 October 1411, three months after the battle, and both names appear on the Drum brass in St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen. This does not however throw any light on the question of which son he was. Probably tradition is right on this point and it was Robert who changed his name to 'Alexander', possibly for legal reasons (it would have saved rewriting the settlements and marriage contract) and started the family custom of the laird always bearing that name.

The fourth laird was appointed in 1439–40 Captain and Governor of Aberdeen, an office he held for a number of years, and which was never afterwards revived. He consolidated the fortunes of the family by various means, including obtaining a grant of the lands of Forglen from the Abbot and Abbey of Arbroath, a grant which carried with it responsibility of commanding the Abbey's vassals under the sacred reliquary of St Columba – the *Brecbannoch*. In the affairs of state he was of sufficient weight to be appointed one of the ambassadors who in 1423 were sent to England to negotiate the release of James I. That monarch, with the gratitude for which his house was famous, caused Sir Alexander two years later to be arrested with many others of the principal barons, and he was not released until the king had accomplished the destruction of the family of the Duke of Albany. Possibly it was felt that the Laird of Drum might not have been complaisant at such wholesale slaughter of the royal house.

Shortly before his death he had endowed, in 1456, the chantry and altar of St Ninian in the great Kirk of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, and in the south transept, still known as the Drum Aisle, had built a

monument to himself and his wife, consisting of two effigies in a canopied wall recess together with an inscribed memorial brass. The brass, which is still in the church, was ordered with the inscription but without the date, apart from the century, of his death. This was to be put on when that event occurred, a task neglected by his descendants. In the course of time, destruction and restoration the tomb canopy was taken down. The stones were rescued and removed to the chapel at Drum in the last century, and in 1951 the canopy was re-erected there.

His son having died Sir Alexander was succeeded in 1457 by his grandson, Alexander Irvine, fifth of Drum. Even by the unexact standards of the times he must be considered of a particularly ferocious disposition. His first wife Mariota, or Marion, Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes, had aroused his suspicions by her conduct with the chaplain sir Edward MacDowell. The laird fell on the wretched man and treated him with such savagery that a Royal Pardon was necessary – for the laird, not the chaplain, who by then was past help. The King's remission was granted to Alexander in the words *Pro crudeli dismembratione in suo loco de Drum Domini Edwardi Mak Dowell capellari*. It is not clear whether the chaplain was literally dismembered or merely reduced to that condition in which he could give no husband cause for further suspicion. Since the erring lady was still alive in 1494, and the laird married again it must be assumed that there was a divorce. There could not have been an annulment as the son of this first marriage succeeded. Alexander's second wife was a Lindsay out of Fife, from whence her father had been forced to flee for some criminal act too strong for his neighbours to stomach. By Alexander's first marriage there had been two sons and one daughter, and by the second eight daughters. Not content with this the fifth laird also fathered three sons and a daughter on one Nannys Menzies. Their names, David, John, Alexander and Agnes, are known, as the deeds of settlement providing for them survive.

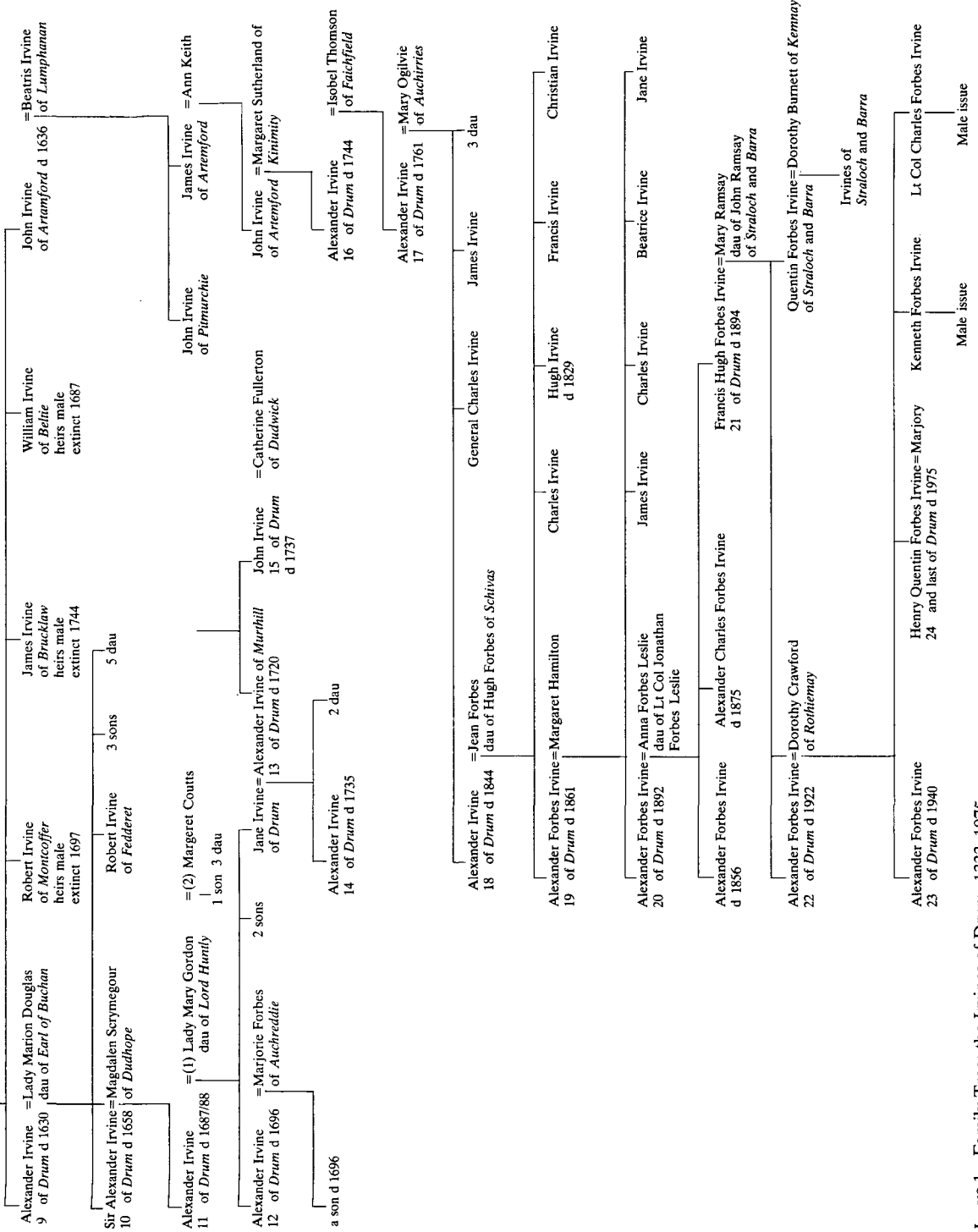
An act which was to embarrass the family for some generations was Alexander's action in throwing Sir Andrew Fraser of Philorth, his son and his servant over the bridge of Balgowrie. As this resulted in the payment of compensation over a number of years it cannot have been regarded as an acceptable piece of baronial mayhem. For all these crimes he was pardoned in 1487.

Neither the sixth nor seventh lairds were men of any great interest, and history, except in the matter of the death of Alexander, eldest son of the seventh laird and killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, hardly touched Drum. However, with the succession of the eighth laird in 1553 the castle and family once again reflected the history of Scotland. In 1573 the lands of Fedderet were granted to the Irvines by the earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland. As these had been in the possession of the Crawfords for many years it was an unusually tactless thing to do and, as could have been foreseen, did not contribute to the peacefulness of the area. In fact a full-blooded feud developed, leading in 1591 to the forceable ejection of the Irvines from Fedderet by the Crawfords, who hardly helped their own cause by seizing John Fairwedder, the King's messenger, and forcing him 'to the great hazard and peril of his life' to eat the royal letters. At this outrage James VI issued a commission to Lord Huntly authorizing him to attack the Crawfords at Fedderet and to restore the castle to Alexander Irvine.

The following year Irvine was appointed one of the councillors to George, Earl Marischal, to advise and guide him in his task of bringing the Catholic earls of Huntly, Angus and Errol to justice and routing out the Jesuits and priests from Aberdeen, Banff and the Mearns. With his followers the laird was present at the battle of Glenlivet, where the royal forces were beaten.

There is also a chapter in the life of the eighth laird which is normally glossed over, if not totally ignored by the family historians. In 1597 Scotland was gripped by the madness of the witch hunts, and the north-east did not escape. Alexander Irvine was amongst those who received the confession of Andrew Mann who pleaded guilty to serious acts of witchcraft, including that of lying with the Queen of Elphen, and he was almost certainly involved in the proceedings against Katherine Gerard, who, on the confession and accusation of Margaret Grant, was indicted for 'the develish murdering of John





ILLUS 1 Family Tree: the Irvines of Drum, 1333–1975

Lamb, servant to the laird of Drum'. Before this horror had passed away one man and 23 women had been condemned to death. Although some escaped the flames by suicide, or by death in the Tolbooth or at the hands of the common hangman, the greater number were burnt. The place of execution was in the area of what is now Commerce Street, and the stench of burning flesh and the screams of the victims reached all parts of Aberdeen.

With the succession of the ninth laird in 1603 a fresh wind blew through Drum, blowing away the bigotry, ignorance and savagery of the old century, and heralding, for a time at least, and in spite of a feud with the Forbes, a happier period. This did not apply always to the lower orders but at Drum, both at the castle and in the parish, there certainly seemed to be a note of comfortable frivolity which did not always meet with the approval of the Kirk. The new laird appears to have been kindly and generous, although whether Sir Samuel Forbes's description of him as being a plain man living decently is altogether just, must be a matter of opinion. He was nicknamed 'Little Breeks' though this may refer less to his simplicity of dress than to his having adopted the more fashionable form of nether garments prevailing on the continent at the time.

His assistance was called for soon after his succession by the Presbytery of Aberdeen; the minister of Drumoak, Richard Ross, was not proving entirely satisfactory – it was felt he might do better if he minded his book more and the ale house less – and the laird was considered to be the best person to deal with the matter. Not so satisfactory was the case of Alexander Anderson of the Walk Mill of Drum, who, in 1608, together with other folk was accused of entertaining Egyptians within his house. The defence was that this was done with the full warrant and commandment of the laird and his lady. Anderson was ordered to produce this warrant in writing. Presumably he had sheltered a troop of tumblers and fortune tellers who had been entertaining the greater folk at the castle. Perhaps the offence had been compounded by having taken place on one of the many fast days on which the laird had received licence for himself and those at his table to 'eat and feed upon fleshes'.

At the end of his life the ninth laird left a generous legacy to Marischal College and to the town's Grammar School, endowing bursaries at both institutions with 10 000 pounds Scots money. This legacy was to be the subject of a law suit in the 19th century, which went against the family.

His most important work, however, was building the new wing to the house of Drum. Although it bears the date 1619 it was probably started some years earlier and all the indications are that it was the work of one of the masters of the Bell family. In all likelihood the designer was the same John Bell who was the designer and builder of Craigston and of the additions to Castle Fraser.

There was no reason to have supposed on the succession of the 10th laird in 1630 that his life should not prove to be as peaceful and prosperous as that of his father. Unfortunately for him the blind stupidity of Charles I precipitated the Civil War, and although all the evidence suggests that the laird was a man who had no wish to adopt partisan attitudes, his natural tendency to episcopacy and the rash and uncontrollable behaviour of his two sons eventually drew on him the wrath of the Covenanting party.

In 1634 Alexander Irvine received his commission as Sheriff of Aberdeen for the following year, and he continued to be reappointed for the next nine years. This office should have afforded him an honourable neutrality but neither honour nor neutrality were respected during the Troubles, and for the next 12 years the history of the family and the castle is part of the history of the town and of the county. In September 1638 Charles I issued his order, from Oatlands, to proclaim the new service book and requiring all men to subscribe to the Confession of Faith. This was read in Edinburgh and there were immediate objections. In spite of these, and the attendant disorder, the King's Commissioners ordered the proclamation to be read throughout the country, and in Aberdeen the magnates whose responsibility this was were the Earl Marischal, the Marquess of Huntly, the Earl of Errol, the Lords Forbes and Fraser, and Alexander Irvine of Drum. On Friday 5 October Rothesay Herald

published the proclamation at the Mercat Cross, where it was supported by Huntly, his sons and friends, and Drum, but opposed by Lord Forbes and Lord Fraser. However, the townspeople shouted for Huntly and on 8 October both Colleges and the town had subscribed. The winter passed without open hostilities but by February 1639 it was clear that peace could not hold for long and on the 13th of the month Drum was in Aberdeen to discuss with Lord Huntly and others of the King's party what measure should be taken to protect the town, and to contain the covenanting lords who were assembled at Turriff.

By March it was clear that, although Gordon of Cluny had returned with some arms, the King's praise of the people and Doctors of Aberdeen, his promises of help would be of no avail and a despairing panic seems to have taken possession of the town. On the 22nd the Bishop, fearing the Covenanters, fled from his palace to the safety of New Aberdeen; the College followed and the town began to cave in. On the 25th more fled, including, according to Spalding, 60 of the bravest men and youths, who took with them one of the town's colours and John Park the Drummer. With them went the Doctors, the laird of Drum, and his two sons. The Bishop followed two days later.

In view of the behaviour of Lord Huntly, the King's Lieutenant, it is hard to blame them. He had 'haistellie resolved to leave Aberdeen in the midst of their distress', and instructing his servants to 'flit and to remove themselves goods and gear to Strathbogie' joined them at that castle having left his troops at Inverurie. The town was now undefended and Montrose entered it on 6 March. He was joined by Argyll, whose men were ordered to live on, or rather off, the lands of Drum and others of the King's supporters. Five hundred of these Highlanders were quartered at Drum, where 'they wanted not an abundance of beef, mutton, and other good fare for little pay'.

However, by 13 May things changed; the Gordons and their supporters fell on the Covenanters at Turriff, and routed them. Two days later they entered Aberdeen, and it was now the turn of the Covenanters to hide their goods and to flee, which they did, except for Provost Alexander Jaffray 'who for shame could not well flee'. With this apparently happy turn of events Drum returned to Aberdeen on board a collier, landing on 6 June: he was not to be secure for long. In April 1640 it was rumoured that General Monro was being sent by the Estates to the north-east, ostensibly to guard the country but in reality to plunder and oppress the royalists. As a result Irvine of Drum is said to have taken measures to fortify his house. Since there are no signs of these measures to be seen in the buildings they may have been nothing more than the taking in of stores of weapons, powder, shot and food.

On 2 June General Monro was in Aberdeen and gave orders for the townspeople to bring to the Tolbooth tools which would be suitable for mining and demolition. His intention was to take Drum, and he may have been misled as to the strength of the castle. On arriving before the castle two of his men were shot, and the garrison was called upon to surrender. The laird being from home Lady Drum asked for time, first to consider it herself, and then to seek her husband's views. As it was by now late in the day she was granted a truce of 24 hours. For some reason she decided, without waiting to hear from her husband, to surrender upon terms. The garrison were free to depart with their arms and baggage, whilst she, with her children and serving women, was allowed to remain in one room. General Monro left Drum on 5 June leaving a garrison of 40 men behind. Spalding rather unkindly comments, 'Mony mervallit that this strong weil provydit house sould so sone renderit without schot of pot piece or ony danger' but it is difficult to see how the house could have been defended against a force equipped apparently with mortars. The garrison that remained at Drum lived at first on the provisions with which the house was well supplied, and then upon the rents of the tenants, which at this time would mostly have been paid in kind.

On 9 June the laird came into Aberdeen and surrendered to General Monro and the Earl Marischal. He was sent prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was lodged in the Tolbooth and fined 10 000

marks. Meanwhile having plundered Aberdeen legally Monro and the Marischal left the town on the 13th and spent the rest of the summer looting and oppressing the countryside. The lands of Drum suffered particularly badly, and the unfortunate tenants were obliged to pay their Barony dues to, and take new leases from, the Marischal as *Dominus fundi*.

After his release from the Tolbooth and the return of his son from England, where he had gone to seek help from the King, Drum was able to live quietly at home for a while, though in what condition that home was in is not clear. Spalding's description of it is that, 'during the time of his imprisonment his house was totally spoiled, and the whole goods and plenishings within the same taken away to the value of thirteen thousand pounds Scots'. Judging by descriptions of the second sacking of the castle either this is an exaggeration, or the laird had remarkable powers of recovery.

1643 passed reasonably quietly, and Drum continued to carry out his duties as Sheriff; in addition, and in spite of his royalist sympathies, he was one of the commissioners for Aberdeen, and in June he was appointed a convener for the Shire in connection with raising the tax and loan of 130000 marks that had been levied. But the temper of the times was such that it was impossible for any moderate man to avoid being embroiled, and his position was made much more difficult by the behaviour of his two sons, the elder in particular, who by marrying Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of Lord Huntly, ensured that the laird's interests would, whether he liked it or not, be closely linked to the fortunes of the Gordons, or with those of Montrose, who, now he had changed sides, had become the most extreme of the King's supporters.

In December, the month of his son's marriage, Drum was charged, as sheriff, to apprehend Sir John Gordon of Haddo, which he failed to do since the charge was repeated early in January 1644. On the 17th of the same month he was charged to apprehend Lord Huntly; this he avoided doing on the grounds that Huntly was at the Bog, which was outwith the Sheriffdom, but this was a legal quibble and brought him under the suspicion of the Covenanting party. One person at least understood his difficulties; George, Lord Gordon who was on very bad terms with his father, Lord Huntly, writing to Gordon of Straloch from Aberdeen on 18 March, said:

I have, before writing of this, sent my free opinion to Drum concerning his son, his idle meddling; and so if he neglect the same he cannot be hereafter excusable. I have further added that he have a special eye so that his son does not engage his friends, which, if it be, cannot but absolutely reflect upon himself more than any other . . .

These were prophetic words for on the following day Drum's two sons, together with Gordon of Haddo and Gordon of Gight, raided Aberdeen, seizing the Provost, some of the Baillies, and the Dean of Guild and carried them prisoner to Strathbogie and Auchindoun where they were held for six weeks. Their houses were plundered and horses stolen, and so violent was the behaviour of the raiders that Alexander Jaffray's wife died of fright and grief.

The remainder of the year was to prove disastrous both for the laird of Drum, and for the town of Aberdeen. Huntly arrived in Aberdeen towards the end of March and amongst his followers were the two young Irvines, 'but the old laird of Drum baid still at home and miskenit all'. Initially Huntly had 500 men with him, but Spalding notes that by 5 April this force had increased to close on 1000, and that 200 horse and 800 foot soldiers were being drilled on the links. In the intervals Huntly's enemies were being plundered and it was reported that the Forbeses were flying in all directions. Young Alexander Irvine's behaviour was little better than that of a common thief. Apart from skirmishing and plundering in Montrose, and stripping John Kennedy of Kermuck and his tenants of arms and horses he had distinguished himself by lifting Dr Gouldie's saddle horse. The good Doctor had been minister in Aberdeen and in 1638 had subscribed to the covenant 'with limitations of loyalty and no hatred to episcopacy', but this moderation was of little help.



Inevitably Huntly's activities had brought the Covenanting forces into the district, 2900 men from Angus and the Mearns under the Earl Marischal, Viscount Arbuthnott and the Lords Kinghorn and Carnegie, were supported by 400 horsemen under Argyll and a further 500 soldiers under Lord Leven. These two last bodies appeared before the castle of Drum which was held by old Lady Drum and her daughter-in-law Lady Mary, Argyll's niece, the laird being absent. What happened next is best taken from Spalding:

. . . You heard of the Marquis of Argyll's coming to Drum, and of the Earl Marischal's coming to him, and the Irish Regiment; which Levied upon the Laird of Drum's victuals and goods.

The Marquess shortly removed the two ladies and put them out of the door by force – although the younger lady was his own sister's daughter – with two grey plaids about their heads. All the servants were also turned out of doors. The ladies came in upon two work horses in a pitiful manner to New Aberdeen, and took up their lodging with the goodwife of Auchluncart, then dwelling in the town. Then the runagate Irish soldiers fell to and plundered the place of Drum in which was a store of household plenishings and rich furniture, and all other necessary provisions. They left nothing that could be carried, and broke down the stately beds, tables and timber work. They killed and destroyed the livestock, black cattle, sheep and cows for their meat. They broke up the girnels where they found plenty of meat and malt. They found buried in the yard at Drum a trunk full of silver plate, goldsmith's work, jewels, chains, rings and other ornaments of great worth, and estimated above 20,000 pounds, and part of this was seen in Aberdeen . . .

After this the castle was garrisoned by a detachment consisting of a captain and 50 muskets who continued to live upon the laird's plundered goods. The description continues:

. . . Thus is the ancient house of Drum oppressed, spoiled, and pitifully plundered without any fault having been committed by the old laird, but only because of his two sons following the house of Huntly, and as was thought sore against his will. This is always to be noted as the Marquis of Argyll's first piece of service without love or respect to his sister's daughter, or the innocence of the old Laird of Drum . . .

After this Drum was given permission by Argyll and the Earl Marischal to live with his married daughter at Fren draught. At the same time Argyll sent a regiment of his known as the *Clengeris* or *Cleansers* to cleanse Drum's lands in Cromar. They clengt so successfully from May to July that the area was stripped clean and the tenants reduced to the most miserable condition. In spite of this the laird was striving to carry out his duties as Sheriff and on 24 May was at the Tolbooth of Aberdeen with other barons of the covenanting side to agree measures for summoning all disaffected persons to appear to give bonds for themselves and for their behaviour, and it can have been no comfort to him that a price of 18000 marks had been set for the capture of his eldest son, and 9000 marks for his younger son.

Drum itself remained garrisoned and the troops there, who had received no pay in spite of the promises made to them before they left Ireland, threatened to come in and plunder Aberdeen. This was avoided as they were bought off by the payment of 1000 dollars.

The last events in this tragic story were now about to take place. On 15 June the two young Irvines, together with Lady Mary and her attendants and some other Irvine relations took ship from Fraserburgh. Because Lady Mary was so ill from sea-sickness the boat put in on the Caithness coast some two miles from Wick, where the whole party was taken by Francis Sinclair, son of the earl of Caithness, and a kinsman of Lady Mary. Neither the ties of blood nor the instincts of a gentleman were sufficient to withstand the attractions of the sum of 31000 marks which was the total reward for the four Irvine men. He brought his prisoners to Aberdeen from whence on the 20 August they were sent south to Edinburgh. Sinclair stayed on in Aberdeen hoping to collect his reward, but in the end, either the result of public opinion or because of a shortage of funds, he received only 5000 marks, which hardly covered the expenses of the journey home for himself and his men.

At this time the castle and place of Drum had a narrow escape: on 9 August it was proclaimed at the Cross in Aberdeen that Drum, together with Abergeldie, Aboyne and other houses was to be cast down to the ground, but anyone who wished to see these houses 'undemolished' and was prepared to guarantee with a large sum of money that they would not be used by the country's enemies might take possession of them. This amounted, unless the owners could find the money, to outright confiscation. No one is recorded as having come forward, and the houses survived. Either likely guarantors realized the legal problems that such an action would produce, or events were moving too quickly.

The appointment by the king of the newly created Marquess of Montrose as Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and his commission to descend on the Covenanters with fire and sword, and either to bring them under submission, or to destroy them all, lives, lands and goods, added a further threat to the already battered country. The news of his march north after his victory at Tibbermuir and capture of Perth on 2 September was ill-received in Aberdeen. The departure of Argyll with the bulk of his forces had left the north-east largely without troops except for those which could be raised locally, and which were without experienced commanders. The Committee of Aberdeen had appointed George, Lord Gordon, as Lieutenant-General of the North-East. This was objected to by Lord Forbes and Lord Fraser, and others of their party, who refused to follow him. To placate them the Committee chose Lord Forbes as *crouner* (a species of Colonel in this instance), which infuriated Lord Gordon so much that he deserted to Montrose. Lord Forbes had served in Germany and Ireland, but had only recently returned to Scotland, and Lord Fraser was chiefly remarkable for running away. The loss of Lord Gordon's troops seriously weakened the forces for the defence of the county, and the outlying garrisons, including that at Drum were called in. The citizens who were wise sent their money and goods to the safety of Dunnottar and grumbled about the taxes being imposed on them for the defence of their town. So desperate was the Committee to raise money that it was considering levying taxes on the 'Wealthy Widows' of Aberdeen, a class hitherto exempt.

On 6 September, having failed to take Dundee, Montrose moved north through Angus and the Mearns, and crossed the Dee on the 11th at the Mill of Drum. On Friday 13th Aberdeen was summoned to surrender. The Provost and Council refused but by a tragic mistake Montrose's drummer was shot as he was returning with this message. This was unforgivable by the laws of war and, by the standards of the time, justified no quarter being given to the defeated forces. The battle took place between Justice Mills and the city, and the fight lasted for two hours before the town's defenders broke. Unfortunately the Provost, Patrick Leslie, ordered them to hold the town, whilst he made his own escape on horseback, as did most of the other commanders. This brought the Highlanders (Irish) into the town itself, which they had been promised for plunder. Since they were unable, or unwilling, to distinguish between townsmen or soldiers over a hundred citizens were cut down in the streets and in their houses. A number of women were raped and others carried off prisoners to the Highlanders' camp for the use of the soldiers. The sack lasted throughout the four days of Montrose's occupation, ending only as his troops marched out on Monday 16. The following day Argyll, who had marched north from Brechin, arrived at Drum, where he spent the night. His troops, to the number of 300, were quartered on the shattered town, and on the first night drank all the remaining stale ale.

Argyll, before moving on to Strathbogie, remained two nights at Drum, where his troopers plundered it of corn and cattle. The destruction was to be continued by the foot soldiers who followed him; by the time they had finished there were neither cattle nor corn to be found anywhere on the laird's land either at Drum or Cromar; surprisingly the gardens at Drum had survived until now, but these in their turn were destroyed in order to provide materials for the soldiers' huts. Hardly had Argyll withdrawn than Montrose was back crossing the Dee again at the Mill of Drum, plundering and firing the countryside.

By now Drum was uninhabitable for not only was it stripped but there is evidence to suggest that part at least of it had been thrown down, and Lady Drum, with her husband and both sons now prisoners in Edinburgh, remained in the comparative security of New Aberdeen. For her 1645 was a sad year, for although her husband was released from prison in May, her eldest son remained a captive, and Robert, her younger son died in the Edinburgh Tolbooth in February.

Sir Alexander Irvine returned to a plundered and garrisoned house and to a shattered estate crippled by fines amounting to £8000 sterling. For the remaining years of his life he continued to be harried at law, largely for the benefit of Lord Fraser who was awarded the sum of £50 000 Scots against him, and to be persecuted by the Kirk for denying the perfection of the Aberdeen Presbytery and for suspicion of papistry, until he was driven to appeal, like St Paul to Caesar, to General Monk for justice and protection when, in 1652, he was excommunicated (appendix A). For the last six years of his life he seems to have been left undisturbed to enjoy what little he was able to salvage from the once ample revenues of his estates.

Sir Alexander was not the only one to incur the anger of the Presbytery of Aberdeen. Amongst a rash of excommunications launched in May 1656 three of his tenants suffered; James Irving and Janet Dickie for popery, and Alexander Lightowne for deserting his married wife and going away with a whore. These sins were not near so picturesque as those of two good souls, Isobel Law and Margaret [?] in the neighbouring parish of Skene, where one had been excommunicated for quintilapse in fornication, and the other for gross cursing and swearing, several whoredoms, haunting with troopers *and* profanation of the Sabbath day: merry ladies no doubt, who suffered the occupational hazards of their profession. As others had suffered for the sin of trelapse and quadrilapse in fornication elsewhere in the Presbytery it would seem that human nature had not been quite brought under control.

This vindictive persecution was continued after Sir Alexander's death, against his son, Alexander, the 12th laird. In April 1660 he was accused of papistry and threatened with excommunication. He asked that the sentence might be deferred until such time as he had been able to study a copy of the *Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland*, which had been sent to him, and which the multiplicity and necessity of his affairs had prevented him from doing. This plea was accepted on the condition that he would not speak to any Jesuits in the meantime, and that until the next synod in October the Presbytery should hold frequent and entertaining conference with him. In view of the laird's temper it was perhaps as well that the Restoration intervened to distract men's minds.

His father, it is believed, had been offered the earldom of Aberdeen, but because he had refused to subscribe to the Covenant this had never passed the Great Seal.

On the restoration of Charles II the new laird, who had been a far more active royalist than ever his father was, is said to have been offered the same earldom, but the restless agitating spirit which had contributed so much to his father's discomfort had not deserted him. He petitioned that he should be given the precedence that he would have enjoyed had his father been the first creation, and he also asked for compensation for the losses he had sustained, and that this should be at the expense of the estates of his enemies. This could hardly be done without disturbing the careful policy of peace towards all which Charles II was attempting to follow, and in any case would have immediately raised the question of compensation due to those whose estates had been plundered by Alexander Irvine in his turn. The tradition is that as it was impossible to support the dignity of the title without the money he refused it. In the end the first earl of Aberdeen was to be Sir George Gordon of Haddo, son of Drum's old comrade in arms, Sir John Gordon of Haddo.

Probably the laird was embittered; certainly he was impoverished, and in 1676 in order to pay the most pressing of his debts he was obliged to sell the barony of Kelly and the estates in Forfar. For Kelly he received the considerable sum of £11 000 sterling. If his public life was embittered his private

life became equally so. After the death of his first wife, Lady Mary Gordon, he was married again, in 1681, to Margaret Coutts, who was 16 years old, and some 47 years younger than he was. Nothing has ever been laid against her morals, and her intelligence and integrity were such that the laird appointed her one of the trustees of the estate for his heir, the son of his first marriage: but she is supposed to have been the daughter of a shepherd and an attendant on his first wife. If this humble background offended his family it would account for his behaviour towards them over the disposition of the estates.

Under an earlier settlement these were devised, if the direct line failed, on the Irvines of Montcoffer, of Saphock, of Beltie and of Artamford representing the families descended from the four younger sons of Alexander Irvine, eighth of Drum who had died in 1603. Under a new settlement, the charter for which was drawn up under the Great Seal in 1684 the three senior lines were excluded completely and the Artamford branch was passed over in favour of a more distant line, that of Irvine of Murthill. This strange settlement made no provision for any son of his second marriage succeeding, and like all such settlements made in anger and malice was productive of a great deal of harm in the end to the family.

On his death in 1687 Alexander was succeeded as 12th laird by his son Alexander Irvine. In this laird the violent and volatile nature of his father had degenerated into near imbecility and to guard against this his father had appointed trustees, but although the estates could be protected the laird himself was not safe from unscrupulous men, and one of the most unscrupulous amongst those battenning on him was Professor Robert Keith. Robert Keith started by taking a bond for £10000 pounds Scots from his niece, Marjory Forbes of Auchreddie, and then arranged a marriage between her and the laird. In order to save time, which was essential, and to prevent any other of the interested parties interfering, he performed the ceremony himself. They certainly interfered as soon as this was possible but the *Privy Council* finding that there was neither madness nor drunkenness on the part of the laird, and taking into account the somewhat idiosyncratic customs pertaining to marriage in Scotland, decided that the wedding should stand. This was something of a non-proven verdict since it was also decided that the management of the estates should be vested in the laird's brother-in-law, Leslie of Balquhain. The laird was thus considered competent to manage his propensities but not his properties. However, the excellent intentions of the *Privy Council* were thwarted when it was discovered that the old laird had executed an earlier deed naming most of the interested parties as trustees.

Then followed some years later perhaps the most sordid episode in the history of Drum. The *Privy Council* had continued to keep the affairs of Drum in its eye, and when, in 1695, it became clear that Marjory Forbes was pregnant, a commission was appointed to examine the matter. This investigation had been pressed for by the lady herself, who was clearly frightened by the attitude of Alexander Irvine of Murthill, whom she accused of attempting to occasion an abortion. The commission, which was of great respectability, was appointed on 3 December 1695 with orders to report by 1 January 1696, since the lady was near to the completion of her term. There is considerable confusion over what happened next; the laird of Drum was ill, his heir was in and out of the house, and the lady was in fear for her own life and that of her child. The commission reported that a birth was to be expected in March and that Irvine of Murthill should not be given possession of the estates on the death of his cousin. The laird was dead by 3 January though not without having heard the shrieks of his wretched wife who was in premature labour in the Cross Chamber where in both senses she was confined. The heir was in possession of the house which he had taken forcibly, and no child survived the night.

The new laird Alexander Irvine of Murthill, 13th of Drum, was to hold the estates for 24 years during which he was to begin the alienation of the property as far as it lay in his power, a policy carried

on by his two successors. His son, Alexander, 14th of Drum, had taken part in the rebellion of 1715 and had received wounds in the head which impaired his reason. In 1718 he was pardoned, probably because of his feeble-mindedness, and returned to Scotland, succeeding his father in 1720. He went abroad again in 1727 but it rapidly became clear even to his muddled intellect that he was being robbed, and the estates plundered by those appointed to care for them, and he returned to Scotland the following year. His reason gave way and by 1730 he was so hopelessly imbecile that his uncle, and heir, John Irvine, was appointed 'Tutor-in-law'. John Irvine's intellect was not of a very high order, he being not much wiser than his nephew and for the five years of his tutorship and the two of his lairdship he was content to live on the bounty of those who were stripping the property. He was described by a contemporary as being 'without intelligence, and devoid of spirit'.

On his death in 1737 the estates passed back to the senior representative of the family in the person of Alexander Irvine of the Artamford branch, descended from the eighth laird. Before his succession he had commenced, as heir of entail, a suit to prevent the alienation of the estates, and on his succession he recommenced it but the case was decided against him in 1741.

He only held the estates for seven years and was followed, on his death in 1744, as the 17th laird by his eldest surviving son, Alexander, who had so little sense that the following year he joined Lord Pitsligo in the last Jacobite rebellion. There is some confusion over his activities during and in the aftermath of the rebellion. He is described in various sources as a volunteer who had borne arms throughout the rising, and in the *List of Rebels* is described as 'Now in the Highlands. Lurking'. At this time the rent of his estate was given variously as £100 or £200. However, in some other works he is described as having been taken prisoner after Culloden and dying on 30 May 1746 in Cromarty Tolbooth from the effect of his wounds. This is a case of mistaken identity for although a young Mr Irvine who had served in Lord Pitsligo's regiment did die of his wounds in that place it was clearly not Irvine of Drum. In fact after Culloden he escaped to the shelter of his own home where, partly by the courage of his sister and partly by the contrived clumsiness of the soldiers sent to take him, he evaded capture. Although excepted from the amnesty of 1747 he was more fortunate than many of his fellow rebels, and in 1748 managed, as the result of a legal quibble, to avoid punishment altogether. In 1751 he married Mary Ogilvie of Auchirries, whose sister Rebecca had the previous year married John Forbes, master of Pitsligo, the eldest son of his old comrade-in-arms. The family connection with Auchirries was to continue as Alexander's youngest daughter, Rebecca, named after her aunt, was to marry her cousin George Ogilvie of Auchirries.

After a long illness the 17th laird died in 1761 leaving his widow as Tutrix (or guardian) to his six young children, the eldest of whom was only seven years old. Immediately upon the death of the laird it became necessary to realize what assets were available in order to raise money for the immediate needs of the family. A quick inventory of the house had been made on 17 February 1761 (appendix B) following the laird's death. This is of great help in understanding the house as it stood at that time. A much more detailed inventory was made on 15 May for the displenishing roup. This, apart from the household plenishings, detailed all the stock and the corn by ricks. There were minor additions made to the furniture listed in the earlier inventory, and there was far greater attention paid to the china, glass, linen, silver, books, and household utensils. Everything, apart from the silver, books, and some china bearing the Drum crest was valued for sale. The unvalued items were retained for the young laird's future use, as were nine pictures with gilt frames in the Dining Room, and a large table-cloth woven with the Drum arms. In the end there were two roups, one on 1 July of the inside and outside plenishings which realized £512.18.8, and one shortly after of the stock and labouring utensils which brought in a further £212.8.4. It was not until the following year that the corn was sold, adding £798.2.6 to the total. Although the books were retained and not valued, a price was put on the maps, magazines and pamphlets. The library was serious in tone, containing works by Pope, Pliny,

Montesquieu, Voltaire, Racine, Plutarch and Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. For lighter reading there was *The Court Gamester*. In the catalogue of the roup every item is valued and the name of the buyer given. Although Lady Drum bought some items, and others were bought in for the house, the bulk of the plenishings went to neighbours. The ultimate humiliation must have been the purchase, for 12s 9d, of a pair of blankets, by Isobel Michie, 'a servant in Drum'.

Succeeding at the age of seven in 1761, the 18th laird was to hold the estate for 83 years, dying in 1844 when he was 90, and it was probable that this long tenancy was to do more to restore the family's fortunes and position than anything else. The first thing done by the trustees after the accession of the young laird was to commence an action for the recovery of the alienated estates. This, the *Drum Case* was to drag on until 1777 when after a number of judgements it was finally decided by the House of Lords that, due to a legal flaw in the registration of the original entail, the fraudulent behaviour of the Irvines of Murthill, their friends and advisers was perfectly legal. Fortunately this decision did not cripple the estate which had been nursed back to health largely through the intelligence and energy of Mrs Margaret Irvine the young laird's mother.

Alexander Irvine, 18th of Drum, is perhaps the most interesting member of the family; far-off, but not too far-off in time, he has a reality and humanity that some of his odious forebears lack, and none of the 19th-century stuffiness that is inevitably, if unfairly, associated with his descendants. From his account books and letters it is possible to reconstruct much of the life of an Aberdeen laird of moderately cultivated tastes in the days before the cry of 'Oh! what a lovely day, let's go out and kill something' had taken the place of a rational interest in country sports, or before fashionably decorated houses in the north had too often assumed the appearance of Landseerian necropolises.

Coming of age in 1775 he married on the last day of the same year Jean, daughter of Hugh Forbes of Schivas; one of his first tasks was to restore the house and gardens of Drum. Plundered and derelict after the Civil War they had been put in some sort of order by the 11th laird but they must have suffered a long period of neglect after his death in 1688 at the hands of his idiot son, and the unspeakable Murthills. Although Alexander's father seems to have refurnished the house to a very large extent after his marriage in 1751 it had been stripped again after his death 10 years later, and it must have been a bare and gaunt home to which the 18th laird brought his young wife. The monies for the necessary work may have been found from the accumulated revenues of his minority but probably some part, especially that spent on furniture, came from his wife's marriage portion. In the first year of their marriage nearly £350 was spent on building work and £270 on new furniture bought in Aberdeen. Work was to continue on the house throughout his lifetime. Another source of expenditure was the garden on which he started work as soon as he came of age.

His wife was to die in 1786 after only 10 years of marriage leaving him with five young children; and he was not to marry again. One of his great interests was music and in 1777 appears the first of a series of regular subscriptions to the concerts in Aberdeen, and of payments to the porter at the concert rooms. This interest was to last him his whole life and in November 1831, when he was well into his 70s, he records the expenses of journeying to Aberdeen where he stayed for two nights to attend the concerts given by Paganini. In all other respects he was like most of his neighbours, reading the *Aberdeen Journal* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, having a half share in a subscription to each, belonging to the Northern Hunt and the County Club, and sufficiently interested in shooting to be a member of the Northern Shooting Club.

In 1788, two years after the death of his wife, he travelled south and passed three months in London and Bath, during the season. Leaving Edinburgh on 4 April, he spent four days and £9.2.8 on the journey, arriving in London on 8 April, where he put up at Osborne's Hotel. During his stay he was to visit the most fashionable places of public resort, Ranelagh, Vauxhall Gardens, the Pantheon (on several occasions but always for a concert), the theatre, or, as the accounts have it, the Play, the

opera and the Royal Academy. Apart from Ranelagh and Vauxhall, and a Masquerade, to which he went in a domino, his tastes would naturally have led him to music and to pictures. These entries of course only relate to those visits which cost him money. As an Aberdeen laird with some political interest and connected with many of the best families in the north-east there would have been many private entertainments of which there is no hint. He was not impervious to public affairs: twice he went to the trial of Warren Hastings, which was then just starting on its disgraceful course, and once he attended the House of Commons. For seven days in May he was in Bath, where he visited King Weston, and on returning to London he was to follow the footsteps of every other visitor before and since to Windsor and the Tower of London. His purchases included plaster of Paris figures, books, *lignum vitae*, and music, and there is one curious item of 2/6 given to 'a musical child'. He was back in Aberdeen by 6 July, and was not to leave Drum again for so long a period until 12 years had passed.

His family was growing up and money was needed for them; his eldest son, Alexander, wanted to enter the army and £1810 had to be found to purchase his commission. It was partly in an attempt to economize that in 1800 he adopted the standard method of the day for doing this: he took the younger members of his family abroad. Unfortunately Bonaparte was abroad as well and those recuperative stations of later generations, Brussels, Ostend, Calais, Boulogne and Paris were not available to him so he decided on Lisbon. As he notes in the margin of the accounts, somewhat wryly, ' . . . this more expensive than if we had lived at Drum . . .': so it was, £517 more expensive in addition to the £80 it had cost transporting his family to Exmouth from which port the Lisbon packet sailed. The journey to Exmouth was made by sea from Glasgow. He seems to have frightened himself into this state of poverty unnecessarily, as he had recovered £1500 in 1798 from the sale of his son's commission, and in 1801 the income from the estate was £3260 of which Pitt's income tax took £64. Even his expenditure on the house between 1790 and 1792 of £500 could not have seriously embarrassed him. He continued to spend money on improving Drum throughout his life for in 1845, the year after his death, his executors were faced with bills, which had to be settled, to the tune of £2300 for works and improvements at the castle.

On his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, as 19th laird. As a young man he had, whilst at St Andrews University, felt a taste for a military life. To satisfy this a commission was bought for him, in 1795, in the 109th (Aberdeenshire) Regiment then being raised by Colonel Andrew Leith Hay of Rannes, the laird of Leith Hall. It soon transpired that Alexander's view of a military life was romantic rather than practical and the discomforts of camping in the New Forest persuaded him – as they have persuaded many other since – that on the whole civilian life, if less dashing, was infinitely more comfortable. However, his father felt that honour allowed him no choice but to continue serving, which he did, in the 31st Regiment of Foot, the 109th having been disbanded. This took him to the West Indies where in little over six months his regiment was reduced from 990 officers and men to a strength of 43. After this, with his health badly shattered, he sold out. Recovering in some measure he began to study at Glasgow and shortly after taking himself to the law took a wife to himself. Although he was not to inherit Drum until 1844 when he was already 67, he did succeed to the estate of Schivas on the death of his cousin, Francis Forbes, in 1807. To mark this he took additionally the name of Forbes, and since then the family has always been known as Forbes Irvine.

On his death in 1861 he was succeeded as 20th laird by his eldest son, Alexander, who had married Anna Forbes Leslie, daughter of Lt Col Jonathan Forbes Leslie. This couple were to leave Drum as it is today, and much of the credit for this must be given to Mrs Forbes Irvine. She was a painter of topographical and architectural subjects of considerable skill; had she practised professionally her work would probably have been rated more highly than that of her husband's uncle, Hugh Irvine. Her powers were certainly far greater than those usually expected from even an

accomplished amateur of the time; unfortunately they are little known outside the small number of people who have been able to study her album and those of her works displayed within the castle.

The first work undertaken was in 1857, before the 20th laird succeeded, when he and his wife started the restoration of the chapel, in memory of their eldest son, who had died the previous year. This restoration was completed in 1867. By 1875 some work had been started on the remodelling of the house, and it seems, by inference, to have been put into the hand of David Bryce, who at the end of a long life had become Scotland's greatest, or at least most successful, architect of his day. Before he could accomplish very much he was dead, and the commission was carried to its completion by his nephew, John Bryce, who was responsible for the final design.

After the death of this couple and the succession of their third son, Francis, as 21st laird in 1892, the history of Drum as a building comes to an end. Four lairds followed him, his son and two of his grandsons. In 1975 on the death of Quentin Forbes Irvine, the 25th laird, the castle passed under the terms of his will to the National Trust for Scotland. It is still too soon to tell the history of the family during those last 81 years, but the male line of Forbes Irvine continued in the persons of the two younger brothers of the last laird, and their sons, and in the line of the Irvines of Straloch and Barra, descended from the younger son of the 21st laird. A more litigious age might well have produced a second great *Drum Case*.

#### THE SITE (illus 2)

Before discussing the building of Drum it is worth considering the siting of the Tower, since this has considerable bearing on the nature of both what was built and why it was built.

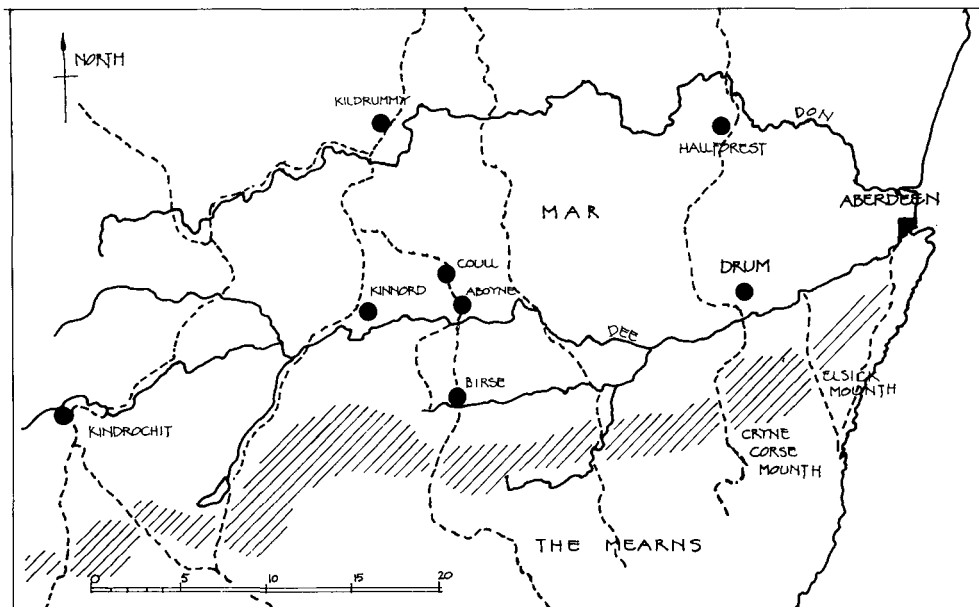
The rich lands of the north-east of Scotland have always been difficult of access: to the east and north lies the sea; to the west lies the plateau of the Cairngorms; to the south they are bounded by the Mounth, the long spine of the Grampians running east until it loses itself in the sea south of Aberdeen. This great barrier was, and is still, crossed by eight passes – nine if the coast road is included (illus 2). Over these passes came all land traffic from the south, and he who controlled the passes controlled the north-east, and beyond it the Laigh of Moray, and the lands beyond Inverness. To secure these vital north-south routes where they emerged from the mountains on to the low river land of the Dee and to guard the equally vital river crossings there arose earth and stone castles, Kindrochit, Kinnord, Aboyne, and others, all guarding the southern frontier of the province and earldom of Mar and the northern frontier of that part of the kingdom more or less under royal control. Apart from the coast road the two most easterly of the passes are the Cryne Corse Mounth through which ran the road from Fordoun and Glenbervie to Durriss and the crossing at Mills of Drum, and the Elsick Mounth from Stonehaven and Netherley to Culter, and the possible Roman ford at Tilbouries. Both these crossings are close to Drum, and from them the roads continue northwards through Kintore to Inverurie and the Garioch. Because these two passes were lower than those further west they tended to be closed later by snow and to open earlier with the spring thaws. There was an added importance to them as well; they led to crossing places which were fordable, unlike the lower crossing at Brig O' Dee, and by using the fords at Mills of Drum or Tilbouries it was possible to outflank the city of Aberdeen with its strong castle.

If the building of castles was a tangible sign of the area being brought under control as the house of Canmore pushed its influence northwards into Moravia, so too was the appearance of thanages, those much argued units of semi-official control and organization, along the lower Dee; Aboyne, O'Neil, Birse, Kincardine, Durriss and Cowie. All seem to have been designed with the intention of bringing order and stability to the open country east of the highlands. Much of the land occupied by the thanages of Durriss and Cowie came to be covered by royal forests, and this huge hunting preserve stretched across the Dee, where on the north bank it extended from Drum to Banchory.

The first major military use of the Cryne Corse Mounth was on 13 July 1296, when Edward I, having crushed Balliol, came north from Belhervie, and fording the Dee at Mills of Drum, began his subjugation of the north-east.

If the fords and passes were of importance in times of war, they were equally important in times of peace, and the Mills of Drum and Cryne Corse were the key to the old drove road over which, until the 19th





ILLUS 2 Drum in relation to the lower Mounth passes

century, cattle passed from the north to the fair of St Palladius, the tryst at Fordoun. If the fords were of convenience to traders and travellers they also had other uses. In 1603 the burgh accounts for Aberdeen show the expenditure of one pound to:

Douguid, poist, for careing letteris direct fra the towne to Monimusk, Petfodellis, Drum, Leyis, and persone of Kincardin desiring thame to keip thair watteris and fuirdis and thatt thair tenentis resett na person is cuming from the Forthe, for feir of the peste.

It was the fighting of the Civil War that finally established Drum's strategic importance for not only was it a key point in the north-south route across the Dee from the Gordon heartlands, further north, into the Mearns, but it was vital to the security of Aberdeen. Whoever held Drum could threaten the city, only 10 miles away, and as early as 1640 the house was seized and garrisoned by General Monro, and it was subjected to the same treatment in 1644 by Argyll. However right these generals were in military sense, nothing can excuse the general incivility of their behaviour towards the family. That their view was correct was proved when, in September 1644, Montrose moved north over the Cryne Corse Mounth, crossing the Dee at Mills of Drum on the 11th, and launched his attack on the city. This was to result in its sack, on Friday 13 September.

In view of the strategic importance of the position it occupied it must be accepted that some building of strength would have occupied the site of the present tower and house of Drum from the 12th century onwards, and it is to this cause rather than its possible use as a hunting lodge in the royal forest of Drum that we owe the great Tower that stands today.

#### THE MEDIEVAL HOUSE, 1260-1619

Early writers when discussing the history of Drum have too often made the convenient assumption that the Tower had been built by William de Irwin, first of Drum between the time that the forest of Drum had been granted to him by Robert the Bruce in 1323, and his own death 10 years later. This gave a great tower that fitted conveniently into the second quarter of the 14th century. In their account of Drum, MacGibbon and Ross hold to the probability of this view but make the

cautious suggestion that it may have been built as a royal residence, being a hunting seat in the forest, but so gentle was this hint that it passed largely unnoticed.

This view remained unchallenged until 1929 when Dr W Douglas Simpson published a paper on the early castles of Mar. In this he quoted an unpublished note of Dr William Kelly's, in which the writer drew attention to the importance of Drum in relation to the early roads of the district, and suggested that the Tower of Drum was of an earlier date than was generally considered. This argument he further developed in his notes in the volume prepared for the *British Association Aberdeen Meeting* in 1934. At this point he not only came down in favour of a building date before 1286, but suggested that the tower was the work of Richard Cementarius, the King's Master Mason. Had it been possible to have faulted this view, Douglas Simpson, in spite of his tremendous respect for Dr Kelly, would have done so, but in his Rhind lectures of 1941, later published as *The Province of Mar*, and its sequel, *The Earldom of Mar*, he underlines Dr Kelly's arguments, and his view, magisterially expressed, was that nothing could be added to Dr Kelly's final verdict upon the period at which the Tower was built. In *The Scottish Castle*, Stuart Cruden, without actually challenging this view, suggests that an early 14th-century date is likely for Drum, apparently drawing his proofs from known dates in the history of Drum and of two similar towers, Hallforest and Lochleven. Never the less he is rather less than committed to a post-1325 date.

There are three possible periods during which the Tower of Drum could have been built: between 1249 and 1286, during the reign of Alexander III; between 1306, when Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone, and 1323/4; and after 1323/4 by which date the Irvines were in possession. Of these three possibilities the last can be discounted, and the views put forward by Simpson and Kelly, and in a guarded way by Cruden, that Drum is a royal building and one that is rather more than only a hunting seat accepted. Cruden draws the parallel between Drum and both Hallforest and Lochleven but his dating evidence – that Hallforest was granted by Bruce to Sir Robert Keith in 1309 and that Lochleven was besieged in 1335 – proves nothing either way, and one is thrown back on the evidence advanced by Dr Kelly. This needs to be quoted in full if there is to be a proper understanding of it. Dr Kelly, however, was far too scrupulous a scholar to be dogmatic when there was so much that remained uncertain. Unfortunately subsequent writers have not only given his theories as facts, but have decorated them with some very strange stories. Dr Kelly wrote:

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

From this very carefully worded passage later writers have fashioned the story that not only did Richard the mason design and build both the castle and the bridge, but that he was a true Aberdonian and used the same timber centring for both. It is worth bearing in mind in connection with this particular story that the bridge has a span of 64 ft (19.5 m) at the springing compared with Drum's 21 ft (6.4 m), and that any timbers used in the building of the bridge would have been the property of the bishop – if he were the builder – and not the mason, who built it.

The links between Drum and the bridge are largely stylistic, although any two-centred arch will always have a family resemblance to any other two-centred arch, but there is a curious and complicated relationship between the possible building dates. If Richard Cementarius is accepted as the designer of Drum it is likely that he was working on it c1280, but certainly before the death of Alexander III in 1286. At much the same time Thomas the Rhymer mentions the Brig O' Balgownie in one of his obscure prophecies:

Brig O' Balgownie, wicht is thy wa'  
 Wi' a wife's ae son an a mare's ae foal  
 Doun shalt thou fa'.

If the prophecy is obscure the bridge at least is certain. Accepting the tradition that Bishop Cheyne was responsible for the building of the bridge, and this is certainly the view of Hector Boece and Robert Gordon, it puts the start of the bridge c 1285, a year before work is likely to have stopped at Drum. Possibly work continued on the bridge during the English occupation: it is known that in 1304 Edward I ordered that Bishop Cheyne should be given 40 oaks from the royal forest of Drum, and 30 from Kintore. Timber on this scale would have been needed both for the roof of Cheyne's new choir at St Machar's Cathedral, and for the centring for the enormous arch of the bridge. In fact neither had been completed by 1314, when the bishop, who had in general supported the English, and as a nephew of John Comyn was a blood enemy of Bruce, went into exile in England. During his absence the king sequestered the episcopal revenues and devoted them to the completion of the bridge and the choir of the cathedral, and this work was in hand during the four years of the bishop's exile. At Drum there is evidence to suggest that at second floor level there was either a change or a break in the building programme, and at the bridge the completion of the arch almost certainly dates from 1314 to 1318. If this reading of the facts that are known is correct it is then possible to produce a time scale for the building of both tower and bridge which fits all the theories.

Thus Richard Cementarius was responsible for the design and completion of the two lower floors at Drum and had carried the building up to level of the second floor by 1286, when, on the death of Alexander III, work came to a halt. At the same time he was responsible to Bishop Cheyne for the setting out and start of the work of a great new bridge over the Don at Balgownie, which was noticed by Thomas the Rhymer. Although progress on the bridge may have continued during the English occupation it was still not complete in 1314, by which date Bruce was finally in control of Scotland. Between 1314 and 1318, whilst Bishop Cheyne was in exile, the king devoted the revenues of the see to the completion of the bridge, and being in a position himself where he could at last carry out work on the buildings to the crown, caused the tower of Drum to be completed. If in doing this he made use of the same master mason it would of course account for the similarity between the profile of the arch of the bridge, and that of the vault of the tower. On the other hand it may of course be nothing but a series of coincidences.

The Tower of Drum measures 53 ft by 39 ft (16.2 by 11.9 m) with a height from ground level to the battlements of 70 ft 6 in (21.5 m): this last dimension may have varied in the past as it is not certain quite where the original ground level, which has been lowered in the course of landscaping in later centuries, was. The Tower, which is built of irregularly coursed granite rubble, much of it field gathered, with red Kildrummy freestone dressings, rises with rounded corners and a slight batter to the walls, and without any string courses or set backs, to the corbel course which carries the parapet. There is no external elaboration and the tower relies for effect on its simplicity and massive size. This size must have been even more apparent before the cap house, or alcoved roof, of considerable height which crowned it was removed. The effect of size is also reduced by the buildings which now cluster round it, but in fact Drum is slightly larger than the neighbouring and probably contemporary tower

at Hallforest, larger than the towers at Crichton and Castle Campbell, and nearly twice the size of Lochleven.

As an engine of war Drum must have been offensive rather than defensive, or at least if defensive it was so in a wide and territorial role. As a base from which bodies of men could control the lower Mounth passes, the Deeside approach to Aberdeen and the old Coupar road north into Formartine and the Garioch it was ideal, but as a fortress capable of defence its possibilities are limited. There are no loops suitable for archers anywhere in the walls, and the only points from which fire can be directed are the *creneaux* of the parapet. These would enable effective fire to be brought down on targets at a distance from the tower: outwith the line of the barmekin or curtain walls, but once this had been penetrated and an enemy was close under the tower he would have been largely protected from anything but stones hurled at random from the parapet. There are no machicolations and to fire at men at the base of the tower would have forced any one rash enough to attempt it to expose the whole upper half of the body, and at the same time to indulge in a balancing act of some difficulty. Once the outer defences had been breached the inmates of the tower, well provisioned, and with a well inside the walls, would have been able to rely on the sheer strength of its massive walls to resist any further entry, until outside help arrived.

Internally the Tower contains a cellar and two great vaulted halls, each of the halls having an intermediate timber floor or *entresol* (illus 3). The entrance is through a small doorway in the south wall at first floor level. At present this is reached by an external stone stair on the flank of the tower, but this may be a later addition: the original staircase is generally thought to have been of wood or even a simple ladder. However, a steep stone stair would have been of greater convenience for those periods when the tower was not under direct attack, and the fact that it is steep and narrow, at right angles to the entrance, and directly below one of the drainage chutes of the wall walk and therefore at risk from liquids from above, makes it not impossible for the present stair to represent an earlier one.

The entrance doorway gives on to a small lobby from which two doorways open and from which the newel stair in the south-east corner of the tower rises. The right-hand doorway gives on to a straight mural stair in the thickness of the east wall, leading to the cellar, and the right-hand doorway, now blocked, led into the Laigh Hall.

The cellar is a rectangular room, 15 ft (4.6 m) wide, with a rounded barrel vault and with walls 12 ft (3.7 m) thick. In the east and west walls are two slits so narrow and so deeply recessed, that in spite of their embrasures they serve little purpose other than that of providing some ventilation. Off the eastern embrasure is a well, 3 ft (0.91 m) in diameter and provided with a slop basin and water channel into which water could be emptied and poured through the thickness of the wall into tubs or troughs in the courtyard outside. In the vault of the cellar is a small hatch.

The use of the cellar has, because of this hatch, attracted the usual romantic stories about it being a dungeon, and, even more improbably, a kitchen, and the hatch was a means of sending either food from the Hall above to prisoners in the dungeon below, or food from the kitchen below to the hall above. The explanation is much more prosaic. The cellar was a store room, and the hatch was for no other reason than that of raising and lowering bulky items, which could be done more easily by way of it than by being carried up and down the steep, narrow, and dark mural stairs. This vault is far more commodious than the usual scale of accommodation allotted to prisoners in Scottish castles, who in any case were generally starved. Nor can the suggestion of its use as a kitchen be taken seriously, since there are no means of providing for cooking. Such cooking as was not done in the Hall itself would have taken place either in the courtyard in open-sided sheds, or in a properly built kitchen.

In the alterations which changed the Laigh Hall into the Library in the 19th century all trace of the original arrangements have been lost, although they probably survive largely undamaged behind the later plaster and studding (illus 4). One of the earlier Bryce sketch-plans suggests a reconstruction of the library to its medieval form, and this in turn seems to have been based on some rough notes made by Colonel Jonathan Forbes Leslie. Taking these together with traces of blocked openings, the present form of the Library, and some intelligent guesswork the arrangement can be reconstructed.

The entrance at the southern end of the hall led into a service area, or screens passage, containing, amongst other things, the hatch to the cellar. The present windows in the east and south walls represent

original window embrasures, it being so much easier to make use of existing ones than to quarry new ones. It is also likely that there was a similar embrasure in the north wall. It would appear that there are small mural closets in the north-east and north-west corners, the latter forming part of the latrine system of the castle, and it is likely that the passage from the Library to the later main house has been formed in a similar closet opening out of the embrasure of the window in the south wall. The fireplace seems to have always been in the west wall. From the presence of a small opening, now blocked, above the east window in the Library, it is clear that there was an inserted floor in the vault space, with a floor carried on beams supported by corbels at springing level. From the form of the library ceiling this vault would seem to have been semi circular.

The newel stair which starts at the entrance lobby rises to the level of the Upper (or 'High') Hall, and part way up is a small square-headed doorway leading to a short length of mural passage now blocked off, which probably led to the timbered upper floor of the Laigh Hall. At the level of the Upper Hall the stair continues for a few more steps and is then abruptly terminated and blocked, as if it was either meant to continue, but remained incomplete, or was demolished in its upper stages. This would accord with the theory that up to this level the Tower dates from pre-1286, and that the work above is post-1314.

The Upper Hall, measuring 35 ft by 21 ft (10.7 m by 6.4 m), and with a pointed barrel vault is remarkably complete: there are four windows, that in the west wall being small, that in the east wall being blocked, and those in the north and south walls being provided with lateral window seats of stone (illus 5). In the north-west corner is a garderobe with a latrine. The finest feature is the large fireplace of red Kildrummy freestone, with a segmental head, chamfered jambs and heavy knob stops, which would fit happily with a date in the second half of the 13th century. The floor of the *entresol* was carried on 11 cross beams, which in turn rested on 22 corbels in the north and south walls. The arrangement of corbels in the north-east corner indicates that the beams were trimmed here for a timber staircase, some parts of which are supposed to have survived into this century, and there are indications that there may have been a second loft inserted at this end.

The question of access to the wall walk and cap house raises problems at this end of the hall. At present it is through a small door immediately under the crown of the vault. This is reached by a steep stair, which can be described in one word: 'dangerous'. In the middle ages it would have been accessible from a wooden stair, less dangerous but of considerable inconvenience to the occupants of this part of the castle. It must be accepted that, if the Upper Hall were, as is popularly supposed, the Private Hall, there must have been some form of timber partition to ensure privacy in the Hall and in the chamber or loft above, from the passage of servant or soldiers to the wall walk. Had the newel stair continued to the wall walk, as seems to have been originally intended, this problem would not have arisen.

This upper floor is lit and ventilated by two small windows in the west wall, and there is a relieving arch in the same wall which may indicate that at one time there was a fireplace there. The present awkwardly placed flue seems to be a later alteration and possibly dates from the 19th-century work in connection with the library chimney.

How, since the disappearance of the cap house, the wall walk was intended to work is not quite clear. It is extremely inconvenient to use, as not only does it consist of stepped stones but they are so arranged as to rise to a high point at each corner, and in the middle of the north and south walls, in order to shed water to the drainage chutes. There are six of these in all, two in each of the longer walks, and one each on the east and west sides. To take this into account the battlements are raised at each corner. This has not only a practical advantage but it gives an architectural strengthening to the Tower. In the north-west corner is a latrine.

As originally built the Tower would have formed part of a larger complex, with byres, stables, stores, further living quarters and a courtyard surrounded by some sort of defensive wall. The entrance to the tower is on its south side, the water outlet from the well is on the east side, and on the north side are traces of corbels which may have supported a pentice roof at this point. From this it is clear that the fortified enclosure which partly surrounded the Tower lay to the south, east and north.

Even by the standards of the 15th century, domestic arrangements within the Tower at Drum must have struck the Irvines as less than comfortable, and it is reasonable to assume that at some date either later in that century or in the first half of the 16th century some additional provision was made for the laird's private quarters. If this is true then the likely position for such an extension would seem to be in the area occupied by the cross wing which connects the Tower with the main house, in the east

end of the south front, and in the south-east tower. The planning of this end of the house sits awkwardly with the remainder, and it is likely that it is in fact an early 17th-century re-casing of an older building. Evidence for this can be adduced from a number of features still traceable. Possibly the most striking example of these is to be seen in the massive wall which rises from the ground and separates the state rooms of the south front from the rooms to the east, and which breaks the line of the main roof as an independent crow-stepped gable. Although there is a very large stack in this gable it appears to have been designed originally to take a larger flue from the eastern-most cellar. Now of course it carries the kitchen lum, but this is in itself curious. In most cases the kitchen lum is built above the kitchen fireplace, but here the fireplace is built well forward, that is to the west, of the gable wall. This suggests that there was an earlier kitchen fireplace on the east side of the gable wall and that this was blocked in and the new kitchen flue was led into the older lum above the blocking.

The cross, or connecting, wing next to the Tower now consists of a single room on each floor: this arrangement existed in 1761 according to the inventory of that year and may have existed as early as 1696 when Marjory Forbes was said to have been delivered of a son in the Cross Chamber. The building evidence suggests that the two upper floors were originally arranged with two chambers, with fireplaces in the south gable, as at present, and in the east wall where there is a projection, which appears to be a truncated chimney stack.

The passage or lobby between the cross wing and the present Dining Room is vaulted, but the partition between it and the private – or the *Lady's Room* – is insubstantial and appears to be a later addition. On the Bryce drawing of 1878 there is a note concerning the *Lady's Room* – which says 'vault may have been cut out'. Clearly at some stage, when work was being done here, evidence was seen which suggested that there may have been a vault. Certainly a vault would have been less likely in a room built in the 17th century, and it may have been removed when the house was enlarged, and this wing, presumably, remodelled.

Before the late 19th century Drum had three external doors all dating, at the latest, from the early 17th century; of these the main entrance door and the small door in the south-east corner of the close can be dated to that period with certainty, but one, that in the east wall of the east wing may be earlier. It must have opened into an enclosed courtyard; in any case even in the 17th century the provision of external doorways was kept to the minimum necessary. There seems to be no justification for this doorway unless as the main entrance, and at the foot of a principal stair – the stair in the east wing is far wider than is either necessary, or usual, for a service stair. It is difficult to avoid the conviction that it may in fact be the principal doorway of a smaller house added to the Tower sometime in the late 15th or early 16th centuries.

The last indicator of this theory is the south east tower: not because of any peculiarities in the tower itself, but because of the shifts it forced on the designers of the 1619 house.

#### 1619–1761 (illus 3–6)

Although 1619 is always given as the date for the building of Drum – it is the date which appears on the dormers of the south front – it probably only marks the point at which the main fabric of the house was finished. Work on the founds would have started several years earlier, and the completion of the interiors might have taken another two years. The building of Drum probably occupied the period between 1615 and 1621. Seven years, given the shortness of the working year in Aberdeenshire, is not an unreasonable length of time in which to complete a building of this size. The House of Muchalls, which is almost contemporary with Drum, took eight years to finish, although this was probably delayed by the death of the laird who had started the work. Craighston is exceptional in

that a building period of only three years, 1604–7, is recorded, but this dating may not have included the time spent on completing the interiors.

The introduction of these two castles at this stage is not arbitrary, for both are closely related to Drum: Craigston as its progenitor and Muchalls as its successor, and the parallels are so close that it is reasonably certain that all three can be ascribed to the hand of the same designer. To understand this it is necessary to consider the evidence which I discussed in my earlier paper on Castle Fraser, where I considered the meaning of the John Bell tablet on the north front, with its deeply carved heart, and where I suggested that this symbol, which occurs on the voussoirs flanking the keystone of the great arch at Craigston, was the mark of the master mason, John Bell. Taking this in conjunction with the use of heavy bull-nosed jambs throughout Craigston, and in those parts of Castle Fraser which are clearly part of the 1617 build, it can be demonstrated that both buildings are the work of John Bell; the great difference between them being that whereas Castle Fraser was the adaptation and enlargement of an existing building, Craigston was a completely new house.

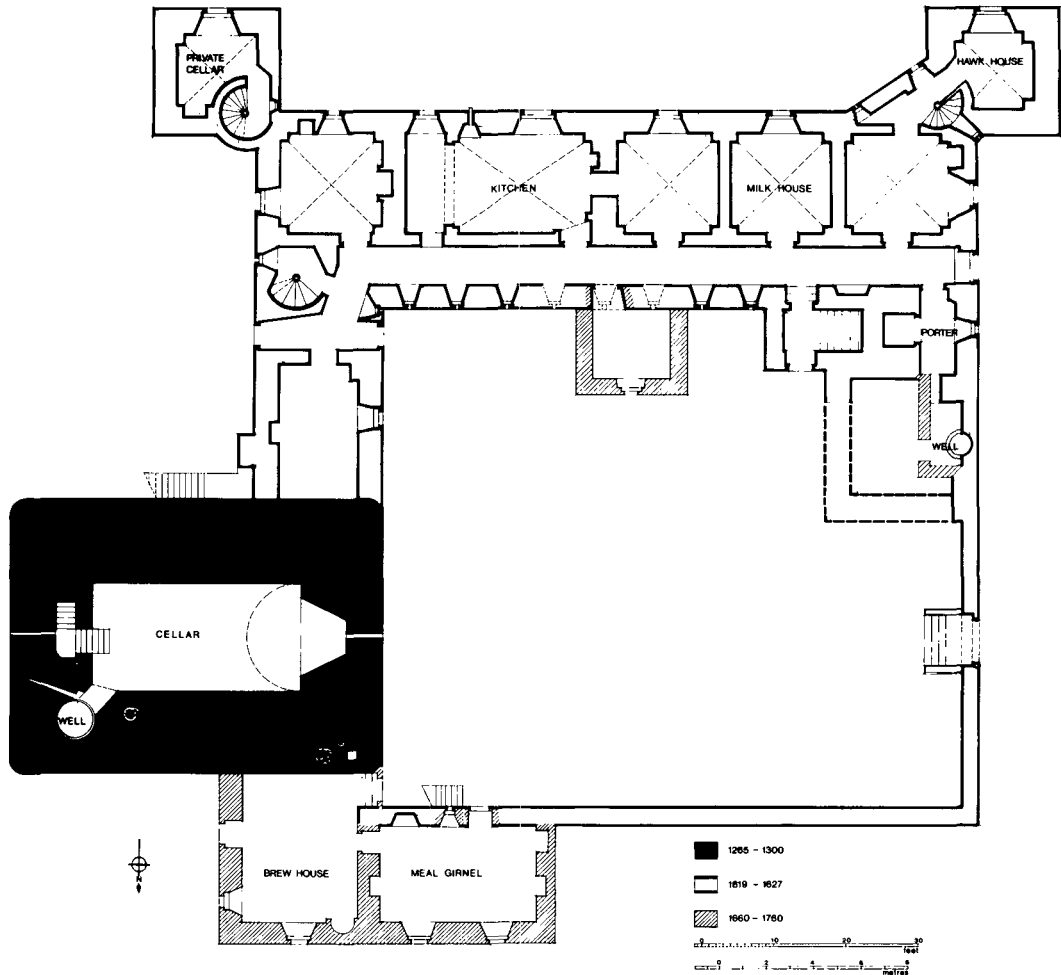
At first sight the parallels between Drum and Craigston are not obvious, and these are made even less clear by the fact that whilst Craigston has been redecorated since it was built, Drum has been remodelled three times. In the process little has remained of the house built by the ninth laird except for the bare walls, and even these have been disguised in the later work. Nevertheless the new house at Drum had, in the 17th century, parallels in its planning so close to Craigston that it is impossible to ignore the fact that the same hand was responsible for both.

Had the style of architecture known as Scottish Baronial, particularly the Aberdeenshire variant of it, been allowed to develop and not been cut off by outbreak of the Civil War, Drum would have been regarded as the building which marked the break between building ‘high’ and the new fashion of building ‘low’. As it was when building re-started on any large scale after 1660 it was to the newer fashions from England and the continent that designers turned, and Drum, in spite of the slightly later building at Muchalls, was almost the last house in the old tradition rather than the first in the new.

In designing the new extension to Drum, Bell seems to have been faced with two constraints: the first being the existence of an earlier house attached to the Tower; the second being the brief of his client. This brief would have seemed to be that the new house was to contain extensive and convenient offices; that there were to be a large hall and with-drawing room facing south on the first floor, with a gallery above; that the early house was to be incorporated with the new; and that the main facade was to be symmetrical. Since all these conditions are fulfilled it must be presumed that they were asked for.

Because of the later remodelling of the 1619 house and the disappearance of the north-west wing, and because the whole of the original north elevation has been obscured by Bryce’s work the earlier form of the house is not apparent. It can, however, be determined without too much difficulty, and its derivation from the plan of Craigston becomes immediately clear.

The entrance doorway, the yett of which still survives *in situ*, opens into a small, square lobby. Facing the doorway is the entrance to the offices and to the left the foot of the main staircase, ascending to the first floor (illus 3). The service accommodation is ample, consisting of four cellars and a kitchen in the new house, and two further cellars beyond the kitchen in the lower floor of the old house. Under the main staircase is a small lobby, which probably led to the base of the north-west wing, and beside this is a space, which is separated from it by a low stone wall. Traditionally this has always been known as the *Porter’s Bed*. Taking the vanished wing into account a total of five cellars and kitchens would have been provided, as at Craigston. Originally this was the provision at Muchalls as well. The circulation was provided for by the long corridor which ran along the north side of the house, and off which all the cellars except that in the base of the south-west tower opened. As this corridor gave access both to the lobby at the foot of the main stair and to the stair in the east wing without the need to traverse any room it was an enormous improvement on



ILLUS 3 Ground floor plan 1619-1761

the generality of the houses in the north-east, and immeasurably more convenient. A similar arrangement had been first used at Craigston, but, because of the architectural form of the house, the corridor is unlit, and inconveniently cranked. At Drum the corridor is straight and well lit by small windows giving on to the courtyard. The Drum arrangement is adopted at Muchalls. Another advance was the use of groined vaults instead of the more unusual semicircular barrel vaults. This had the enormous advantage of doubling, at least, the area of flat wall against which it was possible to place furniture or shelves. This was achieved by springing the vault from the four corners of the room instead of continuously from two opposite walls. This made the service rooms very much pleasanter places in which to work, and whilst the comfort of the servants was not the prime reason for this change, the improved efficiency which must have resulted from the innovation may not have gone unnoticed. Certainly the same device was adopted at Muchalls. From the westernmost cellar a service stair leads up to the pantry and hall on the floor above, and from there to the two chambers in the south-west tower and the attic floor in the roof.

In the course of time there have been many alterations on this floor, although generally of a minor nature and largely confined to the enlarging of the window openings, or consequent upon the 17-18th-century *jamm* being built on to the north wall. A number of original features, including aumbries, doors and door ironwork survive, and four of these certainly need further comment. The first is the recessed



stone bench in the north wall of the kitchen passage between the entrance from the lobby and the closet known as the *Porter's Bed*. At Drum this is known as the *Porter's Seat*. A similar feature exists at both Fyvie and the Earl's Palace, Kirkwall, but in each case it is in the entrance lobby facing the main doorway, and can properly be described as a *Porter's Seat*. At Tolquhon there is a seat or bench in the kitchen passage, which Dr Douglas Simpson considered to have been intended as a service shelf. Since both at Drum and Tolquhon the kitchens are more than usually remote from the service stairs this would seem to be the original intention.

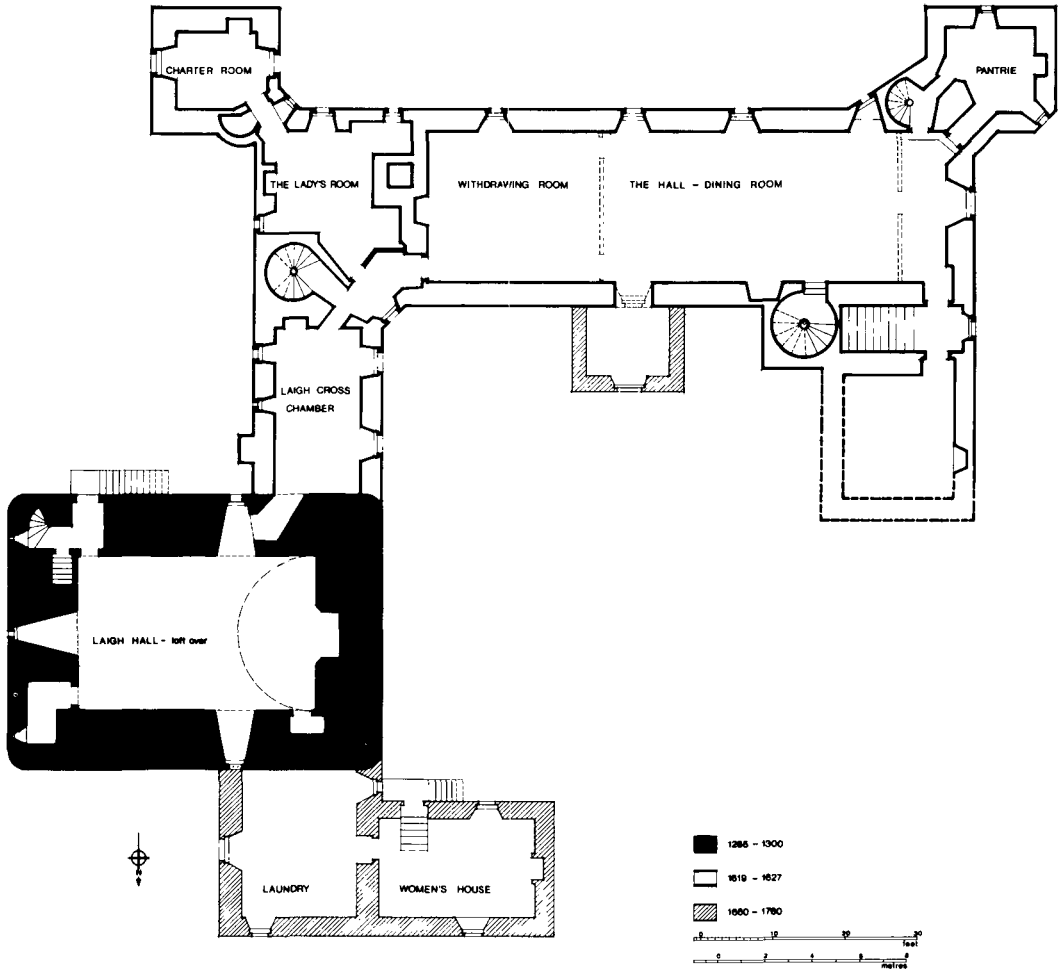
The second feature which needs consideration is the doorway in the lobby at the foot of the stairs in the south-west tower. In the 17th century a doorway at this point, without the security of the enclosure of the courtyard walls, would have been unusual. It does not appear on any of the early 19th century drawings of the castle, and is not shown on any of the surviving plans. It would appear to date from some time subsequent to 1878. The form is unusual as it appears that the present rebate for an outward-opening door has been cut into the jambs and head of an earlier and inward opening doorway, and the door hangs on heavy iron pins. The probable explanation is that though not part of the original design a doorway was formed here at an early date but subsequently blocked. After 1878 it was opened up and altered to take an outward opening door. Possibly the initial blocking was done in the latter part of the 18th century. Unfortunately the cellar in the south-west tower to which this door gives access affords no clue. It has been known as the Hawk House for many years, and latterly is said to have been used as a game larder. There is nothing to suggest this use in the structure itself, and the word 'Hawk', with its many forms of spelling, as various as its meanings, is of little help. Since 'hawk', 'haik', 'hauwk' and 'haw' range from birds of prey or sport, to a dung fork, a rack for fodder or for drying cheese, a frame for drying fish, and a plasterer's tool, it would seem possible to develop any theory. My own choice is for that of game larder but the reader is free to make his own. The third and fourth features which merit special notice are both connected with the kitchen fireplace. The first is the presence of a small window in the side of the recess which certainly provided some light, and some additional draught. A similar window is to be found in the kitchen fireplace at Craigston. The other is a doorway, with the Bell bull-nose arris. This is now blocked, and would have opened from the service corridor into the kitchen fireplace. It would seem that this ante-dates the fireplace itself, and suggests that the first intention was to retain the older kitchen in the east wing. After this doorway had been built it was decided to build a new kitchen that used the old kitchen lum; consequently the door had to be blocked.

The Bell plan for the first floor has completely disappeared, but it is possible to reconstruct it as it must have been (illus 4). The staircase from the entrance lobby was, as at Craigston, a broad straight flight lit by a window on the vaulted landing. From the landing a doorway on the left led into the hall, and one on the right into the vanished north-west wing. This doorway, with its bull-nosed jambs and heads survives. When the 19th-century corridors and stair hall were built this doorway was not considered high enough, and the head was raised to allow for the insertion of an additional jamb-stone on each side; the change in the tooling on the new work is clearly visible. As built this doorway was the same size as that leading into the Hall, and quite large enough for the room which it was intended to serve.

The wall above the foot of the staircase (which is in fact the wall of the stair from the hall to the upper floor and rises above the entrance lobby) is carried on three deeply moulded corbel courses. Both this detail and plan are a copy of the arrangement of the two staircases at Craigston, although at that house the corbel courses are more elaborately carved.

In planning the room on the principal floor to the right of the main staircase, Bell was following a pattern already set at Cluny and Craigston. This provided for a room in which clients and tenants could be interviewed and in which estate and public business could be transacted without it in anyway intruding on the more private arrangements of the household. In the older 'Z' houses, and even in the 'palace' houses such as Druminnor and Huntly the staircases led directly to the hall and if there were a private business room it lay beyond the hall, and within the family enclosure. By means of this new plan anyone visiting the castle on purely business matters could go directly to the laird without penetrating to either the service or the family quarters. This was an immense gain in convenience, and in the north-east marks the beginning of the retreat of the upper classes from a life led entirely in public.

As planned, the hall was a large room 48 ft by 21 ft (14.6 m by 6.4 m), with a withdrawing room 24 ft by 21 ft (7.3 m by 6.4 m) beyond it, the latter room being half the size of the hall. Opposite the doorway leading into the hall are two smaller doors, one of which opens on to the service stair from the cellars, and the other into the pantry in the south-west tower. The deep recess in the centre of the west wall presumably provided space for a serving table or buffet. Although it now serves as a window embrasure for a large

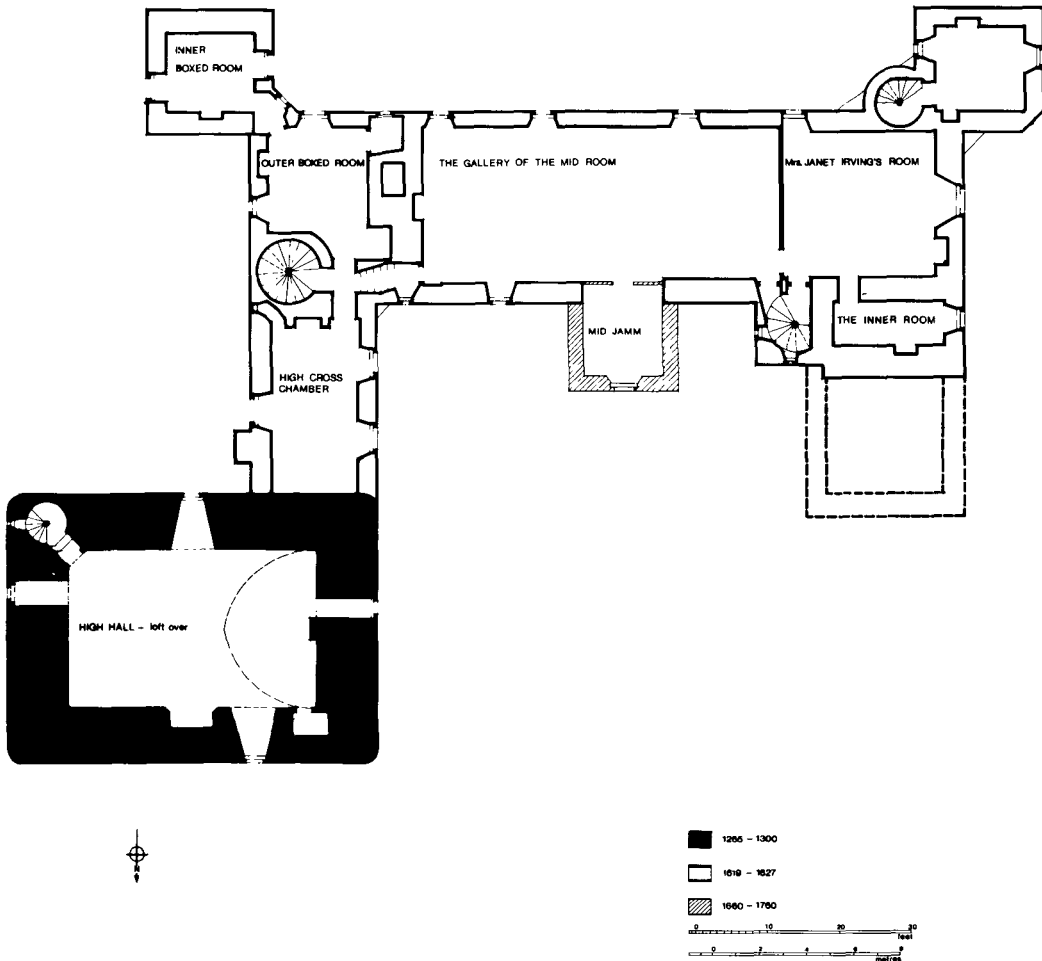


ILLUS 4 First floor plan 1619-1761

window this is a mid 19th-century arrangement. Before the alterations of 1870 the window at this end of the hall had been small and rectangular, and placed high up in the wall. The hall was thus provided with a well planned service end, which was probably separated from the main body of the hall by a large timber screen, possibly on the line of that which still survives at Craigievar. From the accounts of the sack of Drum by Argyll's soldiers in 1644, it is clear that in addition to destroying the furniture they broke down 'timber-work': as the floors and roof timbers seem to have survived this suggests that there were other, non-structural timbers in the house which could be removed, and such a screen would meet this description. The present partition between the Dining and Drawing Rooms is on the line of one of the 18th-century lobby walls, and the original partition may have been removed in the 19th century. The reasoning behind this suggestion depends on two things; the cellar walls and the pattern of fenestration. The thickest cross wall in the cellar is that between the kitchen and scullery; there is no real reason for this unless it was to support a heavy partition above. A partition on the floor above which would have separated the two upper rooms as suggested would have stood above it. The fenestration is possibly more conclusive. This was totally altered in the 18th century, but during the 19th century three of the original windows were partly opened up, and displayed. The result of this is to add enormously to the archaeological interest and architectural confusion of the main rooms. The windows were narrow and set high in the wall, with bull-nosed jambs and segmental heads. Two survive towards the west end of what was the Hall, and one survives in the withdrawing room.

This gives a long length of wall – nearly 30 ft (9.1 m) – on the south side without a window. Either none was found, or if found it was in a position where it could not be displayed; nor is there evidence for one on the north side, where one could be expected. If the evidence has either been destroyed or made unshowable the only position on the south side where this could have happened is where the central door is now: it would also have been the easiest place through which to slap a door. The same argument applies to the missing window of the north side which would have also been replaced by a later doorway. If this reasoning is correct it puts the partition line to the east of the missing window, since otherwise the Withdrawing Room would have been larger than the Hall, and above the thickest wall in the cellarage. This question may be resolved if or when the harling is completely stripped from the south front.

In an age when men indulged in many quaint conceits, and when geometry and the exact and mystical science of Numbers were much studied, it is of interest to consider the dimensions of the two great rooms at Drum. In a space 72 ft by 21 ft (22 m by 6.4 m) were fitted the Hall and the Withdrawing Room, the one 48 ft (14.6 m) and the other 24 ft (7.3 m) long, a ratio of 4:2, both having a width of 21 ft (6.4 m). In the Hall the effective length is reduced, because of the screens passage, to 42 ft (12.8 m) which is exactly twice its width (these incidentally were also the dimensions of the hall at Craigston), and the height of both rooms was 15 ft (4.6 m). All dimensions are thus multiples of 3 ft (0.91 m). It must be accepted that is not entirely coincidental. This of course may not be scientific at all, but merely the builder's preference for a three foot rule.



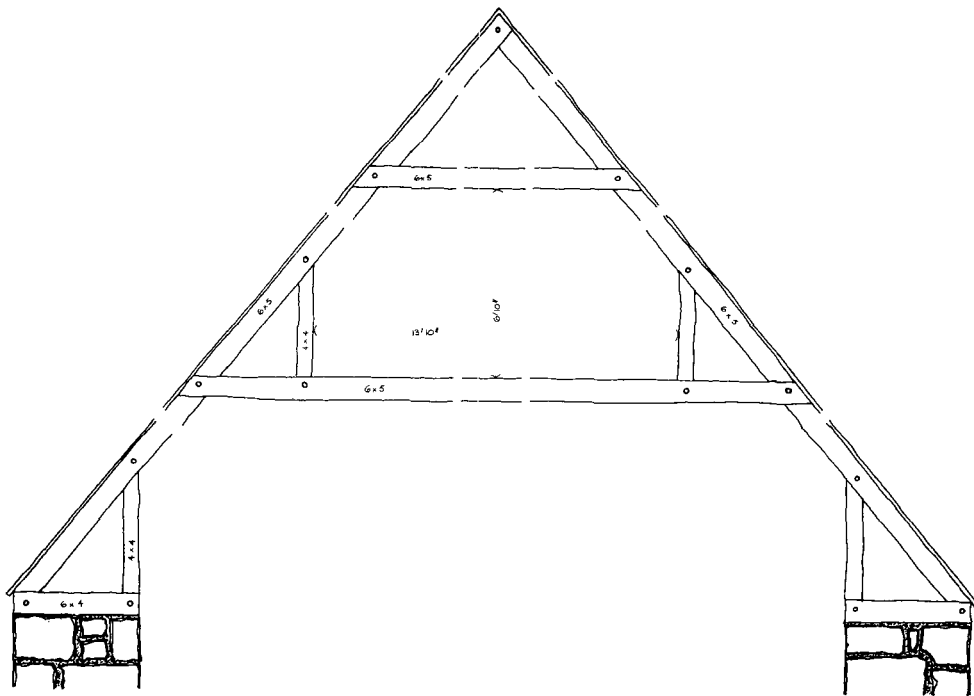
ILLUS 5 Second floor plan 1619–1761

Beyond the Withdrawing Room is the private room, which by 1761 had become the *Lady's Room*; with the provision of the business room at the stair head it had always had the character of a private room, and from 1619 onwards may have been entirely appropriated to the laird's private use. Opening off it is a small lobby which gives access to the vaulted charter room on the first floor of the south-east tower, and to a private cellar below, which until the 19th century had no other access. The charter room and cellar in this position suggest that this was always the laird's own room, and may relate to arrangements that existed before the building of the 1619 house.

As built the second floor of the Jacobean house was occupied by a gallery and a single large chamber (illus 5). The principal, and to the chamber, only access was by means of a wide newel stair from the Hall – again a copy of the Craigston plan – with twin doorways at its head. Opening off the chamber is a small inner room. Below this, and opening off the staircase is another and smaller chamber, the purpose of which is not clear; behind this chamber is an inaccessible space: inaccessible that is except through the floor of the chamber above. This would seem to be a secret chamber, or pit, similar to that at Craigston, or to the *Laird's Lug* at Castle Fraser. In all probability it was designed as a prison. A large room at this end of the house, with a similar-sized inner room in the north-west wing, suggest that in 1619 this was intended as the laird's suite. At Castle Fraser the *Lug* is entered from a closet off a principal chamber, and at Tolquhon the pit is entered from a private room off one of the galleries.

The second floor extends into the roof space, and has a cambered, or coomb, ceiling similar in shape to that over the hall at Muchalls. It was replaced in the 18th century and there is at present no way of discovering whether it was given a rich plaster ceiling as at Muchalls, or a panelled timber ceiling as in the gallery at nearby Crathes.

The roof space is occupied by attics. These can be entered from the east wing by way of a staircase slapped through the gable, but a more direct approach is by way of the turret stairs in the south-west tower. As this stair rises from the cellars, acts as a service stair to the hall and pantry and gives no entry to the



ILLUS 6 Roof framing

second floor chamber, it is likely that it was meant only for the use of the domestics. If this is so, and the use of the attics as dormitories for some of them is likely, then it is possible that the two chambers in the tower and served by this stair were reserved for senior members of the household.

The roof structure, where it can be examined, appears to be largely original and follows the normal pattern of roofs in the north-east at this period (illus 6). There is a series of closely spaced and pegged collared principals, with ashlings and sole pieces at the wall-head, and a pitch of 52°. It differs slightly from many roofs in that these are two collars, the lower one acting as the floor beam for the attic, with the second one set some 6 ft 10 in (2.1 m) above. The principals and collars measure roughly 6 in by 5 in (0.15 m by 0.13 m), the upper ashlings 4 in by 4 in (0.1 m by 0.1 m), and it is likely that the lower ashlings and sole pieces are 4 in by 4 in (0.1 m by 0.1 m), and 6 in by 5 in (0.15 m by 0.13 m) respectively.

It is difficult to judge the effect of the 1619 south elevation. This was clearly intended as the show-piece of the house, but the present near symmetrical re-fenestration of the 18th century has completely altered its balance (illus 22). There certainly was a striving after an effect of openness and length. Unusually there was no attempt to achieve the impression of height which had almost without exception been the dominant element in the larger houses of the area up to this time. That this was a conscious and not an accidental decision is clear, but whether it sprang from a wish to have a long elevation, or whether the plan form of two long rooms *en-suite* forced it is not certain, although the fact that the second floor is partly lost in the roof suggests that the elevational concept was the more important. A major consideration may have been the height of the existing house, which was to form the east wing of the new house. This was no doubt retained both because of the accommodation it provided, and because it could be linked to a new house laid out on unencumbered ground to the west of the medieval tower and courtyard. It may also have been a desire to echo the existing south-east tower which led to the south-west tower being placed so awkwardly in relation to the main block. In order to provide adequate circulation at cellar level the stair tower has had to be brought down on to a passage in so clumsy a manner that its proper proportions are completely lost.

From the period of 1619 dates the formation of the present courtyard or *close* with its very unmilitary gateway in the west wall, together with the much altered office buildings, brew house, meal girdel and servants' room on the north of the court.

The work of the latter half of the 17th century must have been largely confined to the repairs made necessary after the damage and neglect of the Civil War years. However, some time between 1660 and 1761 there was built a *jamm* or wing. The 1761 inventory refers to three rooms as the *laigh*, the *mid* and the *high jamms*. It could be argued that these were in fact rooms in the vanished north-west wing, and that this wing was demolished after 1761, but there is no record of this very major piece of work, and it is more likely that this wing was either never built, or was demolished or damaged beyond repair during the Civil War. In the centre of the house on the north side are the remains of a projecting square wing or *jamm* now altered out of all recognition. This is shown on the pre-Bryce survey as containing a staircase. It certainly fits well with the 18th-century re-planning of the house, and it is tempting to suggest it was built after 1761 so fortuitously convenient as it is, and were it not for another example of a similar *jamm* of the late 17th century in the area. This is at Fetternear where c 1690 Count Patrick Leslie enlarged the house, and provided a projecting *jamm* at the rear and in the centre of a long wing, which in 1818 was converted into a splendid staircase on the central axis of a re-planned mansion. This additional accommodation was probably made necessary at Drum by the loss of the rooms in the north-west wing, and by the opening up of the rooms in the cross wing.

The only surviving work of the first half of the 18th century at Drum is in the *Lady's Room* on the first floor, in the *Inner Box'd Room* above the charter room in the south-east tower, and in what was the gallery or *Mid Room* on the second floor of the 1619 house. On stylistic grounds, and as the *Inner Box'd Room* is mentioned in the 1761 inventory, it must be accepted that the work is earlier than 1761. It is unlikely that any work was done on the house between the death of the 16th laird in 1744, and 1748 when the 17th laird finally escaped from the shadow of the rebellion. No work was likely to have been attempted by either the 14th or 15th lairds so that the probable dates for it can be fairly safely said to be either 1737–44, during the life of the 16th laird, or between the marriage of the 17th laird in 1751 and his death in 1761. From parallels with other houses of this period in the north-east the work would fit comfortably between 1740 and 1755 so it could be the work of either the 16th or 17th lairds; closer dating than that is not possible.

The datable work in the *Lady's Room* is confined to a three-panelled door, and to the heavy plaster cornice, the earlier stonework being the dominant element, although there may have been panelling here which has been removed. On the floor above were the *Outer* and *Inner Box'd Rooms* – *Box'd* being used to indicate that the rooms were panelled or wainscotted. Of the outer room no details remain but, except for the skirting board and chair rail, the inner room is remarkably complete. The fielded panelling is arranged in three tiers, with a lugged panel above the plain stone fireplace. The whole is surmounted by a wooden cornice.

The surviving work in what was once the gallery or *Mid Room* is tantalising and fragmentary. Now divided into a corridor and four rooms it is still possible to reconstruct it as it must once have been. Its size alone, 50 ft by 21 ft (15.2 m by 6.4 m), makes it impressive, and with its original 18th-century trim it would have been an extremely handsome apartment. The cornice survives for the whole of its length along the north side of the room, which is now the corridor, and returns against the east and west walls. The whole room was originally panelled with a heavy bolection-moulded panelling arranged in two tiers. Some of this survives *in situ* on the east wall where it is cut by the later partition, and this seems to be the case again where the partition between the two eastern rooms abuts the south wall. Elsewhere sections of the panelling have been reused. The chimney piece on the east wall, enclosing a 17th-century stone fireplace, is a massive one with a heavy dropped and lugged architrave.

1761–1844 (illus 7–11)

With the accession of Alexander Irvine, 18th of Drum, the house was faced with the longest period of building works in its history; works which were largely to obliterate the Jacobean mansion, leaving only the outer walls, the cellars, the staircases, the dormer heads and the roof timbers as they were; and even this is not certain as far as the dormer heads are concerned. They may have suffered a considerable amount of re-arrangement in the process of improvement. Alexander Irvine's building activities fall into three periods. The first covered the 10 years of his married life from 1776 when he came of age until his wife's death in 1786: during this time at least £425 was spent on the house, with another £293 going towards the cost of new furniture. The second phase, between 1790 and 1792, saw a further £484 going on alterations and repairs to the house, with a bill of £35 to the upholsterers. These alterations made a new road to the house necessary as the entry had been changed from the west to the south side, and in 1803–4 this was done at the cost of £42.12.0. The alterations within the house had produced additional rooms, and one of these, the Green Room, was new furnished in 1808. Since the bills totalled £54.0.0 it seems to have been carried out in a fairly lavish manner. His interest in building continued throughout his life; after his death his executors were obliged to meet bills amounting to £2300 which were listed as being for 'Improvements, New Offices, Mason work on the Tower and General Repairs'. During the course of his long life Alexander Irvine had spent £3251 on the house, and at least another £307 on new furniture. This does not take into account the cost of the gardens, which were a constant drain on the estate. However, since by 1801 the annual income from the estate was £3260, he could well afford this sort of expenditure.

The bulk of the work in the first phase had been completed by 2 July 1776 when a payment of £336.19 for the repairing and painting of the house was recorded. Two months later the bill of £270.12.5½ for new furniture bought in Aberdeen was settled, and, presumably to mark the settling in, on 4 September a fiddler was engaged at the cost of 2/6 to entertain the servants.

One problem that had to be faced in the houses of Aberdeenshire was that of getting large pieces of furniture up and down the small newel stairs, which were general. At Drum, at least in the principal rooms, this did not arise, since the main stair was a straight flight, and the newel stair from the hall to the upper floor was not cramped. There is, however, amongst the papers in the Charter Room an order for a piece of furniture designed to overcome this difficulty:

One vere large size Mahogany sofa, stuffed and finished in best manner fret figured brackets. The sofa taking to pieces in four different parts by screws for the conveniency of moving in stairs and

narrow passages, two pillows filled with broken hair six brass casters each three wheels all the materials furnished and well done up.

This splendid piece of furniture, which cost £5.5.0, did not form part of the 1776 re-furnishing. It had been ordered in September 1771 by Charles Irvine, and paid for on his death in December of the same year.

The work is described in general terms, but certain specific items emerge after the first big payment was made. This was presumably for work that was necessary to put the house into an habitable condition after the years of neglect which it had suffered, and it is doubtful if any extensive alterations or remodelling were undertaken. Additional work in 1776 included the plastering of the east and *Mid* staircases (this last presumably the one leading up from the hall to the second floor) and the roof of one room in the east wing. The stairs would have been plastered on the hard and at £2.7.8½ were half the cost of the roof, but this may have been due to the additional expense of lathing that could have been necessary for a ceiling. By December the drawing room was in use, new doors having been hung, and the chimney swept. For the doors, and for the provision of a new dresser for the kitchen, John Cooper had been paid £5.19.0.

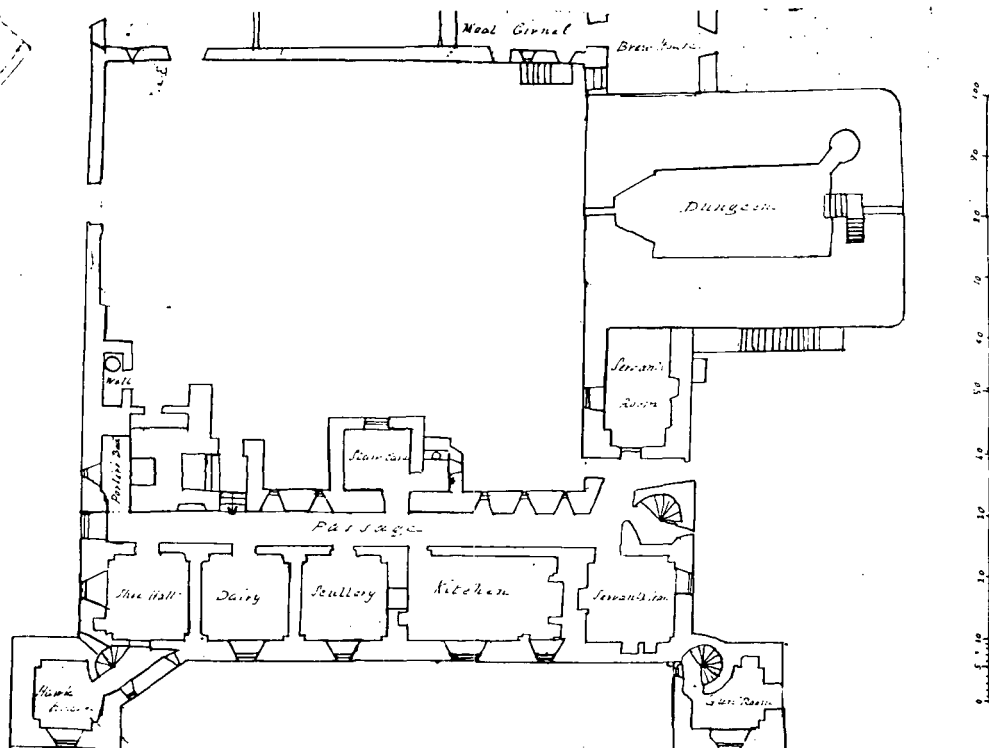
The only item entered in the accounts for 1778 is a payment of £4.8.0 to John Lindsay, the mason, for the new entry. What this is is not clear, but it could have been either a new opening in the courtyard wall to admit carriages to the entrance, or it could have been the entry formed in the east wall of the cellar in the south-west tower. It does not I think refer to the new entry in the centre of the south front; this was to come later. 1778 saw John Lindsay again at work on pointing some of the roof, and bringing water into the close. This may refer to building the well that is in the south-west corner of the courtyard, and providing it with a pump, or to bringing in a piped supply fed from springs or reservoirs elsewhere in the policies. In 1780 money was needed for repairs to the slates on the Tower, for further plastering and for a new grate in the dining room. A new kitchen grate, costing £5.3.0, was provided in 1783 (that in the dining room had cost only £1.12.0 two years previously) and more repairs were needed to the roof.

No payments are recorded for structural work during 1784 or 1785, but when the house was insured in April of the former year the premium, which had been 12 shillings in 1780 had risen to one guinea, and in 1785 the window tax was assessed at £4.19.2. In 1786 work to the value of £50 for men and materials was carried out. This included repairs to the Tower, a new ash house, and the cost of slating the chapel. This last item was probably to put the building into a sound condition since Alexander's wife, Jean Forbes of Schivas was buried that year.

The work carried out between 1790 and 1792 at the cost of £484 was both more expensive and more extensive than that done during the previous 14 years and was to destroy all the remaining traces of the old house. What Alexander Irvine wanted was a symmetrical house, with an entrance at the level of the public rooms, for these rooms to be planned convenient to the entrance, to be suitable for entertaining, with an easy, rather than a newel, staircase to the principal bedrooms and with all the privacy or convenience of a modern gentleman's house. He succeeded remarkably well in his intentions; he also did untold damage (*illus* 7).

In his re-planning he was constrained by three things: first the presence of a very substantial building that he had no intention of demolishing; secondly the presence of a fireplace and chimney in the hall which were impossible to re-position; and thirdly a *jamm* at the rear of the house which could if necessary be demolished, but might be made to serve a useful purpose. He was fortunate in two things; there were no internal structural cross walls to hinder his schemes, and he had absolutely no qualms about destroying the work of his forebears. But then nor did many of his contemporaries.

Of course he was helped in his aims by the symmetrical massing of the south front that had been achieved by his predecessors, but even with this to aid him the symmetry which he did achieve was

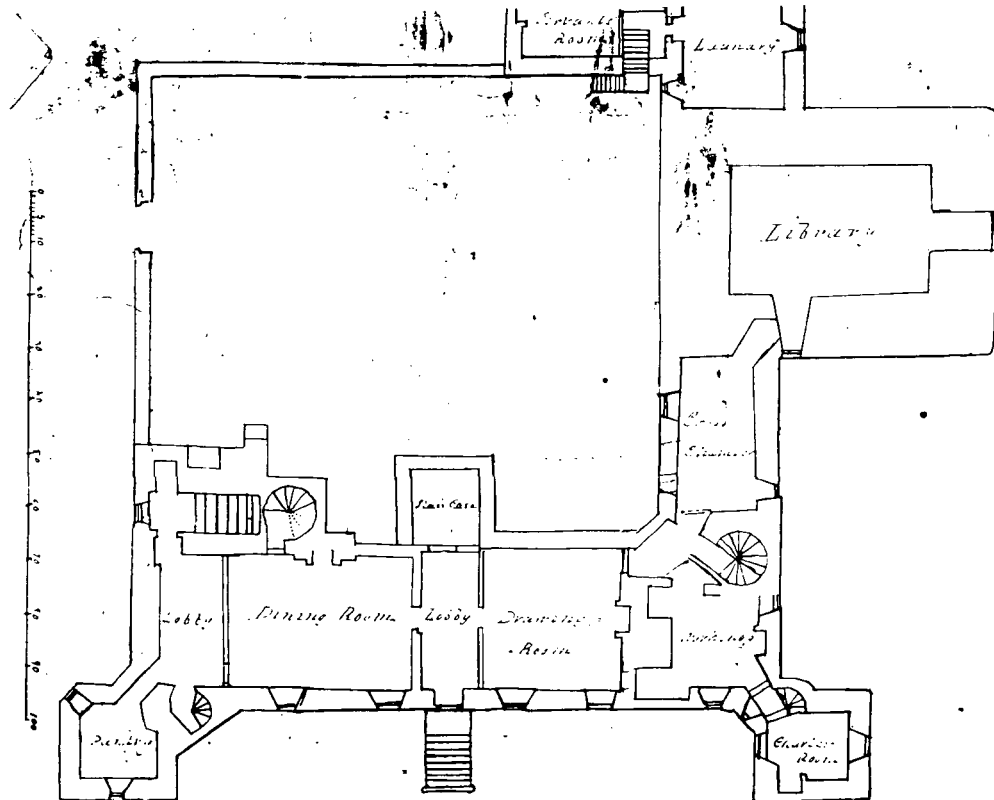


ILLUS 7 Ground floor plan 1761-1878 (RCAMS)

apparent rather than actual, although at first sight this does not strike the beholder. In order to create this effect it was necessary to block the existing windows on the principal floor, and open new ones in their place, and these, together with a new entrance door dignified by a simple dressed stone frame and head and approached by a flight of stone steps, produced a satisfactory result. It is unlikely that the second floor dormers coincided with new lower windows, and in all probability they were re-positioned, although this cannot be proved for certain until either the harling is stripped, or the roof framing exposed. A curious feature is that the central window, above the doorway is kept very much smaller than the others and given no dormer head. This is strange, since by placing three closely set dormers in the centre of the front it would have pulled the elevation together, and given some strength where it was most needed to counter-balance the flanking towers. This would have been a normal architectural device, and suggests that Alexander Irvine, or his builder, was the designer of the alterations, and that no professional guidance was sought.

Internally the planning is better than might have been expected: having stripped out the cross partitions on the first floors, which fortunately did not carry walls above them, it was possible to re-arrange the existing rooms and, by gutting the *jamm*, space could be provided for a staircase (illus 8). An entrance lobby was formed out of one end of the hall with the new front door on its main axis. This lobby led to the new staircase, which was slightly off the axis although this was disguised by forming a further inner lobby, which is not for some reason shown on the pre-Bryce sketch plans, but is shown erased on the final Bryce drawings (illus 14). To the right of the entrance was the drawing room with its western wall moved slightly to the east, and two new windows inserted. On the left of the entrance was the dining room, larger than the drawing room, but considerably smaller than it had been as the hall. It had not only lost its eastern end,



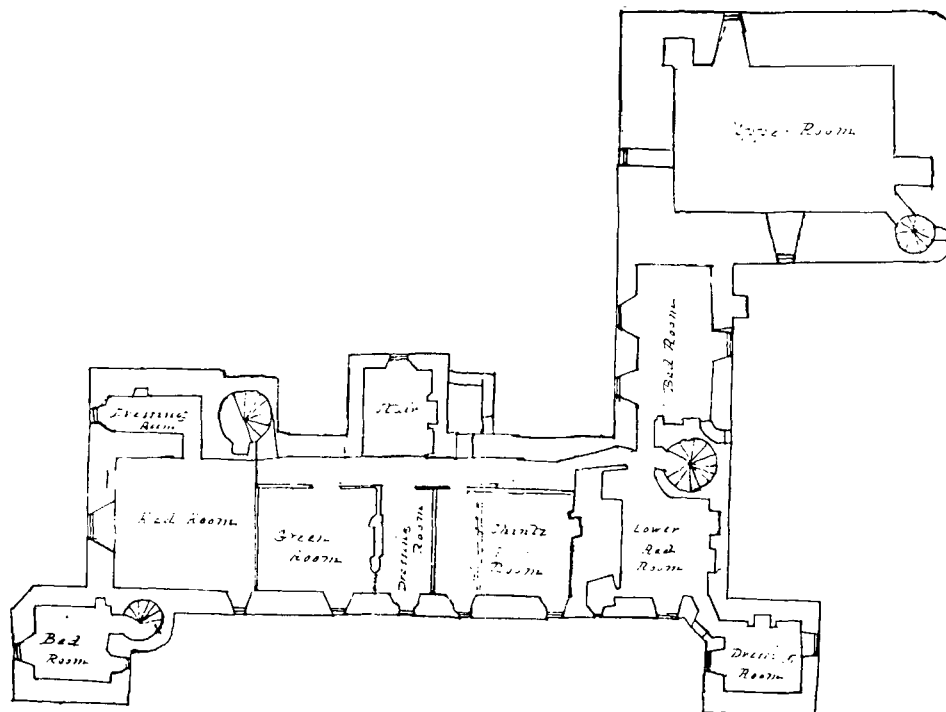


ILLUS 8 First floor plan 1761-1878 (RCAMS)

which had been thrown into the entrance lobby, but the western end, where the screens passage had once been, was turned into a serving lobby. The dining room had been arranged so that the fireplace was almost central in the north wall, the door to the newel staircase was blocked, as were the windows, and two new windows were formed. The rooms thus created were completely re-decorated, and provided with new chimney pieces. These were later removed but seem to have survived, one in the Bryce corridor, the other in the *Green Room* on the floor above. The most positive structural alteration was the building up of the wall between the dining room and entrance lobby in stone. This was necessitated by the provision of a fireplace in one of the bedrooms formed on the upper floor.

The second floor was remodelled just as drastically (illus 9). By bringing the stairs up in the *jamm* it made possible a convenient access to a bedroom floor, and to provide the bedrooms the gallery was sacrificed. A corridor was formed along its north side, and the remaining space was turned into two bedrooms, the *Green Room* and the *Chintz Room*, with a dressing room between them; the west end of the floor was occupied by the large 17th-century chamber, now re-decorated and known as the *Red Room*. The dressing room was lit by the small un-dormered window, now above the entrance door. It was the *Green Room* which was the cause of the stone cross wall being built; the other two bedrooms were already served by 17th-century fireplaces in the gable walls, and to support one for the *Green Room* it was necessary to build up from below. Fortunately this could be done and was incorporated into the planning of the lower floor. At some later date the *Chintz Room* was reduced in size so that it too could be provided with a dressing room.

It has been possible to establish the alterations of 1790-2 through three rough sketch-plans which have survived in the Drum papers. They were made after a library had been formed in the

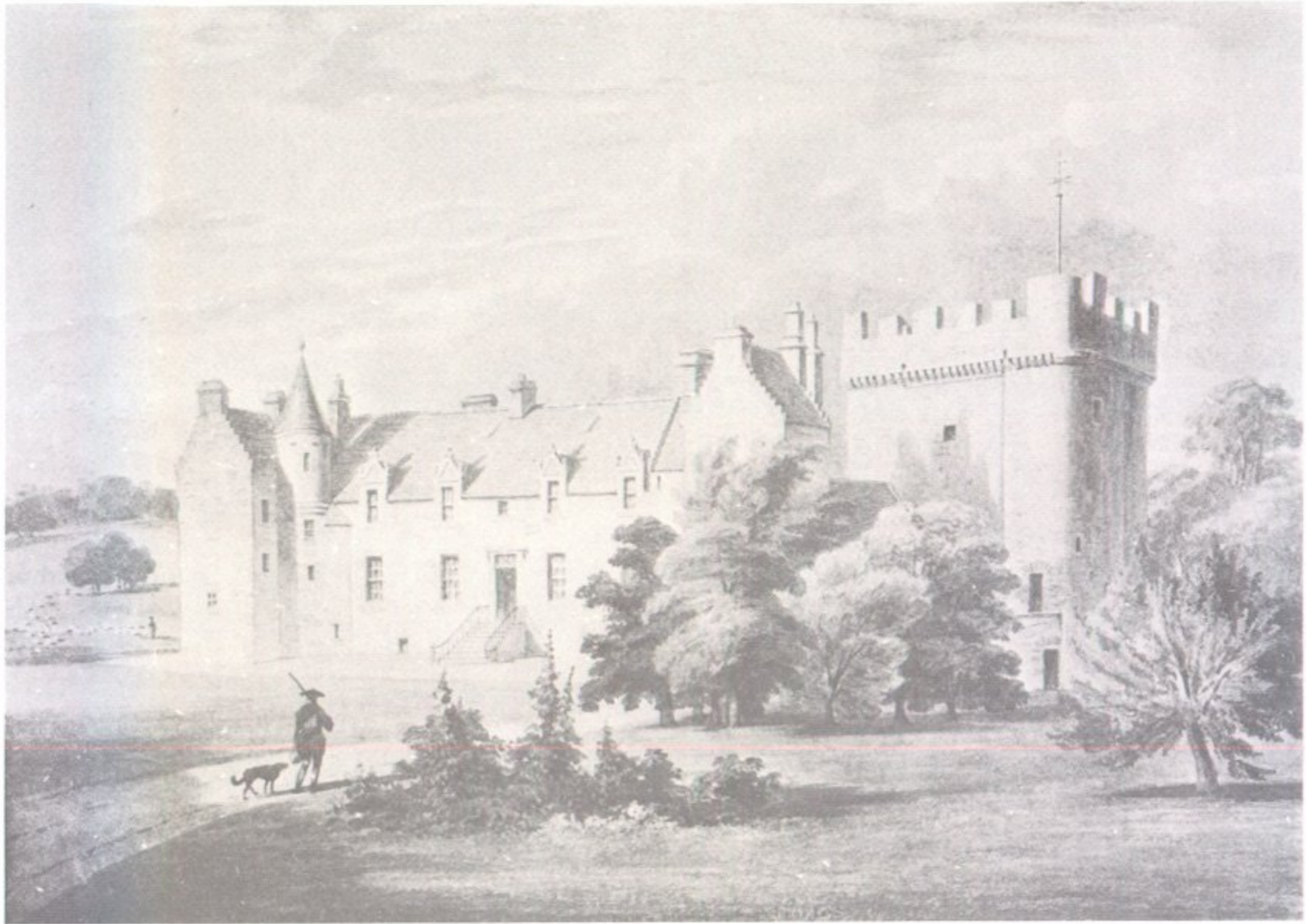


ILLUS 9 Second floor plan 1761-1878 (RCAMS)

Laigh Hall of the Tower and the dressing room taken out of the *Chintz Room* so must date from some time after 1800, probably to around 1850.

The very large sum, £2,800, paid out by the executors of Alexander Irvine in 1845, suggests a considerable amount of building during his last years. Unfortunately, although the account refers to 'Improvements, New Offices, Mason Work on the Tower and Genral Repairs;' this is not very specific. From pictures at the castle it would seem that by 1846 the heavy hipped roof, which early drawings show on the Tower, had disappeared and been replaced by one with a lower profile similar to that existing today, and it is possible that part of the money went on a complete overhaul of the old castle (illus 10, 11). Probably a considerable source of expense must have been the fitting up of the library in the Tower. It was certainly complete in its present form by 1848 as there is a drawing in the house showing it at that date, which appears to be the work of Anna Forbes Irvine. However, the architectural style is of some 15 years earlier. The library is a dignified room, echoing the shape and space of the medieval hall which it fills, and the detailing of the bookcases and the plaster vault is perfectly in scale, without being heavy, and simple without being mean. The only two points at which one can cavil are the inadequacy of the window details, which must be an afterthought, and the quite appalling picture by Hugh Irvine, said to be a self portrait, of the Archangel Gabriel, which hangs above the chimney piece. The quality of the room, which is high, suggests that it is the work of an architect of considerable skill: any building of this quality at this period and in this area automatically attracts the name of John Smith or of Archibald Simpson. So far no documentary evidence has come to light to suggest any direct connection between either of these architects and Drum. However, it is worth bearing in mind that Archibald Simpson was the architect of Drumoak Parish Church 1835-6,





ILLUS 10 From the south c 1826: James Giles, from a drawing by Hugh Irvine



ILLUS 11 From the west 1846: G E Forbes (RCAMS and NTS)



and that Alexander Irvine was the principal heritor in the parish. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that in 1829 Hugh Irvine was colloquing with John Smith.

Earlier it was suggested that the entry formed in 1778 may have been the doorway into the cellar in the south-east tower. A picturesque story has grown up about this room, and it is a story that was first given circulation by MacGibbon and Ross, who refer to it as a 'speak-a-word' where the laird was able to interview his outdoor servants. This was repeated as fact by Dr Simpson and now seems to be received as gospel. It may have been a family joke, or a colossal leg pull, for it was not the only piece of misinformation that seems to have been given to MacGibbon and Ross concerning Drum. Whatever the laird may have done in this room its primary function was that of *Gun Room* and so it is designated on all the 19th-century plans. An interesting point is that in the view of Drum published in Giles's *Castles of Aberdeenshire*, which is based on a drawing by Hugh Irvine, a sportsman is shown making his way towards this corner of the castle (illus 10). As Hugh Irvine died in 1829 it is possible to put this doorway before this date, and as brick is used in its formation a period before 1778 would be very unlikely.

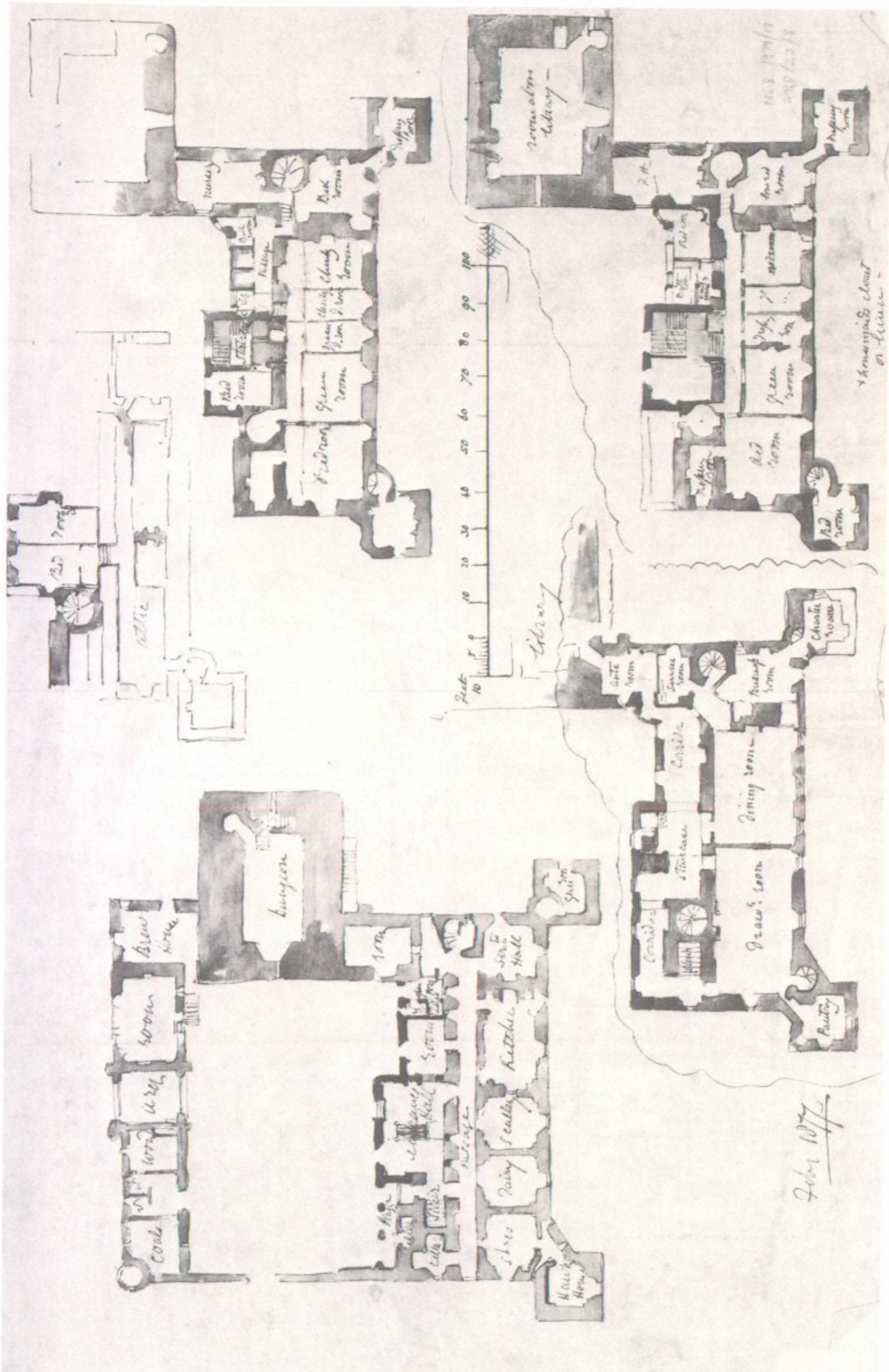
#### 1875–1882 (illus 12–18)

When Alexander Irvine, 20th of Drum, succeeded in 1861 it was to be 14 years before he was to begin the alterations and additions which were to transform Drum radically once again, and which have left it in the condition in which it is now. Once again the work of an earlier generation was swept away, and unlike the alterations of the 18th century it is very doubtful of there being any gain in convenience. Of grandeur there was an excess.

It is curious how quickly an error can become an established fact, and even more curious how quickly an error can arise. The design of the new work at Drum has always been credited to David Bryce. This rests on the statement in the second volume of MacGibbon and Ross who speak of enlargements made for the present proprietors from plans by the late David Bryce. This was published in 1887, only seven years after the completion of the work, and 11 years after Bryce's death; the earliest known sketch plan to survive dates from 1877 (illus 12), the final drawings, on which the plans published by MacGibbon and Ross are based, are dated 1878 (illus 13–15), and many of the details were not ready until 1880 (illus 18). Since the plan published in volume II of *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* is a combination of the 1878 plan and the pre-Bryce survey plan with some additional interpretation from the authors' memories it is likely that there was a similar amalgamation and interpretation of the facts.

The intention to alter the house must have been taken at the earliest by late in 1875, and the architect chosen was certainly David Bryce. Work of some sort was put in hand almost at once, and possibly a sketch plan of some sort had been drawn, but this does not survive. In any case David Bryce died on May 7, 1876 and his practice was carried on by his nephew, John, and it is John who was to be responsible for the design of Drum as it stands. Before this was accomplished, however, two sets of sketch plans, which survive, were prepared. Before these were done, however, there was already work in hand. From John Bryce's letters, written on heavily bordered mourning paper from George Street, it is clear that by 16 May estimates were coming in for work to the value of £702.3.0, and that he was checking both these and the schedules attached to them, and he also makes it clear that some joinery was already ordered. This work was done as the accounts for 1876 record a payment of £702.3.0 being made for it. None of this can be identified, but it is possible that it included a considerable amount of re-decorating and maintenance work. This is borne out by a payment in January 1877 of £280 for mason work, and a note that in May the turrets were being plastered internally. This probably refers to the stair turrets, which since then have been scraped painstakingly





ILLUS 12 Sketch plans for rebuilding 1877: John Bryce (RCAMS)



clean. It is also extremely irritating to find Bryce writing of being busy checking the schedule and estimates based on the 1876 plans. Clearly these must, at an early stage, have been abandoned and probably destroyed, since no copies survived in the Drum archive.

The intention from the beginning seems to have been to remodel the two principal rooms on the first floor, and the early work which was paid for probably refers to the stripping out and making good that was necessary here. If David Bryce had a hand in the alterations at Drum it may be that his missing plans showed this proposed re-arrangement. What was envisaged and what in fact was done was to reverse the positions of the drawing room and dining room, enlarging both rooms in the process by throwing the entrance lobby and inner lobby into the new dining room, and the service lobby into the new drawing room. The 18th-century cross wall could not very well be moved since this would have meant a major re-organization of the second floor, which was not intended, so the new drawing room became the larger of the two rooms, although it was still not as big as the 1619 hall.

This re-planning, since it put the 1790 entrance and staircase out of use, and used the 1619 staircase as the main approach to the first floor, made it necessary to re-plan the circulation of the house, in order to avoid the drawing and dining rooms becoming passage rooms. This may have been the custom in 1619 but by the 1870s architects were expected to provide the picturesqueness of a baronial mansion and none of the original inconvenience. They were after all perfectly capable of providing any amount of inconvenience on their own account.

A set of rough sketch plans were produced in February 1877: these were to provide the basis for the final design (illus 12). To give the necessary means of access a new north front was planned, masking the old house from the courtyard. On the ground floor there was a large entrance hall at two levels, with a new doorway formed in the original entrance lobby. This hall absorbed the lower floor of the *jamm*, the space between the *jamm* and the cross wing being occupied by a servants' hall, water closet, ash house and small open porch (or dust trap). To the right of the new entrance block was an arcaded *piazza*. On the north side of the courtyard there was a new wing of offices, containing coal and wood stores, and further water closets for the servants. Between these new offices and the old *girn*el and brew house was a *pend*, or gatehouse, which admitted carriages to the courtyard and thus to the entrance door, which had not been possible before. This had its merits as it protected visitors from the wetting they would have received if they had been obliged to draw up before the old gateway in the west wall, but never the less it was a curious piece of planning. Whilst the house was provided with front and back doors so that there was no danger of Queen and coalman arriving simultaneously at the same entrance (as once in fact happened at Craigievar) the doors were only 40 ft (12.2 m) apart, and the gatehouse and courtyard were common to both. It can only be that, in the desire to retain a feeling of medieval enclosure, class distinction and domestic convenience were swept aside.

On the first floor the doorway on the left at the head of the 1619 stair was enlarged to give on to a short corridor leading to a new staircase. This was placed above the entrance, and eventually, in flights of complicated grandeur, reached the bedroom floor. It is doubtful whether such a staircase as shown on the sketch plan could ever have been built. The staircase itself occupied one end of the further and broader corridor running along the north front. An angled passage-way in the north-east corner led awkwardly into the cross chamber, which had been divided into two rooms, one a service room for the new dining room, the other an ante-room for the library.

There were two schemes for the second floor: both provided a bedroom hung over part of the stairwell. They varied in that one suggested enlarging the *Chintz Room* by including part of the bedroom corridors in it and providing a water closet, bathroom and two large store closets with a passage above the first floor corridor. The other devoted this space to another bedroom, bathroom and housemaids' closet served by a lobby opening off the bedroom passage.

This scheme did not at first find favour with Alexander Irvine and to meet his objections a further set of sketch plans was produced in October 1877 and sent to him on 1 November. The drawings show a very much simpler scheme than either the previous one, or the one that was finally adopted. The proposal that

the laird favoured made no alteration in the intended disposition of the two main rooms, but considerably altered the arrangements in the new part of the house. The entrance hall was contained within the lower floor of the *jamm* and the staircase occupied a semicircular projection built in the space between the *jamm*, and the 17th-century entrance which was left unobstructed. The piazza was retained, but to the left of the entrance, where it sheltered the servants door. The new stair rose to the bedroom floor and was expressed externally as a strong vertical element on the elevation. At first level the *jamm* was incorporated into the stair-hall, and both dining room and drawing room opened off it. Beyond this hall a wide corridor led as before to the angled passage giving access to the cross wing and library. On the floor above the planning was much the same, except that a bedroom survived on the upper floor of the *jamm*. This plan shows an intention to make use of the upper hall of the Tower by forcing an entry to it and providing a staircase from the cross wing.

The only apparent disadvantage, and that a minor one, was that because of the projection of the stair tower it was difficult for a carriage to draw up hard against the front door. What was clear, however, was that John Bryce did not like the scheme – probably because it was not his – and in his letter of 1 November argues against it in those reasonable and measured phrases used by architects when determined to prevent a client from having his own way:

I have altered the plans of the proposed additions to Drum Castle in the manner we talked over when I was there viz. Keeping the Entrance door back in the wall of the present staircase and only projecting the new building the size required to contain the stair. This arrangement has the disadvantage I pointed out – the entrance door being so far back that a carriage cannot be driven close to it. On the principal floor it suits well enough. On the bedroom floor I have shown that the accommodation would be if the walls of the corridor are carried up, and on this plan and on the elevations I have appended overlaps shewing the walls of the corridors stopped at the height of the principal floor. In either case the arrangement of the attics would be the same.

This plan of keeping the entrance door back does not work well for the elevation as the gables over the entrance door and projection for the stair are narrow. As retaining the old wall of the present staircase will effect almost no saving I would recommend that we go back to the former design in this respect, thus securing a better elevation.

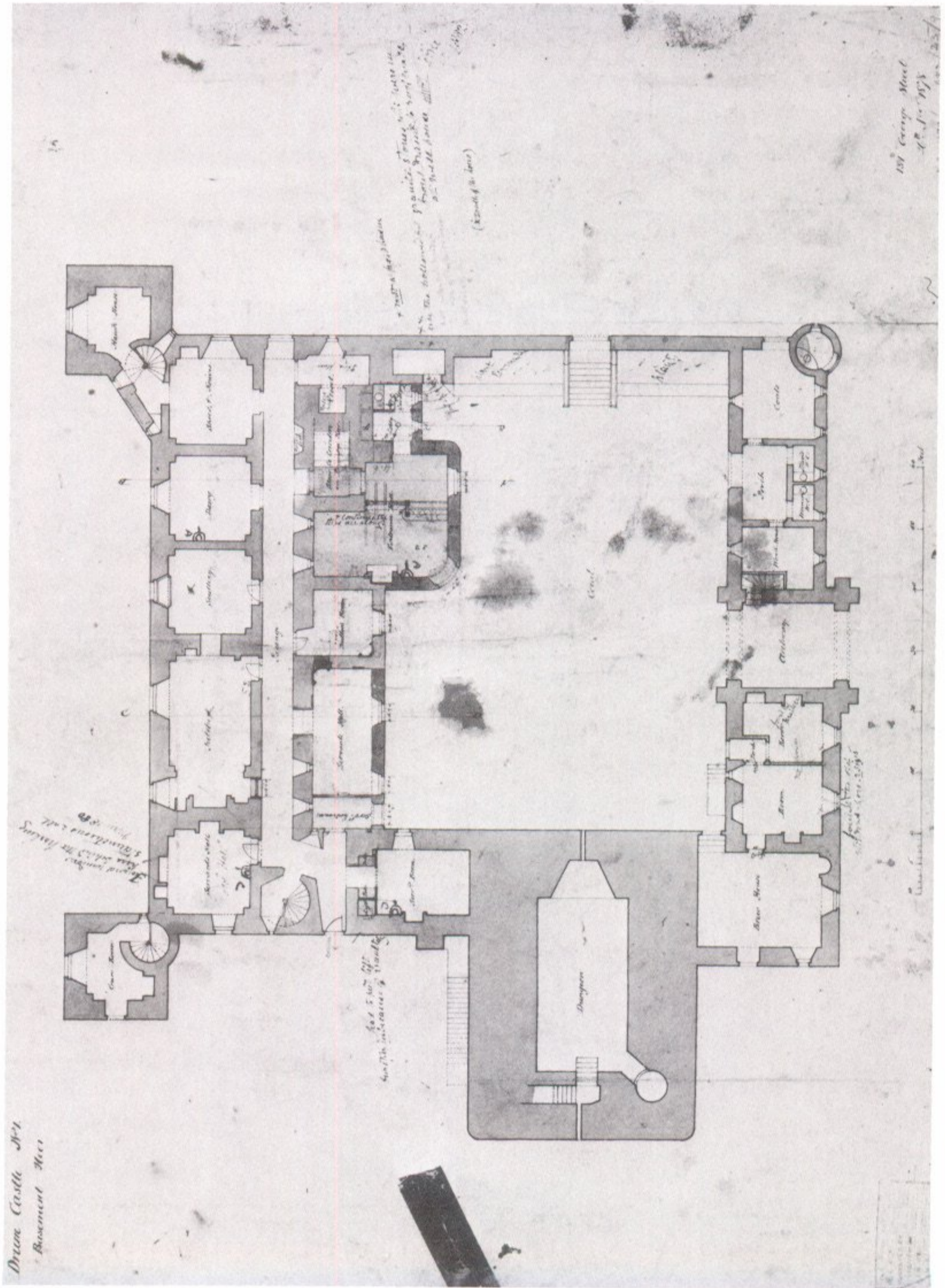
Such arguments were irresistible; John Bryce had his way and the laird footed a much larger bill.

The final drawings for the plans, sections and elevations are dated 26 November 1878, and are a revised version of the sketch plans of February 1877. The principal difference lies in the handling of the entrance hall and the staircase. The split-level entrance hall remains but has been re-positioned so that the inner entrance is by way of the 1619 entrance doorway with the yett retained (illus 13). On the first floor this produced a shorter initial corridor before the stair hall was reached, and a larger grand corridor was provided, which took in the whole of the *jamm*. An angled passage to the cross wing was avoided, but this was not a gain as it meant a most uncomfortable line for the partition between the service room and the ante-room, which managed to destroy both rooms as spaces (illus 14).

The weakness of the design was the landing of the staircase, and its expression on the elevation. Although on the first floor it occupied the whole of the space above the entrance hall it needed only half this space on the floor above (illus 15). Part was roofed in at second floor level, but the remainder was carried up to the level of the next floor and then crowned with an attic; on the elevation it was the narrow width that was expressed, and it was certainly no wider than Mr Irvine's narrow gable, which John Bryce so much deplored. This elevation is further weakened by the entrance doorway being placed on the curved corner of this block. In fact this whole section of the elevation is the least satisfactory feature of Drum: it is a constructed decoration and confuses rather than disguises the purpose of what lies behind it. It must be said that Alexander Irvine's proposals would have produced a more convenient house. Quite fortuitously, however, the present hall seems to provide a very adequate, albeit, draughty, entrance to a National Trust property; but that is not exactly the purpose for which it was designed.

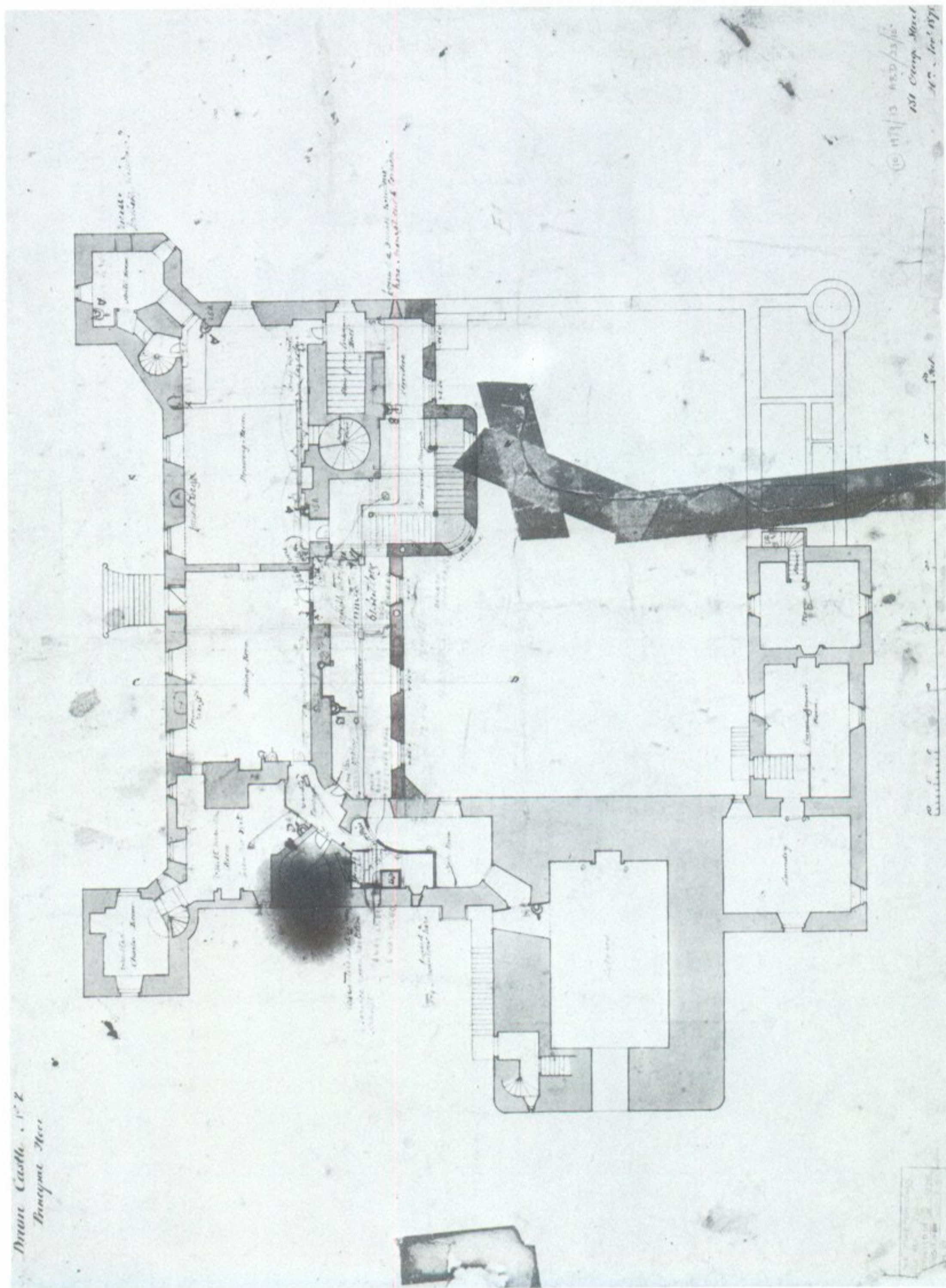
With the completion of the final working drawings in November 1878, building would probably have started in March the following year. By January the schedules of work and rates of the plumbers and plasterers were being examined. During 1879 details were produced of the wooden dormers in the roof of the south front, and of a considerable amount of stonework including the gable over the entrance, the turrets and false cannon on the courtyard elevation, the stone roof over the western corridor, the decorative stonework of the dormers on the north front, the rope moulding to the entrance doorway, and the chimney copes. Joinery work provided in the same year included the entrance hall, the staircase and the





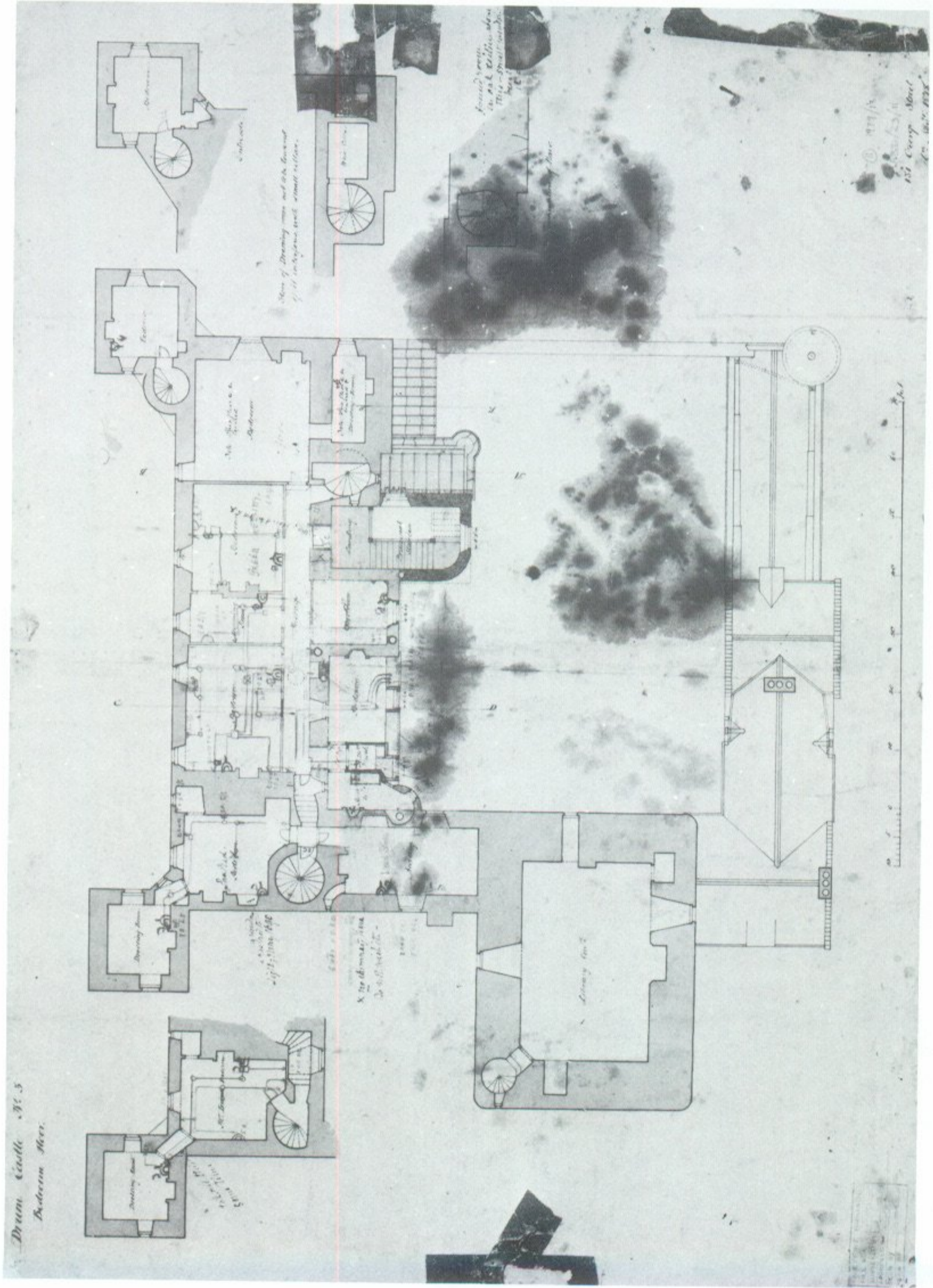
ILLUS 13 Ground floor plan 1878: John Bryce (RCAMS)





ILLUS 14 First floor plan 1878: John Bryce (RCAMS)

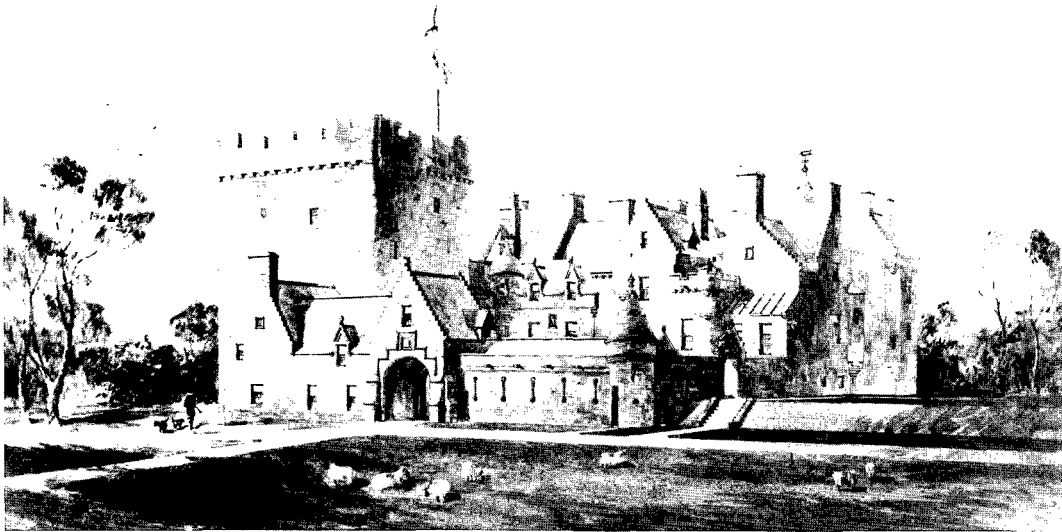




ILLUS 15 Second floor plan 1878: John Bryce (RCAMS)



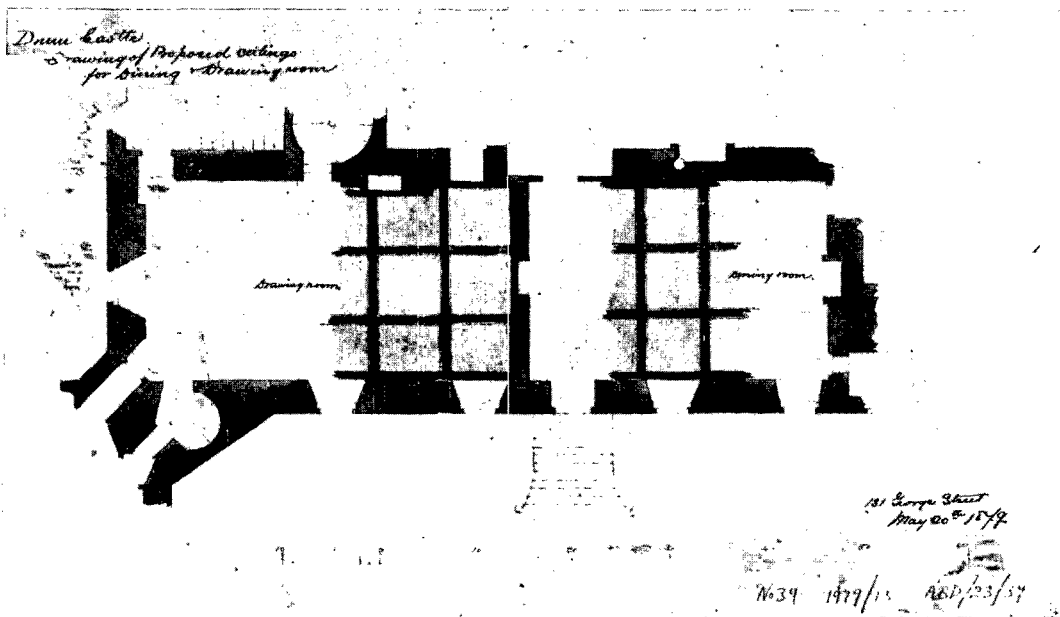
ceilings for the dining and drawing rooms (illus 17). As some of these details were not supplied until October much of the work would not have been completed that year, and this is borne out by the fact that only £752.16.5 was paid out according to the 1879 accounts. In 1880 work was to cost £1426.14.11 and this must represent a considerable amount of that detailed in the previous year. Amongst the details supplied in 1880 were those for much of the internal decorative timberwork, including the large chimney piece in the drawing room, the drawing for which is dated 11 November (illus 18). Again much of this was unlikely to have been completed until 1881 when the accounts show that £898.8.0 was paid for building work. 1881 probably saw the completion of the alterations since only £74.8.5 is recorded as having been spent. Since the first payment in 1876 the alterations had cost a total of £4134.10.9. To this would have to be added a considerable sum for furniture, curtains, carpets, fees and incidental expenditure, and the final figure would probably have been in the region of £6000.



ILLUS 16 From the north-west: John Bryce (RCAMS)

Whether this was money well spent is open to question. In 1870 Drum must have been a pleasant convenient and slightly old-fashioned house with pleasant 18th-century decorations and ample service accommodation; admittedly it would have been in need of a certain amount of modernization. By 1890 it had been transformed at considerable expense into a Baronial Mansion, with three very large public rooms, one of which, the library, had already existed, two more small bedrooms, a bathroom and an attic, a large entrance hall, an even larger upper corridor, and a staircase out of all proportion to the needs of the house, and very little convenience or comfort at all.

Bryce was certainly a better detailer than he was an architect or planner. Whatever the elevations may lack in balance, or the plans in simplicity, the detailing of the individual element is



ILLUS 17 Preliminary design for the Dining Room and Drawing Room ceilings 1879: John Bryce (RCAMS)

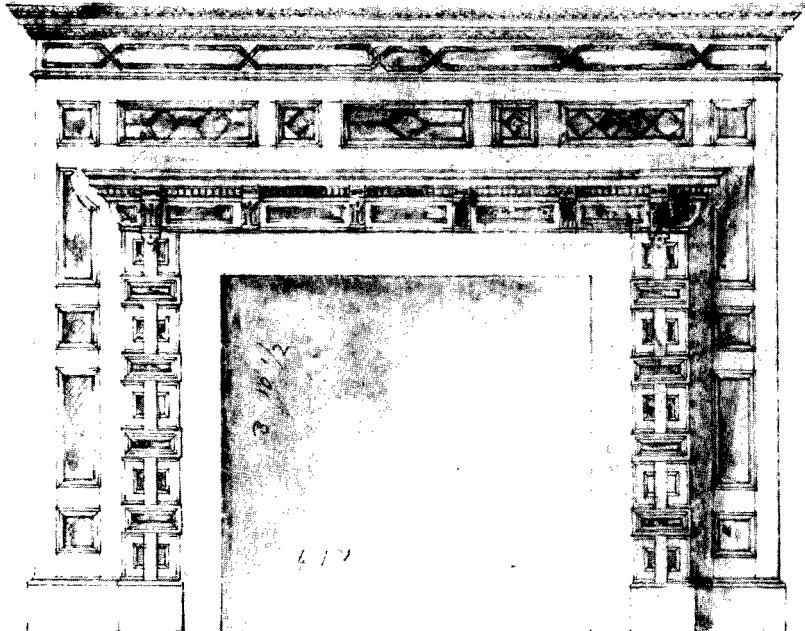
careful and sensitive, and the workmanship is excellent. This is particularly true of the two big chimney pieces in the drawing room and the dining room – this latter taking the 18th-century chimney piece in the gallery as its model – and the ceilings and joinery in the same rooms. It is designed in a loose version of early 18th-century work and blends remarkably well with some of the 1790 work – windows, shutters, doors and doorcases – that Bryce retained, and with the 17th-century work he exposed. Considering what might have been grafted on to the old house one must be thankful that either taste or lack of money exercised a restraining influence.

This was the last great building period at Drum. Since then there has been neither the need, nor the inclination to alter, and improvements have been confined to the provision of better services. The advent of the National Trust has improved the internal appearance of the house enormously and such alterations as have had to be made to provide for the needs of visitors and of the Trust's staff and representative have been done without, so far, affecting or further confusing the architecture or archaeology of this extremely complex building.

#### THE CHAPEL (illus 19, 20)

To the west of the castle is a small rectangular chapel measuring some 37 ft by 21 ft (11.3 m by 6.4 m). Much altered over the years, its rubble walls are still in large part those of the original building and date at least from the 15th century. The only other original features that may date from this period are the two weathered heads built into the west wall, and the north doorway with its plainly chamfered jambs and head. Although it went out of use as a chapel possibly during the years of the Civil War it never became ruinous, and remained in use as the family's burial place. This is itself unusual, since the customary practice was to leave a chapel as a ruin, once it had ceased to be used for religious purposes, even though it was still used as the family vault. Given the episcopal tendencies of the Irvines it may have continued in use for occasional services.

*Sketch of chimney piece in Drawing Room*



*Elevation*

ILLUS 18 Design for Drawing Room Chimney piece 1880: John Bryce (RCAMS)

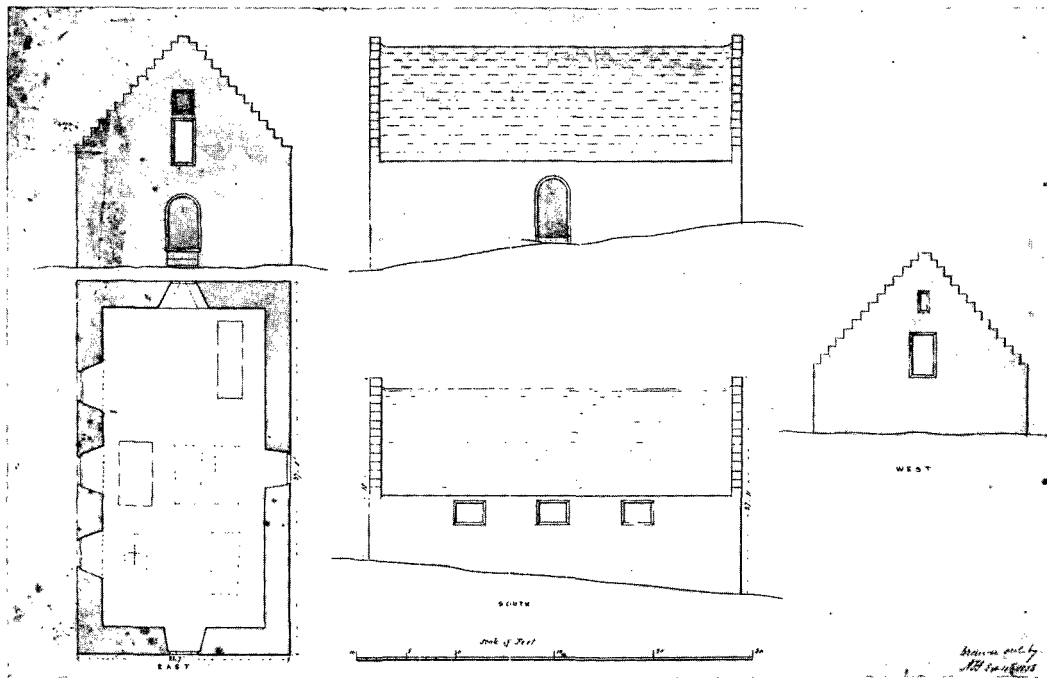
The earliest marked slab in the chapel is that of Alexander Irvine, 17th laird, who was buried there in 1761. Sixteen years later his son was to spend £1.7.4 to provide five new oaken frames for the chapel windows. These would have been the three square windows in the south wall and those in the east and west gables, which have since been enlarged. The three old windows were each protected by three vertical bars; the bars have disappeared but the sockets remain. In 1786, the year in which Jean Forbes of Schivas, the wife of the 18th laird, was buried there, the roof was reslated.

The chapel remained in good repair and its 18th-century condition was recorded in a survey of it made on 10 October 1856 and signed 'AIF' (possibly for Anna Forbes Irvine) (illus 19). This was a prelude to restoration which started in 1857 as a memorial to Alexander Forbes Irvine, the six-year-old grandson of the 19th laird, who had died in 1856. In this first restoration a new roof was provided, the west window enlarged, and the cross and bellcote added. The 20th laird and his wife carried the work a stage further in 1864 when the walls were picked clean to expose the stone rubble, a new floor was laid, an altar installed and the west window filled with stained glass depicting the Crucifixion by Hardman of Birmingham. Work continued to be done by Alexander and Anna Forbes Irvine, stained glass was added to the east window in 1876 and a font provided in 1882.

The two most important items in the chapel have found shelter there from elsewhere. The oldest is the altar slab or *mensa*: this is a massive sandstone slab measuring 7 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 8 inches and 8½ inches thick (illus 20). It has five elaborately incised consecration crosses, the central one being larger than those at the corners, and all of them much larger than is customary. An unusual feature is that all the crosses are joined by incised diagonal lines. The four edges of the slab are moulded with a quirk and roll. It is said that it was formerly in the old parish kirk at Drumoak, but it has certainly been in the chapel since 1820 when John Logan drew it. That it was ever meant for either the kirk or chapel is most unlikely. From

its size and the moulded edges it seems to have been intended for a freestanding altar in a large church. James Cruickshank, who felt that the design of the slab was 'not inconsistent with an early date' suggests that the moulding is not unlike the quirked bowtells on arches of the crossing of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen, and, from its material, style and size, that it might have come from the old Norman choir of that church when it was demolished in the 1490s to make way for the new choir.

There is no doubt from whence the great tomb canopy on the south side of the chapel came. This originally sheltered the effigies of Sir Alexander Irvine, 4th of Drum, and Elizabeth Keith his wife, and stood in the Drum Aisle in St Nicholas Kirk. In the restoration of the church in 1875, which followed on the great fire of 1874, the canopy was dismantled and the stones left lying in the kirkyard. These were finally



ILLUS 19 Survey of Chapel 1857: AIF (RCAMS)

rescued and brought to Drum, where they were re-erected in the house, by Anna Forbes Irvine. The heavily moulded segmental arch is decorated with an elaborate cresting and is surmounted by Sir Alexander's arms, complete with helm and crest; it is as fine an example of 15th-century tomb design as any in Scotland.

In two acts of worthy piety the last laird caused the altar slab to be cleaned and returned to its proper use, and placed the tomb canopy in its present position against the south wall. Both the altar and the canopy are too big in scale for the chapel but at least they are safe and in seemly surroundings.

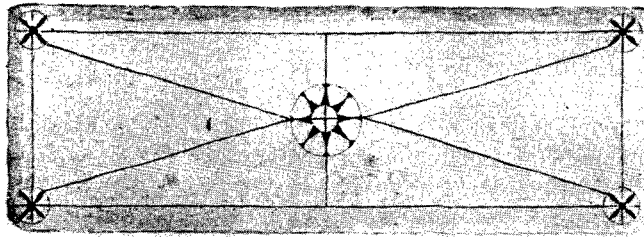
#### THE GARDENS (illus 21)

Of the 'pleasant garden planting' at Drum, that was destroyed by Argyll's troops to make huts we have no other record than Spalding's bleak words, and the gardens which replaced it after 1660 would have no doubt followed the formal pattern of the time with walled enclosures, grassed and gravelled walks, and

possibly elaborate parterres. There was unlikely to have been much remodelling after the death of the 11th laird in 1687 unless the 17th laird had begun some improvements before his death. Certainly there seems to be no evidence, even in the form of tree clumps surviving from felled avenues, to give any idea of the early setting of the house.

With the accession of the 18th laird this was to change. If not an enthusiastic gardener himself he was certainly enthusiastic about his garden and from 1775 was prepared to spend a considerable amount on it, and was sufficiently interested in plants to subscribe to the Botanick Gardens in Edinburgh (the subscription being a guinea).

In 1775 the gardener at Drum was James Gray, who was paid the not inconsiderable sum of £13.8.8 for making in inventory of the garden, and there is a note that he was buying plants from William Reid. Reid and others of his name occur frequently in the garden accounts. James Gray seems to have been gardener for three years, being succeeded in 1778 by John Anderson. He lasted a year and in 1779 William



**F**

Section of the stone

Gravestone in the Burial vault of Laird of Drum. *interior view.*

ILLUS 20 Altar stone in Chapel 1820: John Logan

Reid appears to have been in charge of the gardens. He was followed in 1780 by John Jaffray, and in 1782 by Thomas Ross, who was still there in 1784. After this date no name is mentioned in the accounts although it is clear that Thomas Reid had been called in 1796 to advise on the planting of the new garden. The provision of a 'gardeners house' in 1787 suggests that by that date the laird was employing a permanent resident gardener, and those men named in the earlier years and paid a fee, which was noted as a separate item in the garden accounts, were men of a rather higher position, who may have had their own nurseries, and other gardens under their charge.

After the inventory had been taken, James Gray was paid a further £3.7.0 in 1777 for winter plants and for 'the plot in the garden'. This last item is unclear but it probably means that he had drawn up a plan for planting out. From 1778 until 1787 sums were paid out each year for the garden wall and these finally totalled £75.16.6. It is not clear, although in 1780 there is a reference to 'clearing old and building new', whether this was constant work to maintain an old wall in a usable condition, or the building of a new, but in view of later expenditure on the new garden it may have been the former. It may also have referred to walls in more than one garden enclosure, since in 1779 the wall concerned is described as 'the new garden wall with paling with the expense of levelling the ground before the house'. Never the less, wherever it may have been, the wall continued to soak up money and by 1787 the expenditure on the garden, which included the wall, the gardeners' fees, new plants, the gardener's house, new frames, and the tax on the gardener came to £282.2.8½, whilst against this was set the sale of produce from the garden which began in 1780. It had

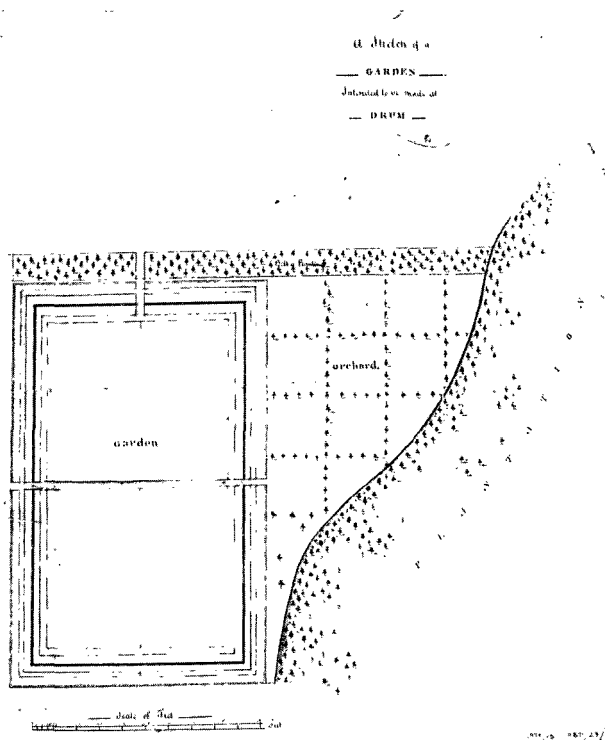
probably taken five years to bring the garden into a condition where it could produce a saleable surplus. As this averaged out on an annual basis at costs of £23.10.3 against sales of £10.3.7 it could hardly be said to be a profitable venture, unless the garden stuffs going to the house were worth more than £13.6.8. Possibly they were.

For some reason after 1788 the garden accounts become much less detailed, and occasionally disappear altogether, until 1796 when there is a figure of £200 shown, which was about the cost of the new garden wall. This is very much more than anything spent previously. The 'New' refers to the garden, rather than to the wall. Alexander Irvine had built for himself a great enclosed garden at some distance from the house. The drawing for this survives (illus 21), and from Thomas Reid's letter to the laird concerning the planting, it would seem that this was the work of Colin Innes, who, some years previously had surveyed the estate. The walls of the garden still survive, as does the skeleton of the layout, and it should not be impossible to reconstruct from it a productive garden of a late 18th-century country house. Thomas Reid's letter concerning the planting and the correct methods to be adopted is of interest and is accompanied by a list of trees that were obtainable from his son's nursery (appendix C).

The 19th and 20th centuries saw further changes in the setting of the castle. By the time Hugh Irvine painted his views of it in the 1820s all vestiges of the 17th- and 18th-century layouts (apart from the great walled garden), had disappeared, and been replaced by some sub-Reptonish planting; as the century advanced more planting of specimen trees produced the setting which today complements the late Victorian re-creation of the house and the medieval tower which is the first impression that visitors receive of the castle.

#### HUGH IRVINE 1782–1829

Of all the Irvine family, Hugh, the third son of the 18th laird, is one of the most interesting. He is chiefly remembered today for his painting of Castle Street, Aberdeen, in 1812, but in his own time he



ILLUS 21 Plan for the new garden c 1796: Colin Innes (RCAMS)



was highly regarded as a topographical artist and a man of architectural and antiquarian taste, and as a painter whose larger canvasses are likely to produce a feeling of acute embarrassment in a modern viewer. He moved in the circle which included Sir Walter Scott and James Skene, and amongst his correspondents were James Byres and Sir David Wilkie, and if he owed something of his standing to his position as a son of one of Aberdeenshire's principal landowners he owed a great deal more to his own undoubted abilities. At an early age he came very much under the influence of his uncle, James Irvine 'of Rome' (1759–1831) noted in a small way as a painter and art dealer, and a friend of James Byres of Tonley. There is much in the archive at Drum concerning both Hugh and his uncle, but there is not space to do more than indicate his interests, especially where they relate to matters concerning the north-east, and for this purpose the material is confined to the years between 1824 and 1829 – the year in which Hugh died.

Throughout this period he was deeply concerned with antiquarian matters, and he had canvassed his friends about his intention of collecting and publishing sketches of 'curious relicks of Antiquity'; to this request Sir Thomas Dick Lauder of Relugas had suggested 'Sir Walter Scott would be your man for such things' and in 1825 James Skene, who on his behalf had also been pursuing the possibility of such a publication, wrote to say that although he had consulted Constables in Edinburgh they felt 'it was not in their line'. In 1826 Irvine was in Rome where he met James Giles, the Aberdeen painter, who was studying on the continent at that time. This meeting of great importance for Giles: through Hugh Irvine's contacts he was introduced to other painters and to his friends, amongst the



ILLUS 22 The South Front today (NTS)

landed classes of the county. To this friendship, and that of William Gordon of Fyvie, Giles owed much of his future success, and he was always to remember Irvine with great affection and respect. His fourth son, born in 1830, the year after Irvine's death, was to be named Hugh Irvine Giles, and in the series of paintings, the *Castles of Aberdeenshire*, Giles's finest work, the painting of Drum is taken from a painting by Hugh Irvine.

Hugh had returned to Great Britain in 1827 and was deeply involved with a work on antiquities which was to be published some years after his death. This was *Picturesque Views of Ancient Castled Mansions in Scotland. Drawn on stone by C. Hullmandel from Sketches taken on the Spot. Dedicated by Permission to the Marchioness of Stafford*. Charles Hullmandel (1789–1850), the son of a German musician, was one of the finest lithographers of his day, and this particular series of pictures came out in the 1830s.

In the published views some are lithographed from drawings made by other draftsmen. Hullmandel's extraordinary version of Cluny Castle is clearly an attempt to understand James Skene's even odder sketches, and the views of Crathes and Drum are acknowledged to have been drawn by Hugh Irvine. Until now it has always been assumed that Hullmandel had received Irvine's sketches *after* his death from James Giles, and that the slight variations between Hullmandel's view of Drum and that included in the Giles' set were matters of individual choice. It now seems rather more likely that two different sketches were in question. The evidence for this lies in a long letter from Colonel Charles Fraser of Castle Fraser to Hugh Irvine, and written in February 1827. Hullmandel had made a drawing of Castle Fraser, which was to be one of the views published, and the Colonel was concerning himself both with the publication and with obtaining subscribers. The letter clearly shows Irvine's involvement in the scheme.

From Colonel Charles Fraser to Hugh Irvine

Castle Fraser. Tues.  
Feb 3. 1827

"My dear Sir

I was much obliged to you for sending the Drawings for me to see. I think they are uncommonly good and will be [a] very great acquisition to the work. You have succeeded admirably in Crathes which if I could have ventured to retain I would have asked leave to copy. I do not see in the roll of drawings any separate drawings of the Architectural ornaments – this I mention lest they should have been mislaid – or lest you might think I had not put it up with the other drawings.

As you are going to London so soon you will be able to see Hullmandel perhaps, and to impress upon him the importance to the work of scrupulous fidelity to the character and ornament of these old houses, which he may have forgotten, although he has seen some of them, and to point out those beauties of the Architecture, which however your Drawings describe so well, and with which I am sure he will be delighted, and the work will be very much indebted to you. I return the drawings to you and it would be of consequence if you would take the trouble to deliver them yourself. I have got about 25 subscribers on my private list – I hope Lady Stafford will have got some in London – these friends and I hope the work will bring in something to Hullmandel on its own merits. I have recommended him to have a few pages of general remarks by way of [introduction] of the work and the name of the places, County and persons to whom they belong to each plate. Mr. Skene of Rubislaw will I hope furnish something of this sort as well as some drawings. I am glad Sir Robert Burnett has subscribed. I suppose your drawings have produced an effect upon him. I intended to get Monymusk as you proposed – but he escaped me and the Grants have left home. I hope I will have the pleasure of seeing you in Aberdeen on the 10th – and I remain My dear Sir

very truly yours  
Charles Fraser

You will I hope caution Hullmandel not to let your drawings be spoilt.

Abergeldie is a picturesque little building but hardly of consequence enough I think to come into the early numbers of the work, but if it is carried on would be a very good variety as a specimen to

fill up. I think you will agree on this, and perhaps it would be as well not to give it to Hullmandel at present that he may keep to the best subjects as long as we can furnish him with them.”

*To Hugh Irvine at the Drum*

In the same year Irvine had made a drawing of Abbotsford, and in writing to him of it Sir Walter Scott describes it as ‘so well chosen as is calculated to make me like Nebuchanezer proud of the Babylon’.

Perhaps the most irritating letter in the archive is the one written to Hugh Irvine by Decimus Burton on 7 September 1827. Irritating because it says very little, but suggests endless possibilities:

6 Spring Gardens  
London  
7 Sept. 1827

“My dear Sir

I beg to acknowledge your favour of the 28th ult. and to subjoin an extract from a letter just received from Mr Dighton respecting the delay which has taken place in delivering the model he engaged to make of the Archway for you. I had written and sent messages repeatedly to him previous to receiving your letter on the subject, and I am sorry he has been so neglectful.

I think the Magistracy will decide on executing the Design for it will be a handsome addition to a handsom city.

I am Dear Sir  
yours most faithfully  
Decimus Burton”

*H. Irvine*  
*Drum. Aberdeenshire N.B.*

It of course refers to the screen built between St Nicholas Kirk and Union Street, but the story behind the letter is interesting and, perhaps, not entirely edifying.

When John Forbes of Newe died in 1821 it was felt that his many benefactions should be commemorated by a memorial to himself in the burgh; a committee was formed and a number of suggestions both numerous and ghastly were proposed. Fortunately Hugh Irvine interested himself in the matter, though whether on behalf of the committee or in a private capacity is not certain. Evidently he admired the work of Decimus Burton, whose screen at Hyde Park Corner had been built two years earlier than this letter, in 1825. Burton was commissioned to prepare a design, and John Dighton to prepare a model. The scheme was to contain a statue of John Forbes within the central archway. From the letter it seems that Hugh Irvine was fully aware of the form of the proposed design. Apparently because of difficulties with John Dighton the drawings and model did not arrive at Drum until the autumn of 1829 by which time Hugh Irvine was either dead, or on the point of death, and it was his brother, Charles Irvine, who sent them on to Aberdeen. On 14 December 1829 the proposals were laid before the Lord Provost, Gavin Haden, and the memorial committee, and it was decided to recommend the acceptance of Burton’s design, save for the statue, which was to be omitted. Four days later the Town Council agreed to the proposal, and Burton’s fee of £25, and Knighton’s fee of £10 were paid.

Between 18 and 25 December there must have been some pretty persistent lobbying, because on the latter date John Smith, the Burgh Architect, submitted a further design. This proposed to provide columns of cast iron, and to build a separate cenotaph or obelisk, in memory of John Forbes in the kirkyard. The Town Council adopted this scheme in preference to Burton’s as being more appropriate, since his was designed to incorporate the statue within the arch.

The question that must be asked is how much of the design is Smith's, and how much is Burton's. The Hyde Park screen combines the Triumphal Arch motif with the columned screen of Carlton House, and smaller terminal pavilions. This is the pattern of the St Nicholas screen, except that the terminal pavilions have no gateways. As soon as the design was published informed opinion seized on the resemblance of Smith's screen to that of Hyde Park.

Unfortunately Burton's drawings do not seem to have survived indeed they were probably destroyed. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that for reasons of a narrow, local or possibly discreditable nature someone decided that a local man rather than a big London architect should have the job. Burton's design, which placed the statue under the central arch, would have needed gateways in the terminal pavilions; by closing these and by removing the statue – and this seems to have been all that John Smith did – a slightly different structure was produced. Burton had plagiarised his own work; Smith had the good sense, or the good taste, to see that he could not improve on it, and was quite prepared to take the credit. Not enough evidence to hang a man on, but enough to bring in a verdict of not-proven.

In the end the cast-iron columns were abandoned as they proved to be more expensive than granite. The obelisk was removed in time to the grounds of the Asylum.

The last two letters date from 1829, the last year of his life. On 12 July he received a long and largely indecipherable letter from James Skene. Sir Walter's concerns bulk large in it, but so does the old undying passion and the innate credulity of the true antiquary:

I have delayed answering your letter in hopes of being able to send you a sketch of the Keys of Loch Leven but Lord Morton is not at . . . at home. I am not acquainted with him but Lord Meadowbank his neighbour promised to get the Key and send it to me, they are very small ordinary looking keys, and he seems to doubt them having been those thrown in the Loch in Q. Mary's time. Prince Charles' target with the . . . of Cluny MacPherson I shall probably get a sketch of . . . I have taken a little Etching job at Sir Walter Scott's request for each of the Waverly Novels, a series of etchings from my own drawings of the *real localities* he had in view in his descriptions which for that purpose he previously communicated to me, and indeed many of them were taken in our rambles together and since described from my drawings when he was not acquainted with the locality.

The last letter shows Irvine once more as an unofficial emissary of Aberdeen:

'Coade Imperishable Stone, Scagliola and Marble Works,

Lambeth. 21 July 1829

"Sir

I beg leave to inform you that the price of the arms 7 ft 6 ins long – shield with three Castles or Towers and the Leopards as Supporters – if in Alto Relivo to be fixed against the Blocking will be *Thirty Guineas*. If made round figures to be placed on the blocking the charge will be *Forty Guineas*.

Hoping to be favoured with your Commands

I remain  
Your Obdt. Serv.  
W. Croggan"

– Irvine Esq.  
53 Great Coram St.'

Again some handsome public building is to be erected, and is to bear the arms of the city. But as with Decimus Burton's letter the reader is left puzzled and irritated.

After Hugh's death the antiquarian tradition of the family was to be revived twice more. Once by Anna Forbes Irvine, wife of the 20th laird, and again by Quentin Forbes Irvine, the last laird.

## ENVOI

For 630 years the history of Drum was the history of the family of Irvine, and for much of the time it was the history of Aberdeen as well. Whoever held Drum held one of the keys to the city. The first part of that story has now ended; it remains to be seen if more chapters will be written in the second part.

## APPENDIX A

## SIR ALEXANDER IRVINE'S PROTESTATION AGAINST EXCOMMUNICATION, 1652

The protestation submitted by Sir Alexander Irvine against the sentence of excommunication delivered against him in January 1652 is a document of some interest. The cause of the dispute, a cause which was to bring so much distress eventually to the Church of Scotland, arose from the right of lay proprietors to present livings to their own nominees. The living of Drumoak had become vacant and Sir Alexander wished to fill it – as he eventually did – by appointing an Independent, Mr Andrew Ballenden. The appeal attracted considerable attention in England, where the dispute between the Independent and Presbyterian parties was then raging. Mr Ballenden, a deposed minister, who had embraced the Independent and Congregational beliefs, was not of the same strong material as his patron. On 21 October 1652 he grovelled before the Synod, repented his errors and promised to depart and act as a minister only if caused to do so by the Presbytery and the Congregation, under pain of excommunication. In his public recantation there is that unpleasant note of induced confession and abasement that has become all too familiar in trials in this century. The Kirk was not to enjoy this and similar triumphs for long. In the following year Cromwell, whose spirit of toleration did not extend to papists, episcopalians or, in the end, to the extreme covenanters, treated the General Assembly in the same way, albeit less dramatically, that he treated the rump of the Long Parliament.

The act for the *Incorporating of Scotland into one Commonwealth and Freestate with England and for the Abolishing the Kingly Office in Scotland* was published in 1653, and the ordinance of Incorporation, which finally abolished the Privy Council, the Committee of Estates, the Court of Session and the General Assembly of the Kirk was issued on 12 April 1654. It allowed for 30 Scotch Members to be called to Westminster, and for the day-to-day administration of the country to be in the hands of a Commission of seven members, four English and three Scotch, sitting in Edinburgh. The real power, however, lay with General Monk and the army.

Apart from its historical interest, the protestation is a splendid piece of prose, dignified and flowing, and well worth reading, both as fine writing, and a timeless protest against theocratic tyranny.

## PROTESTATION BY SIR ALEXANDER IRVINE OF DRUM AGAINST THE PRESBYTERY OF ABERDEEN – 1652

Whereas the presbytery of Aberdeen has lately ordained to excommunicate me, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, for having appealed from their judicaterie to Colonel Overton, and for some false and forged slanders, invented against me by some of their own members, to make way unto their insatiable ambition, and other perverse ends, all of which matters they have not put to a trial before any indifferent judge or prudent arbiters; but they themselves, in a most insolent and headstrong way, will be both judge and parties, whereby they have not only disdained to acknowledge the authority of Colonel Overton, commander-in-chief within the presbytery of Aberdeen, who did accept the appellation; but also they have rejected all other fair means and accommodation which I have offered, and most arrogantly contemned the orders of Lieutenant General Monk, discharging all Ministers and kirk officers under highest peril to impose any oath or covenant upon any person whatsoever without particular warrant from the Commonwealth of England. Therefore that no good Christian may take any stand at their sentence of excommunication against me, following their own example, who have often protested both against Kirk and State, I do protest for the nullity of their particular presbytery's sentence, and that it may not prejudice me neither before God nor man, neither in spiritual nor temporal matters. First, in regard it has proceeded from men more full of fiery zeal, to advance their own ambitious and worldly interests than the gospel of Jesus Christ, as may appear by their many practices, and particularly by their urging me this twelve month bygone with threatening of excommunication, and of temporal losses,

to swear and subscribe their solemn league and covenant, as if it had been a matter of salvation to me to swear to establish by arms, Presbyterian government in England; and yet, in the meantime, they would never satisfy the reasons, which did hinder me in conscience to obey them, but with implicit faith, the which they condemn in Papists, they would have me, against the light of my knowledge, to forswear myself; and yet shows more their implacable malice and perverse policy, they did urge with like threatening my wife and three young maids, my daughters, who, for their age and sex, are not capable of such politick and armed theology. Secondly they did maliciously endeavour to make me to be esteemed a Papist, which is their ordinary course, wherebye they make the more colourable way and fairer pretext to satisfy their restless ambition, and execute their rage upon all who will not implicitly obey them and idolatrise all their crafty inventions; and when they have tried many ways, but in vain, to make probable this their vain imagination, they at length, when all other means failed them, by an unparalleled barbarity, enforced my servants to reveal upon oath, what they saw, heard, or knew done within my house, beyond which no Turkish inquisition could pass; and whereas, at last, to put an end to their cruel inventions against me and my family, I offered to clear myself from being a Papist before the moderator of the presbytery, and any two or three witnesses he would name, or bring with him (so that my doing this might not wrong my appeal to Colonel Overton); yet this offer was absolutely rejected, unless I would rescind my appeal and submit myself totally their judicatory, which was to swear to all their inventions, which neither in conscience nor honour I could do; wherebye it may be seen what great reason I had to appeal from such false accusers and partial judges, wherein I did imitate St Paul, who appealed from the cruelties of the Pharisees unto Caesar, a civil judge, although no Christian. Thirdly, the principal ringleaders of the said presbytery of Aberdeen did protest and appeal from the late national assembly, wherebye as schismatics, they themselves ought to be censured, and so have no power to censure me; but such men as are so arrogantly ambitious that they will give no obedience to their superiors, either civil or ecclesiastical, and yet they will, like popes, exact an infallible obedience from others, albeit they be most fallible and disobedient in themselves. Fourthly, in respect it is the opinion and received judgement of the best Protestant reformed Kirk, that no excommunication can be valid without the consent of a visible congregation, which consent I am able to qualify your want in your unjust sentence against me; wherefore I desire all good Christians not to be scandalised with this barbarous action. Lastly, I do here now, as I have done formerly by my procurator, George Johnston, at the presbyterial meeting at Drumoak, in the presence of the godly people here present, separate myself from the discipline of Presbyterie, in particular that of Aberdeen, as a human invention that is destructive to the civil peace of Christians, and intend, by the help of God, to walk and live in such a Christian way and gospel, as is conformed to the Divine will in the sacred word, and not prejudicial to the peace of Great Britain's commonwealth, of which I am a member. For the above said and other reasons, reserved to due time and place, I do protest for the nullity of your sentence, and that all the evil consequences of it may fall upon yourselves, for your unjust and cruel proceedings against me; and now again I summon you master pronouncer of the said sentence, and the rest of the presbytery, to compare before Colonel Overton, at his return to Aberdeen, or any other judge, who shall be appointed by the English commissioners, to hear yourselves answered, and condignly punished for your open contempt of their authority, for your cruel proceedings and erring sentence of excommunication, and for your usurpation of civil authority, being discharged by the parliament of the commonwealth of England and their commissioners, by open proclamation, in all the chief burghs of this nation, and particularly in Aberdeen.

## APPENDIX B

### INVENTORIES

Intventory of Furniture, bedding and Linnen as they stand in the House of Drum Feb 17. 1761.

#### *In the Dining Room*

Two Geen Tree tables	12.10.0
Eighteen Beech Chairs wt leather bottomes	4.10.0
Two Elbow and one Dressing do.	.18.0
Ane Eight Day clock and a Mahogany caise	
A night table	.12.0

*In the Drawing Room*

One Mahogany folding Table	11.10
One do. wainscot	.80
Two Mahogany standards	2.00
A plain Teaboard do.	.60
A dozen Geen tree chairs	4.00
Two Elbow do.	1.10
Ane Escritoire and bookcase of Yew tree	
A Mirror glass gilt framed	3.00
A Barometer and a Carpet	
A Grate, fender, fire irons, bellows and brush	.15.0

*In the Bedroom same flat*

A blue stuff bed with two feather beds, two bolsters and two pillows, three pairs of blankets, one single do., a fustian bed cover	
Four Geen Tree chairs	
One Easie do.	
a footstool and a small folding table	
A close Stool and a Mirroir	11.30
	<hr/> £32.40
carried over	32.40

*In the Mid-Room*

A white Fustian bed Mahogany frame	
a Down bed, bolster and pillows, a feather bed and bolster, Six English blankets, one Scots do., a large white Fustian bed cover	
Eight Plumtree chairs	
Ane Easie Chair and two Footstools wt. white covers	
A Mirroir Glass, a small Square Table and	
Stand for bottle and bason, a close stool a Coarse great and fire irons	25.12.0

*In the Laigh Jamm*

A Red Damask Bed, two feather beds and a bolster,	
two Down pillows, Five pairs of blankets, One single do.	
Four Geen tree chairs, two footstools, a Mirroir,	
A square Table and Stand for a bottle and bason. A Close	
Stool and an old bedcover	13.4.0

*In the Mid Jamm*

A blue Linse Bed, a feather bed, bolster and Down	
Pillows. Three English blankets, one pair Scots do.	
Four Plumtree Chairs, two footstools, a square table,	
a Dressing Glass, a close stool	8.1.0

*In the High Jamm*

A Tent bed, a Coarse feather bed, a square table and	
five old chairs	
In the West Garret	
A large Square Table	2.3.6
	<hr/> £81.4.6
carried over	81.4.6

*In Janets Room*

A brown Cloth bed, two feather beds, two bolsters,  
two pillows, two English blankets, three pair Scots do.  
Four Geen tree chairs, a Square Table  
a small Mirroir, a Close Stool 10.2.0

*In the Inner Room*

The wood of a bed, a wainscot latrin .15.0

*In the Outer Box'd Room*

A Folding bed, Yellow Curtains,  
A Large Oak Press  
Six Rush Bottomed Chairs  
A plain tree Tea Table 9.16.0

*In the Inner Box'd Room*

A Yellow tent bed, a feather bed, two bolsters  
and two Down Pillows, four pairs blankets  
One Easie Chair  
Four Geen tree chairs, a Footstool, a Mirroir,  
A Square Table, a close stool 9.16.0

*In Mrs Margaret Thompson's Room*

Eight Geen Tree Chairs  
Ane old Easie Chair  
Ane English box-bed, feather bed, bolster and  
pillows, five pair of English blankets, Three pairs of blankets 9.0.0

£114.2.6  
carried over 114.2.6

*In the High Cross Chamber*

Two close beds, in one of them a feather bed, bolster,  
and one pillow, four pair blankets  
In the other a coarse feather bed and bolster  
Three pair coarse blankets  
a Fir-press, a Chest, a Candle do.  
Two Old Chairs, a small Table 7.11.0

*In the Nursery*

Three Stand-beds, one a feather bed and four bolsters,  
three Chaff-beds, Eleven pair of blankeets  
Ane old box-bed  
A Fir-press and Table, Six Timber chairs 7.16.0

*In the Laigh Cross Chamber*

A large wainscot table  
A chest .15.0

*In Fornet, the Kitchen and Woman House*

Nine timber beds, One feather bed, eight feather  
bolsters, seven chaff beds, twenty pairs of blankets,  
six coverings 12.12.0



*In the Pantrie*

Two tress and a Table	1.10.0
	<hr/> £144.6.6
carried over	144.6.6
Twenty four table cloaths	10.4.0
Twenty three dozen napkins	14.0.0
Four dozen and a half of towels	1.16.0
Twenty five pairs Linnen sheets	12.10.0
Twenty pairs of tweedling sheets	5.0.0
Twenty eight pillowbars	1.8.0
Nineteen pair Harden Sheets	3.0.0
Eight single Sheets	.10.0
	<hr/>
Sum	192.14.6
Different articles in kitchen, Cellars and Washing house and supposed to be worth	30.8.0
Inventory of Cattle and Sheep supposed to be worth	95.11.8
	<hr/>
Sum	£318.14.2

The Labouring and Garden utensils not included.

Cash and Bills to the value of £132.0.0 were found in the house.

## Notes on the inventories:

A much more detailed inventory was made on 15 May for the displenishing roup (see p 309). This second inventory added some further details. The 'Bedroom on the same flat' becomes the Lady's [DRUM] Room, and its easie chair had a red and blue tartan cover. It amplifies the accommodation in the Fornet, where it notes the presence of a mangle and some spinning wheels in the Woman's House. It also breaks down the number of beds to two wooden beds in the west room, one Gardener's bed, two beds for servants, two beds in the womans house, and a Hyrers bed.

Whereas the early inventory only mentioned some of the service rooms it is possible with the later one to account for the following: kitchen, pantrie, Diary (Milk House), Bread Cellar, Washing House, Woman's House, Brewhouse. The Fornet is probably the Foranenot; 'a building opposite', ie on the other side of the close.

## APPENDIX C

## THE GARDEN

A letter from Thomas Reid concerning the New Garden, together with a list of shrubs that were obtainable from his son's nursery at Banff, 1796

To John Irvine of Drum

Cullen. 8 Dec. 1796

Sir

I suppose most of your new garden may be trenched by this time and making ready to plant trees its my opinion that ye should Pave Below every tree with old Slabs or thine flags and pot two or three inch of the fattest Clay above the flags to prevent the Watter from sinking in the Sand. This may be done with the Espalier as well as the Walls. Likewise there may be a Large Quantity of Good Earth and Rotten Cow Dung Prepared for all the Borders – if the work were mine the Next Autumn would be My time to plant my wall trees and Espalier, when the Borders were properly made rich and well prepared. I commonly see half of the Fruit Trees lost by their being planted in unprepared Soil, and on a bad Sandy bottom without any Pavement under them.

As to Berry Bushes I think planting them in Clumps or Brakes is better than putting them along the Borders as Gathering the fruit Spoils the whole Garden. I believe the best kinds of berrys in this country is at Lord Findlaters and Lord Fifes at Banff. If ye want any I can give you good young bushes of the best kind I know in this Country but Not till Next Autumne as the Season is now Passed, and your Ground Not Prepared for them. Inclosed is a list of My Sons Forest Trees in Case ye may want any such Trees, the Seedlings Aught to be Nursed one year before they are planted out on the hills.

I was sorry Not being able to See Mr Innes at Durres this Autumne but my health was So Broke I cannot Ride or travel ten Miles at one time. If I recover hopes to See You and him both Next Spring. Ye have heard of my taking the New Garden and Hot houses at this place, I hope if ye come to the North ye will Call on me at Cullen and See what I am doing. I think ye will find them in better order than they were when ye Saw them last.

I hope this Meets You and family all well

I am Sir  
Your  
Most Obedt. Serv.  
Thomas Reid

Trees in Wm. Reid's Nursery at Banff. October 1796

Ash 8 to 12 feet	5s.p.120
Ash 2 to 3 feet	2s.p.1200
Ash Seedlings	4s.p.1200
Allars 1 to 3 feet [Alders]	4s.p.120
Allars Seedlings	1s.p.120
Beech 1 to 1½ feet	5s.p.1200
Birks Weeping 2 years old	7/6p.1200
Birks Common 2 years old	6s.p.1200
Barberrier Seedlings [Berberis]	2s.p.120
Chestnuts Sweet 3 feet	5s.p.120
Chestnuts Horse 3 feet	5s.p.120
Elms 5 to 10 feet	5s.p.120
Elms 2 year seedlings	6s.p.1200
Elms 1 year seedlings	3s.p.1200
Filberts Spanish 4 to 6 feet	5s.p.120
Laburnums 5 to 8 feet	5s.p.120
Larix 2 to 3 feet	3s.p.120
Larix 2 year seedlings	5s.p.1200
Larix 1 year do.	3s.p.1200
Limes 2 to 4 feet	5s.p.120
Oaks 3 to 5 feet	4s.p.120
Oak Seedlings	6s.p.1800
Plains 4 to 8 feet	4s.p.120
Poplars white American	2d. each
Plataner 2 to 3 feet [Plane]	2d. each
Roantree 7 to 10 feet	7s.p.120
Roantree 3 to 5 feet	3s.p.120
Roantree, Lord Fife's varieties	6d. each
Servicer 1 to 3 feet [Service]	7s.p.120
Scots Firs, transplanted	2/6.p.1200
Scots Fir 2 year old seedling	1s.p.1200
Spruce Firs, transplanted 4 years	5s.p.1200
Spruce Fir Seedlings 3 years	4s.p.1200
Thorn Seedlings	4s.p.1200
Yew Firs, three years old	2/6.p.120

A great collection of flowering Shrubs, Flowers, and Flower Roots, Roses, Apples, Pear, Plum, Cherry, Apricot, Peach and Nectarine trees. Goosberries of all kinds, Currants, Raspas, and Honeysuckles etc. etc.

## APPENDIX D

### COLONEL JONATHAN FORBES LESLIE

In any account of Drum and the Irvines it is inevitable that the name of Colonel Jonathan Forbes Leslie should occur. He was both the author of the standard history of the family and the father of Anna Forbes who, in 1848, married Alexander Forbes Irvine, later to become the 20th laird of Drum; it was probably from her father that she inherited her antiquarian interests. Colonel Jonathan was born in 1798, the seventh and youngest son of John Forbes fifth of Blackyard, and his wife, Anne Gregory, granddaughter of the 14th Lord Forbes. He entered the army at the age of 15, and served in the 78th (Highland) Regt, the Ross-shire Buffs. In 1824 he married Margaret Urquhart, daughter of John Urquhart of Craigston, and retired from the army in 1847.

He was an antiquarian of some ability, and in 1852 was a member of Council of the Spalding Club. His interests persisted to the end of his life: shortly before his death, when he was approaching 80 he made a survey of the old tower at Drum, and complained bitterly that Mr Bryce's measurements did not agree with his. The implication being that the error was Mr Bryce's. In 1862 he inherited the estates of Badenscoth and Rothie, and under the deed of entail assumed the additional name of Leslie of Rothie, and matriculated a coat of arms which, combining those of Leslie of Rothie, Gordon of Badenscoth, and Forbes, was of great heraldic interest and complexity. Since his descent from the second Lord Forbes was through 11 generations and five younger sons, he was entitled to feel he had arrived.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first place my thanks are due to the National Trust for Scotland for allowing this study to be undertaken, and for making both the castle and its contents available to me. Miss Catherine Cruft and Mr Ian Gow have been extremely helpful in connection with the collection of Drum drawings in their care. I am only sorry that the leads, which Miss Cripps, the Archivist of the City of Aberdeen, followed for me proved fruitless. Mr J I D Pottinger, Lyon Clerk and Islay Herald, threw light on the curious heraldic habits of Colonel Forbes Leslie. I am immensely grateful to Mrs Krista Chisholm, the Trust's representative at Drum, who was always welcoming and helpful, especially at times when my presence in the castle must have been anything but convenient. Finally I must record by debt to Mr Roy Middleton for providing some of the photographic reproductions, and to Mr Christopher Gray who re-drew my own drawings to ensure that they would print.

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## UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

## Irvine Papers

## Drum Castle

These consist of family and estate papers dating back to the middle ages, and are of great importance. There is a catalogue in the National Register of Archives (Scotland). The collection is now the property of the National Trust for Scotland.

## Drum Castle Architectural drawings and surveys National Monuments Record, Edinburgh

This large collection of drawings consists of principally of John Bryce's sketch plans, working drawings and details for the extensions to the house in the late 19th century, but also contains some earlier surveys of the garden, house, and chapel, and the drawings for the restoration of the chapel. The title to these is not at present clear.

## Drum Castle: Views

## Drum Castle

A number of 19th-century drawings of the castle, principally by Hugh Irvine and Anna Forbes Irvine, now the property of the National Trust for Scotland, are to be seen at Drum.