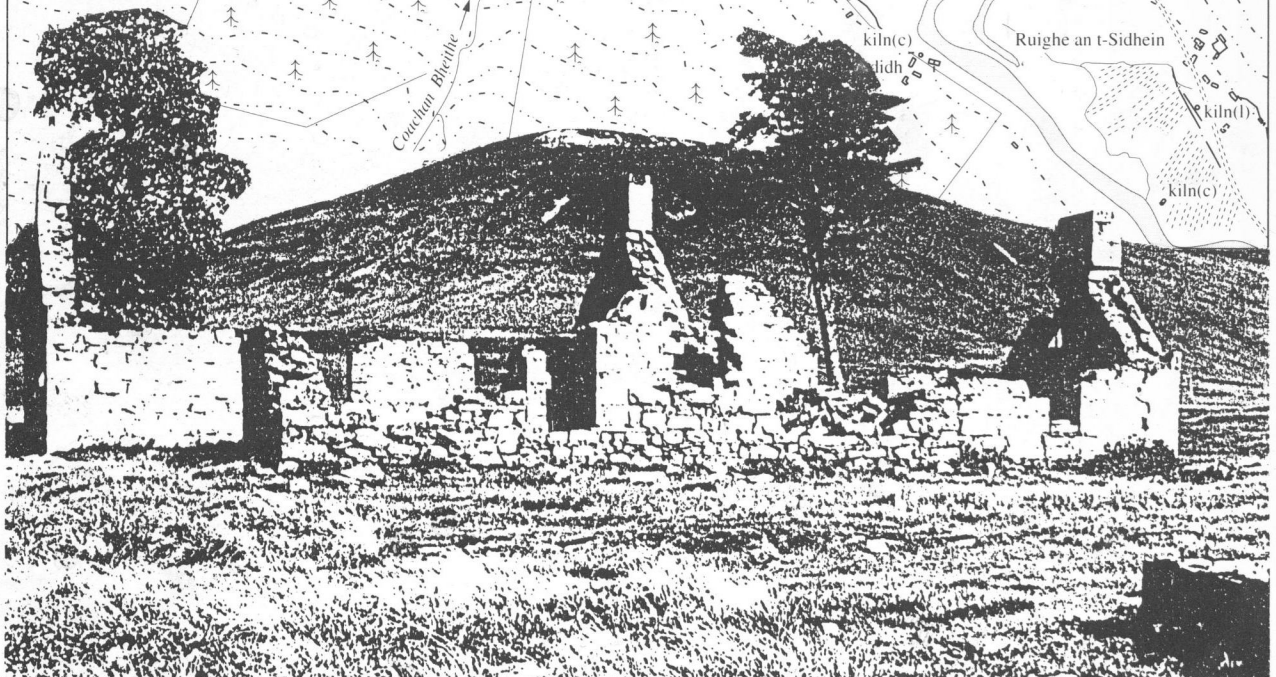
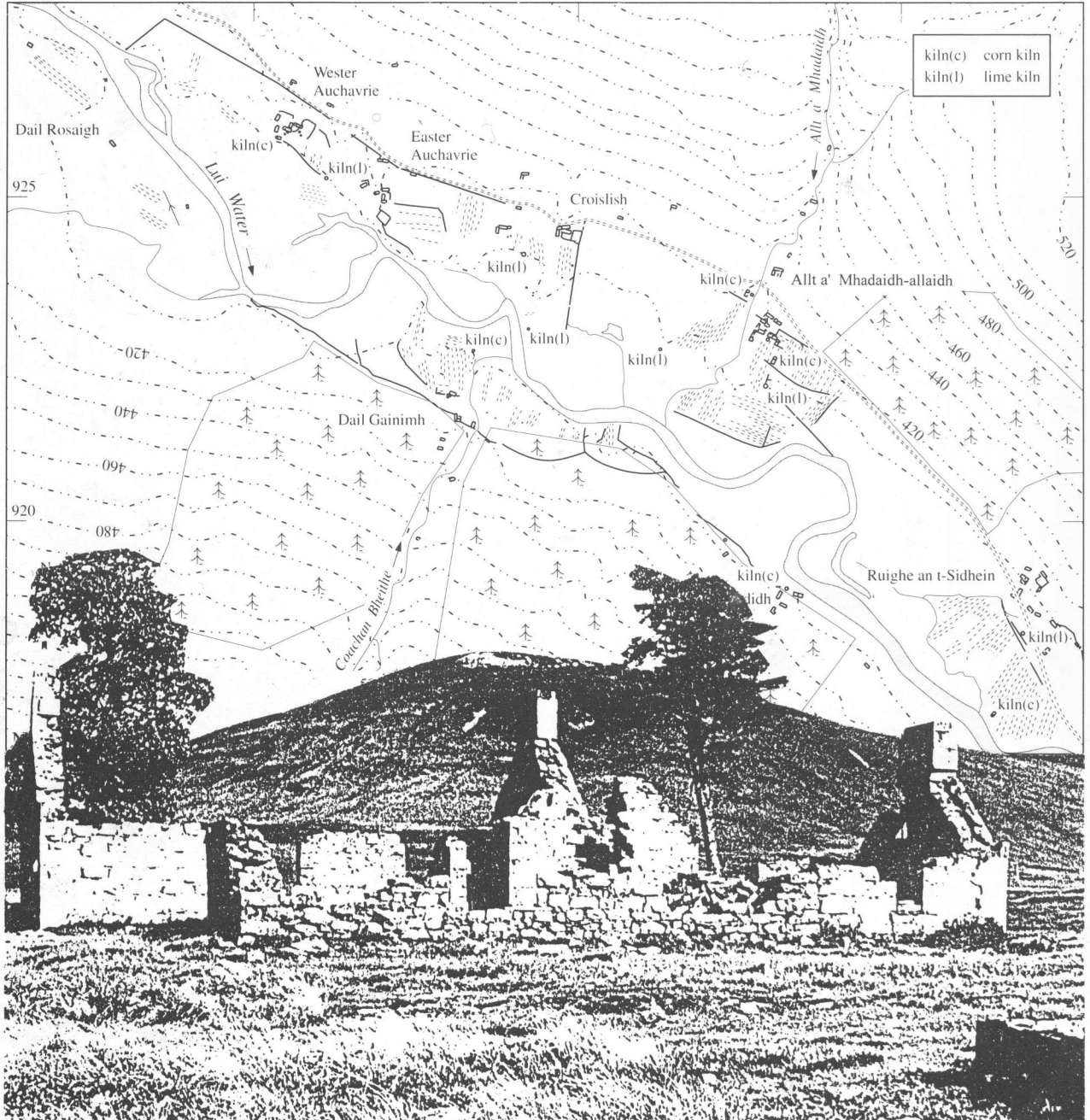




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MAR LODGE ESTATE GRAMPIAN

An Archaeological Survey



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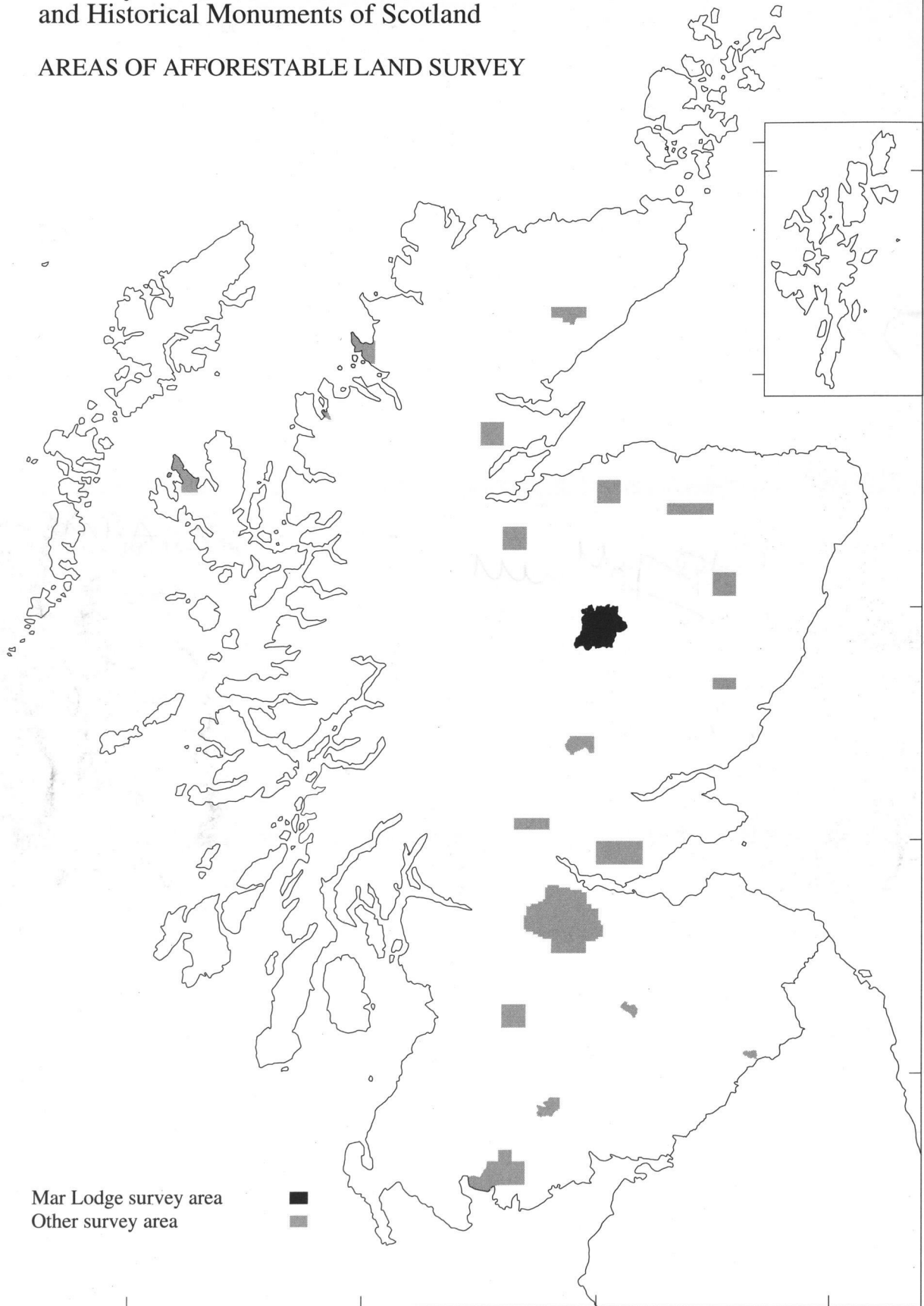
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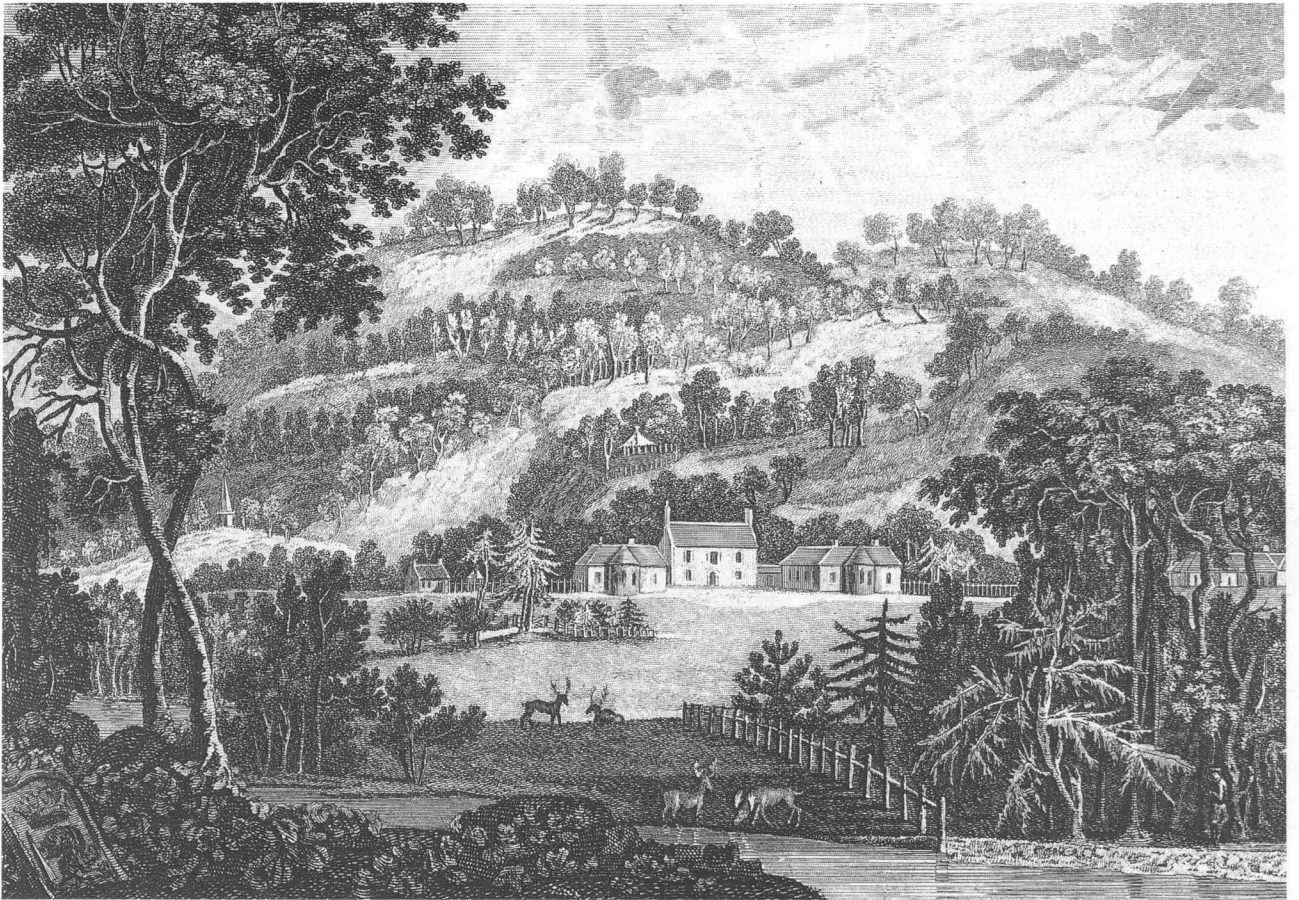
The Royal Commission on the Ancient
and Historical Monuments of Scotland

AREAS OF AFFORESTABLE LAND SURVEY



MAR LODGE ESTATE GRAMPIAN

An Archaeological
Survey



*Mar Lodge from C Cordiner Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland
(1780)*

MARK LODGE
ESTATE
GRAVEYARD

Cover: details of Figs 5 and 31

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MAR LODGE ESTATE GRAMPIAN

PREFACE

This report was written by Dr P J Dixon, with a contribution by Mr S T Green, and was edited by Mr J B Stevenson and Mr R J Mercer. It is based on fieldwork carried out by Mrs R H Moloney, Mrs D M Murray, Messrs S D Boyle, D C Cowley, P J Dixon, S T Green, P McKeague and J B Stevenson, with survey and drawing work by Ms G Brown, Messrs A J Leith, S Scott and R Shaw, and record work by Mr P McKeague. The photographs were taken by Mr R Adam, with in-house services provided by the Photographic Section. The lay-out of this publication was prepared by Mr J N Stevenson.

The Afforestation Land Survey was established in 1989 to carry out archaeological survey in areas where there is likely to be new planting, and it works on the basis of a rolling programme which has been the subject of consultation and agreement each year between RCAHMS and Historic Scotland, with the advice of the Forestry Commission and Regional Archaeologists.

The Royal Commission wishes to acknowledge the assistance given by the previous landowner, Mr J Kluge, through his agents Smiths Gore, who have allowed access to the ground for study and survey.

The Royal Commission is most grateful to Captain Alexander Ramsay of Mar for permission to publish material from the Duff House/Montcoffer Papers, and for the assistance of Rachel Hart who, with other members of the Aberdeen University Library Special Collections Department, provided invaluable help in searching through them.

Detailed information, including plans and photographs, about sites mentioned in the text and listed in the Gazetteer is available in the National Monuments Record of Scotland at the following address:

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical
Monuments of Scotland
John Sinclair House
16 Bernard Terrace
Edinburgh EH8 9NX

(Tel. 0131-662 1456, Fax 0131-662 1477)

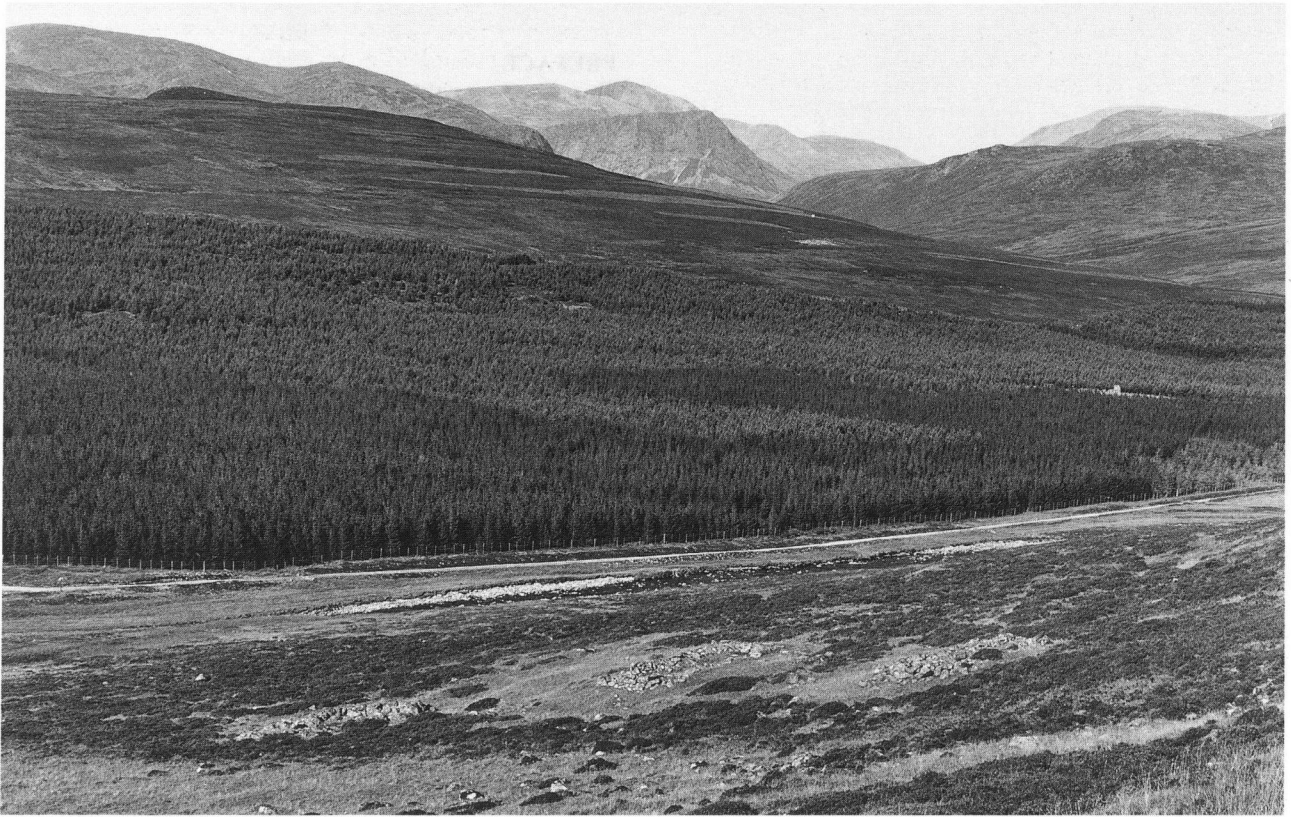


Fig. 1 Shieling-huts in Glen Geldie, looking north to the Devil's Point

INTRODUCTION

The Mar Lodge estate (Fig. 2) constitutes but a small part of the medieval Earldom of Mar and only arrived at its present size and form in the 20th century. Lying as it does at the head of the River Dee, and including part of the Cairngorms, it is one of the wildest and most inhospitable parts of the country. All the ground lies over 300m above OD, and the opportunities for settlement and agriculture have been further limited by the dangers of flash flooding and constantly changing river courses.

Background to the survey

Today, the area contains important stands of Scots pine, the long term futures of which are in doubt as over-grazing by red deer results in a lack of natural regeneration. Before the present survey was undertaken, several relatively small-scale schemes designed to foster regeneration had been attempted; these had impinged on areas of archaeological interest and it was clear that, if the mooted larger-scale regeneration programmes were to be implemented, they would seriously affect the scattered, but relatively well-preserved, remains of the post-medieval farming landscapes on the estate.

Something of the potential of the local archaeology had

already been revealed by J S Smith's work on the *Deserted farms and shealings in the Braemar area of Deeside* (Smith 1987). Valuable though this was in identifying many of the townships and shieling-grounds, it was not designed as a management tool, and, if regeneration schemes were to be implemented without damage to important archaeological sites, systematic prospection, mapping and recording of all archaeological structures on the estate required to be undertaken.

Settlement history

Human interaction with the woodland is central to the history of settlement in the area. As long as there has been settlement, for which there is evidence only from the medieval period onwards, woodland exploitation for building materials and firewood, or deforestation through the effects of grazing domesticated animals, has taken place. The maintenance of a hunting forest or chase by the Earls of Mar may have helped to limit over-exploitation, but the encouragement of deer may also have restricted natural regeneration of the woodland. Whether poor management of the medieval forest or some other, natural, process was responsible for the loss of wood-

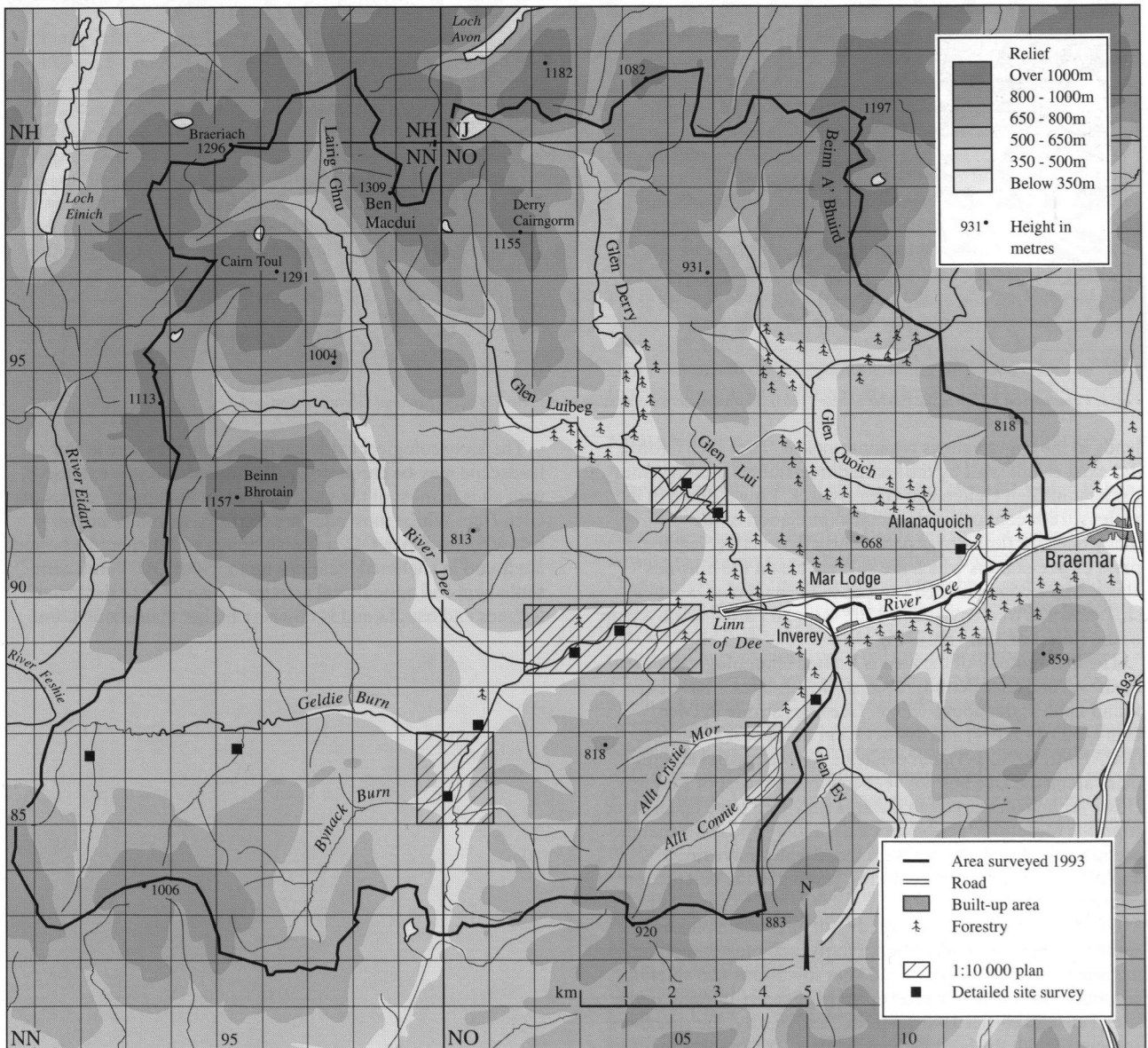


Fig. 2 Map of area showing location of survey and plans (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

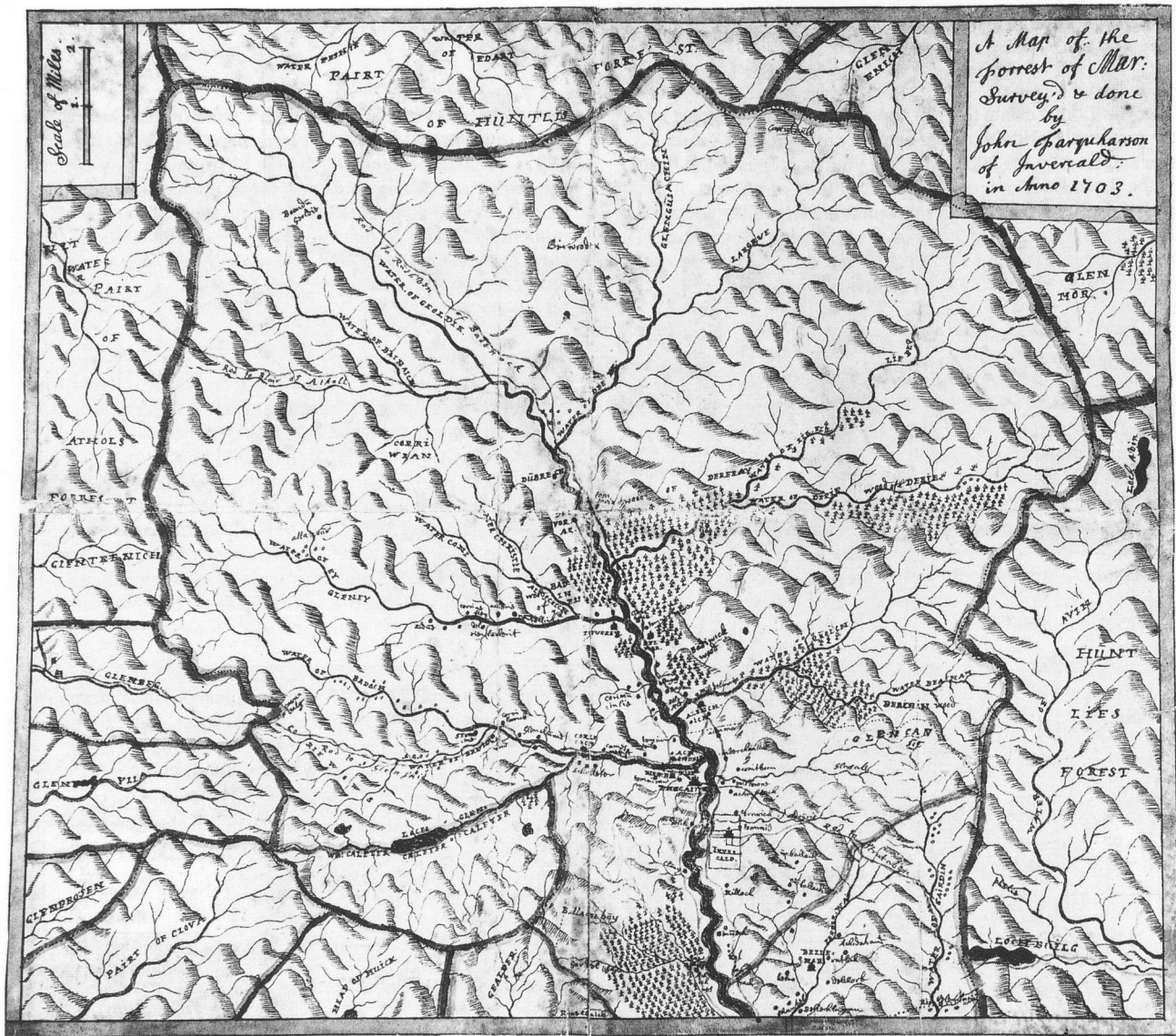


Fig. 3 Farquharson's Map of the Forest of Mar (1703). Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

lands in the upper valleys remains unclear. That such a forest did exist is indicated by the gnarled tree-stumps eroding from the peat in Glen Geldie and Glen Bynack. Lower down in the valleys, 18th-century commercial exploitation of the pinewoods for timber was particularly destructive, leaving a mass of tree-stumps which are still visible on the hillsides above Mar Lodge, in Glen Lui and in Glen Quoich, all areas still shown as tree-covered in 1703 on John Farquharson's map of the Forest of Mar (NLS, Fig. 3).

The archaeology of the area is limited chronologically to the medieval and later periods. Prehistoric hut-circles have been found up to 450m above OD on Deeside (Strone in Glen Gairn, NO 29 NE 4) and 490m OD in north-east Perthshire (RCAHMS 1990, 1-5), but evidence for pre-medieval settlement along the Dee has not yet been located west of Braemar. However, human activity in the area may well have taken place from the Mesolithic period onwards, and it is possible that the prehistoric settlement sites were those which have been exploited in more recent centuries, leading to the destruction of earlier remains.

Groups of buildings associated with three main phases of settlement have been identified. Firstly, and most importantly, the remains of the medieval and later townships and shielings; secondly, the traces of a brief episode of sheep-farming in the later 18th and earlier 19th centuries; and thirdly, the structures associated with the later 19th and earlier 20th century shooting estate.

The archaeological evidence for human presence in the landscape may be chronologically limited, but it is extensive, with sites in most of the valleys, even in the upper reaches of Glen Dee. Whilst most sites are confined to valley-bottoms below 550m above OD, a few shielings and shepherd's bothies are found in sheltered locations up to 690m OD. Permanent settlement and agricultural activity is restricted to the lower terraces and haughs and is nowhere higher than about 420m.

METHOD OF SURVEY

Before fieldwork began, the size of the Mar Lodge estate (33,000ha) seemed to preclude its completion in a single season of survey, particularly as the future management of the archaeological remains, in the face of natural woodland regeneration programmes, necessitated a high level of recording. To meet this requirement it was decided that, although the Ordnance Survey basic scale maps for most of the area were at a scale of 1:10,000, all archaeological features should be mapped, including rig cultivation, at the level normally reserved for 1:2500 scale recording. In consequence, it was intended that a central block of eight 1:10,000 mapsheets, which comprised the core of the settled areas, should be surveyed in the 1993 season, leaving open the option of returning to complete the remainder of the estate in another year. However, the first week's reconnaissance indicated that beyond this core area there were few sites to be recovered, and it was decided to complete the whole estate in a single season.

All structures were recorded on to a database following standard RCAHMS practice (RCAHMS 1994); these were then cross-referenced to an overlay of the 1:10,000 map by means of a number tag. The overlay was created using AUTOCAD, with colour coding of the different types of feature. The grid references of individual structures were also calculated on AUTOCAD and transferred to the survey database (MAR93) by merging the file of grid references created on AUTOCAD with the database on DBASEIV, thus removing any possibility of typographical error. A hard copy of the ALS database is deposited, along with the field-map overlay, in the NMRS, providing the basic survey data, to which the entries in the NMRS ORACLE database refer.

Some 608 structures were located, mapped and recorded, and sixteen 1:10,000 overlays were created to depict them and other associated features. Eight sites were planned in greater detail and all are published in this volume. Geographical analysis of the distribution of sites was carried out using GENAMAP, a geographical information system (GIS).

DOCUMENTATION

Sources

A documentary search was carried out to locate the estate records of the lordship of Braemar, with the intention of using the rentals to establish the history of each farm and so to aid the interpretation of the archaeological remains. This was important, since it was clear from the work of Smith (1987) and Watson & Allan (1990) that there was an interesting history of clearance in the 18th and 19th centuries, on which the estate records might shed some light.

The estate records were located in two main collections: the papers of the Erskine Earls of Mar; and those of the Duff Earls of Fife, who acquired the lordship of Braemar in 1735 and continued to hold it until the 20th century. The former, located in the Scottish Record Office (SRO GD 124), comprise, in the main, letters from the chief vassals or tenants and foresters about the estate, as well as various documents relating to its management and that of the forest, such as the illegal hunting of deer, the exploitation of timber, souming or grazing-rights, and access to shielings. The Fife papers, which are held in Aberdeen University Library (AUL MS3175), are an extensive collection of estate documents and personal letters.

Of most relevance to the present study are the rentals, accounts and other records of the Earls of Fife's holdings in the Braemar area. With the aid of a series of rentals covering the period from 1739 to 1874, it has been possible, despite several unexplained gaps, to construct the main trends of estate policy, as it relates to the area of the Mar Lodge estate, providing a vital context in which to interpret the field-remains. This was all the more fruitful because of the close personal interest taken by the 2nd Earl of Fife in the construction of a mansion at Dalmore (Mar Lodge), which became one of the Earl's chief country seats in the later 18th century, a period of great change on the estate.

Other sources include various crown rentals in both the Exchequer Rolls and the Register of the Privy Seal for the period when the estate was in royal hands in the 15th and 16th centuries, giving useful early details of the pattern of settlement in the late medieval period. The Poll Tax return of 1696, published by the Spalding Club, provided a similar function for the late 17th century (Stuart 1844).

Estate History

The original Earldom of Mar incorporated the lordship of Braemar, which included all the area of the Mar Lodge Estate. The earldom passed into royal hands in 1435 at the death of Alexander Stewart (Simpson 1949) and there it remained, despite the claims of the Erskine family, until the reign of Queen Mary, who finally granted it to John, Lord Erskine in 1565, when the estate included Strathdon, Strathdee, Braemar and Cromar (RMS 1886, No. 1637). The Erskine Earls of Mar continued in possession until the attainder of the 11th Earl in 1716. However, his younger brother, Lord Grange, and another kinsman Lord Dun, obtained possession of the estate in 1719 and proceeded to exploit it to the full, alienating parts of the forest and lands of Mar variously to Patrick Farquharson of Inverey in 1732 and John Farquharson of Invercauld in 1731 (Michie 1901). Lord Braco purchased the remaining parts of the lordship of Mar from the Erskines, including parts of the forest, in 1735, and his descendants, as Earls of Fife, acquired the alienated portion of Inverey in 1785. These estates remained with the Earls of Fife until the 20th century, when the present Mar Lodge estate was separated from the rest and was acquired by, Mr J Kluge who sold it to the National Trust for Scotland in 1995. It was Lord Braco who initiated the construction of the mansion house at Dalmore, known from the 1760s as Mar Lodge, a predecessor of the present, much altered, late-19th century house.

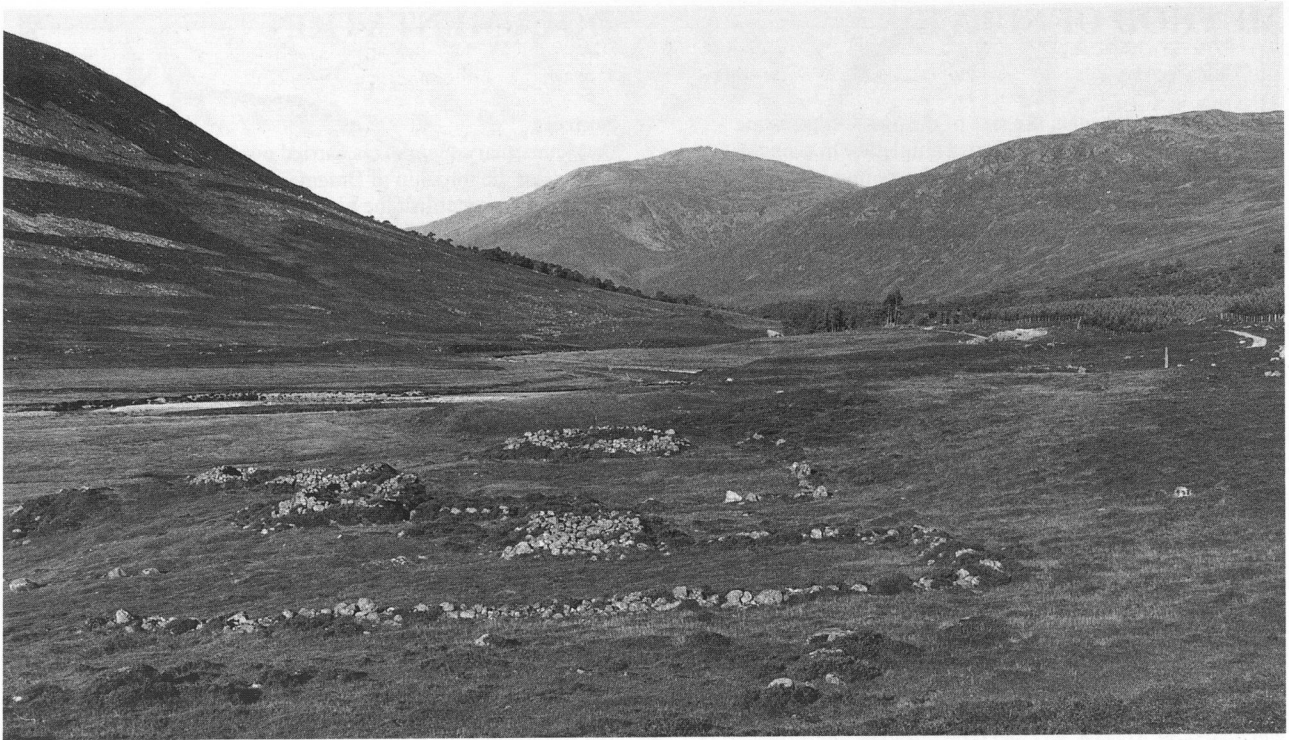


Fig. 4 Wester Auchavrie township, Glen Lui, from the SE

The Hunting Forest and its Management 1350 to 1875

The use of upper reaches of the River Dee as a hunting forest is on record from the medieval period. While still in the possession of the Earls of Mar, Robert II visited Kindrochit each year from 1379 to 1385, presumably staying at the castle, situated in what is now Braemar, to hunt in the Forest of Mar (Guilbert 1979, 37). During the 15th century, whilst it was in royal hands, James II used Mar Forest as a run for wild horses (Guilbert 1979, 66-7), and when it was granted to Lord Erskine in 1565, its use as a chase or hunting forest continued, the grant including the right of free forest 'cum liberis forestis' (RMS 1886, No. 1637). The vast scale of a medieval hunting expedition in the forest is described in an account by John Taylor of a deer hunt undertaken by the Earl of Mar in 1618, in which the deer were gathered by a team of five to six hundred men into a suitable spot for the gentlemen to shoot either with bow, arquebus or musket (Pennant 1774, 110-13).

The Forest of Mar was administered by the forester, who at the turn of the 18th century was Kenneth Mckenzie of Dalmore (SRO GD 124/6/161). The duties of a forester were to protect the game, to supervise timber-extraction, to conserve the woodland, and to apprehend trespassers (Guilbert 1979, 197). It is likely that the forester would have appointed various assistants to carry out much of this work, including perhaps a curour, a forest official whose office is perhaps commemorated by Corrou Bothy in the upper reach of Glen Dee.

As well as being the forester, Kenneth Mckenzie was one of several vassals of the Earl of Mar who, in 1732, held lands in the area of the lordship of Braemar covered by this survey, and of whom John Farquharson held Invercauld, Patrick Farquharson Inverey, and Donald Farquharson Allanaquoich (SRO GD 124/17/182). These tenants appear to have had a right of possession, if not of freehold, of their lands, which included the township arable and buildings and related rights or servitudes including, for example, shielings, grazing, and access to timber and peat. There was an obvious conflict between the tenants and sub-tenants of these men and the administration of the forest, which led to disputes over shielings, and access to wood and other resources. Kenneth Mckenzie's position as both tenant and forester presented a personal conflict of interest, since he was required to police the forest, which he and his tenants were busy exploiting. In this

context, there were clear temptations to capitalize on the situation, which only close attention on the part of the Earl could prevent. With the 11th Earl's involvement in politics, the forester may have had more freedom to act in his own interest. Whether this is so or not, it appears that the late 17th century was a period when new settlements were established in both Glen Lui and Glen Ey which, in the case of Glen Lui, Lord Grange was later able to argue were illegally constituted (Michie 1901, 316 and Ewen 1994, 89).

With the acquisition of the estate by the Lords Grange and Dun in 1719, a much closer interest was taken in its management and improvement. The new owners sought to improve the forest in two ways; firstly, by limiting the amount of grazing, and secondly, by introducing measures to conserve the woodlands. Human settlement was the biggest cause of destruction to the woodlands, and, to limit its effects an 'Act for preserving firwoods' was agreed between the tenants and the estate, in which guidelines for the use of the forest were outlined (SRO GD 124/17/121/1), whereby muir-burn was banned, except in season, and the removal of fir timber, except for use in roof-couples or of fir branches for cabers or rafters; furthermore, no timber was to be used for the walls of shieling-huts or houses, fencing yards or corn-stacks.

This agreement allowed the landowner to limit the tenants' use of the woods, whilst at the same time exploiting the same woods for profit himself. In 1726, to further their enterprise, the estate cleared Glen Lui of the tenants of Kenneth Mckenzie in order to remove any hindrance from them to the cutting and extraction of timber. This approach is revealed in a letter of James Erskine to the baillie, James Farquharson of Balmoral, in which it is intimated that the clearance would mean that 'the management of the woods may meet with no obstruction, and that the land may be ordered so as is proper for the carrying on the improvement and sale of the timber (Michie 1901, 316).

In conjunction with the felling operations, a saw-mill was established on the Lui in 1727; its site was not located during the survey, but it probably stood near the mouth of the river (Watson & Allan 1984, 120), complementing the saw-mill at the mouth of the Quoich, which Cordiner states was built in 1695 (Cordiner 1780, 22). The extraction of timber from Glen Lui appears to have been in full swing in the years 1727 to 1729, for which the accounts of the saw-mill of Glen Lui

survive (GD 124/1300/6, 17/147/1). The process of timber-extraction continued throughout the 18th century, with timber being a regular element in the accounts (e.g. 1759-61, AUL MS 3175/604/1), to such an extent that by 1776 'on the sides of the hills bordering on the valley, are many thousand stumps of trees, the remains of woods which have been floated down Lui Water to the Dee' (Cordiner 1780, 27).

The restriction of grazing was a difficult problem to manage, not least because of the querulous relations with the tenants (Michie 1901, 315ff.). Despite the clearance of Dalmore's tenants from Glen Lui, access for grazing continued, and a complaint was lodged against Dalmore in 1727 that his tenants had occupied a shieling on the west side of Glen Lui, where there had apparently been none before (SRO GD 124/1300/5). This, and disputes between the tenants of Dalmore and Allanaquoich, led to a proposal in 1727 to put the shielings of Beachan (upper Glen Quoich), Glen Quoich, Glen Lui (recently cleared), Glen Derry, Glen Luibeg and the north side of Glen Dee to public roup (SRO GD 124/1300/4).

Whilst it is not apparent if this proposal was implemented, another method of controlling the grazing in the hunting forest was to limit of the numbers of cattle that could be grazed on a particular piece of ground. In 1729 a list of the souming (stock-carrying capacity of the ground), in head of cattle, for the forest identified seven pieces of ground and the numbers of cattle in each soum with the allowance, also in head of cattle, for the the adjacent townships (GD 124/17/147/1; and see Table below). From this it is evident that there were some areas of the forest in which there was no grazing and in which hunting was reserved, that is to say, Glen Geldie and the upper parts of Glen Dee (Glen Garbh Choire or Glen Geusachan). The implication is that specific townships had limits both on the grazing capacity of their township lands and on the adjacent pasture, where they established shielings when necessary. Evidently, the demand for pasture exceeded the available land in the adjacent souming area, particularly in the period of settlement expansion, and additional souming areas, such as the peninsula below Cairn Geldie or the Beachan, were set aside and shielings established (see Fig. 18).

Gleney.....	550 cattle less 350 for the ploughlands of Corriemulzie & Corlerach
Connie and Christie.....	400 cattle less 200 for the ploughlands of Inverey
South side of Glendee..	250 cattle less 150 for the ploughlands of Little Inverey
Peninsula below Cairn Geldie (Chest of Dee)..	80 cattle
North side of Glendee..	650 cattle less 450 for the ploughlands of Dalmore
Derry and east side of Quoich.....	360 less 200 for the ploughlands of Allanaquoich
Beachan.....	140 cattle (this area comprises the top of Glen Quoich)
This totals.....	1080 cattle

Table 1 Souming in the Forest of Mar 1729 (SRO GD 124/17/147/1 and see Fig. 18).

The practice of shieling was integral to the farming process, since it was vital that cattle were removed from the arable during the growing season and allowed the in-by pasture to recover (Bil 1990, 172). The earliest reference to the practice of shieling on the Mar estate comes from an unexecuted deed of 1696, agreeing the right to pasture 100 cattle and 8 mares on the Dee and Geldie within the forest of Corryvron (i.e. south of the Dee, east of the Geldie and Bynack Burns), and to build a shieling in the said forest (GD 124/17/75). Farquharson's map of the Forest of Mar of 1703 depicts what must be

shielings (open circles as opposed to filled circles) at the Chest of Dee, in Glens Derry and Quoich, and the named site of Boandun Geoldie or Black Bothy (Fig. 3) at the top of Glen Geldie. Black Bothy appears again in the documents when, in 1727, an offer was made to occupy the shieling in order to protect the bounds of the forest from intrusion (AUL MS 3175/M/A35), while in 1729 it was omitted from the souming list, perhaps because the new owners wished to reserve that area for hunting.

The 1730s saw the sale of the estate to Lord Braco and the demise of both the chief tenants at Dalmore and Allanaquoich, so that the townships of the estate were let direct to the former sub-tenants. Even before the sale, the farms of Glen Lui appear to have been reoccupied and, with the first extant rental of 1739, a detailed picture of the townships emerges (see below, Settlement History), suggesting an expansion of settlement. It was not, however, until the 2nd Earl of Fife took possession in the 1760s that any significant improvements occurred.

The 2nd Earl of Fife was a keen improver and initiated many changes on his estates, including those at Braemar. Perhaps the best indicator of the earl's improving policies is revealed in the new tack that was agreed with the tenants in 1776. William Rose, the factor, established eighteen articles covering the duties of the tenants in return for their tacks, and obtained their consent as signatories (AUL MS3175/943/2). The articles included the construction of stone buildings, the enclosure of common pasture, the regularisation of farm-boundaries, the maintenance of at least one third of infield and outfield in grass, the straightening of ridges, a turnip fallow, the milling of grain on the estate mill, the banning of sheep without leave, the casting of peats, muir-burn, the dunging of the farmland, and tree-planting. This was a very practical improving tack and its effectiveness may be reflected to some degree by the positive comments of the *Review of Agriculture* at the beginning of the 19th century, relating to, for example, the improvement of buildings and the straightening of ridges (Keith 1811, 129, 223). The regulation of sheep-farming on the Fife estates was an important development, since it suggests that the estate wished to control sheep-farming, and it may not be co-incidental that in the Forest of Mar the estate itself established sheep-runs by converting peripheral townships to sheep-farms.

For many of the tenants on the Braemar estates, the practical consequence of Improvement was forced removal from their farms; whilst some were enticed with money and leases elsewhere, others were not, depending upon whether the estate viewed them as satisfactory tenants under the new regime (AUL MS3175/815/1). Thus, during the course of the later 18th century, almost all the farms and townships listed in the rentals were cleared of tenants. The reasons for the clearances varied from place to place. Those townships around Mar Lodge itself were removed to make a parkland and improve the view, whilst others were removed to improve the hunting (Glen Lui), or in order to turn land to grass. The result of this process of clearance was a significant reduction in population during the later 18th century, which is reflected in the population figures for Crathie and Braemar parish, which fell from 2671 in 1755 to 2251 in 1791-3, with a further reduction to 1876 in 1801 (Keith 1811, 633).

Shieling declined with the abandonment and clearance of farms in the late 18th century, although some of the graziers who took sheep-farms may have continued to practice transhumance, sending their flocks to the summer pastures. Since all the townships, except Little Inverey, had been cleared, the payment in 1822 to Don Mchardy of £1 for thatching 'the shiel in Glendee' (AUL MS 3175/1315/1) appears to refer to a shepherd's bothy rather than a traditional shieling. Indeed, the *Agricultural Review of Aberdeenshire*, published in 1811, makes no reference to the practice of shieling (Keith 1811).

With the demise of the traditional farming system in the late 18th century, a large amount of pasture became available,

which was let to graziers or sheep-farmers. This process is evident in the rentals from the 1770s, and, from the tack agreement of 1776, it is clear that the estate wished to control the grazing of sheep. As early as 1770, Glen Geldie was let to John Robertson of Glenshee (AUL MS3175/657/3), while from 1790 Cragan and Little Allanaquoich townships were let as grazing ('in grass') to Charles Ducat of Coupar Angus (AUL MS3175/V804A). By 1810 the amount of grazings had been significantly expanded, with Glen Geldie, Glen Bynack and Corryvron, and the south side of Glen Dee let to Alexander McHardy, the sheep-farmer at Dalvorar (AUL MS3175/1572/2), whilst the north side of Glen Dee was let to John Lamond, and the upper reaches of the Dee, Glen Garbh Choire and Glen Geusachan were let to the Rothiemurchus estate. By 1821 the townships on the north side of Glen Dee were converted to a sheep-farm and let to John McIntosh (AUL MS3175/1315/1), who remained in possession until after 1851 (AUL MS3175/B/VII(3)5).

The success of this policy was short-lived and, from the second quarter of the 19th century, the estate, under the 4th Earl, began to draw in its grazing land as the profits from sheep-farming declined and the fashion for hunting grew. The Earl of Fife was well-placed to benefit from this new fashion, since the Forest of Mar was already in existence and flourishing, supplying Rothiemurchus with deer-calves in 1843 (Watson & Allan 1990, 38), in which year the old forest was let to the Duke of Leeds (Ewen 1994, 92). The last tenant of Tonnagaoithe, on the north side of the Dee, left in the 1850s, making the whole of this part of the estate available for hunting. On the south side of the Dee this was achieved somewhat sooner; the sheep-farm of Dalvorar was abandoned after 1832 by the last tenant Charles McHardy (AUL MS3175/1748), and in 1835 was occupied by one of the Earl's family, James Duff (AUL MS3175/E8/1), possibly as a shooting-lodge. Glen Cristie was taken into the possession of the landowner by 1837 (AUL MS3175/E1/3), depriving the tenants of Little Inverey of their hill-grazing (Ewen 1994, 92);

Bynack and Corryvron, which were let to William Gordon between about 1818 and 1829 (AUL MS3175/1573/1 & 1642/3), were in the landowner's possession by 1835 (AUL MS3175/E8/1), with whom it remained despite a temporary lease in the 1860s. At about the same period the estate regained control of Glen Connie (1839) and the neighbouring Glen Ey (1844, Ewen 1994, 92-3).

The repossession of all these lands enabled the Earl of Fife to create a new hunting forest on the south side of the Dee which, by 1864, was called the New Forest of Mar, when the shootings of New Mar Forest were let to Hon. G S Duff and the Old Forest to Lord Bentinck (AUL MS3175/V811). To service the forest, shooting-lodges were erected by 1874 at Bynack, Geldie and Derry (AUL MS3175/V424), and keeper's houses at Derry, Linn of Dee and elsewhere (see Shooting-lodges below).

Settlement history 1451-1719

The early rentals suggest that the focus of settlement in the late medieval period lay on the main valley of the Dee, with no evidence of settlement above Inverey. A crown rental of 1451 lists the farms of the lands of Inverey, Dalmore, (Wester ?) Allanaquoich and Easter Allanaquoich, along with other places in the lordship of Braemar outside the Mar Lodge estate (ERS 1882, 459-60). This pattern is filled out in the 16th century, but not altered, by a rental of 1539 which adds Cragan to the list of townships, and breaks down the rental payment into its various elements, listing the amount paid in kind, in ox or cow carcasses, lambs, hens, day work, carriage work, and quantities (bolls) of oats (ERS 1897, 655ff.).

Some expansion in settlement in the late 17th century is hinted at in the 1696 Poll Tax return with tenants listed for Dalmore, Allanaquoich, Inverey, Little Inverey and a place called Delfork, which may be the Glen Dee settlement of Dalvorar. With the exception of Delfork, all these places had considerable populations: at Dalmore, besides Kenneth Mckenzie and his family, there were nine sub-tenants, two

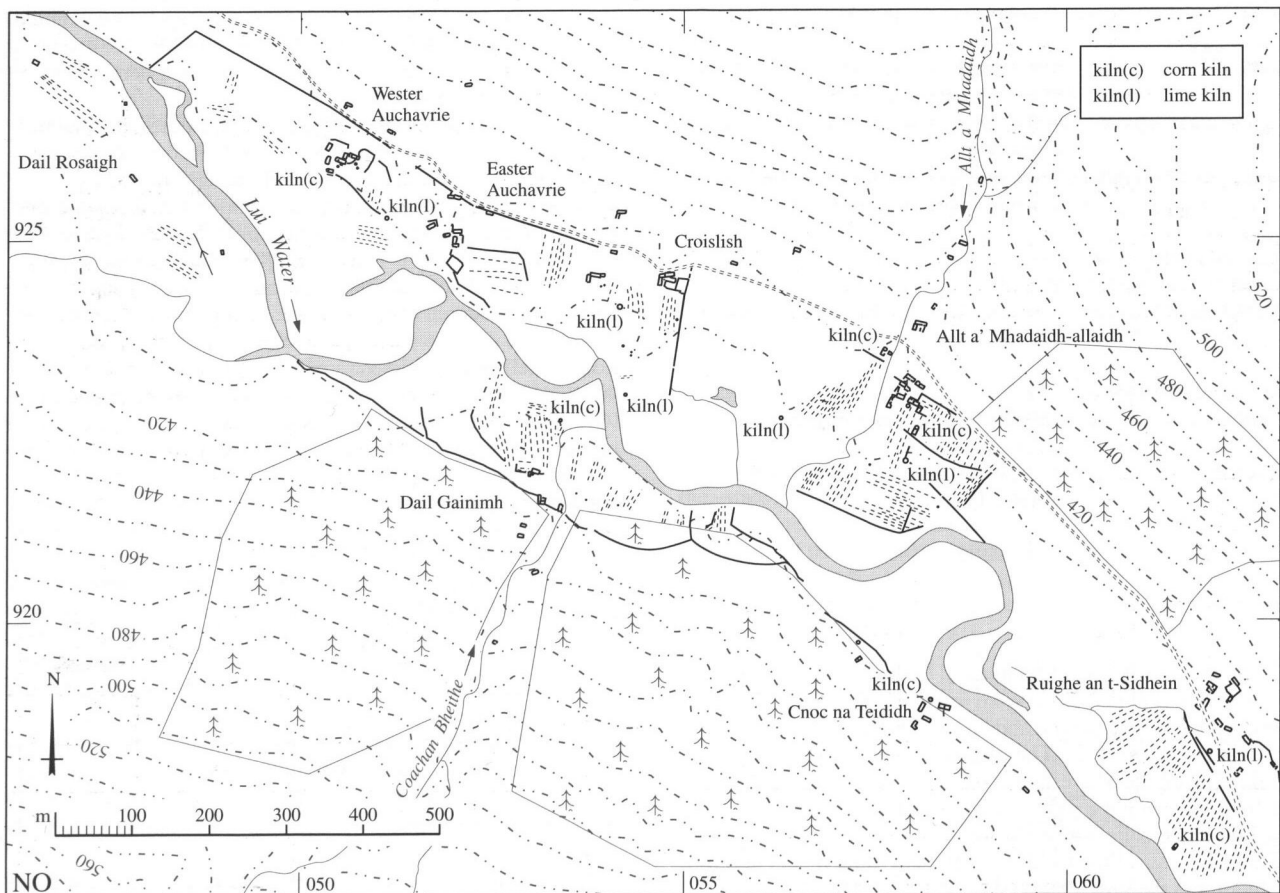


Fig. 5 Glen Lui townships 1:10,000 (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

weavers, a miller, three tradesman and a cottar; Delfork, on the other hand, had one tenant, two sub-tenants and a man-servant (Stuart 1844). Farquharson's map (1703) of the Forest of Mar shows the extent of this expansion, depicting, in addition to those places identified previously, three unnamed settlements within the woods on the east side of Glen Lui, as well as Dubrach on the south of Glen Dee and Tomnamoine on the north side, and several settlements on either side of Dalmore, including Claybokie, Tomshalagar and Drumachragan. The map also shows lairds houses at Dalmore, Inverey (the castle site still survives, NO 08 NW 1) and Allanaquoich, which were depicted as squares with pinnacles, contrasting with the filled circles of the dependent settlements. The contrast between the dispersed settlement pattern shown on the map and the large townships indicated by the Poll Tax returns is striking. However, rather than assume that there had been a dispersal of farms since 1696, some of the sub-tenants identified in the Poll Tax return for Dalmore, for example, must have occupied these dependencies. It is a salutary reminder that the form of a documented settlement may be no indication of the way in which its farms are distributed on the ground.

Because the settlement histories of different parts of the estate for the 18th and 19th centuries vary, those farms for which there was a similar history, and which usually formed a geographical entity, are discussed together below and the rentals for each are summarised in a table.

Farm/Township	1696	1739	1744	1763	1770	1776	1777
Dalgenie Knocknatete				1 1	}1	} 1	*
Altavatagally		1	1	1	1	1	*
W Auchavrie E Auchavrie		} 2	1	1 1	} 1	1 1	} *
Delnrosick		1	1				
Croislish					1	1	*
Ryntean		1	1	1		1	*

Table 2 Numbers of tenants in Glen Lui 1696-1874, based on rentals (see Appendix 2 for references). An asterisk indicates it is in the possession of the landowner.

Settlement in Glen Lui 1719-1776 (Table 2, Fig. 5). The absence of names for the settlements in Glen Lui on Farquharson's map (Fig. 3) suggests that they were a relatively recent development. In 1726 Lord Grange clearly considered the settlements illegal and blamed James Mckenzie of Dalmore, the forester, for allowing his tenants to encroach on the forest in this way (Michie 1901, 316). A similar encroachment of settlement within the forest occurred at the shielings in Glen Ey in the late 17th century (Ewen 1994, 89). No doubt this would not have mattered had Lord Grange not been so keen to extract timber from the glen, from which he presumably expected to gain more income than from the rental of illegal sub-tenants. It is in this context that the clearance of Glen Lui was ordered in 1726, with legality on the side of the landowner.

On the evidence of the parish registers (Watson & Allan 1990, 32), the farms were resettled by 1732, possibly following the completion of timber extraction from that part of Glen Lui adjacent to the settlements. In 1739 the new farms comprised three on the east - Ryntean, Altavatagaly and Auchavrie, and one - Dalgenie - on the west; of these, Auchavrie had two tenants and was subsequently divided into two parts. A farm named Delnrosick, which appears that year and again in 1744, may have lain at the north end of the glen on the west side of the river (Dail Rosaigh, Watson & Allan 1984, 68). By 1763 two further settlements are listed: Knocknatet on the west, and Croislish, probably on the east, since there is no candidate for it elsewhere. With the exceptions of Croislish and Delnrosick, the locations of these settlements are evident from Roy's map.

In 1776 the Earl of Fife brought this short-lived phase of settlement to an end, when the tenancies were not renewed and the farms were transferred to his personal possession. The reason for this second clearance appears to be the improvement of hunting in the glen. Charles Cordiner wrote of Glen Lui, which he visited in 1776 'The ruins of several stone buildings show that it had been once inhabited, but it is now, as the other pastures of the forest, left to fatten the deer.' (Cordiner 1780, 27). Although, as indicated by the agreement with John Mckenzie, the tenants may have been found homes elsewhere and a payment of an allowance made in recompense (Watson & Allan 1990, 32), this episode must have been

traumatic since all six tenants referred to in the rentals were removed. However, the rentals present an equivocal picture of the process, with tenants paying crop rent in 1776, but in 1777 the Glen Lui townships are listed with the same values and the names of a new set of tenants, but are stated to be in the possession of 'my lord' the Earl of Fife, which may indicate that the lands were let on a casual basis as grazing. A note at the bottom of the 1777 rental confirms the extent of the clearance 'my lord has taken into his own hands Croft Glass (in Allanaquoich)... and all upwards to the Forrest except Glendee and Claybokie' (AUL MS 3175/1682).

Farm/Township	1696	1739	1744	1763	1770	1776	1777	1784	1792	1810	1814	1821	1851	1860	1874
Tonaguie		3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2 inc Glendee	} 1	} 1	1 grazing	
Tomnamoan		2	1	1	} 1	} 1	} 1	} 1	} 2	1					
Craigfattrick			1	2	}	}	}	}	}	1	1		}		
Dellnacattleg		1		1			1								
Invergeldie		1													

Table 3 Numbers of tenants in the north of the Dee 1696-1874, based on rentals (see Appendix 2 for references). An asterisk indicates it is in the possession of the landowner.

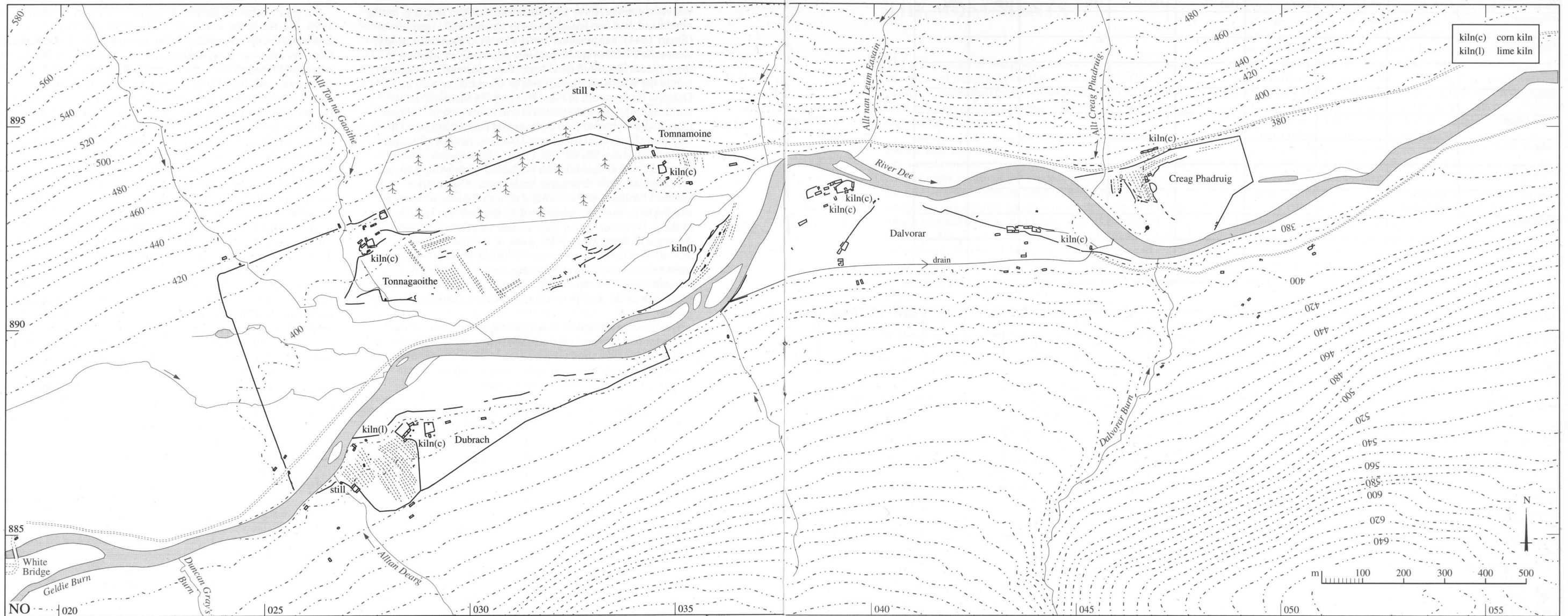


Fig. 6 Glen Dee townships 1:10,000 (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

Farm/Township	1696	1785	1792	1810	1821	1829	1832	1837	1849	1860	1864	1874
Little Inverey	1 tenants 11 subtenants	8	?	12	?	9	9	10	9	9	8	9
Dubrach		1	1		} 1	} 1	} 1	*	*			
Dalvorar	1 tenants 2 subtenants	2	2	[C1]1								
Linafiach		1	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Muir of Inverey						3	3	3	3	3	3	1
Linn of Dee								1	2	2	1	1
Bynack & Corryvron grazings				1	Bynack * Corryvron 1	1	1	*	*	1	1	*

Table 4 Number of tenants in Little Inverey and the South side of the Dee 1696-1874 (see Appendix 2 for references). An asterisk indicates it is in the possession of the landowner.

Glen Dee, North Side 1719-1851 (Table 3 and Fig. 6). From 1703 there was an expansion in the number of townships on the north side of Glen Dee above the Linn of Dee, with new settlements founded at Creag Phadruig, Tonnagaoithe, Invergeldie and Delnacattleg. Invergeldie and Delnacattleg appear only occasionally in the rentals and their remains could not be identified with certainty in the survey. This phase of expansion was short-lived here, as in Glen Lui: by the late

18th century Invergeldie and Delnacattleg disappear from the rentals, and, by 1770, Tomnamoine and Craigpatrick (Craig Phadruig) were amalgamated into one farm. Charles Cordiner describes the settlement at Craig Phadruig in 1776 as comprising 'some cottages that are sheltered by a rock. The peasants that inhabit them cultivate a meadowy plain, which stretches to the Dee: these dwellings from their very artless form, and wicker enclosures, scarcely seem to diminish the

wildness' (Cordiner 1780, 26-7). In 1820 Craigpatrick (Creag Phadruig) park was enclosed with a stone wall (AUL MS 3175/1308) and it ceases to appear in the rentals. The conversion of Creag Phadruig and the neighbouring settlements of Tonnagaoithe and Tomnamoine to a single tenancy (occupied by John McIntosh by 1821, AUL MS3175/1315/1) occurred at about this time and may be the occasion of their enclosure in a stone dyke as at Creag Phadruig in 1820.

Glen Dee, South Side 1719-1835 (Table 4 and Fig. 6). On the south side of the Dee, the settlements of Dubrach and Dalvorar, which were both depicted on Farquharson's map of 1703, continued as two separate farms until after 1792 (AUL MS3175/1508 and 804A), when they were converted to a single lease. This lease, which was held successively by members of the McHardy family, was run as a sheep-farm with the grazings of Geldie and, for a period, Bynack and Corryvron (Watson & Allan 1990, 35). The farm was abandoned in the early 1830s by the last tenant Charles McHardy. By 1835 Dubrach and Dalvorar were occupied by the Hon. James Duff Esq., a relation of the earl.

Little Inverey to Linn of Dee 1719-1904 (Table 4). Two townships - Loinaveaich and Little Inverey - are documented between the River Ey and the Linn of Dee from the mid-18th century. Loinavoick is first recorded in the mid-18th century (Ewen 1994, 88) and may reflect the expansion of settlement

seen elsewhere. Little Inverey, itself, is the exception to the trend of clearance, or conversion to a sheep-farm, observed elsewhere, since it continued in occupation as a traditional township of between eight and twelve tenants until at least 1874, before conversion, in the late 19th century, to a crofting-township (see 2nd ed. OS 6-inch map, Aberdeenshire 1904, Sheet 97). However, as early as 1836 the tenants lost their hill-ground (Ewen 1994, 92), which must have upset the economic balance of their farms, although there is no sign of this in the rentals. A further curiosity of this area, at a period when other farms were being abandoned, is the foundation in the 1820s, between Linn of Dee and Little Inverey, of Muir of Inverey, perhaps to provide accommodation for removed tenants.

Dalmore or the Mar Lodge haughland 1719-1770 (Table 5). The earliest manifestation of the improvements of the late 18th century are seen in the clearance, between 1763 and 1770, of the townships on the haugh around the newly named house of Mar Lodge. All these townships were taken into the possession of the earl by 1770. It would appear that the clearance was designed to improve the vistas in the environs of the Lodge, which was to be a principal residence of the earl.

Allanaquoich and Cragan 1719-1874 (Table 6). All the settlements on either side of the River Quoich were cleared in the late 18th century. Allanaquoich itself and Kanakyle, a

Farm/Township	1696	1739	1744	1763	1770	1776	1777	1784
Delnabord					1	1	*	*
Ballenatuanach				3	*	*	*	*
Claybokie		2	1		1	1	1	*
Bellnallan		2	1	2	*	*	*	*
Thomshalagar					*	*	*	*
Dalmore Mains			1	1	*	*	*	*
Dalmore Mill			1	1	1			
Dalmore	3 tenants 9 subtenants			1				
Kandalloch		2	1	1		1	1	*
Drummachagan							1	*

Table 5 Numbers of tenants in Dalmore 1696-1874, based on rentals (see Appendix 2 for references). An asterisk indicates it is in the possession of the landowner.

Farm/Township	1696	1739	1744	1763	1770	1776	1777	1784	1792	1810	1814	1821	1851	1860	1874
Croft Glass		1	1	1	1	1	*								
Allanaquoich	5 tenants 12 sub-tenants	18	10	12	7	7	7	11 inc Black Park	7	1	} 1		} 1	2	1
Cragan		8	6	9	6	3	6	7 (4waste)	1	1	}	1 for Cragan Park	}		
Allanaquoich Mill		1	1		1	1	1			1					
Black Park		1	1		1	1	1								
Kanakyle			2	5	3	3	3	With Allanaquoich	2						
Little Allanaquoich		4	3	4	7	4	3	4 (2 waste)				2			

Table 6 Numbers of tenants in Allanaquoich 1696-1874, based on rentals (see Appendix 2 for references). An asterisk indicates it is in the possession of the landowner.

sister settlement, were cleared between 1792 and 1810, and the combined farm was let to a single tenant. An pre-1759 estate map of Allanaquoich, prepared for Lord Braco, showed a two storeyed farm-house at Allanaquoich, two outbuildings and four cottages, whilst Kandakyle, lying to the east, consisted of seventeen cottages. The arable lands covered much the same area as the improved fields today, with the addition of the enclosures of Black Park to the east, an area which has now reverted to rough pasture (SRO RHP 31322). A courtyard farmstead, built to replace the 18th century buildings at Allanaquoich, still stands, although it has been abandoned in recent years. Both Cragan and Little or Wester Allanaquoich were cleared by 1790 when they were let to Charles Ducat of Coupar Angus as grazing (AUL MS3175/V804A). There appears to have been a short-lived reoccupation by two tenants in 1821, but it was abandoned shortly after, and the former arable lands were swept away by the 'Muckle Flood' of 1829. In 1820 the 'park' of Cragan was enclosed by a stone dyke, and in 1821 it was let to William Gordon (AUL MS3175/1315/1 and 1308), but this ground was also lost in the flood of 1829 (Watson & Allan 1984, 59).

The process of clearance at Cragan, Little Allanaquoich and Allanaquoich appears to have been quite aggressive. The Earl was keen to remove tenants who were not capable of farming in the new ways, as laid down in the tack agreement of 1776. A memorandum of 1782 lists the tenants to be removed from Allanaquoich, including those of suspect characters and those who were housed by tenants without leave (AUL MS3175/815/1). Cragan appears to have been recently cleared of unwanted tenants, and none of those tenants already removed from Cragan were to be allowed to return, including those who

stayed until the harvest. Where these people went is not apparent, although some, no doubt, found employment elsewhere on the estate. The piecemeal nature of the process should not hide the fact that a substantial clearance was effected on the estate in a period of a few years.

THE MONUMENTS

The archaeology of Mar Lodge consists largely of buildings or structures of post-medieval date associated with the various phases of land-use. They have been classified on the basis of their function and the groupings are described below in chronological order.

Farms and Townships

The remains of twenty-two townships were located during the course of the survey of the estate (Fig. 7). This accounts for all the townships depicted on General Roy's map (1747-55), except for those on the haugh now occupied by Mar Lodge, of which no trace remains, but it also adds a few not noted by Roy, e.g. Allt a' Sionnach on the Geldie Burn and Croislish on the east side of Glen Lui between Altavatagally and Auchavrie.

The townships comprise four to twenty buildings. The range in the number of buildings may, at first sight, be viewed as a reflection of the numbers of tenants in the rentals (compare for example Tables 2-6 and Table 7). In practice, however, the relationship is not that simple, as in some cases there may be

sub-tenants, or more than one phase or type of occupation on the same site. For example, the largest township, Dalvorar, comprises two nuclei (Dail a' Mhorair Mhor and Bheag Fig. 6), and, in the late 18th century it had two co-tenants; in the early 19th century this picture was complicated by the conversion of Dalvorar, firstly to a sheep-farm and secondly to a keeper's house or lodge. In other places a shift in the focus of a settlement may account for the large numbers of recorded buildings, as at Little Inverey. There, a number of buildings were found on the opposite side of the road to the present settlement; they had clearly been abandoned at an early date and differed architecturally from the buildings left unoccupied after 1869 (OS 6-inch map of Aberdeenshire 1869, Sheet 97). Of course, the number of buildings recorded in a township may be affected by a range of factors, and the size of the township may not necessarily be a reflection of the number of tenants documented at any one time.

Defining the traits that characterise the remains of a township is not always straight-forward, but the basic requirements comprise a cluster of buildings accompanied by an area of cultivated, usually rigged, ground. There can, however, be many variations on this theme, and destructive processes, such as afforestation or agricultural improvement, may alter the nature of the original remains. Today, some settlements on the

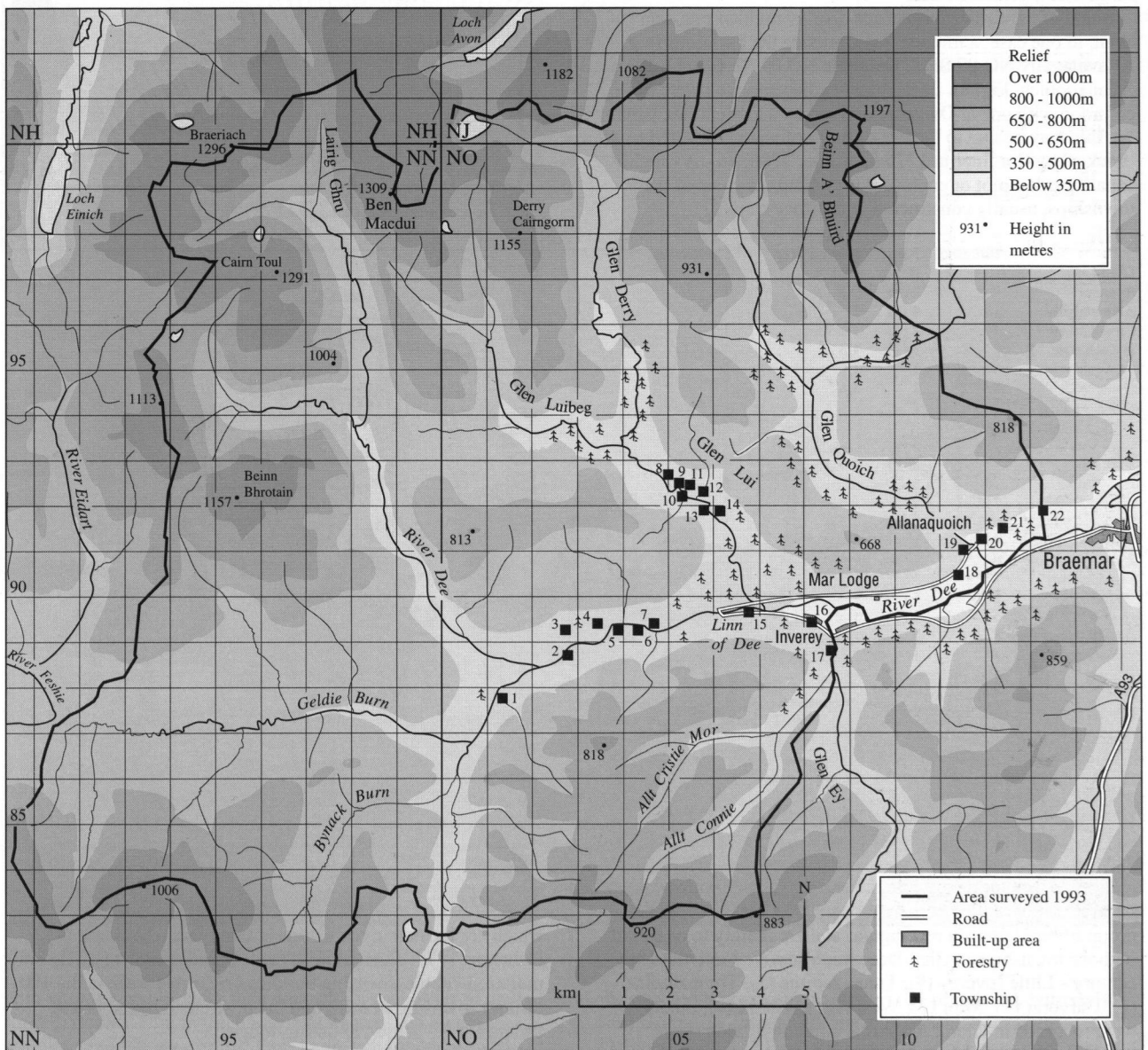


Fig. 7 Distribution of townships (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright). 1 Allt an t-Sionnach, 2 Dubrach, 3 Tonnagaoithe, 4 Tomnamoine, 5 Dalvorar, 6 Dalvorar, 7 Creag Phadruig, 8 Wester Auchavrie, 9 Easter Auchavrie, 10 Dalgenie, 11 Croislish, 12 Altavatagally, 13 Knocknatete, 14 Ryntean, 15 Muir, 16 Little Inverey, 17 Loinavoick, 18 Cragan, 19 Little Allanaquoich, 20 Allanaquoich, 21 Kanakyle, 22 West Allt Coultain

Mar Lodge estate appear to lack rigged ground, but they have been included in the township category as it is clear from either documentary sources, or from other evidence, that they were originally accompanied by agricultural land. Table 7 illustrates the range of structural evidence, including buildings, enclosures, kilns and rigged ground, to be found in the townships, and indicates whether the site appears to have been damaged since abandonment.

If there is a single defining trait of a township, it is the presence of at least one farmstead, comprising a long building, which may be partitioned and provided with outshots or wings, and accompanied by outbuildings (e.g. Little Allanaquoich Fig. 8 or Croislish Fig. 9). In addition to this core of buildings, there is, usually, a scatter of other structures, including a corn-drying kiln and, in some cases, a lime-kiln.

With the clearance of many of the townships before 1800, later, Improvement-period farmsteads are few. The example at Tonnagaoithe consists of two well-preserved buildings, lying parallel to one another, which form the core of the township in its final phase, whilst at Dalvorar there is a group of buildings, set around the edge of a drystone enclosure, which includes a barn, later converted to domestic use with the insertion of a fireplace (see Fig. 10). The only formally laid-out steading around a yard is, as has been said, the recently abandoned farmstead at Allanaquoich.

Some of the earlier farmsteads display midden pits, and even, in one case, a midden heap, outside the buildings (e.g. Altavatagally NO 09 SE 2, Dalgenie NO 09 SE 6 and Little Allanaquoich, Fig. 8). Immediately adjacent yards were not common with one at Dalgenie defined by a low earthen bank, but this may be due to the use of timber fencing, referred to as 'wicker' by Cordiner in 1776 (Cordiner 1780, 26). A roughly square garden-plot or enclosure is common to most of the townships, usually constructed in drystone rubble.

	Buildings	Kilns (lime)	Rigged area (ha)	Enclosures
Glen Lui				
Ryntean	9	2 (1)	2.5	1
Altavatagally	10	4 (2)	3	1
Croislish	10	2 (2)	1	1
E Auchavrie	9	1 (1)	1.5	1
W Auchavrie	8	1	1	1
Dalgenie	8	1	2.5	-
Knocknatete	6	1	-	-
Glen Dee				
Dubrach	13	2 (1)	2.5	3
Dalvorar	20	3	-	5
Tonnagaoithe	11	1	2.5	2
Tomnamoine	6	2 (1?)	1.5	1
Creag Phadruig	4	1	1	1
Allt a' Sionnach	6	1	0.5	1
Little Inverey	17	3 (1?)	-	1
Loinavoick	5	1 (1)	-	-
Muir	5	1 (1?)	1.5	-
Little Allanaquoich	8	2	-	1
Allanaquoich	1*	1	-	-
Cragan	4*	-	-	-
West Allt Coultain	4	-	-	-
Kanakyle	3*	-	-	-

Table 7: Township Size by Building, Kilns and Rigged Area
(* partly destroyed)

Buildings. Some 174 buildings were recorded in the townships during the survey. Four-fifths are subrectangular on plan and were built of earth-bonded rubble, with the sides usually parallel to one another, while the ends may be rounded, squared with rounded corners, or squared (Fig. 12). Another group of buildings are rectangular and are mainly to be found in those townships in Glen Dee which survived into the 19th century - Little Inverey (9), Tonnagaoithe (3), Tomnamoine (1), Dalvorar (2), Muir (2), West Allt Coultain (1), others were recorded in Glen Lui - Allt a'Mdaidh-allaidh (9), Ryntean (3) and Easter Auchavrie (3). A number of buildings were constructed with coursed-rubble walls (Fig. 13), all of

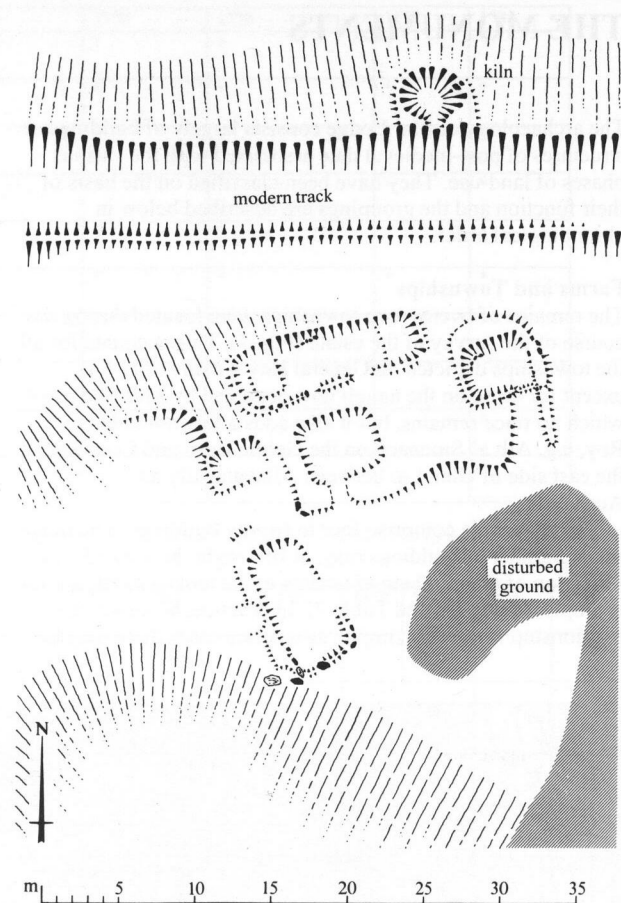


Fig. 8 Farmstead at Little Allanaquoich (1:500)

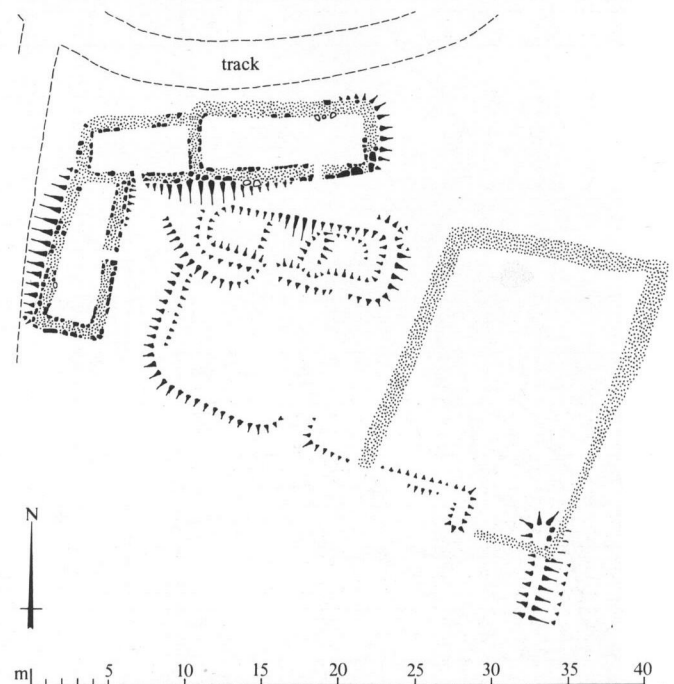


Fig. 9 Plan of farmstead at Croislish (1:500)

which are located in townships in Glen Dee - Dalvorar (4), Dubrach (11), Tonnagaoithe (7) and Tomnamoine (1). The only mortared-rubble township buildings recorded were in the 19th century township of Muir and the post-clearance house at Dalvorar (see below, Shooting-lodges).

In size the buildings range from 4m to 19.3m in length (average 9.34m) by 1.8m to 4.5m in breadth (average 2.92m,

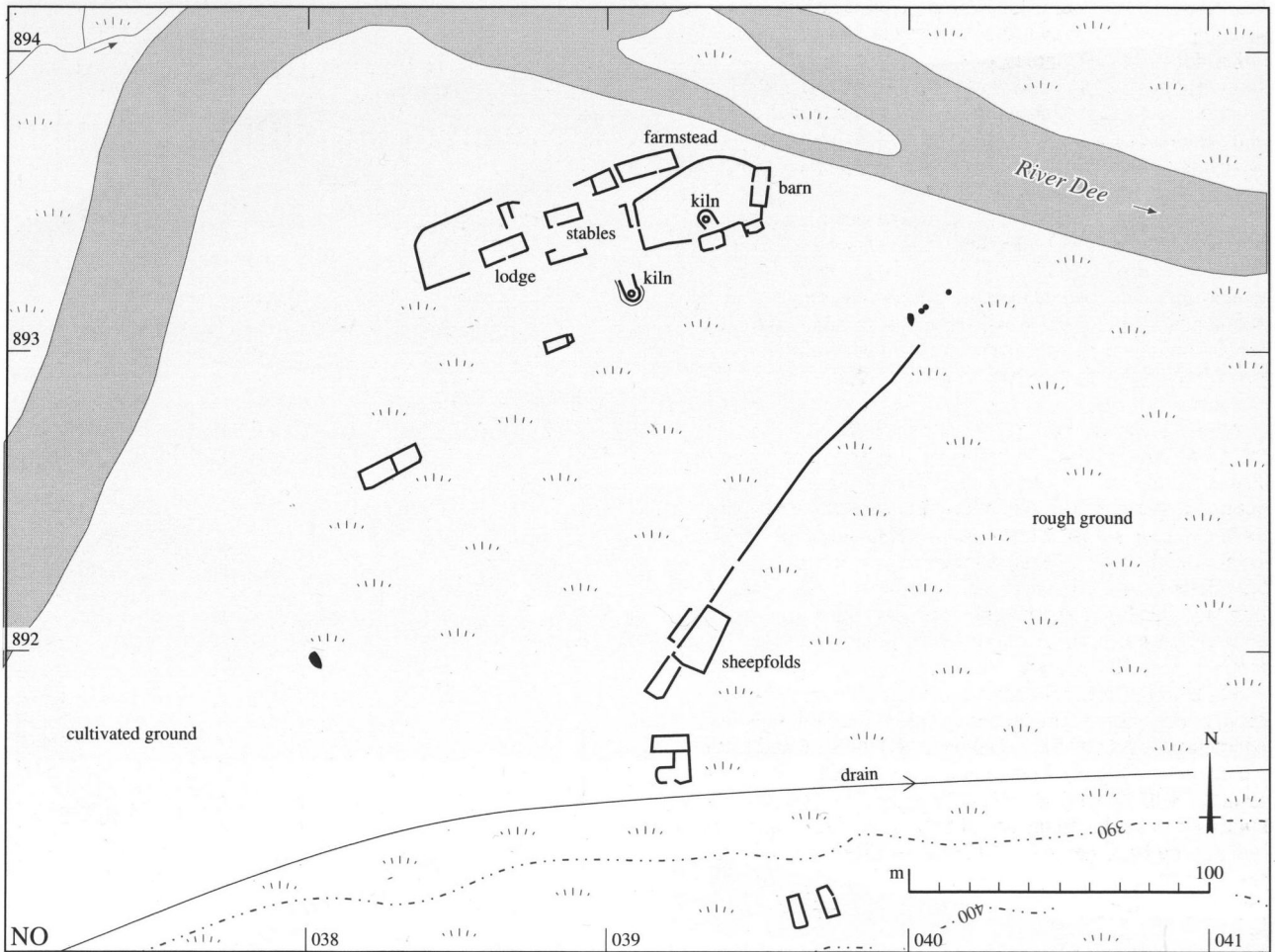


Fig. 10 Township, Dalvorar Mor 1:2500



Fig. 11 Allanaquoich: recently abandoned 19th century farmsteading

with very few are broader than 4m) within rubble-faced walls from 0.5m to 1.25m in thickness. Eighteen of the longer buildings (i.e. above average length) are subdivided into two compartments, either by a stone partition or a terrace running across the building, and four have three compartments, e.g. Little Allanaquoich (Fig. 8). A single entrance in one side is

the most common form of access (111 buildings), with only four having an entrance at one end, of which three are at Dalgenie (NO 09 SE 6). Two have opposed entrances, one at Dalvorar and the other at Ryntean (NO 09 SE 1), of which that at Dalvorar, with wide gaps (1.2m across), may be a barn in its original conception (Fig. 10). Few are lit by windows, but one

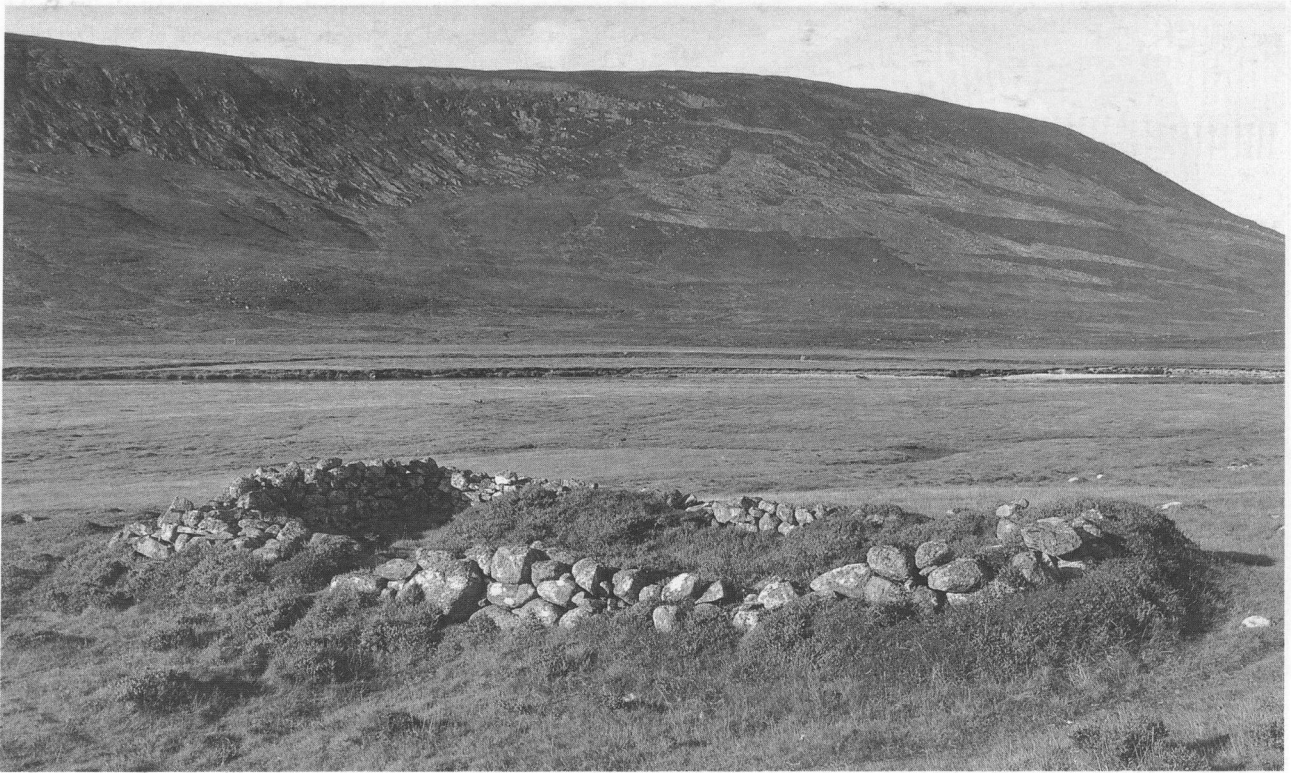


Fig. 12 Earth-bonded rubble-walled building, Wester Auchavrie, Glen Lui

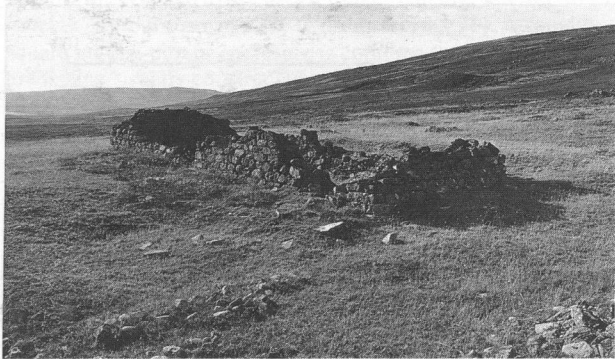


Fig. 13 Coursed-rubble walled farmhouses, Tonnagaoithe

has been recorded in a building of the final-phase farmstead at Tonnagaoithe (NO 08 NW 7.00) and another in the lodge at Dalvorar (NO 08 NW 1). Fireplaces are also scarce, with two recorded at Dalvorar - one in the lodge house and one in the converted barn (see Fig. 10), and another at Muir (NO 09 NE 8). In Glen Lui two buildings with what may be byre-drains were found, one at Easter Auchavrie (NO 09 SE 4) and the other at Knocknatete (NO 09 SE 8). A building at Dalvorar, with drains running across it and three entrances on one side, is probably a stable, forming part of the offices associated with the post-clearance lodge (see below).

Where the buildings occupy sloping ground they are usually terraced into the slope, with a drain around the back in a few instances (e.g. Ryntean, NO 09 SE 1). The two final phase farm-buildings at Tonnagaoithe, which have drains around the upslope side, also have terraces along the front (NO 08 NW 7.00). A number of the buildings, particularly in Glen Lui, have partly embanked exteriors such as those at Wester Auchavrie (NO 09 SE 5 and Fig. 12), possibly to help drain water from the hill away from the interior. Twenty-two buildings were recorded with extensions and outshots, whilst a few have wings (e.g. Tomnamoine, NO 08 NW 4), or abut another building at right angles (e.g. Croislish, Fig. 9).

Very few of the township buildings were constructed with turf walls or showed any evidence of a timber-frame. This is

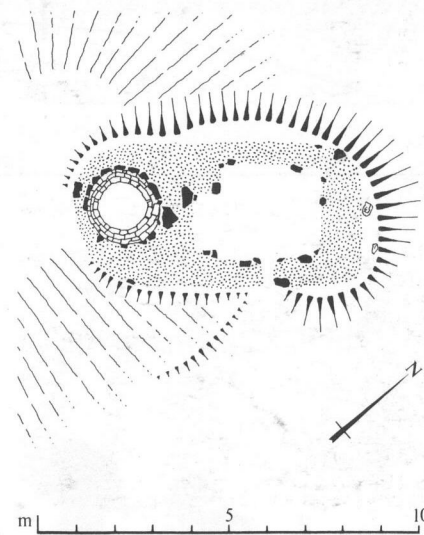


Fig. 14 Ryntean: kiln-barn (1:200)

understandable in view of the two 18th-century estate agreements restricting the use of timber in construction (1725 and 1776). However, what may be a relatively early building at Croislish, consisting of a low grassy bank overlying a stone base, may have been turf walled (Fig. 9). Five other turf buildings were identified, two at Little Allanaquoich and three at Cragan, while what may be the remains of partially turf-walled buildings, surviving as low rubble footings, can be seen to the south-west of the public road at Little Inverey.

There are readily recognisable differences between the forms of the buildings in Glen Lui and those in Glen Dee, which reflect the greater longevity of the settlements in Glen Dee, surviving as they did into the mid-19th century. The Glen Lui buildings are walled with random rubble, and the majority are subrectangular, probably with cruck roof-couples, such as that at Croislish, where the stubb of one is preserved in the corner of a building (NO 09 SE 3); whereas in Glen Dee most of the buildings are rectangular and better built, with coursed rubble walls standing higher than those in Glen Lui.

The general improvement in the quality of housing in



Fig. 15 Ryntean: kiln-barn, from the ENE

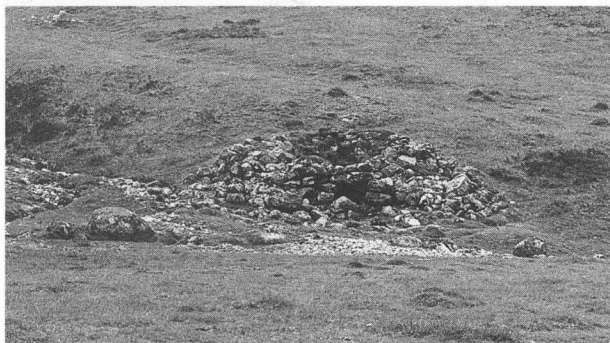


Fig. 16 Dubrach: lime kiln from the N

Aberdeenshire towards the end of the 18th century, which is evident on the Mar estate, is described in the *General View of the Agriculture of Aberdeenshire* (Keith 1811, 129-30, 138-9). The farm-houses of thirty years before are described as 'very bad... none built with stone and lime; and comparatively a small proportion was built with stone and clay; they were generally built about four or five feet high, either with stone or with stone filled with earth, ...and one or two feet of turf...placed above the stones of the side walls, and the gables built of the same.... The couples were built in the wall, the feet of them above a yard above the surface of the ground.' The roof-couples were covered first with spars on which was laid a thin layer of turfs, over which was placed a layer of straw, fixed by wooden pins. The windows were part shuttered and part glazed. The interior was divided into three, the central portion serving as a store or cellar for milk or ale, the rest for domestic accommodation with an open hearth and a hanging lum for a chimney. Byres and barns were apparently separate buildings of similar construction; cottages, on the other hand, were sometimes entirely walled with turf. Keith indicates that, since 1782, this state of affairs had changed out of all

recognition, with many landowners encouraging tenants to build proper stone walls, preferably lime mortared or sneaked (rendered) with lime, and to use proper roof coverings such as tiles, slates or thick thatch. The 1776 tack agreement on the Earl of Fife's estate is an example of this. The majority of the houses in the survey area either pre-date these improvements or fall in the period of transition. However, the progress of improvement is displayed in the more substantial construction of the buildings at Dubrach and Tonnagaoithe, with higher, coursed-rubble walls.

Corn-drying Kilns. Of the twenty corn-drying kilns recorded during the survey, fifteen were associated with barns, the kilns of which are set into the slope of the ground or the edge of a terrace. The kilns range from 1.6m to 4.2m in diameter within rubble-faced walls. Although none of the kilns is well-enough preserved to show how the fire-chamber and flue were arranged, it is usually quite evident, from the way the kiln is set into the ground, in which arc they must have lain. In one or two instances there were squared plinths in the corners of the barn nearest the kiln (e.g. Ryntean, Fig. 14 and Tonnagaoithe NO 08 NW 7.00), which may be related to the arrangement of the flue.

The majority of barns are down-slope from the kiln, but at least one, at Little Allanaquoich, has a barn on a terrace upslope (NO 19 SW 19) which may have doubled as loading-bay; another at Allt a' Mhadaidh-allaidh has both a barn and a loading bay (NO 09 SE 2). The barns range in size from 2.1m to 6.5m in length by 2.3m to 2.9m in breadth within rubble-faced walls 0.75m to 0.9m thick, with a single entrance either in the end or in one of the sides.

The corn-kilns without barns are generally within the lower range of kiln-sizes and are invariably set into the side of a terrace. Two have traces of loading bays on the terrace edge, showing either as a levelled area or as footings for a walled structure. There is one example of what may be a simple corn-kiln outwith the townships at Glen Derry (NO 09 NW 3); it is situated near a shieling-hut and comprises a typical funnel-

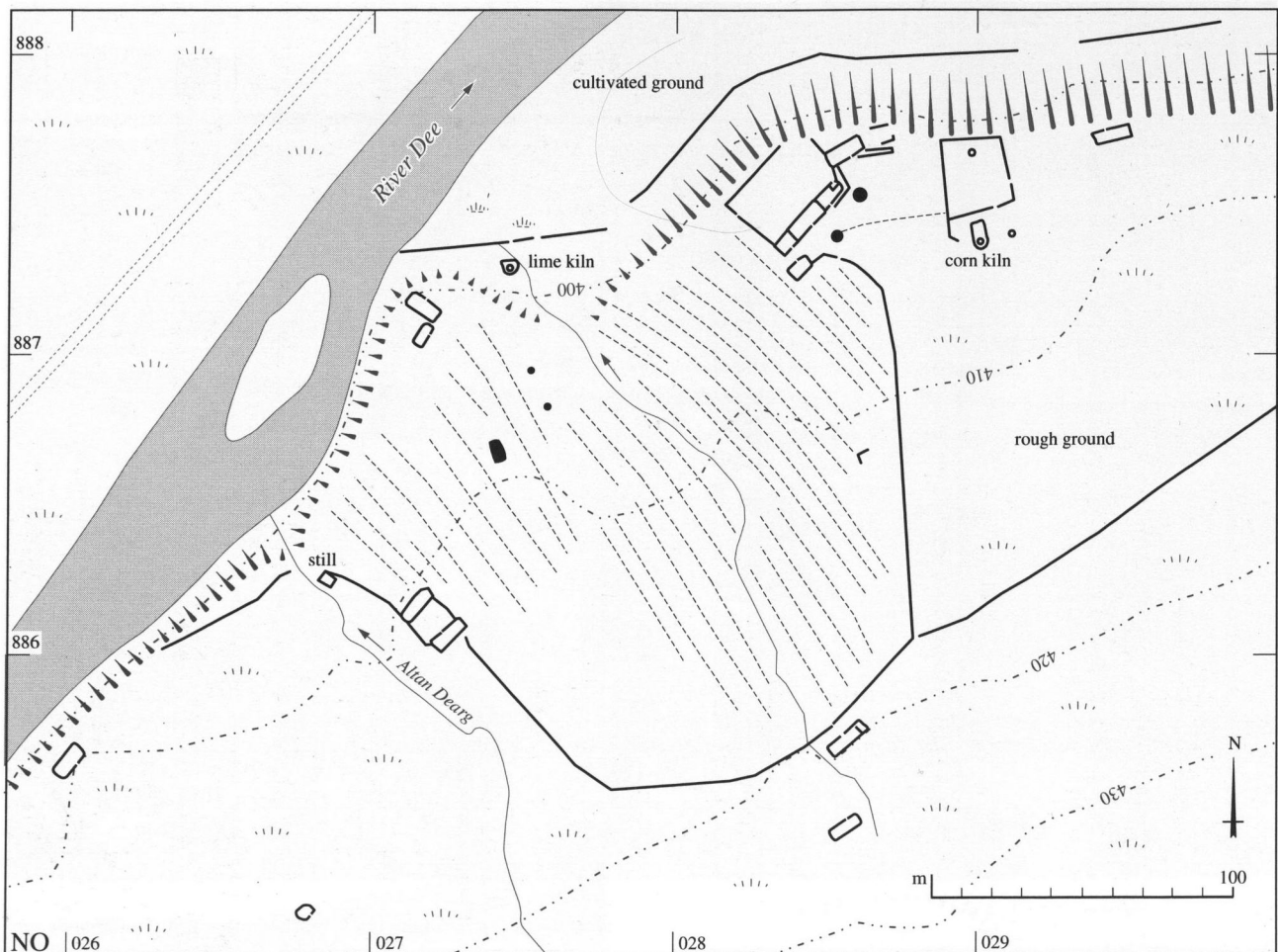


Fig. 17 Dubrach township (1:2500)

shaped hollow excavated into the side of an old river-terrace, some 2m across and 0.5m in depth.

Lime Kilns. The *General View of the Agriculture of Aberdeenshire* records that, by the beginning of the 19th century, lime was available in the higher parts of Mar (Keith 1811, 53, 435), and is described by Keith as a top-dressing used either on outfield or infield. In general, the use of lime is not very common in pre-Improvement townships, but the presence of local outcrops may have encouraged its use in the lordship of Braemar somewhat earlier than elsewhere. Whyte did not find any evidence of its use in the Highlands during the 17th century (Whyte 1979, 202), and it should probably be seen as an improvement of the 18th century (Shaw 1980, 291). Although the lime-kiln depicted on the 1st edition of the OS 6-inch map at Allanaquoich (Aberdeenshire 1868, Sheet 98) could be coeval with the improved farm, those in Glen Lui may be contemporary with the townships and therefore pre-date 1776.

There are perhaps as many as twelve lime-kilns in this area, all of them associated with the townships (e.g. Figs 5 and 6). They differ from the corn-driers in one critical respect: the kiln is usually a free-standing circular stone structure and, although often situated at the foot of a slope, is not generally set into it. The kilns range from 1.4m to 2.7m in diameter internally and stand up to 2m in height. Draught passages are visible in several of them, measuring 0.3m to 0.5m in width and between 1.6m and 1.9m in length, and in the best surviving example, the roof of the passage was supported by a stone lintel (Dubrach, NO 08 NW 9). Similar rubble-constructed round lime-kilns have been found elsewhere in rural Aberdeenshire, e.g. at Glenbucket and Colnabaichin (Hume 1977, 100 and 116).

Cultivation remains. Areas of rig cultivation are to be found around many of the townships, but recent cultivation and drainage, combined with erosion of the haughlands, have reduced the rig in some instances. From what survives, between 1ha and 3ha is the typical extent of the cultivated area associated with a small township or farm (Table 7). Some of the cultivated ground is delimited by curvilinear earthen banks (e.g. Dalgenie in Glen Lui, Fig. 5), elsewhere heaps of cleared stone, some linear, are visible within the fields, e.g. to the south-east of Tonnagaoithe, Fig. 6. Where best preserved, the rig is high-backed and sinuous, measuring up to 8m in width by 25m to 130m in length, e.g. at Dubrach (NO 08 NW 9 and Fig. 17) and Dail Rosaigh (NO 09 SW 5 and Fig. 5). At some townships the drainage of the cultivated haughs was improved by excavating a ditch along the back of the haugh (e.g. Dalvorar Fig. 6).

Shielings

About 300 shieling-huts were located in the glens of the Mar Lodge Estate (see Fig. 18). Most of the huts are constructed of faced rubble, but about 30% are partly, or completely, walled with turf, or have turf embanked against the outer wall-face. The groups range in size from the largest at about forty huts, e.g. in Glen Connie (Fig. 19) and at Glen Bynack (Fig. 20), to clusters of about twenty huts at Glen Derry, Black Bothy at the top of Glen Geldie, Chest of Dee, Allt Cristie and on the upper reaches of Allt Connie, to small collections of between five and ten huts, such as those in the upper reaches of Glen Quoich ('Beachan'), lower in Glen Quoich, on the Geldie Burn near Ruigh nan Clach, Glen Luibeg, and Coire na Cula (Glen Dee). In addition to these groups, there are a few examples of isolated, individual huts, or small groups of two or three, such as those on the Allt an-t'Seilich, the Allt an t-Sneachda and the Allt a' Chorarinn.

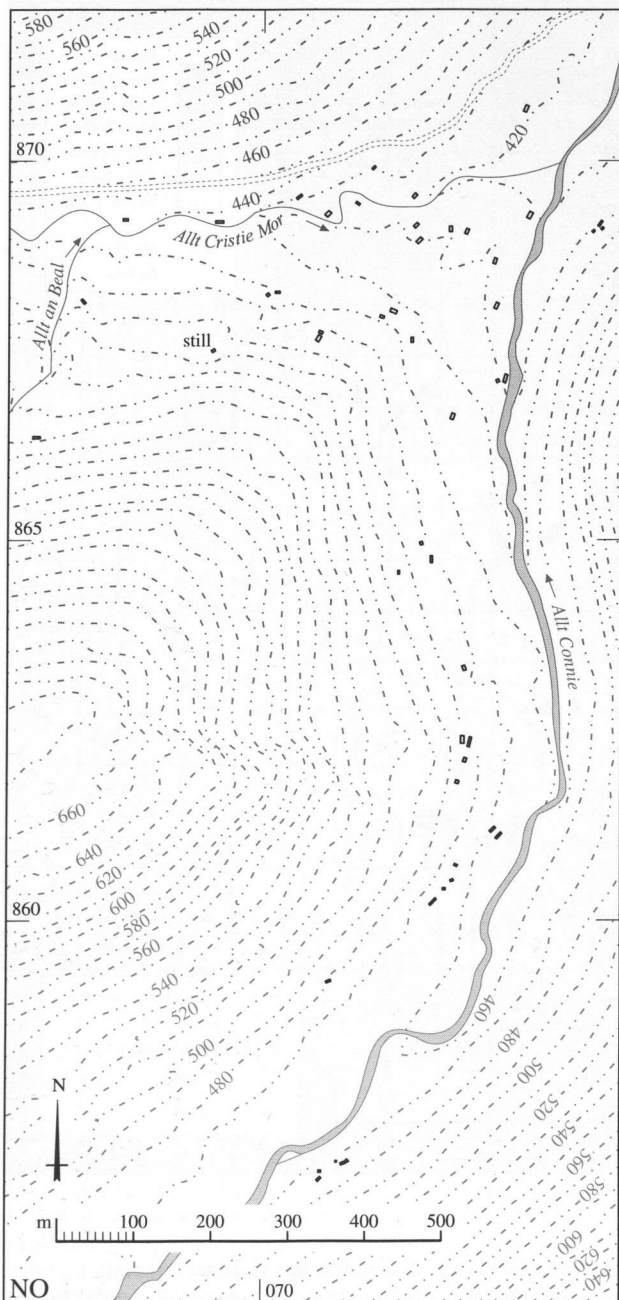


Fig. 19 Plan of Allt Connie shieling group, 1:10,000 (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

Glen Dee (NO 08 NW 2) and Bynack Burn (NO 08 NW 19.06), and a window was observed at another hut on the Bynack Burn (NO 08 NW 19.06). Where built on sloping ground, the huts are usually set into it, with no drain to accommodate the run-off water; however, one hut with a drain cut around the up-slope side was found in Allt Connie (NO 09 NE 18.02). Along the Allt Connie (Fig. 19) and the Bynack Burn (Fig. 20) pairs of huts, one large and the other small, were noted, suggesting a functional difference between the two buildings, with the smaller possibly serving as a dairy.

Turf-walled, or partly turf-walled, huts are common in Glen Derry, at Luibeg, in the upper part of Glen Quoich, at Black Bothy on the upper Geldie Burn and at Coire na Cula on the north side of Glen Dee, while stone-walled huts predominate along the Allt Christie and the Allt Connie, and are common on the Bynack Burn. It thus appears that the turf huts are associated with those townships which were cleared first and that the stone huts occur in the shieling grounds of the townships that continued in use into the 19th century, i.e. Inverey. A similar change from turf to stone walling is attested in the construction

of shielings in Perthshire in the 18th century (Bil 1990, 238-44). On the Mar estate the documents may help to explain and date these changes. Timber walling was prohibited from 1725, perhaps encouraging the habit of stone construction, and the use of stone in walling was prescribed from 1776, when it was stated in the agreement with the tenants that the walls of buildings should be built with stone (see above).

One turf hut stands out from the rest in terms of sheer scale. At Black Bothy at the top of the Geldie Burn there is a large hut on the west bank of the Allt a' Chaorainn measuring 9.5m in length by 7.6m over walls 0.8m high and 2.9m thick. From its size alone, it is suggested that it either belonged to a laird or served some special purpose, such as a hunting-lodge, and it is tempting to correlate it with Boandun Geoldie, depicted on Farquharson's map (Fig. 3) and referred to in 1727 when it was proposed to reoccupy the shieling in order to protect the bounds of the forest against encroachment (SRO GD 124/M/A35).

There is little sign of cultivation at the shielings, probably because the majority are at too great an altitude to allow crops to flourish, but, in nearly every instance where cultivation has been possible, a permanent farm was subsequently established. This was the case at Dail Rosaigh, on the west side of Glen Lui, where at the outset of the survey, the turf huts and rig were viewed as the remains of a shieling site at which cultivation had occurred. The documentary evidence, however, points to a short-lived farm at this site, which was in existence from 1739 to 1744, in which case the turf huts may have provided permanent accommodation. From the documentation it is apparent that shielings were established on the west side of Glen Lui following the first clearance of 1726, which may explain some of the small buildings or huts above the head-dyke at Dalgenie, and it is quite possible that shieling-grounds preceded the townships in Glen Lui, as they did in Glen Ey in the late 17th century (Ewen 1994, 89). The scatter of huts above Little Allanaquoich and around the fringes of Dubrach and Dalvorar hint at similar exploitation of the Dee prior to the establishment of the townships. One consequence of this process must have been an increase in pressure on the shielings that remained.

Sheep-farming Structures

The conversion of townships to sheep-farming is a well-known aspect of agricultural improvement in the Highlands. How this was achieved varied from one estate to another, but it was invariably a social and economic disaster for the inhabitants. For example, in the Strath of Kildonan, Sutherland, it was carried out with total removal of the tenants and their families with the intention of relocating them in newly created crofts on the coast at Helmsdale (RCAHMS 1993, 10). At Mar Lodge, the process did not lead to any crofts being established, and the tenants must have been obliged to move with their families to find employment elsewhere.

In the early 19th century the townships on both sides of the Dee above Linn of Dee were replaced by single farms, Tonnagaoithe on the north and Dalvorar on the south, with steadings established for this purpose (see Townships above). The grazings of Glen Geldie and Glen Bynack were also let; at Bynack, this appears to have coincided with the conversion of Dalvorar to a sheep-farm and, indeed, they were both sometimes let to the same tenant. The primary building at Bynack Lodge may originally have been a shepherd's cottage (see below). On the north side of the Dee the let of Tonnagaoithe may also have included the let of the grazings of Glen Dee, coincident with the former souming that included Glen Lui and Luibeg. It is in these areas that the majority of the sheep-farming structures have been found (see map, Fig. 27). They include large enclosures or 'parks', small pens and folds, and sheep-dip sites.

The most striking evidence for sheep-farming is the enclosed 'park'. Of the seven identified, the Glen Bynack example is the most interesting, since it lies outwith the former

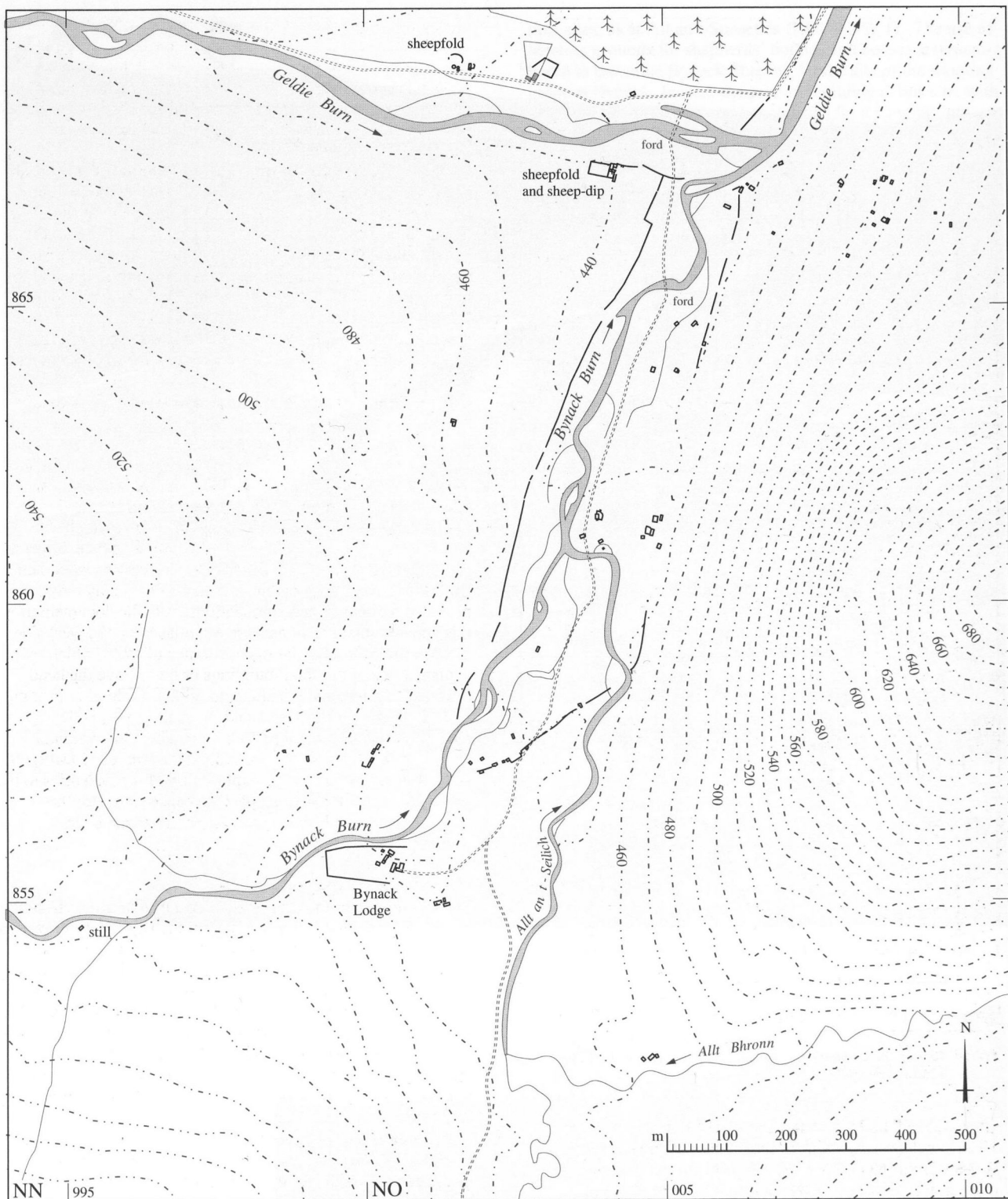


Fig. 20 Bynack Burn shieling group, 1:10,000 (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

township lands and is situated on a shieling ground (Fig. 20). It occupies the valley floor, encompassing the best grazing, and, where the ground is solid, is built of drystone rubble, but takes the form of a ditch where it crosses peaty ground on the west side. The enclosure measures about 1100m from north to south by 140m to 240m transversely, taking in the whole of the valley floor north of Bynack Lodge. An arm of the enclosure wall runs off from the north-west corner along the edge of the river terrace to run up to the sheep-dip site, suggesting that the enclosure and the sheep-dip are of the same date. The most likely occasion for the construction of the enclosure would have been during the lease of Bynack for grazing in the early part of 19th century, but it is not depicted

on the 1st edition 6-inch map (Aberdeenshire 1869, Sheet 104). Similar large-scale enclosures surround a number of the townships, including Tomnamoine and Tonnagaoithe in Glen Dee, Croislich, and Wester and Easter Ach a' Mhadaidh on the east side of Glen Lui. The construction of the Glen Lui and Glen Dee enclosures, which are stratigraphically later than any of the other structures in the townships, is alluded to in a payment for the 'inclosing' of Cragan and Craig Phadruig 'parks' in 1820 (AUL MS 3175/1308), and it is possible that all the parks belong to this period.

Shepherds' bothies and their associated drystone pens are to be found in a number of locations, sometimes adjacent to a shieling group, e.g. Coire na Cula (NO 08 NW 2), but also on



Fig. 21 Shieling group above the junction of the Bynack and Geldie Burns



Fig. 22 Shieling-hut, Chest of Dee, Glen Dee, showing stone footings

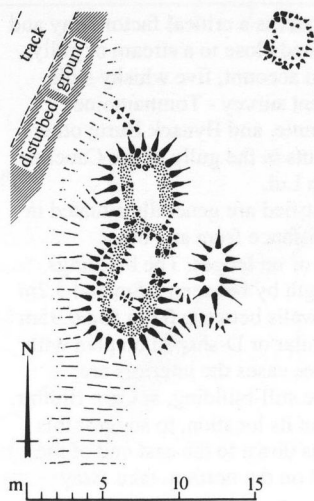


Fig. 23 Shieling-hut on the Geldie Burn by Ruigh nan Clach (1:500)

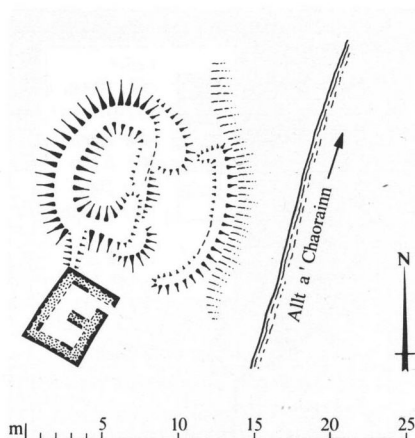


Fig. 24 Black Bothy: shieling-hut plan (1:500)

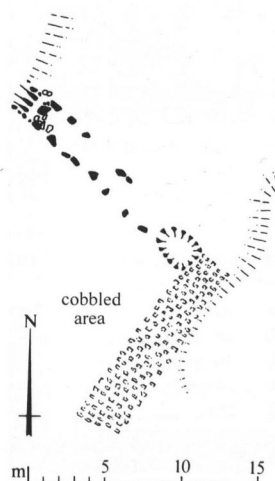


Fig. 25 Sheep-dip on the Geldie Burn by Ruigh nan Clach (1:500)

new sites, as at All an t-Sneachda (NO 19 NW 1). The use of shieling grounds for shepherds' bothies and houses is remembered in the name Bynack Shieling for the site of the shooting lodge at Bynack. Indeed, the primary building at this site, with its coarser construction and hearth fitted for a hanging-lum, may originally have been built as a bothy (see Fig. 28). What may have been another bothy in Glen Dee was described as thatched in a document of 1821 (AUL MS 3175/1315/1); it is referred to as a 'shiel', although by that date the townships on the north side of the Dee had already been converted to a sheep farm (see above). The coursed-rubble buildings at Coire na Cula (NO 08 NW 2) may be the 'shiel' referred to in this document.

Two sheep-dip sites were located during the survey: one is situated on the edge of the river terrace on the south side of the Geldie Burn to the west of the confluence with the Bynack Burn; the other lies on the haughland on the west side of the Geldie Burn near Ruigh nan Clach. The first site comprises a sheep-dip, run and pit, cobbled drying stands and a stone bothy; a group of post-holes were also detected, which defined a rectilinear area of grass that matches on plan a sheepfold shown on the 1st edition of the OS map (Aberdeenshire 1869, Sheet 98). The sheep-dip comprises a ramp of earth and stone leading to a timber run, 16m long, supported on two rows of flat stones, about 1.8m apart, at the far end of which there is a pit about 3m long, partly filled in, which formed the dip-tank (Fig. 25). At both sites there is a cobbled stand for drying the sheep. A curious arrangement of six parallel turf plinths, 1.4m long and 0.25m high, beside the sheep-dip on the Bynack Burn, may also have supported a timber superstructure, but its specific function is unknown.

Also associated with sheep-farming are six sheepfolds - three of turf and three built of drystone. Of the turf folds: one is to be found on the haugh on the opposite side of the river Luibeg from the present house (NO 09 SW 4.04); another lies on the north bank of the Geldie Burn to the west of the confluence with the Bynack Burn (NO 08 NW 23); while the third is situated on the south side of the Geldie Burn near Geldie Lodge (NN 98 NE 1.02). They measure about 25m in diameter within turf walls cut from the adjacent sward, and the turf fold on the Geldie Burn has been superseded by a drystone pen.

Three drystone sheepfolds were found on the north side of the Geldie Burn. One lies on the site of an earlier turf sheepfold (NO 08 NW 23), a second overlying two shieling-huts (NO 08 NW 20) near Ruigh nan Clach, and the third, much further up the burn (NN 98 NE 3), is cut by the road. Smaller isolated drystone pens are located at the heads of other glens such as that on the north bank of the Allt Geusachan (NN 99 SE 1), or that at the top of Glen Connie (NO 08 SE 2.02). A group of sixteen small turf pens were located on the Allt Garbh in the upper reaches of the Dee; they range from 3.75m to 5.5m across and are generally circular with turf walls about 0.8m in thickness and up to 0.6m in height (NN 99 SE 2). A single turf pen was also located in Glen Derry (NO 09 NW 3).

Whisky Stills

The illicit distilling of whisky is part of the folk-lore of the Highlands. In Deeside, as elsewhere, it was suppressed during the 1820s, following the *Illicit Distillation (Scotland) Act* of 1822 and, in any case, it became uneconomic after the reduction in excise duty with the *Excise Act* of 1823 (Hume and Moss 1981, 70). However, there is no real reason to link this process with the depopulation of Crathie parish in the 19th century, as was suggested by the the Earl of Fife's factor at Allanaquich before a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1872 (Smith 1987, 452).

Identifying the sites of these stills is difficult, partly because they were deliberately located in places that are not easy to find, but also because the removal of the distilling equipment leaves few special characteristics that differentiate a still-building from a shieling-hut or similar structure. However,

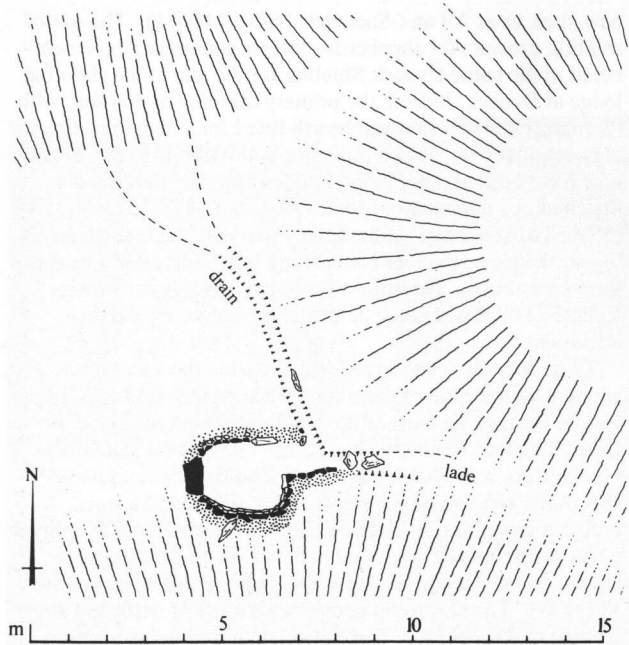


Fig. 26 Carn Bhithir: whisky still (1:200)

access to a suitable source of water is a critical factor (Hay and Stell 1986, 61), and all are situated close to a stream or gully. Taking these characteristics into account, five whisky stills were identified during the present survey - Tomnamoine, Dubrach, Carn Bhithir, Allt Connie, and Bynack Burn; others await authentication, e.g. two huts in the gully of the Caochan Bheithe above Dalgenie in Glen Lui.

The stills that have been identified are generally situated in isolated places, often at some distance from any other settlement, and hidden in clefts or on ledges. The buildings range from 2.3m to 4.7m in length by between 1.8m and 3.2m in breadth within rubble-faced walls between 0.6m and 0.95m in thickness. All are subrectangular or D-shaped on plan with entrances in one end, and in three cases the interiors are levelled into the slope. Only one still-building, at Carn Bhithir, had any characteristics, other than its location, to suggest this specialised use; there a lade runs down to the east end of the building, with a run-off channel on the north to take away unwanted water (Fig. 26).

Mills and Dams

Only two mill sites were located, both of them situated at the mouth of Glen Quoich. The remains of the later 19th-century saw-mill are readily visible at the site depicted on the 1st

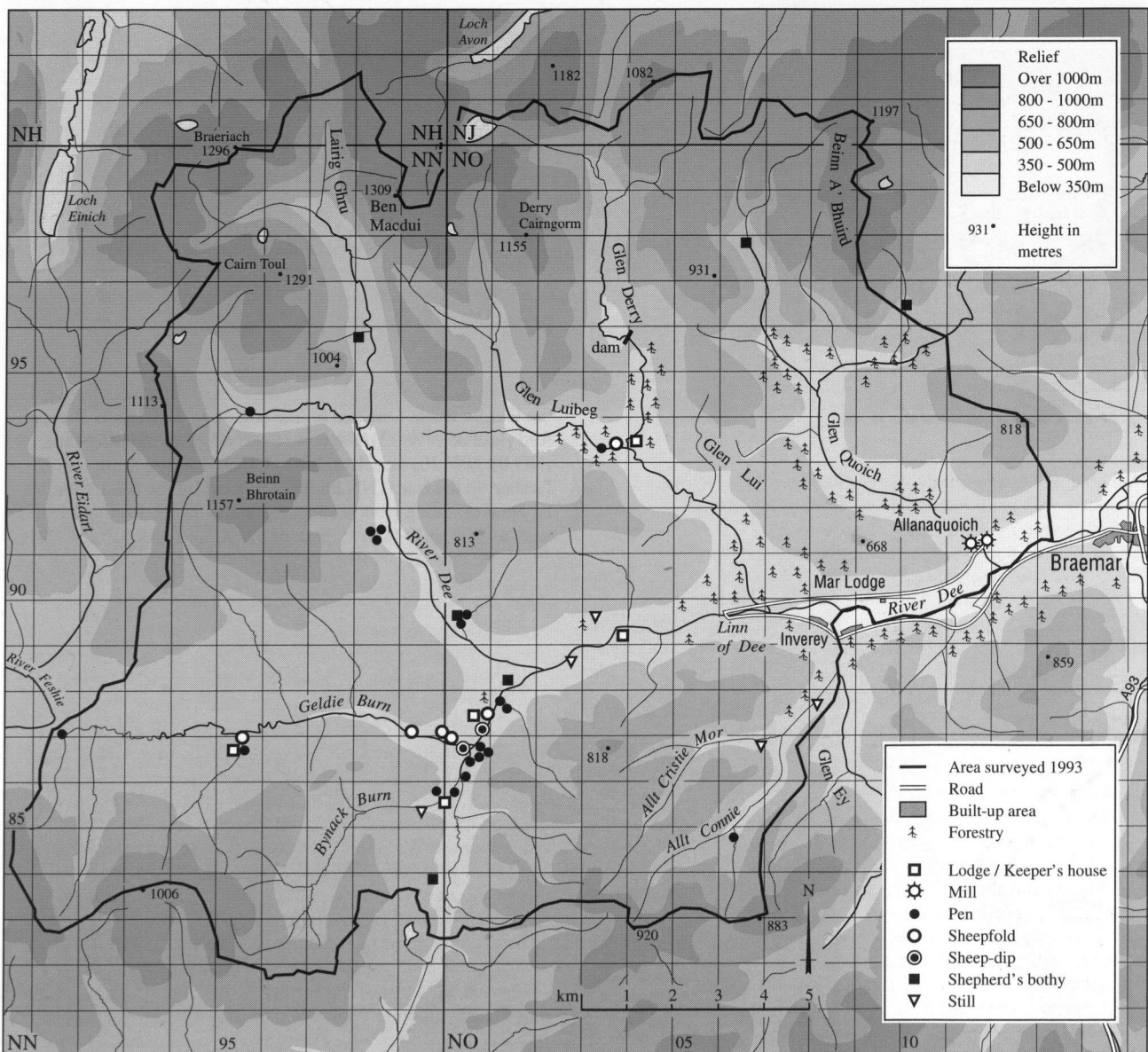


Fig. 27 Distribution of shooting-lodges, mills, sheepfolds and whisky stills (based on the OS map, Crown Copyright)

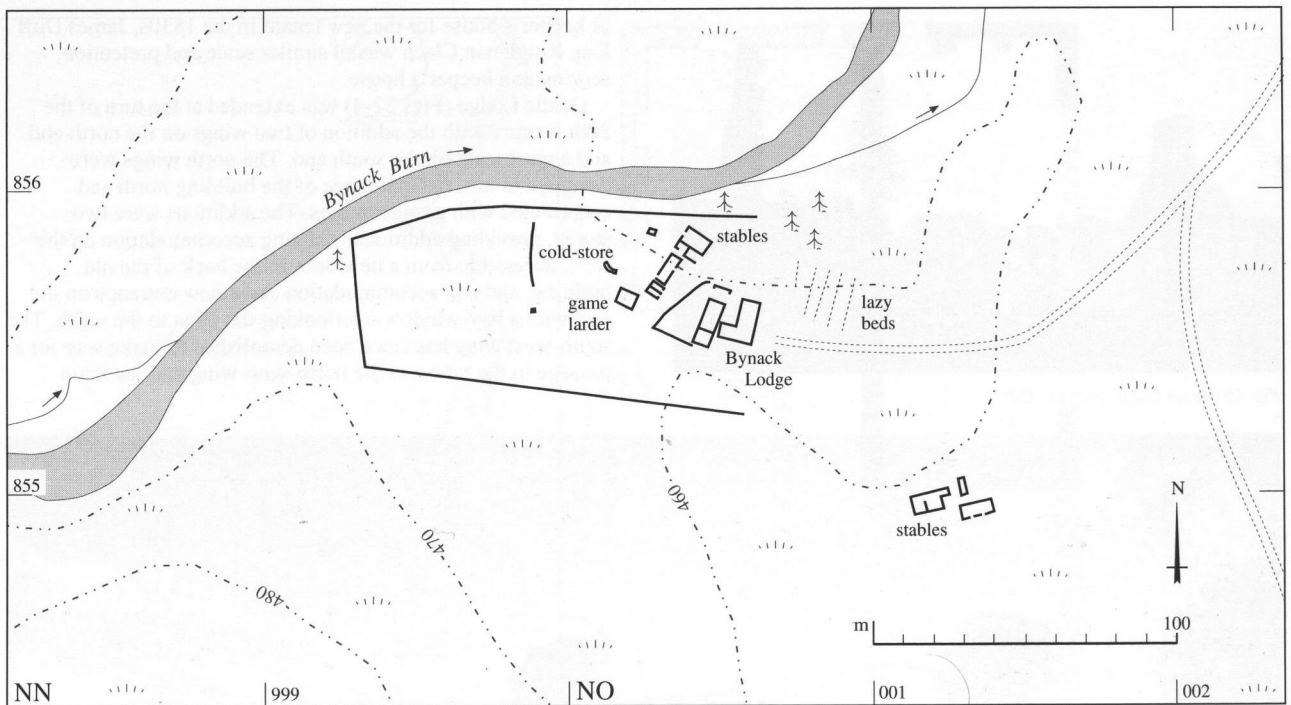


Fig. 28 Bynack Lodge: plan (1:2500)

edition of the OS six-inch map (Aberdeenshire 1869, Sheet 98). No trace of the dam survives, but the lade, a wheel-pit and mountings for the saw are still visible.

The second mill lies to the east of the first at the corner of a bend in the river. A lade runs down to an L-shaped hollow, presumably for a wheel-pit, from which an outflow channel runs off to the south; the footings of a building lie to the north. This may be the site of the mid-18th century saw-mill depicted on an estate map of Lord Braco (RHP 31322), but it appears to be too far to the east, and may belong to a different period altogether. No trace of the corn-mill of Dalmore on the opposite side was visible, nor was the site of Glen Lui mill found.

A dam at the head of the gorge through which the Derry Burn falls on its way out of Glen Derry may have been built to assist the transport of logs downstream. It comprises a stone-faced earthen embankment which is best preserved on the south-west side of the river, where it stands 2.25m high and measures 6.5m wide at its base by 1.8m at the top (NO 09 NW 2).

Shooting and Hunting Lodges

To maintain the new hunting forest of the mid-19th century, houses were built for the game-keepers in most of the main glens of the forest, some of which also provided accommodation for stalking parties, thus avoiding the long trek back to Mar Lodge itself. Three main shooting-lodges were built: two, Bynack and Geldie, were recorded in detail for the present volume; the third, Derry Lodge, now disused and boarded up, was unavailable for survey (Fig. 27). Bynack and Derry Lodges were established by the 1860s, while a roofed building is depicted on the 1st edition of the OS six-inch map (Aberdeenshire 1869, Sheet 96) at Geldie, it is not

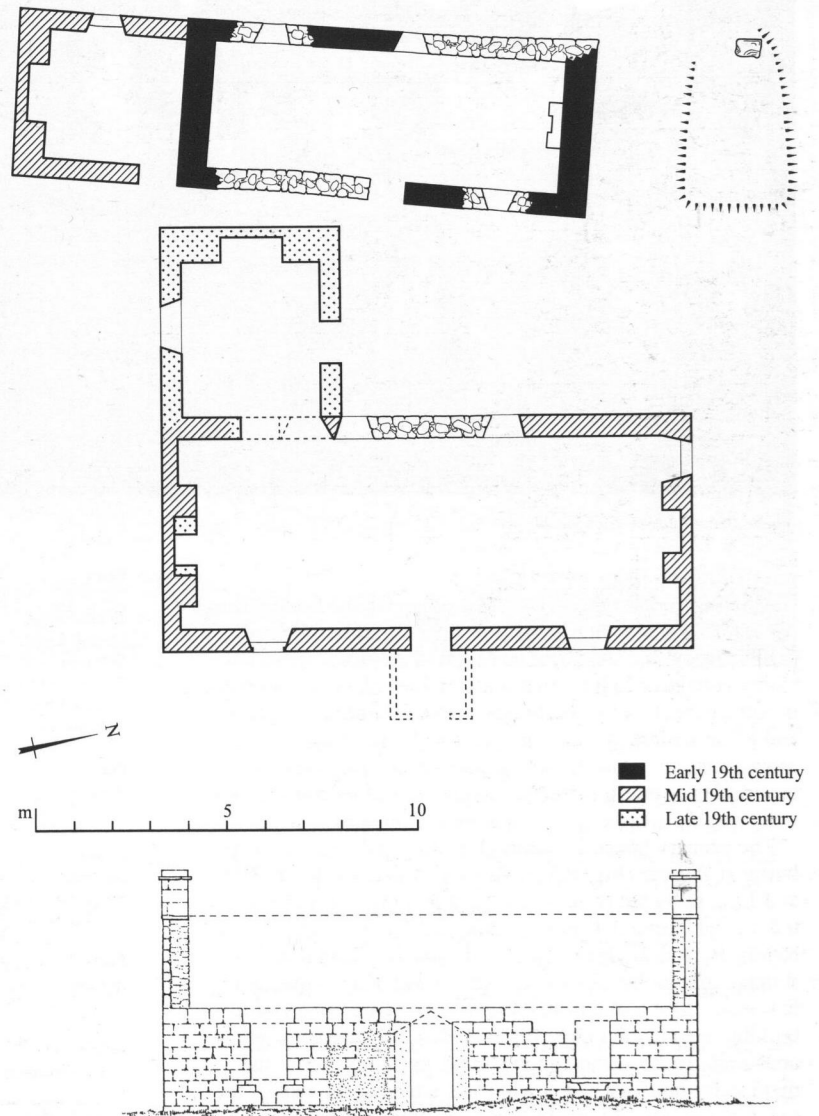


Fig. 29 Bynack Lodge: plan (1:200) and east elevation of mid-19th century lodge



Fig. 30 Bynack Lodge: from the ESE



Fig. 31 Bynack Lodge: from the NW

referred to as a lodge until 1874.

The four earliest sites - Bynack Lodge, Geldie Lodge, Ruigh nan Clach and Dalvorar - comprise a group of buildings of similar type (see Table 8). The essential elements are a two-storey cottage or lodge house and a stables block, accompanied in some cases by other buildings, which include cold-stores and game-larders. At all four sites a building of similar proportions and construction may be found; they are three-bayed with a central entrance and are built of mortared rubble with roughly dressed granite quoins and openings.

The primary house at Geldie (Fig. 33) and the main lodge house at Bynack (Fig. 29) are of similar size, 11.2m by 4.5m and 12.25m by 5m respectively, within mortared rubble walls, 0.55m and 0.6m thick and standing to 2.5m in height with attic rooms. Bynack Lodge is a place of some distinction with squared granite facings and quoins, to which a wooden porch has been added to the front entrance. An earlier single-storey building behind the lodge was extended, the extension being constructed with granite quoins in the same manner as the main lodge house, whilst a wing was added to the rear of the lodge-house, providing additional accommodation (Figs 28-31). The mortared-rubble building at Dalvorar (Fig. 10) is a similar type of structure, in size, lay-out, construction and the presence of an upper floor, and may have been built as a lodge

or keeper's house for the new tenant in the 1830s, James Duff Esq. Ruigh nan Clach was of similar scale and pretention, serving as a keeper's house.

Geldie Lodge (Figs 32-4) was extended at the turn of the 20th century with the addition of two wings on the north end and a west wing on the south end. The north wings were designed to turn the main face of the building north and constructed with granite quoins. The additions were two storey, providing additional sleeping accommodation on the west, accessible from a new door in the back of the old building, and day accommodation and a new entrance on the east with a bay-window overlooking the Glen to the north. The south-west wing has since been demolished to make way for a passage in the return of the north-west wing and the main

Place	Length	Breadth	Wall thickness	Height
Geldie Lodge	10.75m	4.5m	0.55m	2.6m
Bynack Lodge	12.25m	5.0m	0.6m	2.5m
Dalvorar	13.1m	4.5m	0.65m	2.5m
Ruigh nan Clach	12.1m	4.7m	0.6m	2.5m
Bynack Lodge (primary)	9.4m	3.2m	0.6m	1.9m

Dimensions of lodge-houses (internal)

Place	Length	Breadth
Bynack	9.1m	5.1m (T) with cartshed
	9.9m	3.65m
	9.0m	4.5m (T) with stone-walled passage
Geldie	11.0m	4.5m
Dalvorar	9.8m	3.7m
Ruigh nan Clach	10.5m	3.6m (?)

Dimensions of stable-blocks (internally or overall for timber-stance)

Place	Length	Breadth
Bynack	9.8m	4.3m (stables ?)
	2.5m	1.75m (meat store ?)
	6.0m	5.0m (game-larder)
Geldie	4.7m	2.6m

Dimensions of other timber-framed buildings at lodges/keeper's houses

Table 8 Dimensions of lodge buildings

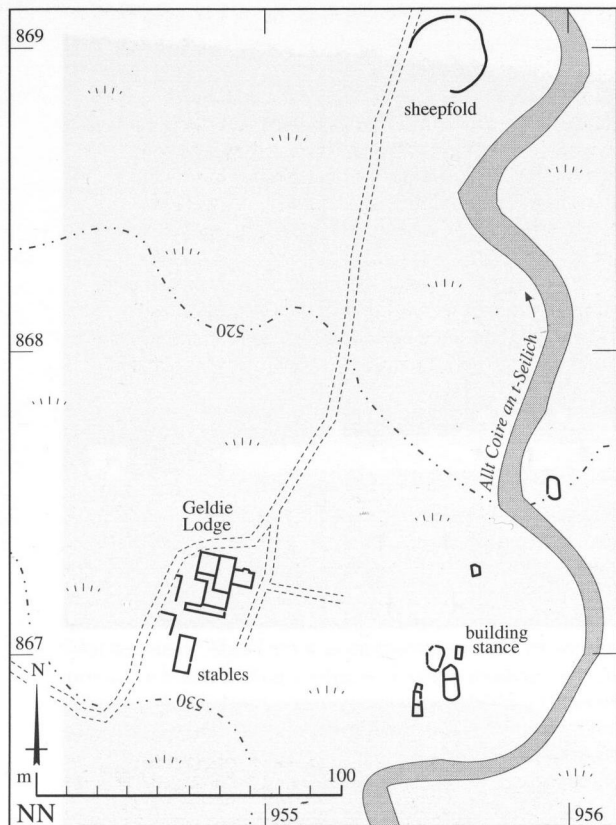


Fig. 32 Geldie Lodge: plan (1:2500)

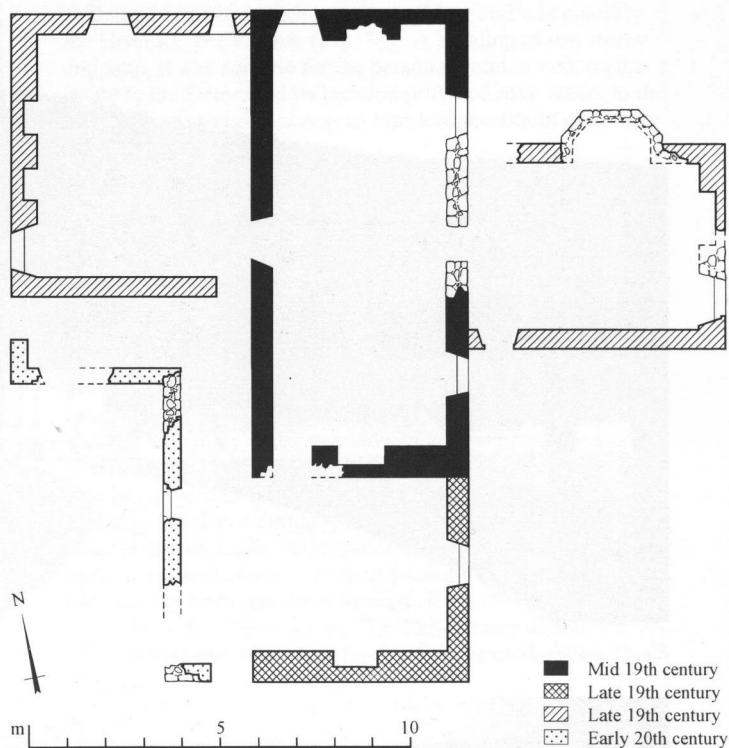


Fig. 33 Geldie Lodge (1:200)



Fig. 34 Geldie Lodge from the S

building, although it is partly preserved in the extension to the south.

Stable-blocks were provided at both Geldie and Bynack Lodges, and perhaps also at Dalvorar (Fig. 10). At Bynack most of the outbuildings are timber-framed structures, set on stone plinths; they included a stable, a stone-flagged game-larder with a central post-setting, an outbuilding of unknown function and a game-larder. Timber-framed buildings of this type are well-known on Deeside with a well-preserved example at Cairn na Drochaide near Allanaquoich (NO 19 SW 22.01) and at Balmoral. The stone-built stables display some variation in lay-out but are similar in size (see Table). Of the two stable-blocks to the south-east of the lodge at Bynack, one is a timber-framed structure, but with a stone-walled passage leading to an entrance facing south at the east end, whilst the other is stone-walled with two large entrances on the south side. A curious feature of the former, as of that at Geldie Lodge, are the rows of flat stones that run across the interior,

as if to provide ventilation under a timber floor.

With the creation of the New Forest of Mar, a new system of keepers' houses was established in various parts of the estate, e.g. Linn of Dee (still inhabited), Linn of Quoich and Ruigh nan Clach. The New Forest was run alongside the Old Forest, which suggests that they covered different pieces of ground. The opportunity to establish a new forest would have arisen as a result of the abandonment of Dalvorar and the curtailment of the grazings of Bynack, Cristie and Connie Burns on the south side of the Dee in the 1830s (Ewen 1994, 92-3).

At Corrou Bothy there are the remains of a hut with stone-footings, which is set into the grassy slope a short distance south-east of the present hut. In origin the place-name suggests that the site was used as a shelter for the currou or forester's assistant (Guilbert 1979, 134ff), but it may have been used as a stalking shelter in more recent times.

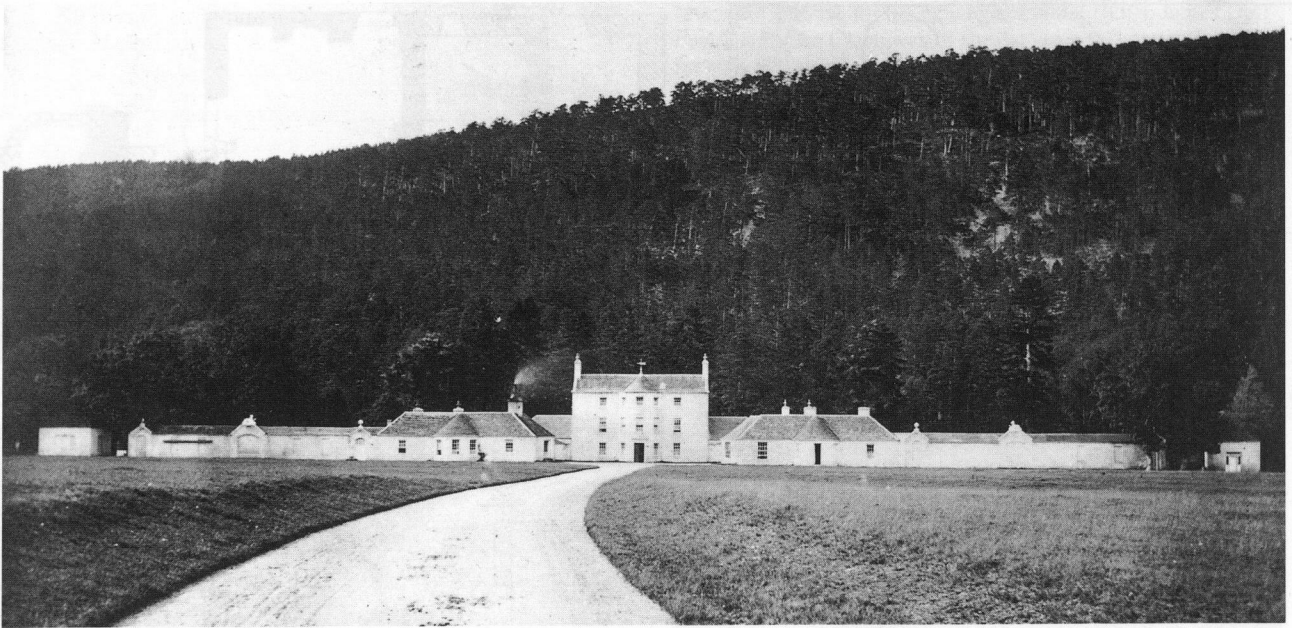


Fig. 35 Old Mar Lodge (reproduced by permission of Sir John Cotterell)



Fig. 36 Old Mar Lodge, dining room, August 1863 (reproduced by courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland)

Mar Lodge and the Hunting Lodges

The development of the three present-day lodges on the Mar Lodge Estate (Bynack, Derry and Geldie) is closely related to that of the principal house on the estate, Mar Lodge.

Mar Lodge is the third in a succession of main lodges on the estate. In the 1730s, Lord Braco built the first lodge, a modest three-bayed, two-storeyed house with attendant wings (Frontispiece). This building was further extended, forming a house of some grandeur, which is recorded in an early photograph (Fig. 35). However, its site, on the banks of the Dee, experienced frequent flooding, including the famous Muckle Spate of 1829. During the 19th century the Fifes bowed to the fashion for the picturesque and extended another

house, Corriemulzie Cottage (outside the survey area), which stood high enough on the wooded slopes of the south bank of the river to avoid any floods. This picturesque *cottage ornée*, recorded in a series of photographs in the NMRS, survives in part as the present Estate Office of the Mar Estate (the other portion of the original estate). Corriemulzie Cottage appears to have been intended more as a family home than as a place for large scale entertaining; however, the family's love of hunting is shown by the profusion of stags' heads inside the building (Gow 1988).

The Fife family had for a long time had close connections with the Royal family. The 5th Earl had married the granddaughter of the Duke of Clarence (later King William IV) and



Fig. 37 Derry Lodge

Mrs Jordan. These ties became even closer when the 6th Earl married Princess Louise, daughter of the Prince of Wales, in 1889. The picturesque and architecturally haphazard nature of Corriemulzie was regarded as unsuitable for a princess or, indeed, for the newly created duke, and so A Marshall Mackenzie of Aberdeen was employed in 1895 as architect to provide a house at Mar Lodge with every modern convenience. Mackenzie, the North-east's most renowned late 19th-century architect, had recently completed Crathie Church for Queen Victoria, and was currently engaged on projects such as Aberdeen's vast Marischal College Extension.

The Lodge has a symmetrical main front flanked by splayed wings, with a service spur to the rear. Originally, the building's severe axiality was softened by a long verandah supported on decorative tree trunks, which provided a covered walk when it was wet, although this was later removed. It was claimed that the splay plan of the new Lodge was the idea of the princess, enabling all the principal rooms to enjoy the view and the sunlight. The house was built of rock-faced Aberdeenshire granite, in the 'Old English' style, with half-timbered gables, invented by Richard Norman Shaw in England in the 1860s and subsequently widely used in Scotland as well as other European and American countries, for smaller houses, hotels and recreational buildings. As well as the attendant gardens and stable block, a small church and ornamental bridges were built. Perhaps most importantly, a grandiose iron ball-room was erected, whose ceiling is decorated with over 3,000 sets of antlers. This building provides a valuable document both of the late 19th-century British monarchy, and of the contemporary fashion for hunting, shooting and fishing house-parties (Hussey 1937).

It is against this background that the development of the three lodges at Bynack, Derry and Geldie must be seen. Derry and Bynack appear to have been keepers' houses, but Geldie was probably used for shooting parties. The oldest surviving building at Bynack (Fig. 29), which lies to the W of Mar Lodge, was connected to the sheep grazings in Glen Bynack (see above). It was probably built during the early 19th century, but by the middle of the century stag-hunting had taken over as the principal economic activity. The existing lodge was built as a keeper's house, the earlier buildings providing ancillary accommodation. It is possible that the parlour of the lodge was used by the Fifes during a day's hunting trip but the modest scale of the building suggests it was not used for longer stays. The rear wing was added as the prosperity of the estate increased, and probably to attract the best keepers. The need to impress guests, as well as house the staff comfortably, became increasingly more important during the 19th century. This probably explains the decorative wooden porch, a pale shadow of, but related to, the glories of Mar Lodge itself. A number of stables were required as the hill pony was the only way to transport the stags off the hill, as well as to ferry supplies. At Balmoral, indeed, the whole central block of the stables was given over to hill ponies.

Derry Lodge is a much grander building and was possibly the Head Keeper's house (Fig. 37). A building of one storey and attic, it was suitable for the person second in rank on the estate to the factor, and its location provided easy access to the hill, while also giving access to Mar Lodge without crossing a river.

Geldie Lodge is the most isolated of the three lodges (Figs 32-4). The original building dates from the mid-19th century and was probably built as a keeper's house, its modest scale, compared to Bynack, reflecting its lesser importance. However, during the course of the 19th century, stag-hunting increased in popularity, and the need to accommodate shooting parties overnight, especially in this isolated spot, had to be addressed. The first addition appears to have been to the south, providing more accommodation for the keeper. The later extensions reorientated the house to the north, to capture the view up the valley. A bay-windowed drawing room was added to the east (probably more of a smoking room since shooting was largely a male preserve). The parlour of the original lodge probably acted as a dining room with bedrooms occupying the wing to the west. The small window on the north facade may have lit an earth closet. The keeper would have occupied ancillary accommodation to the rear, some of which may have been of wooden construction. The 20th-century alterations reduced the scale of the building, as the requirement to maintain staffed lodges diminished.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods the management of the hunting forest acted as a restraint on settlement which, until a relaxation of the forest rules in the later 17th century, was limited to Glen Dee. The main episode of settlement, as represented by the surviving archaeological remains, is therefore post-medieval in date, ending in the later 18th or early 19th centuries. Glen Lui appears to have been cleared in the late 18th century to improve the hunting on the estate while, in the early 19th century, the townships of upper Glen Dee were converted to sheep-farms, before these too were cleared in the mid-19th century to make way for a further expansion of hunting facilities on the estate.

Medieval occupation is most likely to have been concentrated in the main strath but, with the exception of the fragmentary remains at the Allanaquoichs, Cragan and Little Inverey, few well-preserved townships have survived in this area. This does not preclude the possibility that some of the structures in the side glens may be medieval in origin, as there may have been earlier phases of expansion. If, as suggested by the documentary sources, turf-walled buildings are characteristic of the period up to the 18th century, then few early township buildings would have been recognised during the course of the present survey. However, at least one possible medieval building (NO 09SE 3) was identified in Glen Lui on the basis of its stone-based, turf-wall, which is reminiscent of similarly-constructed, early buildings in North-east Perth (RCAHMS 1990).

The same general comments that have been made about township buildings apply to shielings, but the numbers of turf-walled huts are much greater than in the townships and they may present the possibility that some pre-date the 18th century. A large turf building at the Black Bothy on the Geldie Burn is unusually substantial for a turf structure and, to judge from the appearance of the site on the 1703 map, it has the potential to be pre-18th century in date; whether its size is indicative of a special function remains to be seen.

The distribution of the shielings shows that, at one time or another in the medieval and post-medieval periods, most areas of the estate were used for grazing, and that the effect of grazing animals was probably a significant adverse factor in the maintenance of woodland (see Mather 1993). Furthermore, access to timber for building and other purposes by the inhabitants played a part in reducing the woodland cover. In the light of these factors, it may be suggested that the woodland surviving on Farquharson's map of 1703 was carefully managed and conserved, although clear-cut evidence for this is, unfortunately, not available.

A late-18th to early-19th century sheep-farming episode is well represented by large drystone enclosures or 'parks' and by the scatter of stone-walled buildings and drystone pens to be found in the upper parts of many of the glens. This episode was short-lived, like so much else in this area, falling foul of the desire to develop the hunting forest in the mid 19th century.

The shooting-lodges and keeper's houses are the final archaeological horizon, representing the last vestiges of a system that was established in the second half of the 19th century to exploit to the full the hunting potential of the estate.

As one of the hunting reserves established in the Scotland in the medieval period and revived in the 19th century, the Forest of Mar with its archaeology and history is representative of many of the Highland examples. Its unique quality, however, lies in the condition and completeness of the settlement remains which date from the period when forest restrictions were relaxed in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, followed by their clearance late in the 18th century, which, in effect, preserved the unimproved townships in Glen Lui, while opening the way for sheep-farms in Glen Dee, the archaeological record of which has been revealed for the first time during the course of the present survey.

APPENDIX 1

CONCORDANCE OF DOCUMENTARY AND GAELIC PLACE NAMES

RENTAL	GAELIC	NMRS No.
Glen Dee (above Linn of Dee)		
Dalvorar	Dail a' Mhorair Bheag	NO 08 NW 1
	Dail a' Mhorair Mhor	NO 08 NW 1
Craigpatrick	Creag Phadruig	NO 08 NW 3
Dubrach	Dubh Breach	NO 08 NW 9
Delnacattleg	Dail na Cachaileithe	NO 08 NW 7.01?
Tonaguie	Ton na Gaoithe	NO 08 NW 7.00 [Tonnagaoithe]
Tomnamoan	Tom na Moine	NO 08 NW 4 [Tomnamoine]
Invergeldie	Inbhir Geallaidh	?
?		NO 08 NW 21 [Allt an t-Sionnach]
Glen Dee (below Linn of Dee)		
Linafiach	Loin a' Veaiach	NO 09 NE 14 [Loinavoick]
Little Allanaquoich		NO 19 SW 19 [Lochan a' Chreagain]
Kanakyle	Cean na Coille	NO 19 SW 22 [Cairn na Drochaide]
Glen Lui		
Ryntean	Ruigh an t-Sidhein	NO 09 SE 1
Altavatagally	Allt a' Mhadaidh-allaidh	NO 09 SE 2
Croishlish	Bad an t-Suidhe	NO 09 SE 5
Easter Auchavrie	Ach a' Mhadaidh	NO 09 SE 3
Wester Auchavrie	Ach a' Mhadaidh	NO 09 SE 4
Delnrosick	Dail Rosaigh	NO 09 SW 5
Dalgenie	Dail Gainimh	NO 09 SE 6
Knocknatete	Cnoc na Teididh	NO 09 SE 8

Rental names taken from Aberdeen University Library, AUL MS3175. Gaelic names after Watson and Allan 1984.

APPENDIX 2

RENTALS OF THE BRAEMAR ESTATES USED IN TABLES 2 to 6

Aberdeen University Library MS 3175

F170/3	1744	Abstack judicial rental of the lands of Delmore
ditto	1744	Abstract rental of Allanaquoich
ditto	1739	Rental of Dalmore
ditto	1739	Rental of Allanaquoich
611/2	1763	Rental Book of the lands of Dalmore and Allanaquoich for crop
657/3	1770	Rental Book of the lands of Dalmore and Allanaquoich
1572/2	1810	Rental of the lands of Auchendryne Corrymulzie Invereys Gleney and the south side of Glendee with the Glens of Corryvron and Baynoch
ditto	1810	Rental of the lands of Mar Lodge Allanaquoich Creaggan and north side of Glendee, south the Glens of Geldie, Carnchory and Gusachan
1573/4	1821	Rental of the lands of Inverey Corriemulzie Auchendryne and Balmoral for crop
1682	1776	Rental of the Earl of Fife's lands in Delmore or Mar Lodge and Allanaquoich for crop
ditto	1777	Rental of the lands of Delmore and Allanaquoich crop
ditto	1784	Rental of Mar Lodge for crop
1642/3	1829	Rental of the estates of Auchendryne Corrymulzie Inverey and Balmoral ... for crop
1508	1785	Abstract judicial rental of the lands and estate of Inverey Corriemulie and Auchendryne purchased by the Earl of Fife from Alexander and James Farquharson of Inverey for crop
1315/1	1821	Rental of the lands of Mar Lodge Glendee and Micras for crop
1748	1731-1832	Rental of the estates of Auchendryne Inverey and Balmoral for crop
B/VII(3)5	1851	Rental of the lands of Mar Lodge, Allanaquoich, Glendee for crop
1677	1814	Rental of the lands of Mar Lodge etc. for crop
E1/1	1849	Rental of the Trust Estates of the late James, Earl of Fife in Braemar District for crop
V312	1860	Fife Estates Upper District Rental of Braemar
V811	1864	Rental of Braemar and Crathie
V424	1874	Rental
E1/3	1837	Rental of the Trust Estates of the late James Earl of Fife in Braemar District
V804A	1791-2	Abstract rental

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GAZETTEER

LIST OF SITES RECORDED

(The sites are listed by OS 1:10,000 quarter sheet and by NMRS number)

NN98NE				24.00	NO 049 890	Glen Dee	Buildings; Huts
1.00	NN 9548 8672	Geldie Lodge	Shooting-lodge; Sheepfold; Shieling-huts; Pens	25.00	NO 044 851	Allt Cristie Mor	Shieling-huts
1.01	NN 9548 8672	Geldie Lodge	Shooting-lodge; Stables	26.00	NO 0000 8573	Bynack Burn	Huts; Pens
1.02	NN 9556 8689	Geldie Lodge	Sheepfold	27.00	NO 0014 8630	Bynack Burn	Building
1.03	NN 9556 8669	Geldie Lodge	Shieling-huts; Building-stance; Pens	28.00	NO 0565 8682	Geldie Burn	Road; Field bank
2.00	NN 9917 8709	Geldie Burn	Shieling-hut	29.00	NO 0029 8688	Geldie Burn	House
3.00	NN 9930 8701	Geldie Burn	Stock enclosure	NO08SE			
4.00	NN 9952 8545	Bynack Burn	Still	2.00	NO 06 84	Allt Connie	Shieling-huts
5.00	NN 9990 8574	Bynack Burn	Building; Pen	2.01	NO 060 848	Allt Coire	
				2.02	NO 063 848	Bhearnaist Allt Connie	Shieling-huts Shieling-huts
NN98NW				NO08SW			
1.00	NN 9144 8727	River Feshie	Shieling-huts	1.00	NO 001 832	Dubh Alltan Beag	Shieling-huts
2.00	NN 9167 8705	Geldie Burn	Pen	NO09NE			
3.00	NN 923 868	Black Bothy	Shieling-huts; Buildings	1.00	NO 0662 9785	Allt an Dubh-Ghlinne	Huts; Pens
NN98SE				2.00	NO 0740 9535	Dubh-Ghleann	Shieling-huts
1.00	NN 9980 8384	Cnapan an Laoigh	Shieling-huts; Pen	3.00	NO 0865 9529	Glen Quoich	Shieling-huts; Building
NN98SW				NO09NW			
1.00	NN 922 847	Allt a' Chaorainn	Shieling-huts	1.00		Cancelled	
NN99NE				2.00	NO 039 957	Glen Derry	Dam
1.00	NN 9811 9579	Corroul Bothy	Building	3.00	NO 035 975	Glen Derry	Shieling-huts; Kiln; Pen
NN99SE				NO09SE			
1.00	NN 9572 9413	Glen Geusachan	Pen	1.00	NO 062 918	Lui Water	Township
2.00	NN 9854 9142	Allt Garbh	Sheep-pens	2.00	NO 057 922	Lui Water	Township; Lime kiln
NO08NE				3.00	NO 055 924	Lui Water	Township; Lime kiln
8.00	NO 066 898	Muir	Township	4.00	NO 052 925	Lui Water	Township
13.00	NO 0763 8980	Mar Forest Cottage	Building	5.00	NO 050 926	Lui Water	Township
14.00	NO 085 888	Loinavoick	Township; Lime Kiln	6.00	NO 053 921	Lui Water	Township; Stills
15.00	NO 082 894	Little Inverey	Township	7.00	NO 0795 9484	Dubh-Ghleann	Shieling-huts
16.00	NO 050 892	Glen Dee	Huts	8.00	NO 058 918	Lui Water	Township
17.00	NO 055 867	Allt Cristie Mor	Shieling-huts	9.00	NO 079 937	Allt Clais Fhearnaig	Shieling-huts
18.00	NO 07 86	Allt Connie	Shieling-huts; Still	NO09SW			
18.01	NO 071 868	Allt Cristie Mor	Shieling-huts; Still	1.00	NO 0411 9338	Derry Lodge	Shooting-lodge
18.02	NO 072 861	Allt Connie	Shieling-huts	2.00	NO 0424 9012	Allt Creag Phadruig	Hut
18.03	NO 071 856	Allt Connie	Shieling-huts	3.00	NO 0190 9375	Glen Luibeg	Shieling-huts
19.00	NO 0818 8766	Carn Bhithir	Still	4.00	NO 035 934	Luibeg	Shieling-huts; Sheepfold
NO08NW				4.01	NO 0388 9338	Luibeg	Shieling-huts
1.00	NO 040 893	Dalvorar	Township; Shooting-lodge	4.02	NO 0355 9344	Luibeg	Shieling-huts
2.00	NO 002 894	Coire na Cula	Shieling-huts; Buildings; Pens	4.03	NO 0338 9335	Luibeg	Shieling-huts; Pen; Pit
3.00	NO 046 893	Creag Phadruig	Township	4.04	NO 0376 9337	Luibeg	Sheepfold
4.00	NO 0345 8940	Tonnamoine	Township; Still	5.00	NO 0478 9258	Glen Lui	Huts; Rig; Drain
7.00	NO 027 892	Tonnagaoithe	Township; Huts; Pits; Rig	NO19NW			
7.01	NO 025 886	Tonnagaoithe	Huts	1.00	NO 100 164	Allt an t-Sneachda	Buildings; Hut
9.00	NO 028 887	Dubrach	Township; Still	2.00	NO 101 959	Allt an t-Sneachda	Building; Huts
10.00	NO 0045 8686	Geldie Burn	Shieling-hut	NO19SW			
11.00	NO 007 884	Chest of Dee	Shieling-huts	4.00	NO 116 911	Linn of Quoich	Sawmill; Buildings
12.00	NO 013 887	Chest of Dee	Shieling-huts	16.00	NO 1315 9183	West Allt Coultaim	Buildings
13.00	NO 0189 8849	White Bridge	Shieling-hut	17.00	NO 1360 9194	East Allt Coultaim	Township
14.00	NO 047 888	Dalvorar Burn	Huts	18.00	NO 119 912	Allanaquoich	Township; Lime kiln
15.00	NO 0486 8970	Creag Phadruig	Building	19.00	NO 115 909	Lochan a' Chreagain	Township; Shieling-huts; Kilns
16.00	NO 007 873	Ruigh nan Clach	Buildings	20.00	NO 1181 9116	Linn of Quoich	Mill; Building
17.00	NO 0005 8555	Bynack Lodge	Shooting-lodge; Kennels; Stables; Game-larder	21.00	NO 112 903	Cragan	Township
18.00	NO 004 852	Allt Bhronn	Shieling-huts	22.00	NO 1235 9146	Cairn na Drochaide	Buildings
19.00	NO 004 861	Bynack Burn	Dyke; Shieling-huts Sheep-dip; Bothy; Pens; Sheepfolds	22.01	NO 1235 9149	Cairn na Drochaide	Building
19.01	NO 0023 8573	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts				
19.02	NO 0036 8611	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts				
19.03	NO 0048 8611	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts				
19.04	NO 0052 8643	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts				
19.05	NO 0063 8669	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts				
19.06	NO 0085 8665	Bynack Burn	Shieling-huts; Sheepfolds; Pens				
19.07	NO 0042 8673	Bynack Burn	Dyke; Sheepfold; Sheep- dip; Bothy				
20.00	NO 0090 8722	Geldie Burn	Shieling-huts; Sheep- dip; Stock Enclosure				
21.00	NO 0125 8775	Allt an t-Sionnach	Township				
22.00	NO 0127 8781	White Bridge	Buildings				
23.00	NO 0015 8691	Geldie Burn	Sheepfold; Shieling-huts				



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