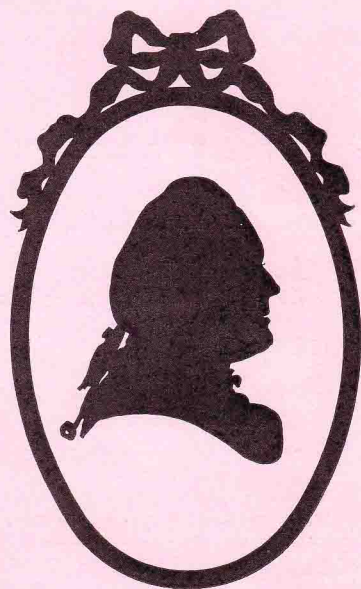


**MAINS CASTLE
&
THE GRAHAMS
OF
FINTRY**



BY

Sir FRANCIS MUDIE, K.C.S.I., M.A.

AND

DAVID M. WALKER, D.A.

DUNDEE

ABERTAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATION No.9

1964

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*Printed for the Society by
Geo. E. Findlay & Co. Ltd.
6-8 Victoria Road, Dundee*

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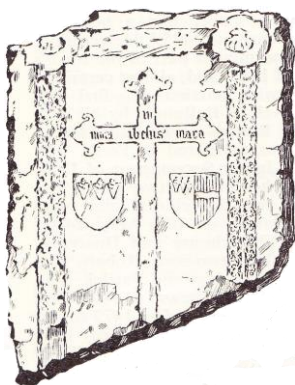
The head on the cover and title page is that of Robert Graham, twelfth of Fintry, the friend and patron of Robert Burns.

Opposite – A stone bearing the arms of Robert Graham, first of Fintry, and of his wife, Janet Lovell of Ballumbie, circa 1450; now in Dundee Museum, and reproduced by permission of the Director.

References

The following works are frequently referred to in the footnotes, and are cited in the abbreviated form shown on the left.

“Act. Parl.”	“The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland”, 12 vols., Edinburgh, 1824-75.
Calderwood	David Calderwood “The History of the Kirk of Scotland”, ed. T. Thomson, Wodrow Society, 8 vols., Edinburgh, 1898-9
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“Fintry Mss.”	“Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections”, vol., v. H.M.S.O., 1909, Cd. 4600, pp. 185 et seq., “The Manuscripts in the possession of Sir John James Graham of Fintry, K.C.M.G.”
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MAINS CASTLE and THE GRAHAMS of FINTRY

PART ONE

THE GRAHAMS

BY

SIR FRANCIS MUDIE

EARLY GRAHAMS

Mains Castle was the home of the Grahams of Fintry, cadets of the house of Montrose. Sir William Graham of Kincardine married twice. By his first wife, who, some say, was Mariota, daughter of Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgie, he was ancestor of the Grahams, Earls, Marquesses and Dukes of Montrose. By his second wife, Mary, or Mariota, Stewart, second daughter of King Robert III., whom he married about 1416, he was ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry. On 4th August, 1420, his second wife's uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, granted a charter of the lands of Old Montrose in the parish of Maryton, and of Charlton and Kinnaber in the parish of Montrose, to William Graham and his wife, Mary Stewart, and the survivor of them, and after them to their eldest son, Robert. William Graham died about 1424 and was succeeded by his eldest son. On 24th October, 1460, this Robert Graham exchanged the lands of Old Montrose, Charlton and Kin-naber with his nephew, Patrick, first Lord Graham, for the lands of Craigton, or Fintry, in Stirlingshire. Shortly before doing so, he had received from George, fourth Earl of Angus, the lands of Earls Strathdichty and the lands of Balargus, both in the present parish of Mains. He was thus the first Graham of Fintry and the first Graham to own lands in Strathdichty.¹

Robert Graham, first of Fintry, probably had a house at Balargus, where there was a "toun" as early as 1425.² He certainly had one in Dundee,³ and he played a

¹ This account of the Grahams of Fintry is taken, unless otherwise stated, from "The Scots Peerage", ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, 9 vols., Edinburgh, 1904-14; "Burke's Landed Gentry", 4th edition, London, 1863; and Louisa G. Graeme, "Or and Sable —The Book of the Graemes and Grahams", Edinburgh, 1903.

² "R.M.S." ii.195.

prominent part in the town's affairs, being Provost in 1466, 1478 and 1483, and, almost certainly, in a number of other years.⁴ He was twice married. His first wife was Janet, daughter of Sir Richard Lovell of Ballumby by his wife Catherine Douglas, the famous "Kate Barlass", who had tried to save the life of James I., when he was murdered in Perth. His second wife was Matilda, daughter of James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, sixth Constable of Dundee. By her he had two sons. The younger, David, died without issue and the elder, John, who received a charter of the lands of Balargus on 10th May, 1480,⁵ was the ancestor of the Grahams of Claverhouse and Duntrune. By his first wife Robert Graham had at least two sons, Robert, who succeeded him in the lands of Earls Strathdichty, and Patrick, who was appointed the first Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the first Archbishop in Scotland, when that post was created in 1472 to put a stop to the pretensions of York to ecclesiastical superiority over Scotland. He died insane, a prisoner in Loch Leven Castle, in 1478. Robert Graham died before 20th May, 1490,⁶ and was succeeded by his eldest son.

Almost as soon as he succeeded his father, Robert Graham, second of Fintry, had a dispute with his step-mother, Matilda Scrymgeour, about the disposal of certain ecclesiastical vestments and ornaments which his father had, apparently, given to Mains Church. The matter was referred to arbitrators, who decided in favour of Robert Graham. The articles in dispute were accordingly handed over to him by the chaplain, but Robert Graham immediately returned them to the church, promising at the same time to found a perpetual chantry in honour of God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph.⁷ This he did three years later by a charter dated 7th January, 1493, conferring four acres of land and a house south of the "new mill" at Mains, on the altar of the Blessed Virgin in Mains Church, for the peace of his own soul and the souls of his wife, of his father and mother and of his brothers Patrick and David.⁸ The Stone of the Annunciation, formerly in the south gable of the existing chapel, probably has some connection with this altar. He, or his father, started the building of Mains Castle, but in a very small way. His principal residence was in Dundee. He married, under contract dated 7th August, 1476, Elizabeth, third daughter of George, fourth Earl of Angus, and a sister of Archibald "Bell-the-Cat".

Robert Graham was succeeded, as third of Fintry, by his son, Sir David Graham, who married a daughter of William, first Earl of Montrose, and by her had a son, William, who succeeded as fourth of Fintry some time before 8th

³ A. C. Lamb, "Dundee, Its Quaint and Historic Buildings", Dundee, 1895. XLIVa.

⁴ "Emminent Burgesses", p. 312

⁵ Warden, iv., p. 288

⁶ "Fintry MSS", p. 199

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "R.M.S." ii. 2130

January, 1530.⁹ He married Katherine, daughter of John Bethune of Balfour, and a sister of Cardinal Bethune, and he was succeeded, some time after 24th February, 1542, by his son David.¹⁰

SIR DAVID GRAHAM —FIFTH LAIRD

David Graham, fifth of Fintry, was laird during the troublous times that followed the death of James V. and the accession of the infant Queen Mary in 1542. As a Catholic and nephew and namesake of Cardinal Bethune, he supported the Catholic pro-French party of the Cardinal and the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, in the civil war that followed Henry VIII.'s attempt to arrange a marriage between his son, afterwards Edward VI., and the Queen of Scots. On the other hand, he was a brother-in-law of Patrick, fourth Lord Gray, one of Henry's "assured Scots" and a leader of the Protestant pro-English party; his wife and David Graham's were sisters, daughters of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy. We do not know what part Graham played in the early struggle between these two parties, but from the fact that he had been knighted by 30th September, 1546,¹¹ he would appear to have been active in support of his uncle and the Government.

By this time, George Wishart had been martyred in St. Andrews, on 1st March, 1546; Cardinal Bethune had been murdered in revenge on 29th May; and St. Andrews Castle had been occupied by the Protestants. Both sides appealed for help from abroad, the Catholics to France and the Protestants to England. The French acted first, and, on 31st July, 1547, their fleet captured St. Andrews, carrying the garrison prisoners to France. Six weeks later, the English retaliated by invading Scotland and defeating the Scots at Pinkie, near Edinburgh, on 10th September. The English army returned home, but their fleet, with troops on board, sailed north, and on 21st September they occupied Broughty Castle, as arranged previously with Lord Gray. Next month, on 27th October, they advanced to Dundee and entered into an "assurance" with John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Provost of Dundee, and the bailies, that the Town Council would support, or at least not oppose, the English garrison at Broughty, the English in return promising to supply "a good preacher and bibles and testaments and other good English books".¹²

Thereafter, for two years and more, there was bitter fighting between the English based at Broughty and the Scots who tried to drive them out. In this David Graham does not appear as taking an active part. He may have been one

⁹ Ibid. iii. 885.

¹⁰ Ibid. iii. 2604.

¹¹ Ibid. iv. 13.

¹² Maxwell, "Old Dundee", pp. 99, 391-2

of the "landit men" of Angus who supported James Halyburton, tutor of Pitcur, and, later, the famous Provost of Dundee, in his attacks on the English.¹³ On the other hand, the English did not burn Mains Castle as they did Powrie,¹⁴ only a mile away.

With the arrival of reinforcements from France in June, 1548,¹⁵ and the safe despatch of the infant Queen to France in July, it gradually became evident that the English invasion was pointless and bound to fail. So Lord Gray, and others who supported him, appear to have approached the Government with a view to changing sides. At any rate, on 27th August, 1548, a licence was granted in the Queen's name to Lord Gray, John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Provost of Dundee, Sir David Graham of Fintry, and two other Angus lairds. Maxwell of Tealing and John Baldovie of that ilk. permitting them to absent themselves from the army then being assembled to attack the English at Haddington, on the understanding that they would prevent the English taking Dundee.¹⁶ This is curious company in which to find David Graham, but, presumably, his role, and the role of the other two lairds, was political — to keep watch on Gray and Scrymgeour who, in their respective capacities of Sheriff of Angus and Constable of Dundee, would provide the necessary armed force. The English took Dundee and burnt it in November, 1548. but it was Gray, not Graham, who got the blame. M. d'Esse. the French Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, insisted on Gray's arrest, and, if he had had his way, would have had him executed.¹⁷

As a Catholic, Sir David's position would be more difficult after the Reformation. He seems to have been a prominent supporter of Queen Mary; for, after her flight to England in May, 1568, he, along with George, fifth Earl of Huntly; David, tenth Earl of Crawford; and a large number of other people, was called upon, on 4th April, 1569, to sign a bond of loyalty and obedience to the infant King James, and his uncle, the Regent Moray.¹⁸

After this, he seems to have taken little part in politics. When, however, in 1575, the Regent Morton took action to clean up the borders, he arrested so many people as sureties for the good behaviour of their relations, that it was decided to ward them with nobles, barons, and others, who had "gude houssis",

¹³ "Eminent Burgesses", p. 25.

¹⁴ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, "The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland", ed. A.J.G. Mackay, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1899, ii., p.105.

¹⁵ "A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland, since the death of King James IV, till the year 1575", ed. T. Thomson, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1833, p.46; P.F. Tytler, "History of Scotland", 9 vols., Edinburgh, 1829-43, vi., p.51.

¹⁶ "C.S.P.", i., p.163.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.168.

¹⁸ Maxwell, p.275; "R.P.C.", i., pp. 354-5

because "the Kingis Majesteis awin houssis are not weill abill to detene sic a multitude", and Sir David Graham was ordered to be responsible for the keeping in his castle of one William Armstrang of Tarris-holmkill, with heavy penalties if he escaped. It was not till May, 1579, that Armstrong was released on his finding sureties in the borders for his good behaviour.¹⁹ In May, 1576, Sir David Graham stood surety that his wife's nephew, James, sixth Lord Ogilvy, who had been imprisoned for supporting Queen Mary, would, if released from Linlithgow, ward himself in Glasgow.²⁰

About this time, Sir David took part in an interesting family ceremony, the pardoning of John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, for the murder nearly thirty years before of Cardinal Bethune. He, along with others of the "kin and allies of the late David, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews" appears as a signatory of a document dated 3rd July, 1575, by which, in view of his repentance, they "remitted and forgave" John Leslie for the slaughter of the said David, Cardinal, their most tender friend, committed and done by him and his accomplices", and, instead of the "deadly feud and malice conceived by them against him for the said slaughter", they promised to "receive him into their hearty love, favour and kindness as lovingly as if he had never committed the said slaughter, or been partaker thereof". Most of the other signatories were Bethunes, but the first to sign was David, eleventh Earl of Crawford, the son of the tenth Earl by his wife, Margaret, a natural daughter of the Cardinal.²¹

Sir David was probably the first of the family to make Mains his principal place of residence, possibly because his house in Dundee was burnt by the English in 1548. In his later years he made considerable alterations and improvements to the Castle. The last was in 1582 and was commemorated by an inscription over the door of a building in the courtyard of that date with the words "Patrias et Posteris Gratus et Amicus", which may perhaps be translated, "At peace and in friendship with my country and my family".²²

As far as the times permitted, David Graham appears to have been a man of peace, and his old age was peaceful. In 1584 King James wrote him a letter allowing him to send his son to a muster, instead of going himself, as he was

¹⁹ In the same circumstances, James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee, was made responsible for the warding in Dudhope Castle of Willie Eliot (or Elliot) of Braidley — "R. P. C.", ii., p. 477; iii., pp. 42, 164; Maxwell, p. 276.

²⁰ "R.P.C.", ii., p. 527.

²¹ A. H. Millar, "The Historical Castles and Mansions of Scotland", vol. L, "Perthshire and Forfarshire", Paisley and London, 1890, p. 402.

²² The actual inscription reads "Gratis" and "Amicis", but "Gratis" is almost certainly a mistake for "Gratus". If "Amicis" is correct, the translation would be "At peace with my country, my family and my friends". This inscription was legible as late as 1884 — Maxwell, p. 276.

"aigit and subject to divers infirmities and seiknesses of body".²³ He probably died soon after 29th January, 1586, when the king re-conferred the barony of Fintry on him and his heirs.²⁴ He was twice married. By his first wife, Margaret Ogilvy, he had three sons; David, the eldest, who succeeded him, William, and James; and also a daughter, Alison. By his second wife, Margaret Hunter, he had no issue.²⁵

DAVID GRAHAM —SIXTH LAIRD

David Graham, sixth of Fintry, had a short and tragic career, which is of considerable human interest and of some historical importance. He, too, was a Roman Catholic, and became one of the leaders of the party which hoped to re-establish the Roman faith in Scotland with the help of foreign troops. He was suspect at an early age, and in 1576 he was given a licence to travel abroad only on condition that David Lindsay of Edzell and Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie stood surety that he would do "nothing prejudicial to the realm during his absence" and "would not return without express licence".²⁶ In France he would meet, and doubtless be influenced by, his father's first cousin, James Bethune, the fugitive Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was Queen Mary's principal agent in that country. He returned to Scotland in July, 1583, bringing letters from the Duke of Guise and others for King James, and also many letters for other people. He was "favourably embraced" by the king, who held a conference with him. Bowes, the English Ambassador, reporting these events, called him "the obstinate Papist young Fintre",²⁷ and, although Huntly was the leader of the party in Scotland that was attempting to restore Mary to her throne, on the pretence of sharing it with her son,²⁸ David Graham was the head of her underground organisation, and the main link between her Scottish supporters and the Jesuits. Next year, in November, 1584, Patrick, Master of Gray, afterwards sixth Lord Gray, who had returned from France in November, 1583, warned Mary against him as a Jesuit agent and an extremist, who wished her to look for aid from abroad.²⁹ The Master of Gray and David Graham, although related, were on bad terms, as the

²³ "Fintry Mss", p.204

²⁴ "R.M.S.", v., 909.

²⁵ Ibid. v., 209, 909; "Fintry Mss.", p.227.

²⁶ R. P. C., ii., p. 498. Maxwell (pp. 274 *et seq.*) gives a good account of David Graham, but sometimes mixes up the father with the son.

²⁷ "C.S.P.", vi p.558.

²⁸ For the "Association", as the plan that James and Mary should reign jointly was called, see J. H. Burton, "The History of Scotland", 8 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1873-76, v., pp. 195 *et seq.*, and R. S. Rait and A. I. Cameron, "King James's Secret", London, 1927, p. 8 *et seq.*

²⁹ "Letters and Papers relating to Patrick Master of Gray, afterwards seventh Lord Gray", Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1835, p. 33.

Master, despite the fact that he was a Roman Catholic, was a member of the pro-English party and a supporter of King James against his mother.³⁰

On 6th February, 1588, the General Assembly, at a special meeting, called the attention of King James to the fact that the King of Spain's preparations to invade England, in order to reestablish the Roman faith in both Scotland and England, were well advanced, and that he had in Scotland a number of supporters, Jesuits and others, who were in correspondence with him. Among the principal of these Spanish agents, they mentioned the Earl of Huntly and David Graham of Fintry.³¹ This was George, sixth Earl and first Marquis of Huntly. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the summer of 1588, a fresh plan was devised for a Spanish landing in Scotland, and the invasion of England from there, with the help of the Scots Roman Catholics. The leader of this conspiracy, too, was Huntly, and Graham of Fintry was one of the Spaniards' principal contacts in Scotland.

For these activities, David Graham was on 29th November, 1588, summoned to appear before the Privy Council,³² which he did on 14th December, when he was ordered to ward himself in Dundee within two days and to depart thence for France, Flanders, or "ony uther pairt beyond sey" within a month, and not to return to Scotland without the King's special licence. He was bound over in a sum of £5,000, with John, third Earl of Montrose, as his surety, that he would obey this order.³³ David Graham's warding considerably upset the conspirators' plans, and we find Robert Bruce, one of the principal Jesuit agents, writing to the Duke of Parma on 24th January, 1589, complaining that "since the Baron of Fintry is putt in waird by the King in the toun of Dundie", he has difficulty in getting into touch with Huntly, as he himself has been forbidden by the King to go near him. Fintry's warding, too, had "somewhat hindered our course and permits not to move him as it has pleased you to command me or, as I desire, to dispense the money conjointly with him".³⁴ The money was a sum of 10,000 crowns which Bruce had received from Spain through John Chisholm, a Jesuit agent, who moved between Scotland and the continent, to be used in suborning and subsidising the Scots Catholic nobility.³⁵

David Graham did not, however, go abroad as ordered. He was still in this country on 21st February, 1589, when, on receipt of further information from Queen Elizabeth regarding Spanish plots, an order was passed expelling from the Kingdom Jesuits and others who actively opposed the reformed religion, and

³⁰ "C.S.P.", vii., pp. 416, 684

³¹ "R.P.C.", iv., p.249.

³² Ibid, iv., p.334.

³³ Ibid., iv., p.337.

³⁴ Calderwood, v., p.21; "C.S.P.", ix., p.687; Maxwell, p.277.

³⁵ Calderwood, v., p.28

mentioning particularly Graham of Fintry, Patrick, Master of Gray, and James Gordon, "father-brother" to Huntly, who were all ordered to leave the country by the date appointed for each, "wind and weddir serving to the same effect".³⁶ This order, too, was disobeyed, and, about this time, David Graham broke his ward and with his surety, the Earl of Montrose, went to Aberdeen and joined Huntly who was in open rebellion against the King.

An order of the Privy Council, dated 21st March, directing him to appear before them to answer charges "tuiching the lait practise tending to the subversoun of the present religion and perelling of our Soverane Lord's persone and estate" was to be served on him "personally if he could be found". Otherwise it was to be proclaimed at the mercat cross of Dundee.³⁷ On 10th April, before the King "past to the fieldis in proper person to repress certain treasonable conspiracies be divers of the nobilitie at the Brig of Dee", he ordered a number of persons, including David Graham of Fintry and the Earls of Huntly, Crawford and Montrose, all of whom had "takin armes and cum to the fieldis against his Hieness", to hand over their castles to persons appointed by him.³⁸ Mains Castle was handed over to, or more probably taken over by, James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee.

On King James advancing against him, Huntly caved in without fighting. Huntly and Crawford were warded in Edinburgh in May, but they were released a few months later, during the celebrations of the King's impending marriage to Anne of Denmark, which took place by proxy in Copenhagen in August.³⁹ David Graham, too, was probably pardoned on this occasion, as he was reported as having a conference in Broughty Castle with the Master of Gray and the Jesuits in November, 1589.⁴⁰ Also, early in 1590, when the King was abroad on his honeymoon, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, persuaded Scrymgeour to return Mains Castle to Graham. Bothwell had also joined Huntly, but despite that, he had been left in charge of the kingdom during the King's absence, jointly with Ludovic Stuart, second Duke of Lennox.⁴¹

David Graham, however, continued his intrigues, and on 11th August, 1590, he, William Douglas, Master of Angus, a convert to Rome, and a large number of other people, many of them women, who were actively opposing the reformed religion, were summoned to appear before the Privy Council on 25th September.⁴² David Graham went into hiding in the Canongait of Edinburgh,⁴³

³⁶ "R.P.C.", iv., p. 359.

³⁷ Ibid. iv., p. 368.

³⁸ Ibid. iv., p. 373.

³⁹ William Anderson, "The Scottish Nation", 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1863, article on Crawford.

⁴⁰ "C.S.P.", x., p. 202.

⁴¹ "R.P.C.", iv., p. 494; Maxwell, p. 279.

⁴² "R.P.C.", iv., p. 521.

but was arrested, and on 20th November he, James Gordon, "father-brother" to Huntly, and the Master of Angus were ordered by the Privy Council to ward themselves in various places.⁴⁴ The Master of Angus was committed to the Bass and David Graham was warded with a relative, John Graham, one of the Lords of Session.⁴⁵ There he got married, and in January, or February, 1591, he was allowed by the King to live with his brother-in-law, the laird of Balwearie, in Fife, where he and his wife enjoyed almost complete liberty.⁴⁶ He used his freedom to intensify his propaganda and on 19th May, 1591, he and the Master of Angus both appeared before the Privy Council and admitted that "be reasoning or dispersing of buiks and letters they had presumit to persuade His Majestie's subjects to decline fra the profession of the trew religion". They were sentenced to the loss of all their moveable property and of the income from their estates,⁴⁷ and Graham was warded first in Doune⁴⁸ and then, in August, 1592, in Stirling Castle.⁴⁹

Though the King gave him a chance to go abroad, David Graham was still in Stirling in December, 1592, when his wife, who was with him there, gave birth to his second son.⁵⁰ He was still in touch with the Spanish agents in Scotland and was deeply involved in a conspiracy known to history as the affair of the Spanish blanks. In December, 1592, one George Ker was arrested, when about to leave the Clyde for the continent, and was found to have on him a number of treasonable letters addressed to the Duke of Parma and eight papers, blank, except for the phrase "De vostre majestie tres humble et tres obesant serviteur" and a signature at the bottom. Two of the papers were signed by Huntly, two by Errol and two by William Douglas, who had recently succeeded his father as tenth Earl of Angus. The remaining two were signed by Huntly, Errol, and Huntly's nephew, Patrick Gordon of Auchen-oun. An inquisition, accompanied by torture, showed that the blanks were to be filled up, when they reached the continent, by William Crichton, an agent, to the effect that their signatories "should raise a power of horsemen and meet the Spanish armies at their landing and reciprocally to assist, accompany and convey them to England by all the forces they could procure upon the King of Spain's charges".⁵¹

⁴³ "C.S.P.", v', p. 392.

⁴⁴ "R.P.C.", iv., p. 548; Maxwell, p. 279.

⁴⁵ "C.S.P.", x., pp. 424, 434.

⁴⁶ Ibid. x., pp. 460, 470.

⁴⁷ "R.P.C.", iv., p. 619; Maxwell, p. 280.

⁴⁸ "C.S.P." x., p. 520.

⁴⁹ "R.P.C.", v., p. 5.

⁵⁰ "C.S.P.", xi., p. 13; Maxwell, p. 280.

⁵¹ Burton, "History of Scotland" (op. cit. in note 28) v., p. 291; Robert Pitcairn, "Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland", 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1833, i. pt. 3, p. 317.

Ker's arrest implicated David Graham, as one of the letters he was carrying was from him, signed with his conspiratorial alias of "David Forster".⁵² Graham was accordingly brought to Edinburgh for examination on 12th February, 1593, but, according to Calderwood, "was made drunk by his friends of purpose to eschew examination". Later he wrote to the King, asking his pardon and admitting he knew of the conspiracy. He did not know what "particular conditions" William Crichton would insert in the blanks, but "such a number of men would have come in and such a quantity of money, if they were obtained". Later, possibly under torture, he added that "the purpose of the Army was to have avenged the Queen of Scotland's death", and that "the alteration of the religion presently professed within this realm, or at least liberty of conscience, would have been ettled to". The King's right and title would not have been harmed, but if the King had refused to agree to the plan, "what sould have ensued he knows not, as he sould answer to God".⁵³

David Graham was executed at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh at two in the afternoon of 15th February, 1593.⁵⁴ He was the only person, at least of any importance, to suffer for the affair of the Spanish blanks. The Earls were too powerful to touch. The King had a very difficult hand to play without too many high cards, and, as events proved, he played it with great skill. Even David Graham's execution was "farre by the Expectatioun of manie".⁵⁵ George Ker escaped from Edinburgh Castle and no attempt was made to arrest him: he got away to France in 1595.⁵⁶

David Graham had originally intended to enter the Church, with the hope of becoming a cardinal like his great-uncle, David Bethune,⁵⁷ but, as we have seen, he changed his mind, and between November, 1590, and February, 1591, while warded by order of the Privy Council, married Barbara Scott, daughter of Sir James Scott of Balwearie, and had two sons, David, who succeeded him, and James, known later as "of Monorgan". He appears to have been a burgess of Dundee, as his son James was admitted burgess on 27th July, 1652, "by reason of privilege" of his father.⁵⁸

LATER LAIRDS —LINLATHEN AND MONORGAN.

David Graham, the seventh laird, was the first of his family to be a Protestant. He was brought up in that faith because, within eighteen months of

⁵² "C.S.P.", x., p. 828.

⁵³ Calderwood, v., pp. 223, 228, 230; Maxwell, p. 282.

⁵⁴ Calderwood, v. p. 224; Maxwell, p. 283.

⁵⁵ Calderwood, v., p. 224.

⁵⁶ "C.S.P.", xi, pp. 191, 632.

⁵⁷ Ibid. x., p. 853.

⁵⁸ "Eminent Burgesses", p. 143.

his father's execution, his mother married Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, who was a Protestant.⁵⁹ There may also have been a political reason. The sixth laird's property had been forfeited when he was convicted of treason, and, though King James was far from vindictive, it is possible that he would not have re-conferred that property on the son, as he did by charter dated 10th June, 1594,⁶⁰ if he was being brought up in the faith of his father.

David Graham grew up in the comparative peace of the latter half of James VI.'s reign. He seems to have been well off. Possibly his wife, who was the daughter of Sir James Haliburton of Pitcur, was well dowered. On 2nd July, 1618, he acquired from Lord Balmerinoch the estate of Linlathen, a few miles down the Dighty from Mains, and also, at the same time, bought the small property of Monorgan, on the banks of the Tay, about a mile from the village of Longforan. He was admitted burgess of Dundee "gratis" on 30th March, 1620, and, probably about the same time, had a portrait of himself in full armour painted by an artist of the school of Zuccherò. He also took an interest in the improvement of Mains, and rebuilt the top storey of the tower in 1630.⁶¹ He entertained the young James Graham, afterwards the great Marquis of Montrose, then a lad of seventeen, twice at Mains in the autumn of 1629.⁶²

David Graham was of sufficient political importance to be knighted by Charles I. on the occasion of his coronation in Edinburgh on 1st June, 1633, but later he opposed the King's policies. He represented Forfarshire in the Great Parliament of 1641, which made great inroads into the royal prerogative. In spite of his friendship with Montrose and a personal letter from the King, he remained true to the Covenant and on 18th July, 1644, was appointed one of the commissioners for Forfarshire to round up deserters from the Scots army in England, where it had just, with the English parliamentary army, won the battle of Marston Moor.⁶³ Later, when, after his seizure by Cromwell's troops in 1648, the King "engaged" to be a covenanted monarch of a Presbyterian Scotland, David Graham was appointed a member of the Forfarshire Committee of War to raise troops for the Scots army that, under the Duke of Hamilton, invaded England to set the King free, and which was defeated by Cromwell at Preston.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ "R.P.C.", v., p.636.

⁶⁰ "R.M.S.", vi., 108.

⁶¹ That date was cut on one of the upper corner stones of the tower: other stones carried the initials D.G., E.F. and J.W. — Maxwell, p.283.

⁶² *Memorials of Montrose and his Times*, ed. Mark Napier, Maitland Club. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1848-50, i., pp. 190, 196. Montrose's father had died in 1626 and David Graham was one of his guardians. — Mark Napier, *Memorials and Letters Illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1859-62, i., p. 176.

⁶³ "Act. Parl.", vi. Pt.1, p.169

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* vi. Pt.2, p.36.

During the Commonwealth he co-operated with Cromwell's Government in Scotland to the extent of acting as one of the commissioners appointed to distribute the taxation imposed in 1655, 1656 and 1659.⁶⁵

David Graham's brother, James, known as "of Monorgan",⁶⁶ was also a person of some importance and requires a brief notice. In July, 1644, he lent 3,600 merks on the Public Faith "for the present supply of the armies sent to England" to help the English Parliament against the King, and four months later, on 8th November, he supplied a "sufficient horse and man with arms and forty days loan" for the same purpose.⁶⁷ He represented Forfarshire in Parliament in 1646, 1647 and 1648. James Graham died some time before 27th June, 1667, leaving an only daughter, Agnes, who married David Lindsay of Edzel. The barony of Monorgan passed to his nephew, Sir David Graham's younger son, James, Agnes Graham receiving as her inheritance £30,000 Scots.⁶⁸

Sir David Graham died some time after 1660, leaving two sons, John, who succeeded as eighth, and James, who followed him as ninth, laird of Fintry. In spite of his upbringing, John Graham in his youth joined Montrose. This he did, along with the two sons of the Earl of Airlie and young Carnegie of Balnamoon and others from Angus, when, early in September, 1644, Montrose passed by Dundee on his way, after Tippermuir, from Perth to Aberdeen.⁶⁹ Young Fintry probably accompanied Montrose to Aberdeen but left him when he turned north into the Highlands, as he was captured towards the end of 1644 and imprisoned. Through his father's efforts he was liberated on 21st February, 1645, on his father's standing surety in the sum of 40,000 merks Scots that he would behave himself.⁷⁰ This he appears to have done, as in 1648 he, too, along with his father, was one of the Forfarshire Committee of War.⁷¹ John Graham married Jean Scrymgeour, a daughter of the second Viscount Dudhope, Constable of Dundee, on 30th June, 1647, and had a number of children, all of whom died young. He was succeeded by his brother, James.

James Graham, ninth of Fintry and second of Monorgan, took the side of the Government in the covenanting troubles of Charles II.'s reign. On 2nd December, 1669, he was commissioned as major in the regiment of Forfar Militia raised in that year by the Earl of Southesk. He was a friend of John Graham of Claverhouse and he may have been partly responsible for the latter's taking service under King Charles, when he returned from serving the Prince of

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 840, 852, 882.

⁶⁶ By Royal Charter dated 31st July, 1643, the lands on Linlathan and Monorgan were created into a free barony in the name of James Graham and his wife, Griselda Hay. – "R.M.S.", ix., 1412.

⁶⁷ "Fintry Mss."

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.212.

⁶⁹ "Memorials of Montrose" (*op.cit.* in note 62) ii., pp. 165-6.

⁷⁰ "Act. Parl.", vi. Pt. 1, pp. 300, 337

⁷¹ Ibid. vi. Pt. 2, p.36

Orange in Holland in 1677. The Marquis of Montrose, grandson of the great Marquis, wrote to him on 19th February, 1678, asking him to persuade Claverhouse to accept an offer that he had made him of a lieutenancy in a troop of horse that he, Montrose, was to raise for the King in Scotland.⁷² Next year, as a lieutenant-colonel, James Graham commanded his regiment against the Covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge on 22nd June, 1679, for which service he was thanked by the Earl of Rothes, the Lord Chancellor, on the King's behalf.⁷³ He died in 1707, or early in 1708.⁷⁴ He married Ann, daughter of Colonel Hay of Killour, and had by her three sons, David the eldest, who succeeded, William and Thomas.

David Graham, tenth of Fintry, represented Forfarshire in Parliament from 1702 to 1707, and strongly opposed the Act of Union. In 1708 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on suspicion of being involved in the plot of that year to bring to Scotland James Francis Stewart, *de jure* VIII. of Scots, but on 21st June he was released on bail of £500 sterling furnished by his brother, William, a merchant in London.⁷⁵ He took no part in the Fifteen. On 22nd September, 1715, he was appointed Deputy Governor of Dundee by Viscount Dundee,⁷⁶ to act for him as Governor of Dundee during his absence "conform to His Majesty's order". He seems, however, to have refused the post, as on 4th February, 1716, the Duke of Argyll, "Generall and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North Brittain", issued from Dundee an order directing that the houses of David Graham of Fintry should be spared.⁷⁷

David Graham married, about 1686, Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Murray of Abercairnrie, and, shortly afterwards, by charter dated 4th February, 1688, he was infeft in the lands of Linlathen.⁷⁸ In 1705, possibly because of his increasing family, he built a house on that property and had his own and his wife's initials and that year carved on the headstone of the well which provided the house with water.⁷⁹ He presumably returned to Mains after his father's death, or rather, after his release from Edinburgh Tolbooth in 1708; and it was, probably, the necessity of providing for two houses that led his wife to buy a large quantity of furniture at the "roup at Drimme" in 1711.⁸⁰ Linlathen may have been used as a dower house, or may have been let. David Graham died in 1728 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Robert.

⁷² Napier, "Claverhouse" (*op.cit.* in note 62) i., pp. 183-5. James Graham's father had been one of Claverhouse's guardians during his minority. – "Fintry Mss., p.190.

⁷³ "Fintry Mss.", pp. 191-2, 212, 214, 257.

⁷⁴ His son, David, is mentioned on 25th March, 1707, as "younger of Fintry" – "Act. Parl.", xi., p.480 – and as "of Fintry" on 21st June, 1708. – "Fintry Mss.", p.218.

⁷⁵ "Fintry Mss.", p.218.

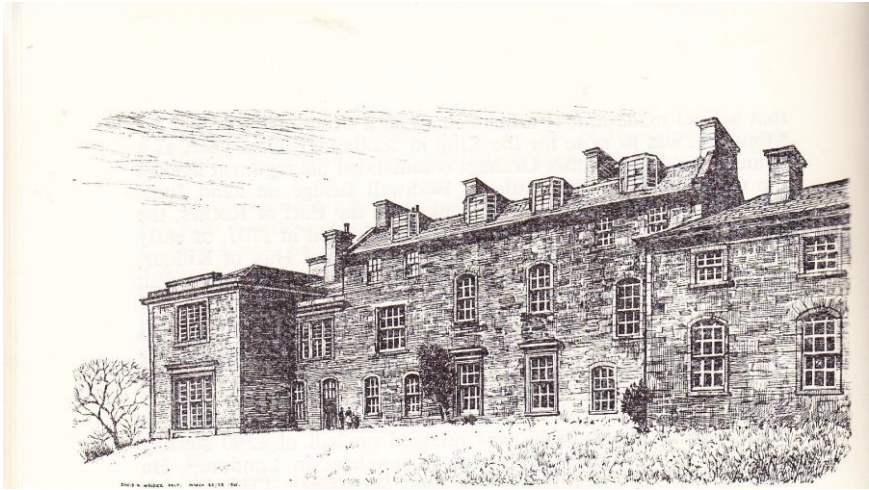
⁷⁶ William Graham of Duntrune, who assumed the title as heir to Claverhouse; he was attainted for his part in the rebellion. – Warden, ii., p.21.

⁷⁷ "Fintry Mss.", p.218.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.192.

⁷⁹ Warden, iv., p.409.

⁸⁰ "Fintry Mss.", p.218.



Robert Graham, eleventh of Fintry, was baptised in Mains on 18th August, 1700. He married, on 20th February, 1735, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Murray of Ochertyre, and had a large family. His eldest child, Ann, was born in Dundee in 1736, but at the time of his marriage he is described in the parish register as a member of the congregation of the Kirk of Mains and his next three children were born there. He was in debt,⁸¹ and found that he could not live on his estate and upkeep two houses. So in September, 1739, he took a job as factor to James, second Duke of Atholl, and as "generall Forrester and overseer of His Grace's Forrests of Atholl", and sent his wife and family to Fowlis Castle, about four miles west of Mains, the property of his brother-in-law. Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre.⁸² He had a difficult time during the "Forty-five" as he received orders both from Duke James, who was a Hanoverian, and his brother, Duke William, recognised as Duke by the Jacobites. He seems, however, to have stuck to Duke James, though, at the request of Duke William, his wife "did the honours" at Blair Castle when Prince Charlie stayed there in September, 1745.⁸³ Linlathen at this time appears to have been occupied by one James Graham.⁸⁴ From this time on, Mains Castle seems gradually to have become a ruin. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was described as a "good hous: excellent yards with a great deal of good planting, with

⁸¹ "Robert Graham", p.14.

⁸² Warden, iv., p.265.

⁸³ "Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families collected and arranged by John. 7th Duke of Atholl", 5 Vols., Rdinburgh, 1908, ii., p. 438; iii., pp. 10, 11, 21, addenda xxv.; v., addenda xxii.

⁸⁴ "Robert Graham", p.8.

parks and dove-coats".⁸⁵ Robert Graham died on 21st October, 1756, and was buried next day in Mains.⁸⁶ He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Robert.

Robert Graham, twelfth of Fintry, was born on 17th January, 1749, probably in Fowlis.⁸⁷ He was the first, and only, laird of Fintry to live, as such, in Linlathen, and, when he went there, he transferred the name Fintry from Mains to Linlathen.⁸⁸ It is not known when Robert Graham moved to Linlathen. He was seven years old when his father died and his mother may have lived there as a widow. When he came of age, he carved his initials and the date—1770 — on one of the Linlathen farm buildings, and he did the same thing again, with the change of date, in the following year.⁸⁹ He was married, and his first child was born, in Dundee, but for the next ten or eleven years he lived in Linlathen.⁹⁰

Robert Graham was sent to St. Andrews University where he learned Greek and played golf.⁹¹ He, too, could not live on his estate, and, like his father, he became a game warden. In September, 1771, he was made warden to the Earl of Strathmore and to Lord Douglas of Douglas "for all their lands in the counties of Forfar and Perth, with full powers to him to kill the game, to hunt and to fish and also to grant licences to others and to appoint deputies."⁹² In 1784 he, along with the Duke of Atholl, George Dempster of Dunnichen and others, started building a cotton mill, which still exists, at Stanley near Perth. But in the following year he had to put his property in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his creditors. He let Linlathen to Captain James Milne and went to live in Dundee.

In February, 1787, the Mains estate, comprising 1,020 Scots acres, with a "neat rent" of £1,110 sterling, was advertised to be sold by "public voluntary roup". The house of Linlathen was not to be sold, and Robert Graham returned to live there for a short time. The Mains property was not sold till 1789, when it was bought by

⁸⁵ Warden, II., P.262.

⁸⁶ Parish Register.

⁸⁷ Robert Graham, the eleventh laird, does not seem to have registered the births of any of his children. His son, the twelfth laird, did not register the births of his children when they were born, but, after he left Linlathen, he registered them in the parish of Monifieth in batches, including those not born in that parish.

⁸⁸ In the seventeenth century, the property of Fintry in Stirlingshire had reverted to the senior branch of the Grahams, but the Grahams of Fintry had retained their territorial title by transferring the name "Fintry" to Mains. In Ochterlony's account of the Shire of Forfar, written in 1684-5, Mains Castle is called "Maines of Fintrie". — Warden, ii., p. 262.

⁸⁹ Warden, iv., p.409.

⁹⁰ Parish Register of Monifieth.

⁹¹ "Fintry Mss.", p.223. He matriculated in February, 1764. — "The articulation Roll of the University of St Andrew's, 1747-1897", ed. J.M. Anderson, Edinburgh and London, 1905, p.14.

⁹² "Fintry Mss.", p.223.

David Erskine W.S. of Edinburgh. About the same time, Linlathen House was sold to Sir James Stirling. It was purchased in 1801 by the Erskine Trustees. One of the conditions of the sale was that the house should cease to be known as "Fintry", but should revert to the original name, "Linlathen".⁹³

In 1787, Robert Graham was appointed a Commissioner of Excise, and it was he who, in 1788, recommended Robert Burns, whom he met at Blair Castle, for a post in that department. Burns, in a letter to Mrs Dunlop,⁹⁴ described him as "one of the worthiest and most accomplished gentlemen, not only of this country, but, I will dare to say it, of this age". After leaving Linlathen, Robert Graham lived in Edinburgh, but in 1809 he went to live at Balgowan, the estate, near Crieff, of his distant relative, Thomas Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, and from then till his death, on 10th January, 1815, he managed the Balgowan estate for its owner during his absence abroad on military service. He was buried at Mains.⁹⁵

On 12th April, 1773, Robert Graham married his second cousin, Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mylne of Mylne-field, and they had a large family of five sons and eleven daughters. His eldest son, Robert, was a member of the East India Company's service and was killed at the age of twenty-four in Benares when Wazir Ali, the ex-Nawab of Oudh, attacked the British Resident, Mr Cherry. His third son, Thomas, was in the Navy, and was lost at sea as a captain, off Valparaiso, without issue.⁹⁶ His fourth and fifth sons, David and John Scott, also died without issue in 1824 and 1804 respectively. Of his eleven daughters six were married. The rest probably died young.⁹⁷ Elizabeth married James Keay of Snaigow. When she died in 1873 she left that property to Robert Graham, fourteenth of Fintry. However, he and his eldest son, John, had settled in South Africa and had no intention of returning to Scotland, and they decided to sell it. In 1874 it was bought by Mr H. Cox of Dundee. Another daughter, Helen, accompanied her brother, John, to South Africa and married his brother-in-law, Henry Cloete. Robert Graham was succeeded by his second son, John.

⁹³ "Robert Graham", p.17; Warden, iv., p.408.

⁹⁴ 2nd August, 1788.

⁹⁵ "Fintry Mss. Supplement", p. v.: "Robert Graham", pp. 14-18.

⁹⁶ "Fintry Mss, Supplement", P. vi.

⁹⁷ There is a story of Robert Graham that, when a suitor approached him for the hand of one of his younger unmarried daughters, he offered him instead his eldest unmarried daughter with the remark, "Ye'll jist hae tae tak them as God gied them tae me".



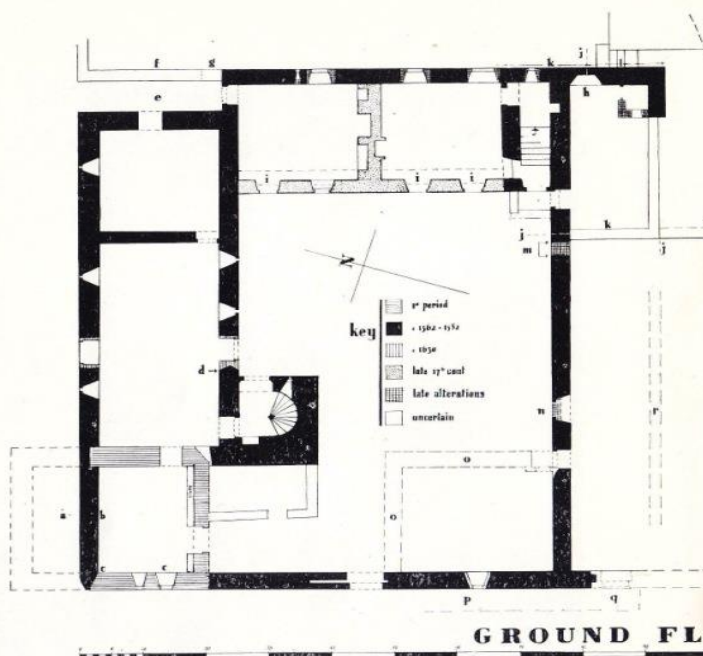
After Zucchero

Painted about 1620

PLATE I.

SIR DAVID GRAHAM

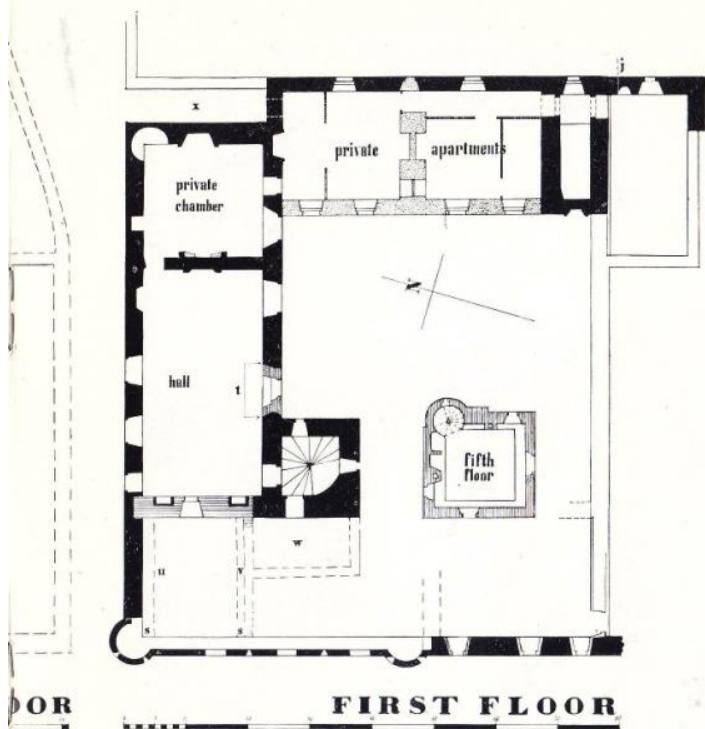
7th of FINTRY



PLA
MAINS

KEY TO GROUND FLOOR

- a. Demolished circa 1562.
- b. Trace of stone bench.
- c. Forge.
- d. Remnant of splay of 3rd slit.
- e. Site of lean-to extension: doorways pierced circa 1700.
- f. Assumed line of former wall, now garden dyke.
- g. Traces of doorway.
- h. Oven.
- i. Dotted lines represent probable original line of wall.
- j. Seam in wall between earlier and later work.
- k. Earlier construction.
- l. Later construction.



E II.

CASTLE

AND FIRST FLOOR PLANS

- | | |
|--|--|
| m. Former opening. | t. Seams, splays of original window. |
| n. Only trace of relieving arch left. | u. Line of roofridge. |
| o. Foundations obliterated. | v. Set-back for 1st floor joists. |
| p. Sunk area now largely filled in. | w. Demolished: existence of 1st floor indicated by doorway in tower. |
| q. Doorway here in 1840. | x. Room formerly here in lean-to extension. |
| r. Grassy mound indicating remnants of wall. | |
| s. Flue. | |

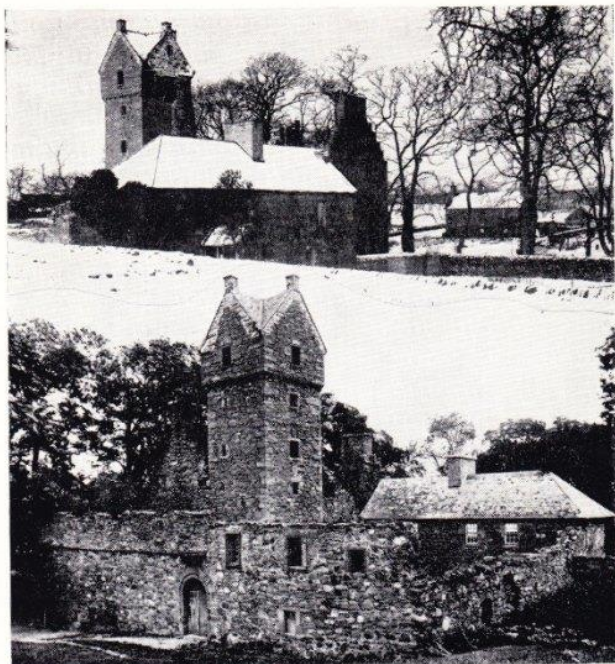


PLATE IIIa.

Castle from S.E. The former manse is seen to the right across the burn.

MAINS
CASTLE
1892

PLATE IIIb.

Castle from S.W.



PLATE IIIc.

MILL OF MAINS from S. in 1955. The Kiln is seen in the centre and tackman's house on the right.

GRAHAMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

John Graham, thirteenth of Fintry, was a distinguished soldier and administrator. He was born on 24th April, 1778, and in 1794, at the age of sixteen, he was commissioned in the first battalion of the 90th Foot, which his distant relation, Thomas Graham of Balgowan, later Lord Lynedoch, raised in that year. He saw service with the Earl of Chatham's expedition to the Isle Dieu in 1795, and with Earl Hood's attack on Toulon in 1799. In 1800 he joined the 93rd Highlanders and in 1805 sailed with them from Cork as part of General Baird's expedition, which landed near Cape Town on 6th January, 1806, and conquered the Cape. Soon after the landing, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel and given command of the Cape Regiment, a Hottentot Corps with British officers. In 1811 he was promoted to the command of a mixed force of British cavalry, infantry and gunners and of his own Hottentots, and ordered to drive the Xhosa tribe back across the Great Fish River to their own country. This he did in about two months and settled down with his headquarters in a deserted farm. On 14th August, 1812, Sir John Craddock, the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Cape, issued an order that this farm, which was to be the future residence of the Deputy Landrost of Uitenhage, should "in future be called and only recognised by the name of 'Graham's Town' in testimony of His Excellency's respect for the services of Lt. Colonel Graham, through whose spirited exertions the Caffre hordes have been driven from that valuable district".⁹⁷

Shortly afterwards, John Graham returned to Scotland. He served under Sir Thomas Graham of Balgowan in the campaign in Holland in the winter of 1813-14, but returned to South Africa as a full colonel in 1815 and for some time commanded at Simon's Town. He died on 17th March, 1821, at the age of 42 without having accomplished what, in a letter to his father dated 15th August, 1812, he described as the "ultimatum of my wishes", which was "to merit and obtain as much money as would enable us to buy a bit of land in Scotland: for an object I have so much at heart I would sacrifice every personal consideration with infinite pleasure".⁹⁸

John Graham married, on 24th July, 1812, Joanna Catherine, daughter of Rudolph Cloete, a descendant of one of the original Dutch settlers of 1652, and had a son, Robert, who succeeded as fourteenth of Fintry, and three daughters. Robert Graham, who was born in 1816, raised a troop of horse known as "Graham's Horse" in the Kaffir War of 1851-52 and was Deputy Governor of

⁹⁷ "Fintry Mss. Supplement", p.126.

⁹⁸ For an account of John Graham's career, see John Bond, "They were South Africans", Cape Town and London, 1956, pp. 27 *et seq.*

British Kaffraria in 1864-67. In May, 1846, he married Eliza Ann, daughter of General Gray, and had by her sixteen children, seven sons and nine daughters, all of whom, except two sons and three daughters, married and had families. Of the sons, Thomas Lynedoch Graham was Judge President of the Eastern Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Grahamstown, and a knight. Another, Malcolm David, commanded the Royal Berkshire Regiment and was an A.D.C. to the King. Robert Graham died on 28th September, 1887, and was succeeded as fifteenth of Fintry by his son, John James, who was secretary to the Law Department of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope and was created K.C.M.G. He married Anne Murison and had a family of seven, five sons and two daughters. He died on 17th December, 1928, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, who was, first, in the Civil Service in South Africa, and, later, secretary, in London, to the Buenos Aires Western Railways Ltd. He died in 1946 and was succeeded, as seventeenth of Fintry, by his only son by his second wife, Penelope, daughter of Major General William Travers Swan. John James Graham, seventeenth of Fintry, is an officer in the Queen's Royal Irish Hussars and is married, with an heir, Robert, born in Hanover in Germany in 1960.

ERSKINES OF LINLATHEN

The first Erskine to live in Linlathen was James Erskine, son of David Erskine W.S. He was a soldier and died in 1816 at the age of twenty-eight, being succeeded by his brother, Thomas Erskine, a distinguished writer of religious books, some of which were translated into French. It was he who inscribed over the Wishing Well in the Linlathen grounds the words "Whoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again". He was a friend of Thomas Carlyle, who often stayed at Linlathen. He died in 1870 at the age of eighty-one and was succeeded by his nephew, James Erskine Paterson of the Castle Huntly family, who took the name of Erskine.⁹⁹

He commanded the 1st Forfarshire Artillery Volunteers from 1860, when they were raised, until 1870. He died in 1897. His second son, David Charles Erskine Erskine, who succeeded him, was Liberal M.P. for West Perthshire from 1906 to 1909. He died on 26th May, 1922, the last male member of the family of Erskine of Linlathen.

Linlathen House was reconstructed by Thomas Erskine about 1830 by adding wings to the Graham house.¹⁰⁰ In 1922, shortly before his death, David Erskine

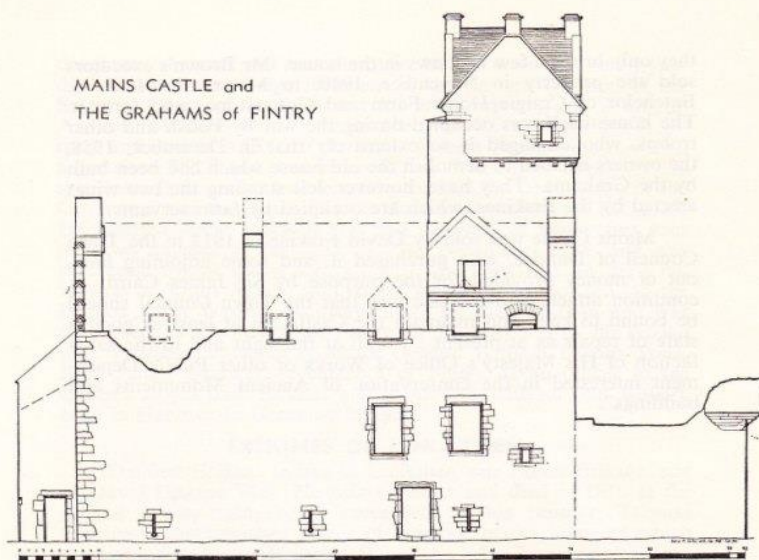
⁹⁹ His father, Captain James Paterson of the 4th Bengal Cavalry, was the sixth son of George Paterson of Castle Huntly and Ann, sixth daughter of the eleventh Lord Grey. His mother was David Erskine, sister of of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen.

¹⁰⁰ J. Malcolm, "The Parish of Monifieth in Ancient and Modern Times", Edinburgh and London, 1910, pp. 164, 300-1, 375 *et seq.*; "Robert Graham", p.17.

sold Linlathen to Mr P. S. Brown, merchant of Dundee, who lived in it till he died in 1940. Shortly before that, Linlathen House was bombed by the Germans. A stick of twenty-three bombs, apparently discarded by an escaping aeroplane, fell all round the house. They were, however, small ones and, though they did a certain amount of damage to farm buildings, they only broke a few windows in the house. Mr Brown's executors sold the property in November, 1940, to Messrs F. M. & G. Batchelor of Craigie Home Farm and Gutterstone, who farm it. The house itself was occupied during the war by Polish and other troops, who damaged it so extensively that in December, 1958, the owners decided to demolish the old house which had been built by the Grahams. They have, however, left standing the two wings erected by the Erskines, which are occupied by farm servants.

Mains Castle was sold by David Erskine in 1913 to the Town Council of Dundee, who purchased it, and some adjoining land, out of money provided for the purpose by Sir James Caird. A condition attached to the sale was that the Town Council should be bound to keep and maintain the Castle "in at least as good a state of repair as at present ... all at the sight and to the satisfaction of His Majesty's Office of Works or other Public Department interested in the conservation of Ancient Monuments and buildings".

MAINS CASTLE and
THE GRAHAMS of FINTRY

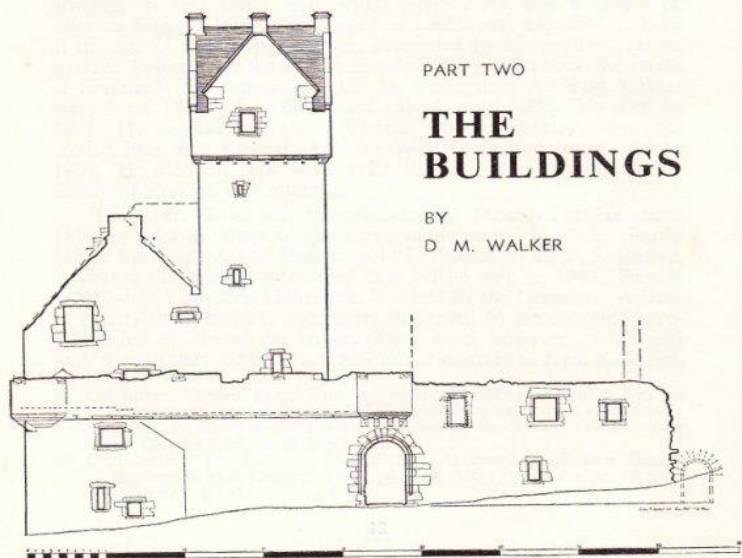


NORTH FRONT

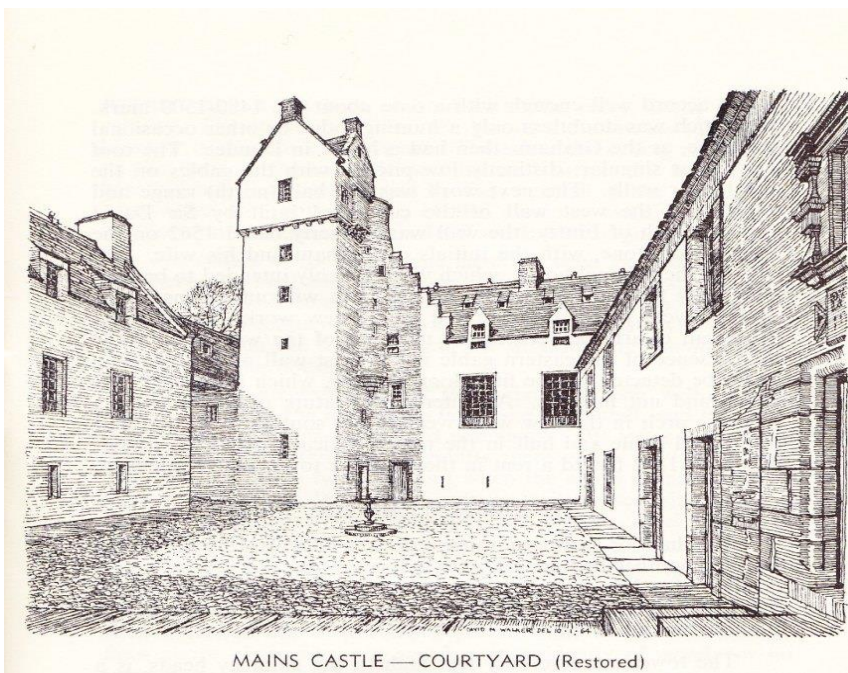
PART TWO

THE BUILDINGS

BY
D. M. WALKER



WEST FRONT



THE CASTLE

MAINS Castle is built on the southern edge of the ravine of the Gelly Burn (formerly called Syvan) roughly fifty feet above the water; in the ravine, directly under the castle, is a fine spring called Sinnivie. To the south of the castle the ground rises fairly rapidly rendering the castle very vulnerable to any serious attack. For that reason it seems unlikely that any house the Earls of Angus had in Strathdighty would be on this site. It seems more likely that the Earls' castle would be at Balargus ¹ or Claverhouse, where a castle certainly existed. If this assumption is correct, the grant of Balargus to John Graham in 1480 would leave the senior branch of the family without a house on their part of the estate, and would place the whole building of Mains Castle after that date, which would accord with what we can tell from the present remains.

THE FIRST HOUSE

Building started at the north-west corner with a modest two-storeyed box roughly thirty-two feet by twenty-six, which in detail would accord well enough with

¹ "R.M.S.", ii., 195 refers to "the toun of Balgargus".

a date about the 1480-1500 mark, and which was doubtless only a hunting lodge or other occasional residence, as the Grahams then had a house in Dundee. The roof was rather singular; distinctly low-pitched with the gables on the two longer walls. The next work was the hall (north) range and tower, and the west wall of the courtyard built by Sir David Graham, fifth of Fintry; the wall was formerly dated 1562 on the gateway keystone, with the initials of Graham and his wife. The walls of the original house, which was probably intended to be only temporary from the first, since it was built without quoins at the corners, were partly incorporated in the new work; the old west gable can clearly be seen in the masonry of the west wall, while the presence of the eastern gable in the west wall of the hall may easily be detected by the first floor window, which is splayed outwards and not inwards. An interesting feature of the work is a relieving arch in the new wall over the old south-east corner, half in the hall gable and half in the tower, indicating that the master mason of 1562 feared a rent in the wall due to unequal settlement.

THE NORTH RANGE

The hall or northern range consists of a large hall with a private chamber to the east, with cellars below and private apartments and a low attic floor, presumably for the servants, above. The main staircase is in the tall tower, attached to its south wall at the west end.

The tower, over seventy feet high to the chimney heads, is a very notable piece of work. From the lowness of the castle's situation it is carried to an exceptional height to command an adequate view of the surrounding countryside. The destruction of the main roof has made it appear tall and gaunt, and for long the ruins were understandably known as "The Tower". The main door of the north range is in the east wall of the tower, and has a roll moulding; above, in the general walling, can be seen a window jamb, a relic of some previous work or perhaps just a rejected stone. The main staircase here occupies the whole width of the tower and continues thus to second floor level, where it is enclosed by a plain barrel vault, the only piece of vaulting there has been in the whole castle. At this level commences a narrow newel stair at the north-east corner in the re-entrant angle supported on corbelling both within and without. The inner corbelling has at its base a grotesque head with a leaf in its mouth. This stair gives access to the three floors above and to the attics over the hall; only the scar of the half-gable which clung to its eastern face remains. There is a comfortable room with a fireplace on each floor. In 1630 the fifth floor was rebuilt by David Graham, the seventh laird,² doubtless because the walls of the previous structure were tending to spread outwards. The same fate would have overtaken the present structure had it not been secured with iron early in the present century. The corbel table and the top of the staircase turret are, however, sixteenth

² The date and his initials are on the skews

century work. There is a thickening of the wall on this floor on the east side next the stair turret; this is solid and has evidently been conditioned by the retention of the old corbels, here wider for some feature of the previous work. The whole composition and detail of this 1630 work is very good.

The cellars of the hall range have not been vaulted, nor have they been provided with fireplaces. The door to the main staircase has been blocked, and the doorways to both north and south are of seventeenth century date, a window slit being destroyed to make way for that on the south. These slit windows are provided with shotholes at the bottom.

The hall, nineteen feet by thirty-six, has been well lit with three windows to the north, two large and one small, and two windows to the south, one large and one small. The latter window is, however, a later alteration; originally there was a very large window here, probably two-light, but when the south cellar door was formed, probably in 1630, it was reduced to its present size, re-using the old mouldings. The fireplace has lost its lintel, but was evidently not elaborate.

The private chamber, nineteen feet by eighteen, has, surprisingly, two fireplaces; it is not likely that it was partitioned in two for want of light in the eastern part. The north-eastern angle has been hollowed out to provide a private stair to the bedchamber floor above. It has been a newel stair, evidently of wood, for no trace of stone steps is now to be seen.

The bedchamber, or second, floor had dormers. These have not survived, but the lower part of the window in the half-gable next the tower remains, and shows that the southern ones at least had a stone transom separating the lower shuttered part from the upper part, which was glazed.

Above were low attics in the upper part of the roof, the floor level of which is marked on the tower wall by a corbelled support and a door, or rather hatch, the facings of which project considerably, perhaps to provide support for the transverse roof which linked the tower to the main roof. This rose rather higher than the main roof, and its form, as shown in the drawings,³ is conjectural, but it is fairly clear that it did not cross the whole width of the building to a northern gable. Its pitch is clearly defined by the scar, and it may be noted that its southern half-gable appears to have risen at a considerably steeper angle for aesthetic reasons. These attics were probably servants' quarters; they had no fireplaces, but may have had stoves. The east gable of the north range has large decorative crowsteps. The northern half of the west gable has been similarly treated, but only a scar of the uppermost step remains on the chimney-head. When the hall range was built, the northern third of the old house was pulled down, and the north wall rebuilt further south to bring the north side into a straight line, thus making the roof-ridge considerably off-centre.

³ See pp. 22-23

The building was then converted to other uses. The interior is greatly ruined, but the strong deep red colour of the stone, other fragments of which are scattered over the whole building, is noticeable. There have been stone benches along the north and south walls, and strong traces of soot and heat are to be seen in both western corners, their positions rather suggesting smithy forges, but it is possible that at some stage it was the kitchen, in view of the absence of any other suitable apartment conveniently situated for the hall.

THE WEST WALL AND ANCILLARY BUILDINGS

The west wall of the courtyard incorporates the west gable of the first house and has a slightly corbelled parapet with a walk and shotholes. The north-west corner is rounded, then built out on to the square with a corbelled bartizan above, originally rather higher than now.. The main gate is segmentally arched with a bold roll moulding rather similar to those of the hall windows; a small square area has been levelled in front of it. The gate is provided with a long bar-hole in the thickness of the wall on the north, and with a shorter one on the south. Above is another bartizan on open corbelling, features which show that in 1562 defence was still a matter of some regard. Beyond the gate the parapet stops. This is probably not the original arrangement, as an extension of the south range was later applied against it, and it will be more convenient to deal with it later.

The arrangements between the courtyard wall and the west wall of the hall and tower have been exceedingly complicated and with successive alterations, additions, demolition and more recent repairs they are not easy to follow. South of the original structure of *circa* 1500, corbels were inserted in the tower wall to support a lean-to roof, the other end of which appears to have rested on the edge of the parapet walk, though subsequent repair to the walk has eliminated all traces. It seems probable, but it is by no means certain, that this pentice extended southwards over the cobbled ramp to afford some protection to those defending the main gate from behind. A two-storey structure of irregular plan was built under part of this roof; its first floor has vanished but a plain doorway in the tower fixes its floor level. On the ground floor there is a scar on the tower wall, possibly for a low internal buttress for its south wall.

THE EAST RANGE

The history of the east and south ranges is even more complex and difficult to follow. The eastern wall of the east range is of sixteenth century date, very roughly built with large irregularly shaped stones. The ground floor windows are relatively recent, but the three upper windows are sixteenth century; the sill of a fourth remains, this fourth window having been abolished in the reconstruction of *circa*

1700.

The precise date of this east wall is puzzling, for there is no trace of its having been a courtyard wall, or indeed of any alterations, and, as far as one can see, it is of one build with the hall, and certainly earlier than the small building at its south end which can fairly certainly be dated in the 1580s. The difficulty is that there is no proper provision for the junction of the north gable of the east wing with the east gable of the north wing, indicating that an east wing was probably not contemplated in 1562.

THE SOUTH - EAST CORNER

In 1582 a fine straight staircase was constructed with a handsome doorway with inscription and elaborate recess above; the west wall of the east wing was originally set back from this doorway. Half of this inscription was readable within the last twenty years, but only a letter or two now remains. At the top of this staircase were two identical doorways, one to the northern rooms, since raised, and one to the southern room in the small corner building which linked south and east wings. This staircase and the "link" building appear to be of one build, for the two doorways in the south-east corner of the court have stones in common; the first floor walls here are not, however, of one build, the staircase having been finished first. All this work is of reddish-brown stone quite different from that used in 1562.

The ground floor appears to have been used as a bakehouse, for an oven recess and flue remain. There are a number of different problems here. The east wall of the "link" building is of normal sixteenth century thickness for exterior walls, but once round on to the south flank it suddenly diminishes in thickness, just where the castle was most vulnerable. There was an outer retaining wall here, but probably not carried to any great height. A halt in the works, or perhaps a change of plan, seems to be indicated, and it is worth noting that the walls enclosing the 1582 staircase are exceedingly thick for ordinary cross walls, and this, together with the general elaboration of the work, suggests that this part was originally intended to be much higher. It seems probable that the original designs for this part of the building were halted either by the illness of Sir David, or the political adventures and execution of his son.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ALTERATIONS TO THE EAST RANGE

At the time of David Graham, tenth of Fintry (1707-1728), extensive reconstruction was undertaken in the east wing. The work has similarities to that at the old house of Fintry or Linlathen erected in 1705, and thus a date of *circa* 1700 seems likely.

Everything between the hall range and the main staircase was pulled down except for the east wall, and a new west wall was built on a line further west on the same line as the 1582 doorway. This new work is of a totally different stone, pale grey and rather soft, but containing old stones, including a sill, from the old work.

On the ground floor of this new building are two rooms, the northern a kitchen with a fireplace and recess, both with segmental arches, and a smaller recess, all characteristic of 1700. Its two doors are now both to the open air, but the north door originally led to a lean-to addition on the east wall of the private chamber and its cellar. This addition was presumably part of the operations of *circa* 1700, and is now entirely demolished.

On the first floor are three rooms; the northernmost probably a private drawing-room, plastered, with a kind of ante-room formed at its northern end. There was formerly an adjacent room in the lean-to extension. Original fireplaces remain in this room and in the bedchamber, which is panelled (the large panels are of plaster) and has an adjacent dressing room, also lined with panelling. The cornices are of wood, the ceilings plain. These rooms are now hopelessly ruined by fire and damp, but enough still remains to give a picture of life in Mains Castle in the early eighteenth century.

From the fact that the decoration of this part is original it is clear that the east wing has never been roofless, and no doubt the present roof is mainly the original one. Whether or not the hip is original is doubtful, but it is not impossible that it is. It appears that in 1700 the "link" building was still roofed, for the cornice on the present south (i.e. staircase) wall does not match that on the west side, and was presumably inserted when the "link" building was abandoned.

THE SOUTH RANGE

As it appears to have been in its final form, the main part of the south wing was no less than thirty-six feet wide, more than double the width of the "link" building (seventeen feet) and considerably wider than the hall range (twenty-five feet). However, before we discuss this further, the question of the original sixteenth century arrangements ought to be considered. MacGibbon and Ross pointed out⁴ that, since the sixteenth century work was constructed with some view to defence, the present arrangements could not be original, with a roof starting so near the ground, and there is ample evidence even in what little remains that they are not. The present north wall of the south wing survives to half the height of the first floor, and is of considerable strength. It appears to be of the 1562 period, for the masonry is of

⁴ David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the Eighteenth Century", 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1887-92, ii., p. 392.

similar colour and character, and has been pierced by only two windows, of which only fragments of the relieving arches remain. In these are stones of the deep red colour noticeable in the interior of the first house, material which would become available with the demolition of the north end during that period. From these windows, and the fact that the east and west walls even now project several feet south of this wall without trace of later extension, it is clear that the main south wall was further south. Of this wall no trace is visible, though excavation might reveal it. It was most probably on the line of the south wall of the "link" building, notwithstanding the apparently unfinished state of that building. It is possible that the site of the "link" building was then vacant, and that the south wall bent north parallel to the retaining wall. An irregular seam is to be seen in the north wall at the junction of the main south wing and the "link", but, without excavation, it is valueless to speculate further.

The *Old Statistical Account* ⁵ provides a further complication, as it reports a farmer's having discovered a font and other ecclesiastical fragments apparently belonging to a private chapel, while digging in the foundations *circa* 1790. These could be the piscina and grave slab latterly in the fragment of the parish church, though *Forfarshire Illustrated* ⁶ states that the church had a font of its own up to the date of demolition. The report in the *Old Statistical Account* is very inaccurate; although Mains appears to be the site referred to, there is a reference to John Graham of Claverhouse as a former owner, and it is just possible that it was at Claverhouse that the fragments were found. If the find was made at Mains, this chapel would presumably have been in the south wing, as the rest of the building was dilapidated rather than ruined in 1790.

It is worth noting that the existing south wall, or what is left of it, continues eastward beyond the castle as a retaining wall. I am inclined to think that, before the south wing was widened, there was here a dry ditch secured on the south by a retaining wall to give the castle greater security at this its most vulnerable point, and that when security no longer mattered, the later builders used the ditch as a ready-made excavation for the cellarage of an extension southwards. Just a little can be guessed of the plan of the south wing after this widening operation. The south face of the north wall shows no trace of cross walls, and a longitudinal internal wall in line with the south wall of the "link" building may be traced by a low grassy mound in the ruins. So the final ground plan seems to have been a north corridor with store-rooms off to the south; at the west end of this corridor there was, at least until 1840, a round-arched doorway; just a trace of the sunk passage to this doorway

⁵ Sir John Sinclair, "The Statistical Account of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes", 21 vols., Edinburgh, 1791-99, v., p. 221. The account of Mains of Fintry is by the Rev Charles Peebles.

⁶ (Gershom Cumming, Publisher) "Forfarshire Illustrated: being Views of Gentleman's Seats, Antiquities, and Scenery in Forfarshire, with descriptive and Historical Notices", Dundee 1843, p. 42.

remains outside the castle's west wall.

Of the first, and any other floors this south wing had, not much can be said. It was probably a three-storey building, the top floor with dormers, like its north-western extension. If roofed in a single span it must have been exceedingly high from its great width.

The northern extension of the south wing at its western end has been totally demolished internally. It was clearly later than 1562, for its north wall has left no trace where it met the inner face of the courtyard wall just south of the gate. Three first floor windows were opened in this wall when this extension was applied against it, the northernmost very elaborate, the other two with a plain roll moulding; the lintels are, of course, not original. There has been a floor with dormer windows above. The eastern wall has totally gone, but has been fitted to the south wing in a very curious way, as may be seen from the plan; the lintel of the doorway in the south wing has been cut back at an angle to receive the voussoirs of an arch carrying the wall, thus forming a shallow porch for the two doorways. The hinges still remain.

In the courtyard there is a very curious damaged stone, probably part of a sundial; it is best described as a short cone of octagonal section supporting a square deeply moulded top with a socket in its centre. When complete, it was perhaps octagonal in elevation as well as section; of this we would now have only the upper third.

RUIN

When complete, the castle must have been very attractive. Since it is largely rubble built, the general walling was no doubt harled and lime-washed, and here and there are bits of re-used material the builders obviously did not intend us to see. The ruin of the castle evidently did not come till some time after the building of the new house of Linlathen in 1705. Indeed, it is clear that there was no intention of giving it up at that date, for a considerable amount of money had just been spent on rebuilding and adding to the east wing, and it is likely that a good deal of other modernisation had been done elsewhere at the same time. This work was probably done by the master mason who built Linlathen. Considering the impoverished state of the country at that time, these extensive building operations on a relatively minor estate are surprising, and probably contributed a good deal to the financial troubles of both the eleventh and twelfth lairds. It was evidently abandoned as a residence in 1740 and was probably partly demolished in 1760 to supply materials for the building of the manse.

From an amateur water-colour of the early 1800s it appears that the hall rafters were still standing then. In the early 1820s the Erskines replaced the tower roof and carried out other repairs;

other intermittent repairs were carried out to arrest the ruin of the building, the most

important early in the present century. The east wing was occupied till recent years; on becoming unoccupied it was set on fire and was badly damaged. The whole structure has been allowed to deteriorate rapidly ever since.⁷

ANCILLARIES AND SURROUNDINGS

A note should be added on the surroundings. Of the dovecots all traces have gone, and their site is not known. The trees were formerly much more numerous than now and included several large oaks and walnuts, while to the south of the castle was a beech of exceptional size which disintegrated about a century ago. It is conspicuous in old engravings.

NOTE ON THE DRAWING OF THE COURTYARD⁸

This reconstruction shows the courtyard from the south-east corner. Everything to the left of the tower is conjectural, based on foundations and other evidence. The number of crowsteps on the half-gable, and the appearance of the attic dormers, are also conjectural. The rough-cast has been removed at the extreme right of the drawing to show the junction of the old and new work and the re-used sill.

THE KIRKTON OF MAINS

Across the burn, on the north bank, stood the church, manse, and Kirkton of Mains. Here one cannot do better than quote *Forfarshire Illustrated*, published in 1843:⁹

"Before the Reformation the church of the parish of Mains, under the name of Strathdichty, as well as Mains, belonged to the Benedictine (actually Tironensian — D. M. W.) Abbey of Arbroath, having been granted by one of the old Earls of Angus, the cure being served by a vicar-pensioner under the Abbey-chapter. In the year 1799, the adjoining parish of Strathechtyne Martyne, or Strathmartine, was annexed to Mains; and in 1801, a new church and manse were erected beside Trottick, about a mile to the west of the Old Church and Tower, for the accommodation of the people of the united parishes. The Old Church, which stood a number of years after the junction of the parishes, was a low mean building. It retained to the last its ancient baptismal font which was used before the abolition of Popery; and in the north wall there was a small recess furnished with an iron-door, which had likely been used for preserving some of the ecclesiastical utensils. Two stone coffins lay long in the churchyard, each formed of four

⁷ The only architectural account of the castle of any value is in MacGibbon and Ross (*op cit* in note 4) ii., pp. 389-392.

⁸ See p. 23.

⁹ *Op. cit.* in note 6, p. 32.

stones, and strongly secured at the corners with iron clamps. They were both of the usual length and breadth, and two feet and a half deep; and tradition says, that in the time of the plague, some of the infected who died were buried in these coffins. At present they are locked up in the burial vault of the Grahams. (They are not there now. — D. M. W.) Until lately the bier was preserved, which in ancient times was used for conveying the > dead to the churchyard for interment.

"Of the manse, school, and school-house, and three or four cottages, which formed the village or Kirktown fifty years ago, only the manse now remains. The school and schoolmaster's house adjoined the north side of the churchyard, from which it was separated by a narrow passage, close to a steep declivity, the face of which was formed into a garden of great beauty, agreeably diversified with numerous serpentine paths, all of which, with the houses, have disappeared within the last twenty-five years."

The manse remained till within the last few years. It was built in 1760, two-storeyed with a six-window south front, the windows rather widely spaced; in the last century it appears to have been re-roofed.

The burial vault of the Grahams, said to have been reserved by them when the rest of their property was sold, is the only surviving part of the church, and evidently projected from the south side of the church. It is sometimes said to have been a sacristy, but as the customary position for a sacristy is on the north, it was probably a transept; the north wall was rebuilt about 1880 and tells us nothing. The Graham arms on it are of that date.¹⁰ In the south wall was a small window of three lancets, originally simply chamfered; the mullions are now gone. Inserted above was a sculpture, discovered in 1868, representing the Annunciation, with Virgin, descending dove, and angel with scroll and pot of lilies. Beneath the pot there was a shield with two, possibly three, piles issuing from a chief with mullets or annulets on the piles. It was a fine work, but is completely removed. A sun-dial has been carved on the south-west corner similar to those at Linlithgow and Melrose.¹¹ MacGibbon and Ross were informed that there were separate rear-arches and were thus unwilling to date the building. The recent ruin of the building has disclosed a wide single enclosing rear-arch, nearly segmental, but with a very slight point. On the south wall, just west of the window, is a holy water stoup of the late fifteenth century, obviously not in its original position. It may have been the font found about 1790. The whole building is probably of the late fifteenth century; some other bits of sixteenth-century looking detail remain.

¹⁰ Warden, iv., p. 273.

¹¹ MacGibbon and Ross (*op cit.* in Note 4) iii., pp. 455-6.

Until 1961 the chapel contained a fine incised tomb slab; this has now been moved to Dundee Museum for safety: It bears the arms of Graham of Fintry and Lbvel of Ballumbie. This was, however, placed there only in 1860 by Thomas Erskine of Lin-lathen, having previously been built into an outer wall of the castle about twelve feet from the ground. This stone, it has been suggested, stood before the altar of the old church at Mains¹² but it may have been one of the fragments of the domestic chapel discovered about 1790.

THE MILL OF MAINS

Eastwards from the castle is the Mill of Mains, a large imposing structure three storeys high, on the north side of the Dichty. The date of the mill is not exactly known, but its foundation is almost certainly older than the castle itself, for it is referred to in a document of 1425.¹³ The lower half of the west part, which housed the mill machinery, appears to be the earliest existing construction and is probably of the seventeenth century. The segmental archway in the south wall has masons' marks on the voussoirs. The lade opening on the north wall, with window above for the sluice, are also original. The water wheel, eighteen feet in diameter, was thus internal from the start, and was of the breast type,¹⁴ driving a large gearbox of beech and cast-iron. The mill was originally a tall single storey, but to facilitate handling, two floors were subsequently added and the milling machinery moved upstairs. The millstones, of North Italian marble, bore dates in the early 1800s, and the raising of the mill building proper probably dated from that time. It was worked until 1948, but both water wheel and milling machinery have now been stripped and scrapped.

In the centre of the mill is the tall kiln, the club skews of which are typical of the late 17th or early 18th century. East of this was an extension, originally of about the same height as the mill in its original state, making an approximately symmetrical group dominated by the tower-like kiln in the centre. At subsequent dates, both eastern and western parts were raised to roughly the same height as the kiln, the latter probably after it had ceased to be Graham property. The mill-lade commences at Trottick. Thirl roads led to the mill, to enable surrounding farmers to evade tolls.

Behind the mill is a white-harled cottage dated 1726 which was the tackman's house. It was formerly thatched; the ceilings were raised about six inches or so, and the roof renewed with slates, a good many years ago. It has been reconstructed again since.

The toll house at the bridge has been demolished. It was a handsome

¹² Warden, iv., p. 293.

¹³ "R.M.S.", ii., 195.

¹⁴ i.e., undershot, receiving the water at half its height.

two-storeyed building dating from just after Graham times. The fine stone tablet bearing the scale of charges is preserved in Dundee Museum. Beyond the toll, just east of the bridge, was the New Mill of Mains. This, later and smaller than the Mill of Mains, survived until the war years. It had been long disused, and had also been a corn mill.

THREE MORE EARLY DIGHTY MILLS

The Dighty was, of course, a great attraction for industry, and the Grahams, through their ownership of both Mains and Lin-lathen, possessed the most lucrative part of it, which goes a long way towards explaining why the Grahams were able to tackle such extensive building enterprises. The Dighty industries are a study in themselves and cannot be discussed here. However, it is worth noting that on 28th May, 1621, David Graham of Fintry and his spouse sold to the town "All and Hail thais his thrie Corne Mylnis of ye Maynes of Erlis-Stradichtie (*sic*), situat upon ye water of Dichtie. quhairoff ane is presentlie occupyit be Jhone Jackson and James Jobson, and ye uyer twa are presentlie occupyit be James Quhittit and Walter Scott, with the hail geir of ye saidis Mylnis as they are presentlie gangand, with all the damis, leadis, intakkis, and watter gaugis of ye saidis thrie Mylnis, togedder also with the water slousses and privileges yairoff, etc., as also the schelling hill of ye foresaid Myln occupyit be the said Jhone Jackson, lyand upone ye south syed of ye said lead, betwix ye samyne lead and come land of ye said Maynes of Erlis-Stradichtie: Lykas thrie acris of arable landis of his Maynes of Erlis-Stradichtie lyand contiguous with the saidis Mylnis ... to be holden feu for a yearly payment of £100 Scots".¹⁵ David Graham may have driven a shrewd bargain, for already on 8th June, 1624, we hear that "twa — ane called Scott's mill, and ane called Hobbart's mill — are likely to ruin and decay without some speedy remeid be providit".¹⁶

The town no longer owns these properties. The east mill was disposed of for a feu duty of £60 Scots in 1722; Midmill was sold to the Wauker Trade of Dundee for 1200 merks Scots with a feu duty of £5 Scots in 1735; and the westmost, or Fountainbleau, was sold to the Erskines by the town's trustees in 1852.

LINLATHEN

David Graham, tenth of Fintry, built a new house on his Lin-lathen property in 1705. In the time of the twelfth laird, it was rechristened Fintry, to preserve the territorial title, as the castle had by then been abandoned as a residence. The house was very plain in detail, but of considerable interest, since there was little

¹⁵ "Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, the Hospital and Johnston's Bequest: 1292-1880" (prefaced by William Hay), Dundee, 1880, p. 102.

¹⁶ Maxwell, p. 178.

building on such a scale in the area at that time. It was a large three-storey structure, gabled at the ends; the roof was truncated by a lead flat surmounted by paired chimneys, and contained an attic floor. At the east end a single storey and basement wing was added; this had three segmentally arched windows. At two subsequent dates after the Erskines acquired the property and changed the name back to Linlathen, this wing was raised a floor and then extended. No picture of the house of Fintry in Graham times is known, and whether any sort of western wing existed then is uncertain. In any event, about 1830 the Erskines added a large new two-storey wing on the west shortly after acquiring the property. The architect is not known, but the detail, although plain, is of considerable distinction; he was probably not local. In this wing, now derelict and built up, was a fine saloon with a notable fireplace containing a fine sculptured panel.

This addition was not symmetrical with the eastern wing on the south side, but the north side was made symmetrical and an entrance porch was added.

I was unfortunately unable to examine the interior of the main block before demolition, but, from what was to be seen through the windows, the interior had been substantially stripped, redecorated, and partly replanned, when it was reconstructed by the Erskines. The centre windows on the south front were also altered and the chimneys renewed.

One notable building of the Graham era yet remains at Linlathen; the large square stables and steading east of the house. The south-west corner pavilion bears the date 1770 and the initials R. G. The whole structure is probably of that date. The north front is a notable piece of work with a central semi-elliptical archway and elliptical window above flanked by cart sheds with finely constructed flat arches. It seems that Robert Graham, in spite of his financial difficulties, had a taste at this date for building and improvement; two years later, we hear of him engaged on drainage schemes on his Mains of Fintry property.

East of this block is a large walled garden. It was built or rebuilt by the Erskines. There is a good simple early nineteenth century gateway in the west wall.

Acknowledgments

General

The blocks for the illustrations were kindly lent by the Museum and Art Galleries Department of Dundee Corporation, through the good offices of Mr J. D. Boyd, the Director.

Mr J. McClure has given valuable assistance in procuring the blocks and arranging the lay-out.

Historical Section

Captain John Graham, Queen's Royal Irish Hussars, the present head of the family, kindly gave permission to reproduce the portrait of David Graham, seventh of Fintry. I am grateful also to many other members of the Graham family for information.

F. M.

Architectural Section

The measurements on the drawings are substantially taken from the Ministry of Works survey plans, kindly loaned to me by Mr Robert Dron, A.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., the former City Architect. The Ministry kindly gave permission to use the plans, and I owe it to them to make it clear that the chronology, notes, and considerable additions are all mine, and do not necessarily represent their views on the history of the building as well as my own.

Mr Alexander Small, the former Chief Librarian, gave permission to reproduce the late Victorian photographs of the castle. These come from the Wilson Bequest in the Dundee Public Libraries, and are a considerable asset as they show rather more than can be seen now.

With regard to the text, my chief debt is in respect of the Mill of Mains, to Mr David McDonald, the late owner of the mill, and to Mr William A. MacLean, the present owner. Mr David Crichton and Mr George Park of the Reference Department, Dundee Public Libraries, have been helpful as always.

D. M. W.

ADDENDUM 2014

Sir Francis Mudie originally wrote this publication as a reminder to the City of Dundee of its legal obligation to maintain the castle ‘in at least as good a state of repair’ as it was in 1913. That obligation was finally honoured between 1976 and 1985 when the City of Dundee District Council’s architects repaired the castle and re-roofed its north range, initially as a Manpower Services Commission project. An up-to-date account of the castle as it exists now will be found in the late John Gifford’s *Buildings of Scotland: Dundee and Angus* (2012), pp. 277-280.

In the original Abertay publication of 1964 the date of the castle’s northern and western ranges was given as 1582, that being the date on the keystone of the main gate in the west range as read by A.H. Miller in his *Historic Castles and Mansions of Scotland: Perthshire and Forfarshire* (1890), p. 396. A.J. Warden’s reading of it as 1566 in *Angus or Forfarshire* (1884) vol. IV, p. 292 should also have been given. The northern range is not dated other than at the later top floor of its entrance tower, but it is unlikely to be later than the mid-1560s as its big coped crowsteps were by then already a late survival of earlier fashions.

Whichever was the correct reading, the date now seems more significant architecturally than it did to the authors in 1964, Mains being an early instance of a major house built almost completely anew without any tower-house element. Its principal accommodation was entirely within a long two-storey and attic L-plan palace-block without any vaults at its ground floor. The entrance tower with a wheel-stair rising into a vaulted stairwell 10 feet

(3m) square and a turret stair in the re-entrant angle to rooms at the upper levels is clearly an early precursor of the entrance jambs with big main stairs to first-floor hall level found in L-plan and Z-plan houses from 1580 onwards; and, although hall and private apartment palace-blocks had been common in the largest houses since the fifteenth century, the elongated L-plan as an alternative to the more familiar later sixteenth and early seventeenth century Z-plan is also of some significance as anticipating such Aberdeenshire houses as Schivas, Kemnay and Pittullie by about a decade and a half.

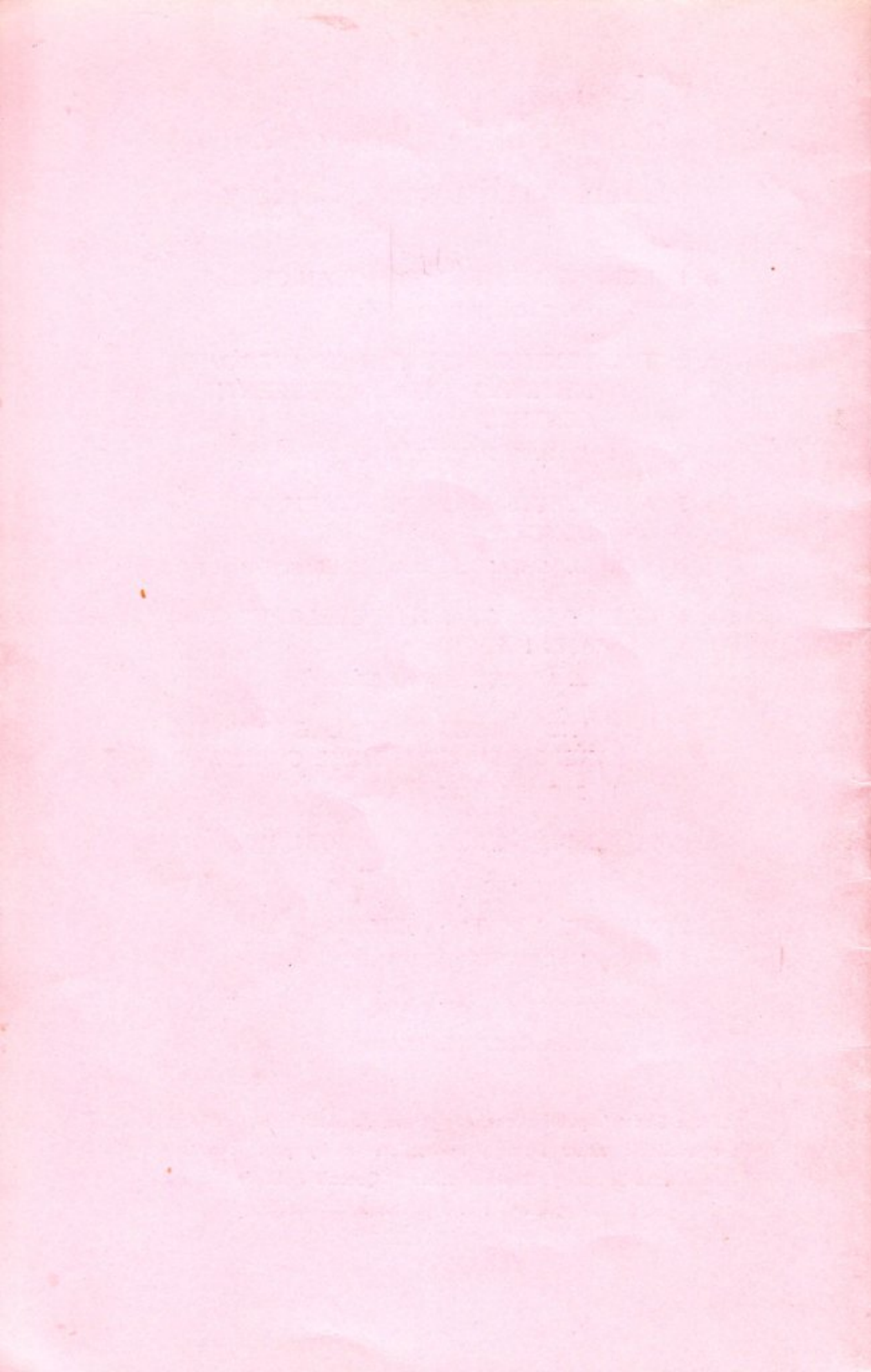
At Linlathen virtually nothing now remains but more is known of the alterations and additions to the house undertaken for Thomas Erskine on his return from his Continental travels. These were designed by his brother-in-law William Stirling of Dunblane for whom see David Walker, 'The Stirlings of Dunblane and Falkirk,' *Bulletin of the Scottish Georgian Society* vol. I (1972), the reference to Linlathen being at p. 50.

Professor David M Walker, 2014

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