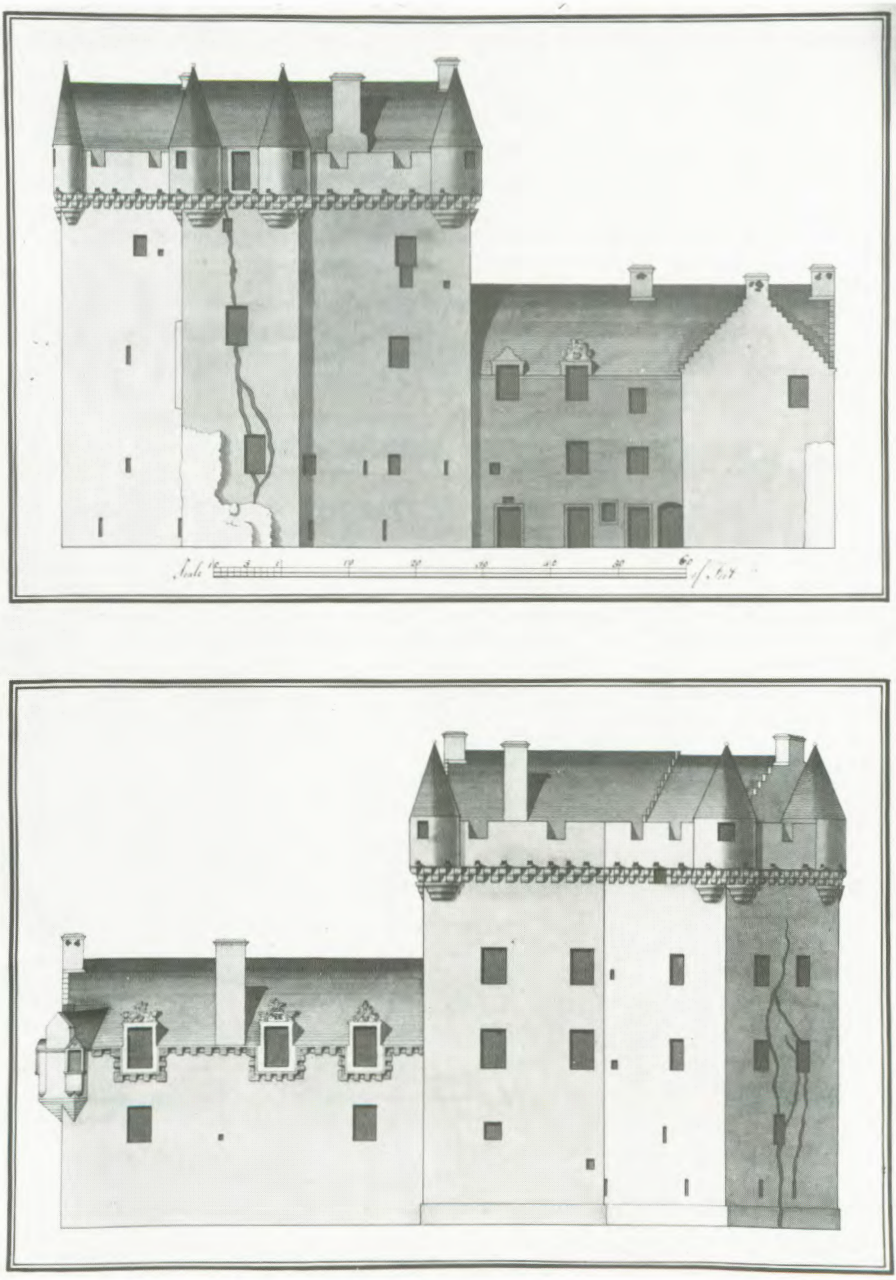

Fig. 8.1 Cromarty Castle; elevations, 1746.

ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIETY IN EASTER ROSS BEFORE 1707

Geoffrey Stell

LANDSCAPE AND BUILDINGS

The eastern seaboard of Ross and Cromarty[1] contains, and has always contained in historical times, some rich and fertile tracts of agricultural land. Within this broad geological belt of Middle Old Red Sandstone many localities have been well endowed with good sources of freestone for building purposes (Phemister 1960. 75–79, and Fig. 21; *OSA.* I. 288; IV. 288; VI. 426, 435, 613n). In times gone by, there were also plentiful supplies of timber from the woods in neighbouring Strathcarron, and especially from the western hilly district of Kincardine parish known as the Forest of Freevater (Anderson 1967. I. 324–7, and refs cited from MacGill 1909).

Not surprisingly, the natural endowments of this desirable area have given rise to a pattern of landownership, settlement and building of a variety and density that is quite exceptional for the Scottish Highlands. It bears comparison with the well-favoured lands on the southern shores of the Moray Firth with which there was a regular traffic by sea prior to the advent of the railway and the motor car. Its agricultural capacity is perhaps best exemplified by an area such as Killearnan parish in the Black Isle which boasts two major castles, Kilcoy and Redcastle. According to Sir John Sinclair (Sinclair 1795. 6n) this parish had a considerable proportion of good quality soils and the harvest there was usually earlier by a fortnight than in any other surrounding district of the northern Highlands. He also noted that the soil in Nigg and Easter Fearn in the Tarbat peninsula was 'rich and friable' and would 'carry any crops produced in the Lothians' (ibid. 94).

However, Easter Ross cannot be characterized so simply: it has a considerable variety of physical landscapes, and, with the Highlands proper all around, its lands have an uneven productive capacity and farming use. Furthermore, most of the better-favoured lands have been subjected to such intensive agricultural, and occasionally industrial, reorganization during the past two centuries that it is now difficult to appreciate the early eighteenth-century setting of many of its early surviving buildings.

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

The pattern and style of Easter Ross architecture, like that of many other parts of Highland and Lowland Scotland, underwent a transformation

alongside the changes in the agricultural landscape and in general life-style in the century following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 (Mowat 1981. passim). There is no doubt that the surviving historic architecture here is disproportionately of later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century date: mansion houses, villas, farmhouses and cottages, matched by ecclesiastical and other institutional or commercial building on a similar scale and pattern, all to some extent following national canons of style and taste but embodying various idiosyncracies of design and materials (Omand 1984. 207–18).

Here, as elsewhere, this period of 'greatest rebuilding' was grafted onto an earlier pattern of building that is now more difficult to discern behind its Georgian and Victorian 'screen'. In assessing earlier building activity and patronage in this ancient county palatine we enter the familiar world of medieval (and sub-medieval) castles, houses and churches. But there are still many assumptions about the nature and purpose of the secular buildings of this earlier age that remain insufficiently scrutinized: hence the unanswered questions concerning their siting, the circumstances of their creation, and the manner in which the buildings were actually conceived and constructed. Can many of their sites be interpreted as mainly military or defensive in nature when, simply as well-favoured spots like Castle Leod, a significant proportion have continued in use from medieval into modern times? And, given that a castle-builder needed to be sure of his ground, both legally and physically, before embarking on an expensive building campaign of longish duration, can stone castles and towers really reflect highly disturbed unstable conditions at the time when they were actually put up?

The traditional account of the building of Milton Castle is the proverbial exception that proves the rule. Sir Robert Gordon (Gordon 1813. 146) records that John, 5th Earl of Sutherland who died in 1567, was a great supporter of the Munros, especially of Milton (to which was attached the head stewardship of the old earldom of Ross: *OPS.* II. 2. 464), against the nearby Rosses of Balnagown. According to him:

> when the Monroes began first to build the house of Milntown, Earle John went himselff in persone, to defend them against Balnagown his braging, who indevoared to stop and hinder them from building that castell. Then returning home into Southerland, he left a company of men at Milntoun for their defence against the Rosses, vntill most pairt of the castle was finished; which kyndnes the Monroes of Milntoun doe acknowledge unto this day.

Other recorded instances of lawlessness and disorder affecting buildings were not unknown (e.g. MacGill 1909. nos. 94, 677, 859).[2] Stands of arms that appeared in household inventories (MacGill 1909. nos. 341, 960) also show a considerable potential for aggressive behaviour, but the more martial aspects of pre-eighteenth-century building design and detailing can be all too easily overstated.

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION: MATERIALS, COSTS AND CALAMITIES

Timber as well as stone was much prized for building purposes, for as the Earl of Cromartie remarked in a letter to his son in 1688 'good timber is the strength of a building' (Fraser 1876. I. no. 41, p. 56), particularly under the stressful climatic conditions of northern Scotland. Here, as elsewhere, assessments of timber and house size were often made in accordance with commonly understood modes and measurements of roof construction. Hence we find an instruction of 1637 to the foresters at Kincardine to 'cut and carry ... twelve couples with their furnishings of cabir rails, balks and huis' (MacGill 1909. no. 1073), and a record of 1584–85 referring to two partly built-up spaces in the former burial-ground at Chanonry of Fortrose assessed at eight and thirteen 'cupill biggings', both five ells wide (*OPS.* II. 2. 572–73).

It is not hard to imagine that the transport of building materials overland and by sea was difficult, time-consuming and costly. Figures giving some indications of building costs are relatively few (e.g. Fraser 1876, I. 307; MacGill 1909. nos. 329, 458, 483–85, 488–92, 677) and cannot now be easily matched against a measurable amount of building. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the costs of building construction were fully and clearly set out (MacKenzie 1813. 75–78), and can be more easily related to what we see today.

Most of the information on building costs relating to corporately funded public buildings and churches has been the result of the ever-present problems of maintenance and repair. Natural phenomena have accounted for many of the difficulties. The partial collapse of Tain Tolbooth tower in 1703 affords an example of storm damage (Munro 1966. 73–74), whilst rather more unusually, according to tradition (Miller 1835. 69–71) the medieval burgh of Cromarty suffered and eventually succumbed to the effects of marine erosion. According to the Kalendar of Fearn, Milton Castle was burnt when a crow's nest accidentially caught fire there in 1642, but some fires, like the later one at Invergordon Castle, occurred in unexplained circumstances (Mackenzie 1813. 70), whilst others such as those at the churches at Tain and Kilchrist are alleged to have been the result of arson (Macgill 1909. no. 42; *OPS.* II. 2. 524; Miller 1854. 167–68, 172). But the history of building calamities in Easter Ross could almost be written solely with reference to the abbey church at New Fearn which has experienced over the centuries an unfortunate catalogue of accidents. The most disastrous incident took place in 1742 when the heavy slated roof fell on the congregation during divine service.[3] Concern about the serious condition of the roof had, however, been expressed since at least 1695 (NLS. Advocates' MS 29.4.2(xi), f.287v).

FAMILIES AND ARCHITECTURE

These background themes can usefully be borne in mind when considering such apparently basic questions as 'who built, modified or repaired what,

and when?'. Furthermore, in order to get a clearer measure of the needs, the resources and the shortcomings of the architectural patrons and the building industry that served them in Easter Ross, there is a case for escaping from conventional methods of architectural analysis. For whilst the sources and comparison of plan-forms, details and styles assist in the assessment of date, fashion and wealth, the methods of the architectural historian are only a means to any of several ends. If the aim is to relate the buildings to their social background, then it follows that they should be grouped according to the framework of the society that produced them. In Easter Ross medieval lordship was based on the unit of the family in all its widely ramified and complex forms, so the buildings have been arranged here accordingly, placing the families and their buildings in a rough hierarchical order that contemporaries might have understood. What follows is an attempt to view the architectural effects of patronage on the part of the kings of Scotland, descending through the social scale to the baronage and lesser lairds.

Royal Works

Royal works in Easter Ross are few, but the indirect effects of royal involvement and interest in the area are rather more widespread. The first exercise of royal overlordship that has left definable archaeological trace was William the Lion's campaign of 1179 into the Moray firth area to overawe actual or potential opposition centred around the claims of Donald MacWilliam, descendant of the mormaers of Moray and connected indirectly with the royal house through William fitz Duncan. One chronicle account, which possibly conflates events, relates to a further campaign of 1181, but all accounts otherwise agreed that a major effect of the expedition(s) was the creation or strengthening (*firmavit*) of two castles, Dunscaith and Edirdowyr (Anderson 1922. II. 301–02 & n; Barrow 1971. 11, 292; see also 454 (no. 500)).

Dunscaith occupies a coastal site on the North Sutor, commanding the narrows and the former ferry-crossing at the mouth of the Cromarty Firth. It takes the form of a promontory earthwork surrounded on the landward side by a broad ditch with traces of internal and counterscarp banks. The site was considered sufficiently useful to assist in the protection of the twentieth-century naval base at Invergordon, but is now disfigured by a tangled half-demolished mass of ferro-concrete dating from this later phase (Mackenzie 1947–48. 60–61).

Edirdowyr has been identified as Redcastle [Fig. 8.16] on the northern shore of the Beauly Firth. The site occupies a good commanding position above the shoreline on the edge of a ravine but, unlike Dunscaith, it has retained a residential purpose until recent times; there appears to be little, however, of the early earthworks beneath or around the later buildings. Along with neighbouring Ormond Castle at Avoch, Redcastle had been one of the principal centres of the lordship of Ardmeneach, which, on the forfeiture of the Douglases in 1455, reverted to the Crown. Thereafter it

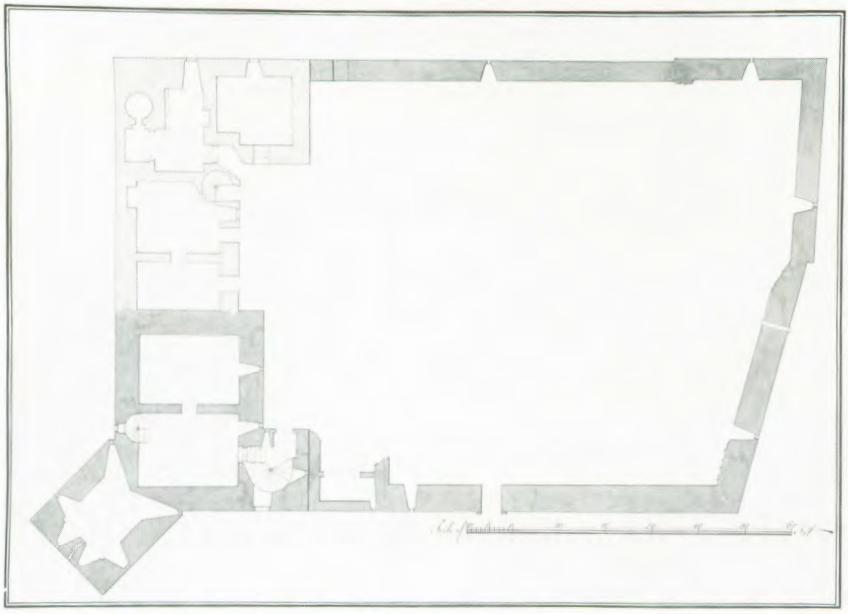

Fig. 8.2 Cromarty Castle; ground plans, 1746.

was held by royal constables until its acquisition by a branch of the ubiquitous MacKenzies in the early seventeenth century. The core of the present ruinous building is an elongated L-plan tower of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century date, extensively altered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. III. 623–25; NMRS record sheet RCR/5/1).

Other royal and quasi-royal castles came to be associated with the sheriffdoms of Cromarty and Dingwall that first appeared on record in the thirteenth century, Cromarty [Figs. 8.1; 8.2] was the administrative centre of a small sheriffdom (MacKenzie 1922), and in 1470 the Urquharts, hereditary sheriffs since the mid-fourteenth century, were granted royal permission to build a tower or fortalice on the motte of Cromarty and to equip it with suitable defences (Macfarlane *Genealogical Coll.* II. 375; MacKenzie 1947–48). Judging from the evidence of later architectural drawings and descriptions, the stone castle that was erected in the later fifteenth century appears to have been a very substantial L-plan tower, bigger and more sophisticated than any surviving late medieval structure in this area. An extensive range of domestic buildings was added in 1632 by the father of the great Sir Thomas Urquhart, but the proposals to rehabilitate the castle as a barracks after the 1745 Rebellion came to nothing, and, except for a few fragments, the last traces of the castle were effaced upon the construction of Cromarty House in 1772 (Miller 1835. 129–35).

Fig. 8.3 Dingwall; view by J. Clark, published 1824.

Fig. 8.4 Tain; view by J. Clark, published 1828.

Dingwall Castle, one of the principal centres of the vice-regal earldom of Ross, came into full royal possession in 1476 on the forfeiture of the earldom by the MacDonalds, Lords of the Isles, and was considerably strengthened by James IV in the early sixteenth century (Macrae 1923. 49–61 citing *Exch. Rolls.* passim; see also McInnes 1940. nos. 5, 6, 8, 12, 15, 18, 21). It occupied a low-lying and ditched, probably moated site close to the canal of the River Peffery in the position where the present Dingwall Castle, a pleasant castellated villa of 1821, now stands [Fig. 8.3]; it was 'situated close to the shore, ... and a little river with a deep slimy channel, into which the sea flowed, winded about two of its sides' (*OSA.* III.15). Bishop Lesley (1578. 27) noted what he called a wealth (*copia*) of salmon close to the castle. The only visible portions of medieval masonry are attached to a later garden pavilion to the south-west of the house, close to which there is also a subterranean vaulted chamber. Part of a ditch still survives, the remains of a circuit around an enclosure of about 0.2 ha (0.5 acre).

The use and upkeep of Dingwall was, like Redcastle, assigned to a royal keeper or constable, and the office of constable of Dingwall Castle came to be linked with the ownership of nearby Tulloch, one of the many towers that sprang up in the middle and later sixteenth century on former earldom lands. The Bains of Tulloch, like so many in this second tier of lordship, owed their more secure position and building abilities to a confirmation of their possessions by James V, in this case towards the end of his reign in 1542 (*OPS.* II. 2. 492–93; Macrae 1923. 103–14).

Royal interest in the ferry-crossing between Dunscaith and Cromarty was connected with another important focus of royal attention, the shrine of St Duthac at Tain, the saint's birthplace and the site of his relics [Fig. 8.4]. The ferry was occasionally used by James IV on his regular royal pilgrimage to Tain, and Crown revenues out of the vill and ferry of Dunscaith had already been assigned to a chaplainry in Tain by his grandfather, James II, in 1456 (*Exch. Rolls.* VI. 216, 463, 465). The actual lines of the overland section of the pilgrimage routes into Tain cannot be established clearly: one probably crossed the head of the bay opposite Nigg, travelling thence via Balnagown and 'King's Causeway'; another may have followed a more easterly route from Nigg, entering the burgh from the direction of Loch Eye and St Katherine's Cross.

The cult of St Duthac acquired considerable renown and veneration among the kings and nobles of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scotland (Durkan 1962; Mackinlay 1914. 223–28). The saint's shirt, which allegedly protected its wearer, was one of the more prized relics, although Hugh, 4th Earl of Ross, was killed wearing it at the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333 (Major *History.* 273 and n). The rebuilding of St Duthac's chapel has been attributed to Hugh's successor, William, 5th Earl of Ross (d. 1372), and while reconstruction may have commenced in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, much of the existing architecture of the collegiate church seems to reflect the more intense royal interest in St Duthac in the middle and later decades of the fifteenth century. During this

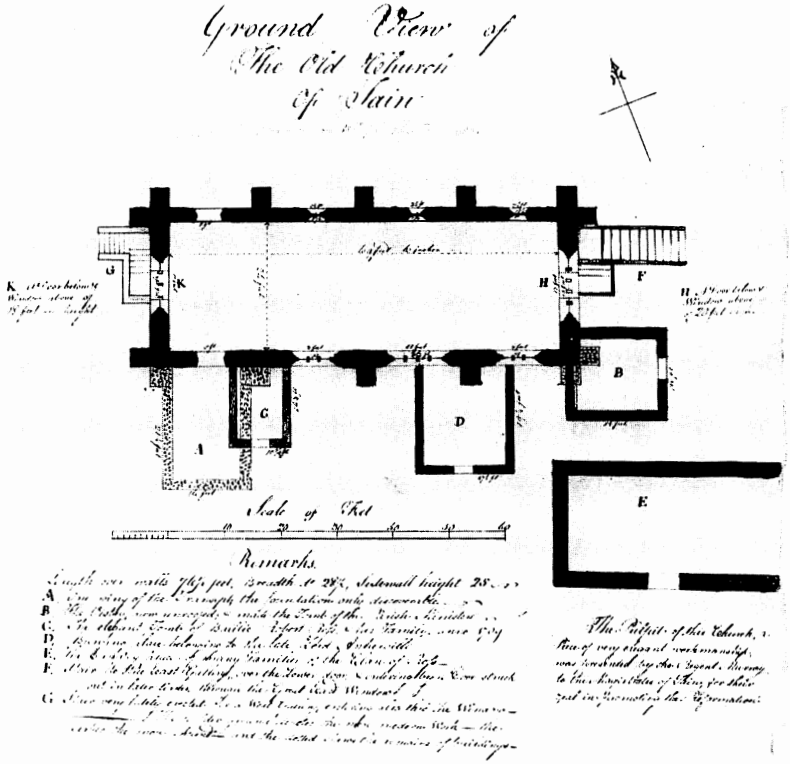

Fig. 8.5 Tain Collegiate Church; plan by J. Shand, 1819 (NLS, *Advocates MS* 30.5.23, 142a).

period the church received endowments and built up a proto-collegiate organization of chaplains, finally acquiring full collegiate status at the instigation of James III in 1487 (MacGibbon & Ross 1896–7. II. 539–42; Durkan 1962; Cowan & Easson 1976, 227–28). It acquired an additional chaplainry from James IV, and during his reign became one of the foremost pilgrimage-centres in Scotland, ranking alongside Whithorn in the frequency of royal visits (Paul 1904). A number of burial-aisles were added after the Reformation, and, although removed as a result of a thoroughgoing restoration completed in 1877, they appear in some detail on early nineteenth-century drawings prepared for General Hutton by James Shand, a Tain schoolmaster [Fig. 8.5] (NLS. Advocates' MS 30.5.23, 142a–b; for General Hutton see *DNB*. X. 353 and Ross 1964). Shand records his opinion that the nearby structure in the churchyard, now commonly interpreted as the old parish church, had never been roofed.

The great lordship of Ardmeneach passed into royal hands on the forfeiture of the Douglases in the mid fifteenth century, and through the name of its main centre at Ormond Castle near Avoch gave the title to an earldom and royal marquessate (*Scots Peerage*. VI. 585–86; VII. 245–46). The earlier owners of this castle were members of the exceptionally rich and powerful de Moray family; it is known that in 1338 Sir Andrew de Moray died at Avoch and was buried at the cathedral about a mile to the east of the castle (*OPS*. II. 2. 543–44, 547; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing) II. 437, 440). While the fragmentary remains at Ormond do not immediately convey an impression of the family's power and wealth — reflected so dramatically in the thirteenth-century architecture of Bothwell Castle in the Clyde Valley — it has nonetheless been a large establishment. The foundations comprise a double system of curtain walls around the summit, set within what might have been earlier ditches, and an inner quadrangle with towers and internal buildings (Beaton 1884–85). There is no clear evidence for its continued occupation after its annexation by the Crown, and by the later fifteenth century the 'moothill' of Ormond seems to have retained only residual titular importance.

Earls of Ross

How much of the exiguous remains at Dingwall Castle might be ascribed to the earls of Ross themselves is hard to say, although from the thirteenth century onwards it had served as one of their principal centres. Their residences in the eastern half of the province included Balconie and Delny, 'our manor house' of Delny as it appeared in at least one fifteenth-century MacDonald charter (MacDonald and MacDonald 1896–1904. I. 603–04; see also *OPS*. II. 460–62, and description of the chapel in *OSA*. VI. 194–95n). Virtually all medieval traces have disappeared and the site at Delny is now occupied by a large farmstead and a late nineteenth-century villa. It is possible that Delny, like the head manor at Dingwall and like the earthwork known as 'David's Fort' in Balavil Wood, south of Conon Bridge, was a wet moated site. 'David's Fort' has a raised central platform of trapezoidal plan, measuring 25 to 30 m in each direction, and is surrounded by an impressive wet moat with a water-inlet and -outlet system (Beaton 1883. 416–20; NMRS. RCD/3/1). It appears to be the most northerly recorded example of a medieval moated homestead, a type of earth-and-timber structure which in southern Scotland and England generally dates from the thirteenth century onwards.

Surviving evidence of the secular works of the medieval earls of Ross is thus somewhat scarce and enigmatic, but the results of their patronage of church building is fortunately more tangible. However, both New Fearn Abbey [Fig. 8.6] and Fortrose Cathedral [Fig. 8.7] are now considerably less than what they were in the Middle Ages, and Fearn has been much altered. This abbey, which was a house of Premonstratensian or white canons, survived for about fifteen years in apparently inhospitable surroundings at Mid Fearn in Kincardine parish before it was refounded at

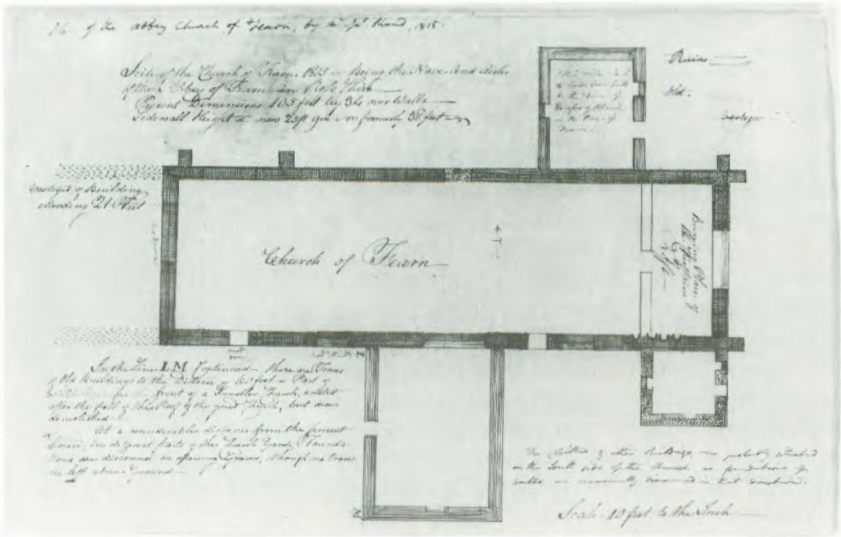

Fig. 8.6 Fearn Abbey Church; plan by J. Shand, 1819 (NLS, *Advocates MS* 30.5.23, 1306).

'New Fearn' in the more settled and richer domains of the earldom in about 1238 (Cowan & Easson 1976. 101–02 and refs cited; for English houses of this order see Colvin 1951, and for some of their architectural characteristics Bond 1913. I. 164–65). Even after this early removal, it remained the most northerly major religious house of the reformed monastic orders in the British Isles. The abbey owed its existence and much of its character to its major lay patrons, the earls of Ross, and in particular to its founder, Farquhar Mactaggart, 3rd Earl of Ross, whose choice fell upon Premonstratensian canons from Whithorn. Fearn remained closely linked to its distant mother-house, especially in the election of abbots, and this link was probably responsible for the introduction into this locality of families of south-western origin such as the Vasses of Lochslin (Munro 1971),[4] and possibly the MacCullochs of Plaids (Munro 1971a).

The successive native earls remained solicitous for the abbey's upkeep. The Chronicle of the Earls records that in 1336 William, 5th Earl, seeing that the abbey church was built 'bot of clay [mortar] and rouch staine alutterlie rewinous appeireindlie', became 'trubbilit of mynd with anguish that the sepulture of his parentis and quhair he tendit to be buryit' should be in this condition, even to the extent that 'the dropis descending frome Heavin distilled in the challice and upon the altar quhair the sacrament was ministrat' (MacGill 1924. 320). He convened a meeting of the clergy and 'all the great men in Ross' and, whilst they presumably gave what help they could, seven canons agreed 'to beg and thig through the countrie'. The rebuilding in 'hewin stanis' was carried out between 1338 and 1372, and the Kalendar of Fearn records the obit of Earl William 'qui fabricavit et

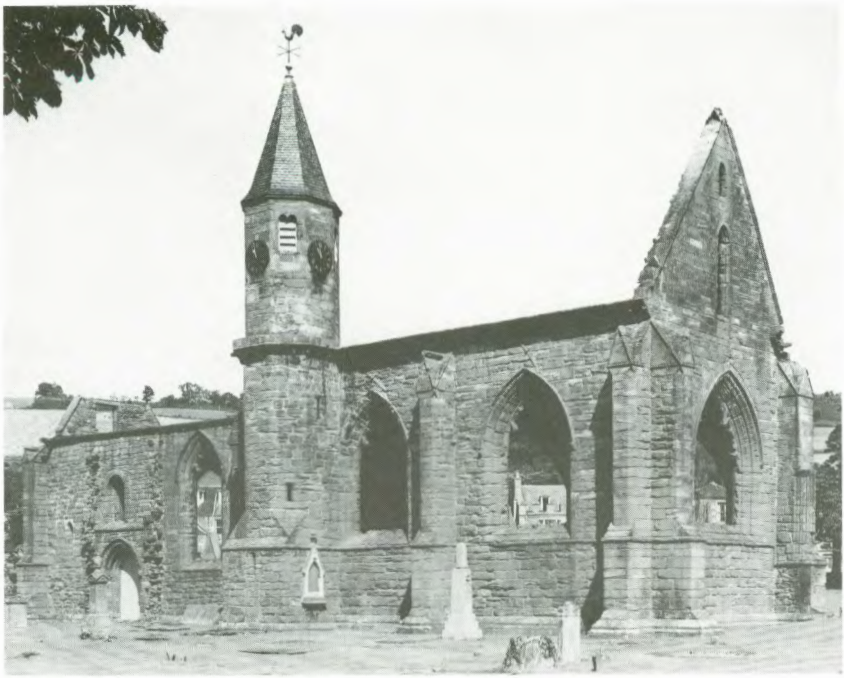

Fig. 8.7 Fortrose Cathedral; nave-aisle from south-east, 1968.

reparavit ecclesiam Nove Farine' and died at Delny on 9 February 1371 (*Hist. MSS Comm.* 1871. 179).

The institutional life of the abbey evidently became divorced from the later MacDonald earls, and building work came to depend more on the efforts of the abbots themselves. Abbot Finlay MacFaid, who died in 1485, was commemorated by a canopied tomb-recess and effigy. His successor, Abbot John, is said to have built St Michael's Aisle, in which the tomb is located, to have founded the dormitory and built the cloisters, as well as adding various church fittings. Secular benefactions after the Reformation led to the reorganization of the eastern end of the church and to the building of monumental chapels, the roof of the Ross Aisle on the north side being of a noteworthy stone-arched construction (NLS Advocates' MS 29.4.2 (xi), ff.225–300 passim, especially 242–50, 252–64, 287–90; MacGill 1909. nos. 97–101, 1029 etc).

What we are looking at today, however, is but a remnant of the former layout, particularly at the western end of the nave which is known to have been some 12.19 m (40 ft) longer; the wallhead is about 4.57 m (15 ft) lower than it was and the claustral buildings have now almost entirely disappeared from view, although in the early nineteenth century they were still traceable for a further 18.29 m (60 ft) southward along the line of St Michael's Aisle and the erstwhile Denoon chapel [Fig. 8.6] (NLS, Advocates' MS 30.5.23, 130a-b and 131; MacGibbon & Ross 1896–97.

II. 542–47). All things considered, the scale and modest quality of the abbey of New Fearn is not an unworthy tribute to the native earls of Ross and to the late medieval abbots.

Another index of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century building activity in this area is provided by the cathedral church of Ross at Chanonry, now Fortrose, whose quality and elegance bespeak handsome funding from its chief patrons, the later earls of Ross. The most obvious feature of the surviving remains is the south nave-aisle which appears to have been part of an amended fourteenth-century design, possibly to provide a setting for the church's main benefactors and dignitaries. This aisle was probably founded by the Countess Euphemia (d. 1394), or her son Alexander, Earl of Ross (d. 1402), but the vaulting which bears the arms of Bishop Bulloch was not completed until at least two decades later (MacGibbon & Ross 1896–97. II. 394–402; Cowan & Easson 1976. 207; Dunbar 1981. 50, 55; see also NLS, Advocates' MS 30.5.23, 133–39 for architectural drawings, mainly of 1815 (including plans by John MacQueen), and Scott 1873).

Bishops of Ross

At least one and possibly two of the three identifiable tombs at Fortrose commemorate later medieval bishops who, with their deans and chapters, were of course major landed proprietors and building patrons in their own right. The south nave-aisle and the chapter-house-cum-sacristy on the north side are all that is left upstanding of their cathedral church, but the outline of the nave and chancel shows that it was indeed a sizeable structure by Scottish Highland standards. An unfortunate programme of destructive quarrying commenced in 1572 with a royal grant to Lord Ruthven of lead from the church 'throw being ... no parroch kirk bot ane monasterie (*sic*) to sustene ydill belleis' (*Reg. Sec. Sig.* VI. (1567–74) no. 1653); pillaging continued with the construction of the Cromwellian citadel in Inverness (NLS Advocates' MS 29.4.2 (xi), f.225).

The bishop's house in Fortrose was apparently another Cromwellian victim. It was described by one of its occupants, Bishop John Lesley, as being in beauty and magnificence (*splendore et magnificentia*) 'inferior to few others with us' (Lesley 1578. 27; see also *OPS*. II. 2. 591–92). Many of the cathedral manses appear to have suffered a similar fate, but some may still survive in modified form, hidden in later housing. What was possibly the manse of the Dean of Rosemarkie, for instance, is approached from Rose Street through an arched pend wrought with a seventeenth-century moulding.

Sites associated with the bishops of Ross outside Fortrose include Craig Castle and Nigg House. Craig Castle stands on the Cullicudden shore of the Cromarty Firth in an area where the bishops and the Urquharts of Cromarty shared the roles of principal landholders. The castle comprises the surviving wing of a well-detailed late sixteenth-century tower which stands in the corner of a stone-walled enclosure; parts of the enclosure may

be of earlier date, but the traditional association with the bishops of Ross may well relate to the use of the site as an occasional episcopal residence in the post-Reformation period (MacGibbon & Ross. III. 465–67; *OPS.* II. 2. 555–56).

The site of Nigg House, on the other hand, does have documented connections with the pre-Reformation bishops and their demesne lands. In the words of the parish minister in the late eighteenth century (*OSA.* XIII. 17):

> Nigg is one of the mensal churches that belonged to the bishoprick of Ross. Behind the church is still to be seen the foundation of a large house above 90 feet in length, which goes under the name of the Bishop's House, though not the place of his constant residence; and the hill ... is, in old charters of the lands of the parish, called the Bishop's Forest. One of the vaults of the house remained entire in the year 1727.

Property transactions of the 1580s refer specifically to 'the manor-place, mansion, orchard, garden, moothill, stanks [fish-ponds] and granary' belonging to the bishop at Nigg (*OPS.* II. 2. 457). The land around the church and house (which bears a 1702 datestone in re-use) has an interesting topography comprising man-made platforms, ditches, hollow-ways and a terraced way, locally called the 'Bishop's Walk', leading down to the foreshore; cropmarks revealed by aerial photography in a nearby field may also relate to the medieval use of the site.

The MacKenzie families

The greatest architectural contribution in Easter Ross in the post-Reformation era was that made by the two main branches of the MacKenzie family and their widely ramified cadets (Macfarlane *Genealogical Coll.* I. 54–102; MacKenzie 1899; Dunlop 1953). Largely through royal service and advantageous marriages in the sixteenth century, the MacKenzies gathered to themselves many of the forfeited possessions of their former superiors, the earls of Ross. By 1600 there were twenty-five landed families of the name, most of them based in Ross-shire, and after 1600 five cadets founded a further sixteen. By 1623 the chief of the senior branch in Easter Ross had acquired the title of Earl of Seaforth, the power and influence of this line reaching its zenith shortly before his death in 1633 (*Scots Peerage.* VII. 495–515). The other main branch reached its peak later in the century in the person of Sir George MacKenzie, later Viscount Tarbat and 1st Earl of Cromartie (d. 1714), whose architectural patronage was quite outstanding (Clough 1977, and this volume).

Eilean Donan Castle was the centre of the family's parent lordship of Kintail on the west coast, acquired by the MacKenzies in 1509 but possibly incorporating remains dating back to the fifteenth century (*OPS.* II. 2. 394; MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. III. 82–85; see also NLS. MS 1648, Z3/26, and Dunbar 1981. 57). Unfortunately MacKenzie Jacobite sympathies led

to the partial destruction of the castle by government naval forces in 1719, but it was lovingly rebuilt by the MacRaes, descendants of former constables of the castle, between 1912 and 1932.

From Kintail the family scenario shifted to the rich and fertile lands around the lower reaches of the Peffery and Conon Rivers, possibly occupying temporarily the island-refuge on Loch Kinellan (Fraser 1916–17; *OPS.* II. 2. 504, 507). The principal residence of the senior branch of the family became Brahan Castle now demolished (*OPS.* II. 2. 521–2; MacGill 1909. no. 340; NMRS photographs and record sheet RCR/3/1; RCAHMS 1979a. no. 251). In its final form Brahan was a substantial pile, but by no means the most prepossessing of mansion houses. Sir George MacKenzie (MacKenzie 1813.68) considered that there was no justification for

> a man ... divesting himself of comfort, and injuring the beauty of the country, by propping up and patching an aukward [*sic*] and ugly mass of building, such as Castle Brahan ... Numerous progenitors of different families which bear the name MacKenzie ... would not be displeased to see an elegant modern mansion inhabited by their chief, although, perhaps, their pride might be a little flattered by the exertions which have been made to keep up the ancient castle.

Whatever its defects, the seventeenth-century nucleus evidently contained some reasonably high quality stone carving, judging by surviving fragments like the ornate strapwork-decorated fireplace lintel now lying outside the former stables-block.

The first eastern seat of the second son of Colin MacKenzie of Kintail, Sir Rorie MacKenzie, founder of the Tarbat branch of the family, was Castle Leod [Figs. 8.8; 8.9] (Fraser 1876, I. xlii; II. 436–37; MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. III. 625–28), built on the lands of Culteleod acquired from his father in 1585. Marriage to a MacLeod heiress in 1605, considerable activity in settling west coast disputes on behalf of King James VI, and his role as Tutor to the Chief of Kintail in the second decade of the seventeenth century were the major aspects of his early career, paving the way to a programme of additions to Castle Leod in 1616 (Fraser 1876. I. xxv–liii). The appearance of this handsome five-storeyed tower is reminiscent of contemporary styles in Aberdeenshire; originally of a stepped L-plan form, it incorporates a commodious scale-and-platt stair in the seventeenth-century addition, and the entrance-doorway is surmounted by a well-detailed but worn three-bay MacKenzie armorial.

The onward and eastward progress of this remarkable branch of the family continued in the seventeenth century, establishing themselves first at Ballone then at Milton, a former Munro possession (see this paper), replaced in turn by the present Tarbat House in 1787. Ballone Castle [Fig. 8.10] (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92, II, 248–51; NMRS record sheet), an elaborately detailed Z-plan tower, stands on the edge of a coastal terrace above the north-eastern shore of the Tarbat peninsula. Described as the 'fortalice of Easter Tarbat', the sixteenth-century tower

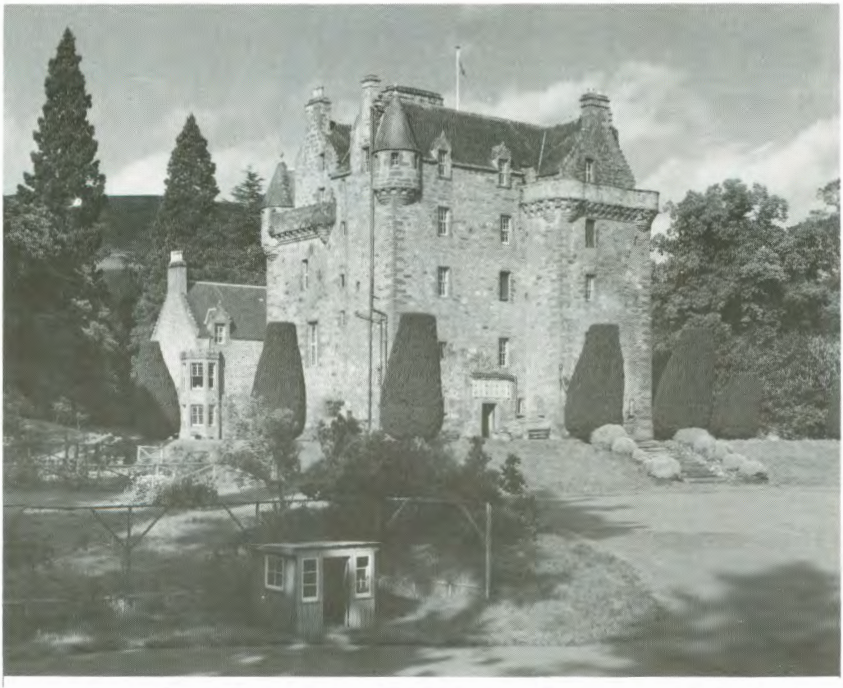

Fig. 8.8 Castle Leod; view from south-west, 1958.

Fig. 8.9 Castle Leod; entrance-doorway and armorial panel, 1958.

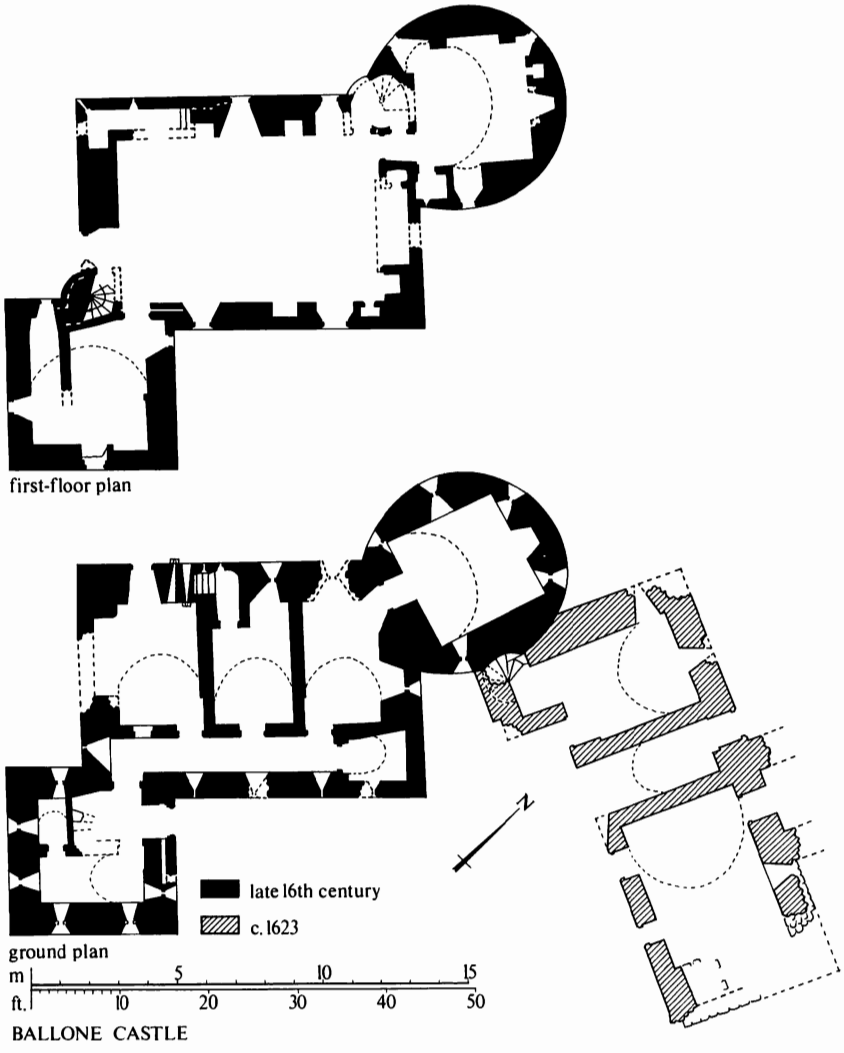

Fig. 8.10 Ballone Castle; plans (see also Fig. 12.4).

first comes on record in the early seventeenth century during the last phase of its possession by the Dunbars of Tarbat. This family had held these lands in *feu ferme* of the earls of Ross in the fifteenth century, and a series of royal confirmations of the lands and fishings was issued in their favour during the reign of James V (*OPS.* II. 2. 443–45). After a brief period in the hands of the Munros of Meikle Tarrel the lands and castle were absorbed in 1623 into the growing empire of Sir Rorie MacKenzie of Coigach, and this part of his purchase thenceforth provided the territorial title for his family (Fraser 1876. II. 427–29).

The tower, which has been well protected by gun-ports of various kinds, comprises ground-floor cellarage and kitchen ranged *en suite* with a service-stair and a relatively spacious newel stair to the first floor in the square south-eastern tower. A sizeable north-eastern range, which now survives merely as a vaulted service basement, was added by the MacKenzies. But they did not reside here for long. Ballone was soon superseded by New Tarbat House at Milton, a property that was purchased in 1656, and tradition avers that Ballone has not been occupied since the later seventeenth century.

Although the building and maintenance of the first Tarbat House has a reasonably well documented history from the 1650s onwards (Fraser 1876. II. 431–35) its actual appearance is known only through a nineteenth-century lithograph of a lost original [Fig. 8.11]. Some impression of a similar but scaled-down version of this house may, however, be gained by viewing Royston House (better known by its later name of Caroline Park) in the northern suburbs of Edinburgh [Fig. 7.3]. This house was built in 1685–87 and extended in 1696. Viscount Tarbat reckoned that, including the additions, the building had cost him upwards of £6,000 sterling, although in attempting to sell it in the early eighteenth century he was evidently prepared to settle for half that price (Fraser 1876. I. 307; II. 451–57; RCAHMS 1929. no. 41).

Viscount Tarbat's building activities extended to the commercial development of the village of Portmahomack, involving the construction of a pier and the erection of a sizeable meal girnal there between 1697 and 1701 (Beaton and Clough, this volume). The girnal's layout and details have been modified by its later use as a drying-shed, but it still retains an original oak roof of coupled collar-rafter construction, secured at the wall-head by stub- and ashlar-pieces (NMRS record sheet RCR/17/1). It is one of the earliest surviving intact roofs in Easter Ross.

Uncorroborated tradition points to the castle of Lochslin as the birthplace of Viscount Tarbat in 1630, and it has been described, rather more plausibly, as the 'cradle' of the MacKenzies of Allangrange (Fraser 1876. I. lxvii–lxviii; Miller 1835. 192) [Fig. 8.12 and annotations]. The castle used to stand close to Loch Eye on the boundary of Tarbat and Tain parishes, taking its title from the older name of the loch. The last upstanding portion fell in the night of 31 January/1 February 1953, but old photographs [Figs. 8.13; 8.14] clearly show that it had a high-level corbelled angle-turret like Ballone and cable-moulded decoration comparable with that at

Fig. 8.11 Tarbat House; from Fraser 1876 (*1*, opp. p. clxxii).

Castle Craig. A sketch-drawing of the building illustrates a building of stepped L-plan form; the kitchen was on the ground floor, and although the position of the stair is not shown nor easily inferred (cf. description in *OSA.* IV. 296–97), the layout appears to be similar to Castle Leod and other MacKenzie residences. However, it is very doubtful whether the MacKenzies actually built this castle. Lochslin came into their possession in 1624, and the first mention of the castle is in a charter of their Vass predecessors in 1590, a date that would correspond much better with the known architectural evidence. The Vasses had been in possession of Lochslin from the fifteenth century down to 1603 when for a second and final time they were declared rebels (MacGill 1909. nos. 204, 410; *OPS.* II. 2. 450–51; Munro 1971).[4]

Their successors at Lochslin were the Munros of Meikle Tarrel and then, briefly, the Cuthberts of Drakies. James Cuthbert of Lochslin, former provost of Inverness, and his wife, Jean Leslie, both of whom died in 1623, are commemorated by mural monuments in the north aisle of Tarbat parish church at Portmahomack [Fig. 8.15]. Sir John MacKenzie of Tarbat, father of the 1st earl of Cromartie, acquired the rights to that aisle in 1634 (Fraser 1876. I. lix).

In addition to Redcastle (above) [Fig. 8.16], the principal local residences of the other branches of the MacKenzies included towers at Fairburn, Kinkell Clarsach and Kilcoy. The lofty mid-sixteenth-century

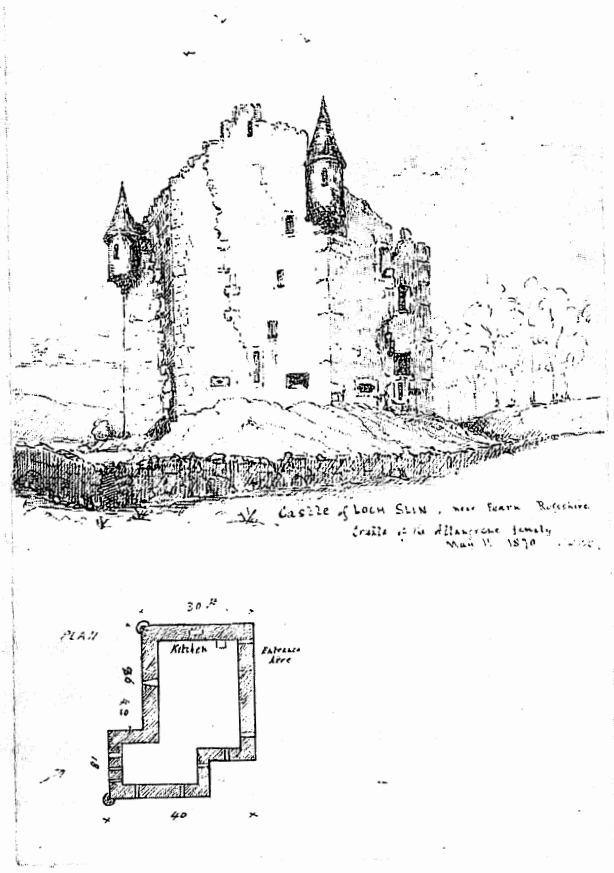

Fig. 8.12 Lochslin Castle; drawing by Sir J. D. MacKenzie, 1870.

Fig. 8.13 Lochslin Castle, *c.*1870.

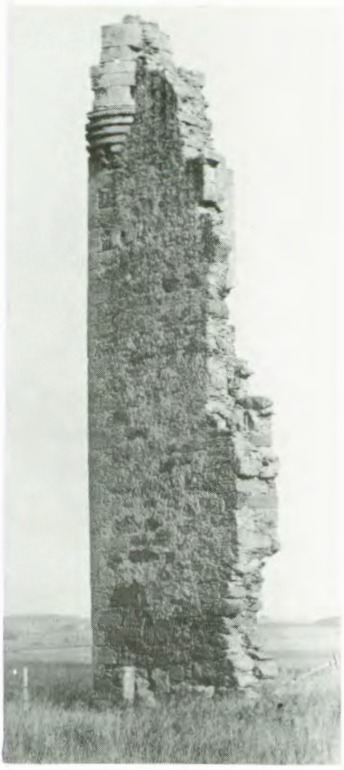

Fig. 8.14 Lochslin Castle, *c.*1950.

tower at Fairburn is most commonly remembered as the subject of two prophecies by the Brahan Seer. Noteworthy features of a more tangible kind consist of an early seventeenth-century stair-tower placed in front of the original first-floor entry, the remains of a single-storeyed and cruck-framed kitchen annexe, and in the east wall a wooden-lintelled window with stone hood-mould above (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. III. 462–65; *OPS*. II. 2. 519–21).

The 'manor place' of Kinkell Clarsach [Fig. 8.17] was built by the MacKenzies of Gairloch in 1594 following their acquisition of the property. It was added to in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, and has been restored in recent times (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. IV. 129–30; NMRS record sheet RCR/4/1; Laing 1974; *OPS*, II. 2. 549–50).

The four-storeyed Z-plan tower of Kilcoy was erected by yet another cadet of the MacKenzies of Kintail in the early seventeenth century (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92. II. 252–56), and incorporates a fine MacKenzie fireplace lintel dated 1679 (MacDonald 1901–02. 702–04;

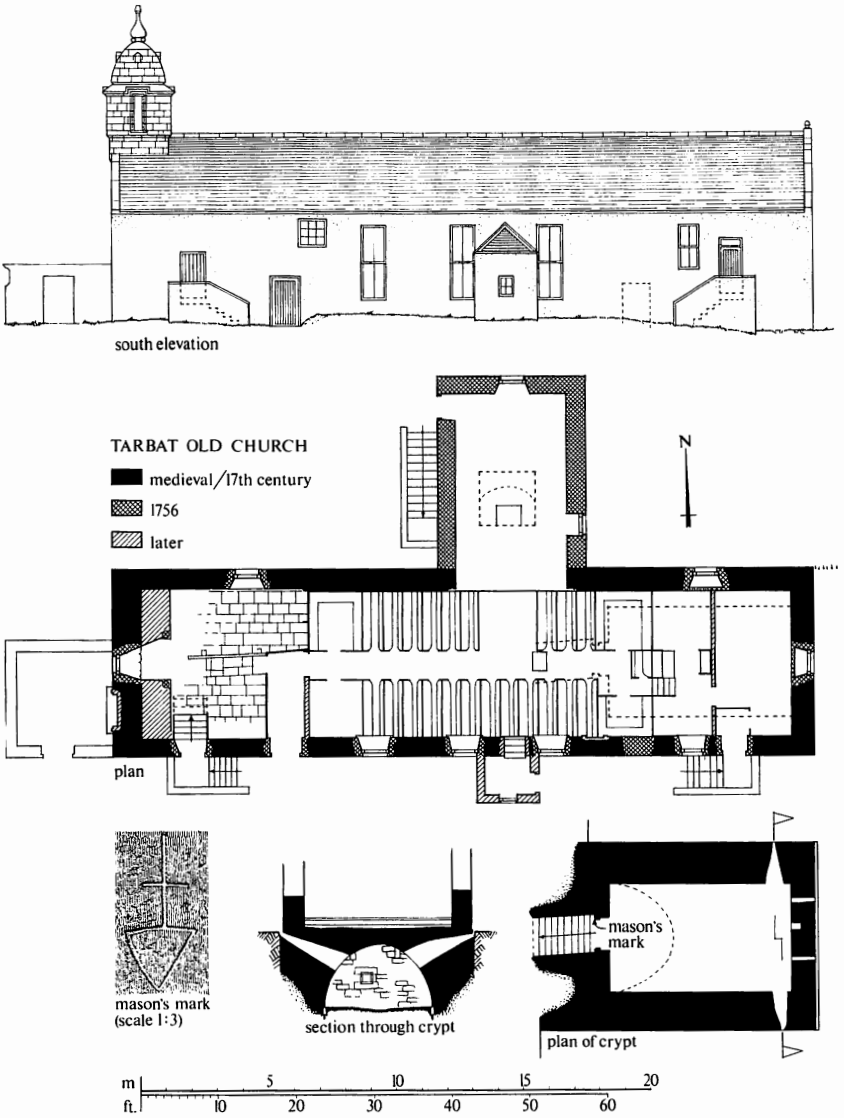

Fig. 8.15 Tarbat Old Church, Portmahomack; survey-drawings.

Fig. 8.16 Redcastle; view from east, 1966.

Fig. 8.17 Kinkell Castle; view from south, 1966.

Fig. 8.18 Balnagown Castle; view from south-west, 1958.

MacGill 1909. no. 859, for details of a forced entry into Kilcoy in 1687). Old photographs (NMRS) show how far the building had reached a ruinous condition prior to its first restoration and extension in 1890.

The Rosses of Balnagown

Prominent among the landed families in the district around Tain were the Rosses of Balnagown, who as descendants of the 4th earl of Ross established a cadet branch here in the fourteenth century and eventually assumed the chiefship of their clan (Reid 1894. 8–11). A late medieval L-plan tower, reconstructed in the seventeenth century, may conceivably be incorporated in the western portion of Balnagown Castle [Fig. 8.18] (Macgill 1909. nos. 483–85, 492 (1763)); the tower house is illustrated in the background of a seventeenth-century child portrait (National Galleries of Scotland 8814), but the existing mansion appears to be very largely of nineteenth-century character. The detailed architectural history of Balnagown has yet to be fully investigated, however, especially for the period before 1711 when the old line of the Rosses died out.

Little Tarrel [Fig. 8.19] (NMRS record sheet RCR/28/1; *OPS.* II. 2. 448–50; Reid 1894. 37–39) in Tarbat parish is a small, recently-restored L-plan house, originally built in the mid sixteenth century by a Ross of

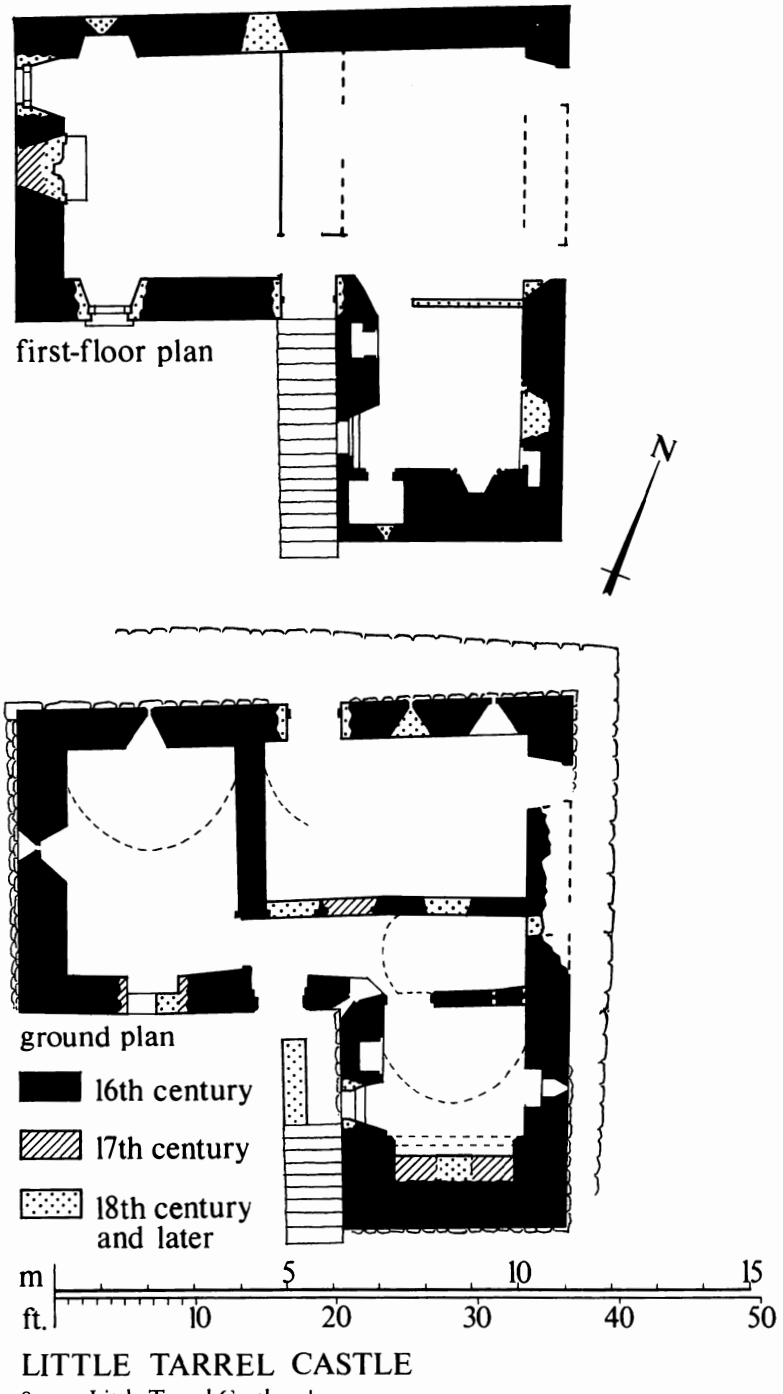

Fig. 8.19 Little Tarrel Castle; plans.

Balnagown cadet. Its builder was Alexander Ross, legitimated son of Walter Ross, 8th of Balnagown, and his wife Elizabeth. An inscription beneath a first-floor window records their initials and date '155–', and a late nineteenth-century source (Reid 1894. 37) assumes that the missing digit is a 9. The house is known to have remained in the possession of succeeding generations of Rosses of Little Tarrel down to 1715. The building was subsequently sub-divided and modified on more than one occasion; an external forestair was introduced and part of the ground floor was set aside for farming purposes, an alteration that involved the removal of a vault and of an internal stair in an area that later collapsed. But much of the original detailing still survives, most notably in the vaulted kitchen and the first-floor chamber above it in the east wing.

The Rosses of Balnagown were also responsible for a portion of the work undertaken at the Denoon family castle at Cadboll. The vaulted interior in the main block of this one-time L-plan tower is of an unusually confused construction and arrangement. It may indeed relate to the episode in 1572–74 when Alexander Ross of Balnagown was ordered to make good 'the doune casting of the battelit towr of Catboll' by building up the vaults again at an estimated cost of 500 merks (MacGill 1909. no. 677; see also *OPS.* II. 2. 441–43).

The Munro families

The Munros have experienced a succession of residences at Foulis since at least the later thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, but the small mount in the garden is unlikely to represent their earliest (motte-castle) home in

Fig. 8.20 Old Parish Church, Alness; view from south-west, 1966.

this neighbourhood (McInnes 1940. no. 5; and cf. Bain 1899.15). It is usually assumed that the present elegant neo-Classical mansion was built *de novo* on a cleared site to replace a burnt-out stone castle. The house and its adjacent ranges bear datestones of 1754, 1777 and 1792, but there are some features that clearly antedate this eighteenth-century building: the plan and details of the northern wing to the rear of the kitchen are probably ascribable to the later seventeenth century; sixteenth- or seventeenth-century architectural fragments are grouped in re-use in the central basement area; and a barrel-vaulted chamber in one of the court-yard buildings appears to be of similar age. Inherited modes of thinking may also account for the eccentric positioning of the stair-tower in relation to the main frontal block, but it remains difficult to gain any visual appreciation of the likely layout and appearance of the mansion's immediate predecessor (NMRS record sheet RCR/21/1).

The Munros of Foulis were principal heritors of the old parish church of Kiltearn, and the central loft and retiring rooms in the wing of this T-plan building reflect their patronage in the later eighteenth century. But

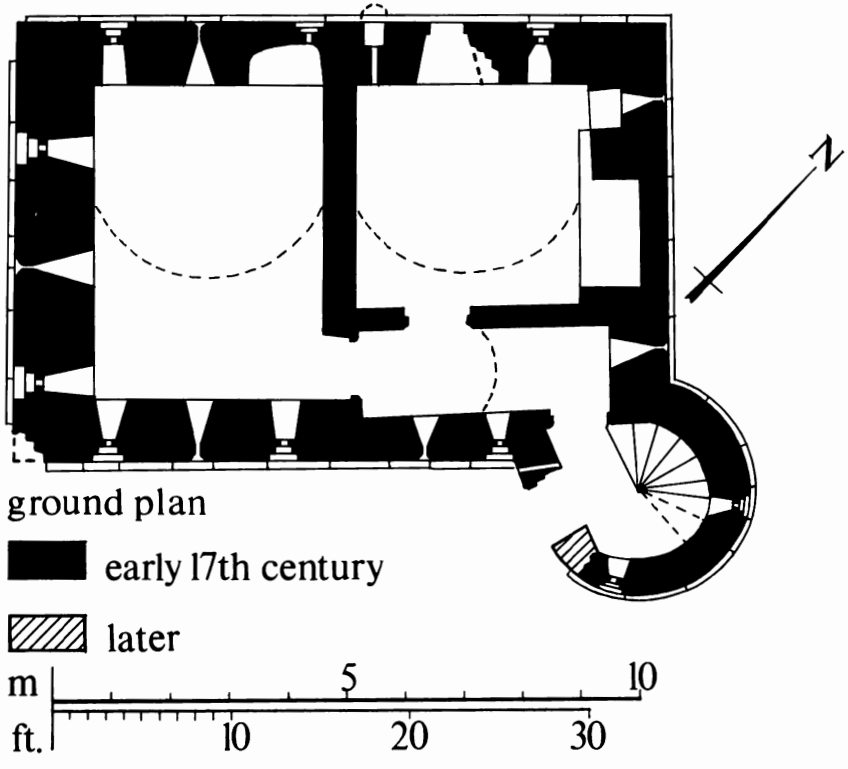

Fig. 8.21 Newmore Castle; ground plan.

Kiltearn is built around a much older structure. At the east end there are clasping angle-buttresses and the remains of a hood-moulded window, survivals from the church's late medieval predecessor (Hay 1957. 89; NMRS record sheet RCR/6/1).

Another former parish church in Munro territory, that of Alness [Fig. 8.20], likewise reflects the influence of the Munros of Novar. It has a 1672 Novar Aisle together with a later extension to the north and a burial-enclosure of 1671 to the east. Datestones commemorate the fact that the main body of the church in its existing form dates from 1625 and was renovated in 1775. However, its basic rectangular plan and orientation suggest a medieval origin, and on the inner face of the north-east wall there is a blocked-up arched opening, in all likelihood a medieval tomb-recess (NMRS record sheet RCR/1/1).

Newmore [Fig. 8.21] is virtually the only early house of the Munros that has remained intact, but only just. It survives as an ivy-clad ruin, now reduced to a single storey. By 1543 the lands of Newmore were being held in *feu ferme* by descendants of the Munros of Milton, and the first reference to a house of Newmore occurs in 1560 (Munro 1980). What survives, however, appears to be of later sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century date, but probably not as late as 1625, the date commemorated on a lost datestone that is said to have come from this site (RCAHMS 1979a. no. 262, and ref. cited). The internal arrangements comprise

Fig. 8.22 Burial vault, Rosskeen churchyard; view from south-west, 1966.

vaulted ground-floor cellarage and kitchens linked by a corridor, and a newel stair in an extruded stair-turret gives access to what was formerly a first-floor hall. The entrance is rebated to receive an inner-wrought-iron yett, and is further protected by a small battery of redented gun-ports (NMRS record sheet).

The Munros of Newmore and Culrain were intimately associated with the parish of Rosskeen and east of the derelict parish church of 1832, but possibly close to the site of the medieval church, there is a seventeenth-century burial vault [Fig. 8.22]; a burial enclosure dated 1675 lies to the east. The mortuary chapel, restored in 1908, is a neat and well-detailed little building whose construction has been ascribed to 1664 on the questionable grounds that a casual payment was made to masons working here in that year (MacGill 1909, no. 531; NMRS record sheet RCR/7/1).

The castle of the Munros of Milton was built only with great difficulty in the face of stiff opposition from the neighbouring Rosses of Balnagown (above). It was then superseded by the more grandiose works of the MacKenzies and no visible remains of the Munro castle now survive (Fraser 1876. II. 429–31, 432; RCAHMS 1979a. no. 261).[5] This branch of the Munros was probably responsible, however, for the eye-catching turreted burial-aisle at the eastern end of Kilmuir Easter Church which is dated 1616 in the differently constructed upperworks. Given that the church occupies a position close to the shore facing the narrows of the Cromarty Firth, the tower could have been used, possibly even designed, as a sea-mark.

Meikle Daan [Fig. 8.23] in the uplands of Edderton parish is a later house of the Munros of Foulis, standing on property acquired from the Rosses of Balnagown (McInnes 1940. no. 72, 123, 129 and passim). This two-storeyed house, which is associated with a walled enclosure and ruinous outbuildings, appears at first glance to be of conventional eighteenth-century appearance. Closer examination reveals an asymmetrical three-bay frontage, and a rear projection contains part of an old stair. The door-lintel is inscribed with the initials A.M., M.F. and the date 1680; the same initials and date are on an elaborately sculptured fireplace lintel which came from Daan and is now in Balnagown Castle (*NSA*. XIV. 449; MacRae 1910–11. 398–400). Alexander Munro, a minister of Edderton, and his wife, Margaret Forrester, are the persons in question, Alexander being son of Hector Munro, who acquired Daan, and his wife, Euphemia Ross. However, a house at Daan first comes on record in 1592 (Forbes 1892, xxviii; *Inverness Scientific Trans*. 1918–25. 151) and some of the remains on this site may antedate the Munro connection.

Similar problems of analysis surround the origins and building histories of two other lesser Munro houses, Ardullie Lodge and Fyrish, both of which incorporate displaced datestones from the latter half of the seventeenth century. Both appear to belong substantially to the eighteenth century, but there is reason to believe that the (?T-plan) nucleus of Ardullie Lodge could correspond with either of the surviving 1669 or 1688 datestones.

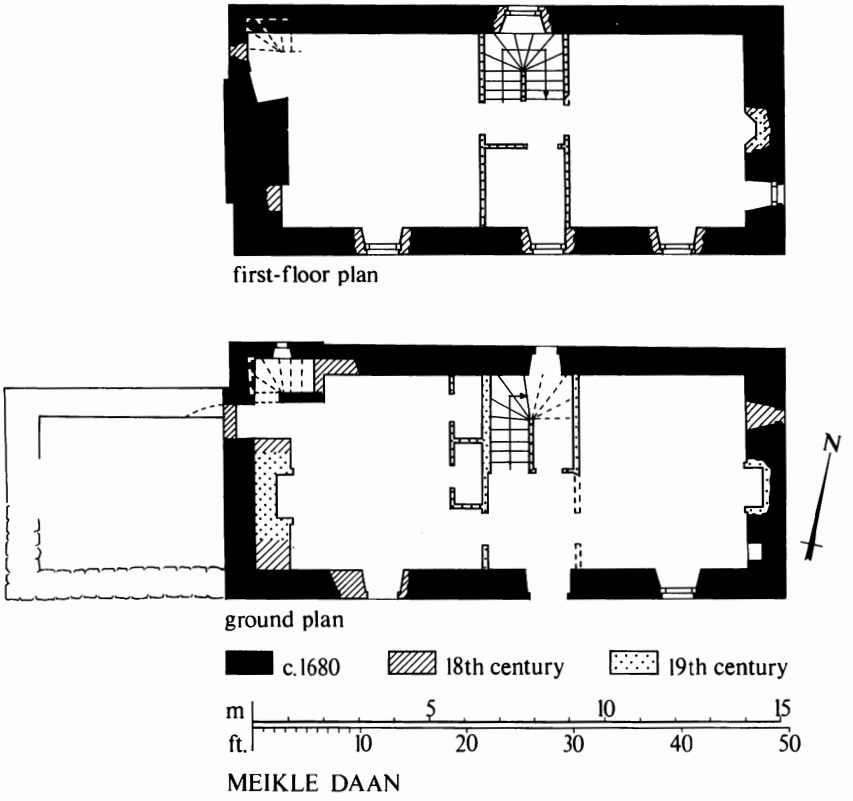

Fig. 8.23 Meikle Daan; plans.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

In some areas such as Tarbat parish a relatively dense pattern of sites and monuments commands attention collectively as a group, not just in terms of their individual family backgrounds. In the late eighteenth century it was reported that this parish 'produces much more corn than is sufficient for the support of its inhabitants' (*OSA.* VI. 422), and Tarbat has always had particular importance as a centre of seaborne communications and fishing. There were about nine sub-medieval lordships in Tarbat parish before Fearn was detached in 1628; some (e.g. Meikle Allan, Little Allan, Meikle Tarrel, Arboll, Easter Ard) had a complex divided pattern of ownership and few of these relate to any surviving remains. The castles appear to correspond with unitary or undivided properties such as Cadboll, Easter Tarbat, Little Tarrel and Lochslin (*OPS.* II. 2. 441–53; Macfarlane *Geographical Coll.* I. 215).

The patronage of this relatively numerous group of local lairds and seafaring communities found common expression in the fabric of the local

parish church of Tarbat at Portmahomack which was dedicated to St Colman (above) [Fig. 8.15]. Although partly rebuilt in 1756 and now mostly remembered for its exotic pyramidal belfry, the main block of this T-plan church retains its medieval east–west orientation, and underneath the eastern end of the church is a vaulted crypt, first described in the early eighteenth century (Macfarlane *Geographical Coll.* I. 215). The numerous early cross-slabs and symbol stones that have come to light around this churchyard clearly testify to the long-established importance of the site (e.g. Allen and Anderson 1903. III. 73–75, 88–95; Higgitt 1982). Apart from the chapel at Hilton of Cadboll (RCAHMS 1979a. no. 224), however, there are now few visible remains to mark the comparatively large number of sacred sites, about eight altogether, that lay in the outlying areas of the parish in the Middle Ages (Macfarlane *Geographical Coll.* I. 215; RCAHMS 1979a. nos 208, 210, 224, 227, 243–45).

With the exception of a few survivors in Fortrose (and possibly Rosemarkie), there are now no readily identifiable burgh houses of seventeenth century or earlier date in Easter Ross. The building known as 'The Ark' in Tain was alleged to have accommodated the Marquis of Montrose on his last journey in 1650, but pictures of the building taken before its demolition in 1940 would seem to indicate that the house dated from the first half of the eighteenth century (Munro 1966. 61 and n; photographs in NMRS). Corporate civic patronage in Dingwall and Tain is, however, clearly reflected in the architecture of their tolbooths which formerly housed their municipal offices, courts and prisons. Dingwall Tolbooth is a symmetrical two-storeyed horizontal block with a centrally-placed tower and forestair; it is of seventeenth-century origin, but was substantially remodelled in 1732–33, altered in 1782 and its gaol was finally declared unfit to receive criminal prisoners in 1830 (Stell 1981. 450 and refs cited). Tain possesses a renowned tolbooth which has a dominant and strong-looking tower topped with a conical spire and angle bartizans. Despite its archaic appearance and the claim that it is one of the earliest surviving tolbooths, this building was in fact erected mainly between 1706 and 1708 and was not finally completed until 1733. It incorporates a bell (dated 1630) and an inscribed fragment of 1631, both of which were inherited from its predecessor which was demolished after serious storm damage in 1703 (Munro 1966. 74, and n; Stell 1981. 453 and refs cited). The conservative style of the existing early eighteenth-century structure does, however, serve as a final and splendid testament to the fine tower-building and masoncraft traditions prevalent in Easter Ross during the preceeding three centuries.

But beyond the more impersonal aspects of style, quality and function, architectural history provides a looking-glass through which we ought to see reflected, however imperfectly, the social life of earlier times. It is the medieval and later inhabitants of Easter Ross that we observe through the medium of their buildings, although our view is perforce distorted and restricted mainly to the architecture of landownership. As in many other parts of Scotland, we have not yet learnt to identify clearly the buildings

associated with the medieval peasant-farmer, the urban 'indweller' and those below them in the social hierarchy. There are also aspects of human behaviour and the quality of life-style to which the architectural evidence can serve only as a limited or uncertain guide. As Sir George MacKenzie remarked of the lesser gentry houses of Ross-shire in the later Georgian period, whatever the merits or defects of their architecture, 'there are many mansions, where uncontrouled hospitality reigns, and in which an abundance of comfort, though not much elegance, is to be found' (MacKenzie 1813. 73).

Notes

[1] The term Easter Ross is defined here in its widest geographical sense, corresponding to the area dealt with by Mowat (Mowat 1981. 1–2, 166n. 1, map on 240), but comprehending also the parishes of Edderton and Kincardine. The Act of Union in 1707 has been chosen as a terminal date purely as a matter of convenience.

[2] On the question of law and order Hugh Miller (Miller 1835. 350) reported on 'the change which began to take place in the northern counties about the year 1730, when the law of Edinburgh, as it was termed by a Strathcarron freebooter, arrived at the ancient burgh of Tain, and took up its seat there, much to the terror and annoyance of the neighbouring districts'.

[3] In *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1742. XII. 545) it was reported that on Sunday 10 October 'In the time of Worship the Roof of the Church of Fearn in Ross-shire, Scotland, fell suddenly in, and 60 People were killed, besides the wounded. The Gentry whose seats were in the Niches, and the Preacher falling under the Sounding board, were preserved'. NLS. Adv. MS 29.4.2(xi), f.263r, states that 17 were killed on the spot, but others (number unspecified) died later.

[4] One of the earliest recorded members of this branch of the family appeared in 1457 and was brother of Robert Vass of Barnbarroch, an estate in Wigtownshire situated a short distance from Whithorn. The link with the south-west emerged again in 1554 when Mr Patrick Vass, parson of Wigtown and later laird of Barnbarroch, received a royal grant of the marriage of the three daughters of John Vass of Lochslin and of any other heirs likely to succeed to Lochslin and Newton (Reid. R. C. ed. *Wigtownshire Charters*. Scottish History Society, 3rd ser. 1960. LI. 166, no. 144 and note; see also Munro 1971). The Vasses of Lochslin also seem to have enjoyed kinship with a merchant-burgess family of the name in Inverness.

[5] In the course of altering Tarbat House in 1728 George, 3rd Earl of Cromartie reportedly issued instructions to 'throw down that part of it called Monro's Old Work, being two sides and one gable, to clear and rid the foundation, and then to build up and erect the walls and gable, being the wester mid-gable of the house, to the same height and thickness as before . . .' (Fraser 1876. II. 432, citing Cromartie Papers. I. no. 64).

Site References

Alness Old Church	NH 644690
Ardullie Lodge	NH 586623
Ballone Castle	NH 928837
Balnagown Castle	NH 762752
Brahan Castle	NH 511545
Cadboll Castle	NH 878776
Caroline Park, Edinburgh, *see* Royston House	
Castle Leod	NH 486593
Craig Castle	NH 631638

Cromarty Castle (Site)	NH 792671
Daan, *see* Meikle Daan	
'David's Fort'	NH 539533
Delny (Site)	NH 734723
Dingwall Castle	NH 553590
Dingwall Tolbooth	NH 549587
Dunscaith Castle	NH 807689
Eilean Donan Castle	NG 881258
Fairburn Tower	NH 469524
Fearn Abbey, *see* New Fearn Abbey	
Fortrose, Bishop's House (Site)	NH 56 72
Fortrose Cathedral	NH 565727
Foulis Castle	NH 589641
Fyrish House	NH 618690
Hilton of Cadboll Chapel	NH 873768
Kilcoy Castle	NH 576512
Kilmuir Easter Church	NH 758732
Kiltearn Old Church	NH 616652
Kilchrist Old Church	NH 539492
'King's Causeway'	NH 764764–NH 770789
Kinkell Castle	NH 554544
Little Tarrel Castle	NH 910819
Lochslin Castle	NH 849806
Meikle Daan	NH 689845
Milton Castle (Site)	NH 772737
New Fearn Abbey	NH 837772
Newmore Castle	NH 680719
New Tarbat House (Site)	*c.* NH 772737
Nigg, Bishop's House	NH 804717
Ormond Castle	NH 696536
Portmahomack, girnal	NH 915846
Redcastle	NH 583495
Rosskeen, burial vault	NH 688692
Royston House, Edinburgh	NT 226773
Tain, 'The Ark' (Site)	NH 77 82
Tain Chapel	NH 785822
Tain Collegiate Church	NH 780822
Tain Tolbooth	NH 780821
Tarbat Old Church	NH 914840
Tulloch Castle	NH 547603

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