III.

THE ROYAL CASTLE OF KINDROCHIT IN MAR.  BY W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.ScOT.

The scanty remains of the great Aberdeenshire Castle of Kindrochit occupy a very strong position on the right bank of the Cluny Water, a short distance from its confluence with the Dee, and immediately above the bridge which connects the two portions (Auchendryne and Castleton) of the village of Braemar. In no place are the walls more than 10 feet high, and for the greater part they are reduced to mere foundations. These fragments are much overgrown with grass and moss, and the whole site is obscured by larch and rowan trees, scrubby undergrowth and luxuriant nettles, amidst which the hard, metamorphic bedrock here and there crops out in rounded, ice-worn bosses. A road on the east side, and various erections connected with the adjoining farm, encroach upon the precincts. Also a considerable amount of refuse has been dumped upon the site, so that what remains of the castle is now "a desolation of rubbish and weeds." But by a careful examination of the existing masonry, and of the green mounds with protruding stones which mark buried courses of wall, it is possible to recover a fairly accurate ground plan (fig. 1), although a completely satisfactory survey would entail extensive excavation.

The chief feature of this castle appears to have been a great master-tower or keep (fig. 2), measuring 64 feet by 43 feet over the walls, which are 10 feet thick. This keep is set with its main axis north and south. A partition 3 feet thick divides its basement into apartments measuring 7 feet by 23 feet and 33 feet by 23 feet respectively. Probably the small northern chamber was the prison. In the north wall of the keep, near its west end, a vertical garderobe flue is exposed in the thickness of the

Fig. 2. Kindrochit Castle: E. and N. walls of Keep, looking N.W. The garderobe flue in the N. wall is covered by logs.
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wall. It measures 4 feet by 1 foot 10 inches, and is 5 feet deep to the top of the rubbish by which it is choked. My friend Dr William Kelly, who made an examination of the castle in July 1908, tells me that he explored this flue, and found that it turned westward as if to find an outlet towards the Cluny. In the third edition of Mr Alexander I. McConnochie's Guide Book to Deeside, mention is made of the discovery in this tower of a spiral stair. On that occasion two steps were found, one of which was subsequently stolen, while the other is still preserved in the garden of Rowan Cottage, hard by the castle (fig. 3). This step is in Kildrummy freestone, and measures 3 feet 1 inch in length exclusive of the newel, 5 inches in diameter, which is one quarter engaged with the step. At its narrowest part, at the newel, the step is 5 inches broad; at the opposite end the breadth is 1 foot. The height of the step is 8 inches. Marks of the chisel are still very distinct. No trace now remains in the tower of this stair, but Miss Clark, Rowan Cottage, pointed out to me the exact place at the southeast angle, and it has accordingly been shown on plan.¹

This great keep occupies the south-west corner of a large courtyard, surrounded by strong walls of enceinte, 9 feet thick, and connected with a range of apartments along the opposite side from the keep. Of this enceinte the west curtain, parallel with the main axis of the keep, springs from a point about the middle of its north face; while the south curtain continues the corresponding wall of the keep. The latter thus projects only from the west front of the enceinte, and encroaches upon the courtyard within, which appears to have measured about 103 feet in length (north and south) by 34 feet in greatest breadth (east and west). In the west curtain, close to and covered by the projecting keep, are the remains of a postern or water-gate, leading out to the steep slope down to the Cluny. The north jamb remains, showing that the passage had narrowed outwardly. On this side also a projecting screen wall, with the shoulder of the keep on the other side, canalised the passage into a long, narrow trance.

The west curtain beyond the postern, and the whole north curtain

¹ See McConnochie's Deeside, 3rd ed. (1900), pp. 196-7.
except a small length at its east end, are now reduced to grass-grown, stony mounds—although the base course of the west wall is exposed at intervals, allowing it to be accurately set out in the plan. The east enclosing wall is better preserved, and may be traced in masonry from the north-east angle southwards for some 80 feet. Beyond this it is represented by a mound engaging with the south curtain, which also is reduced to a mere mound prolonging the south wall of the keep. A small fragment of masonry in situ remains at the south-east angle. Though of the same thickness as the others, the east wall of the courtyard was not a curtain, for the remains of some apartments exist along its outer face. At 34 feet from the north-east angle a small fragment of partition wall is preserved. About 25 feet beyond this are the much destroyed remains of another wall, connected with which is a mass of ruinous masonry, exhibiting some traces of the rebate of a door opening towards the east, with a bar-hole measuring 1 foot 3 inches in height and 6 inches broad, and extending back about 5 feet into the wall. The confusion here is so great that it is not certain whether this masonry is really in situ.
At 11 feet north of the first partition, and 2 feet above the present ground level here, a curious hole (see plan, fig. 1, and fig. 4) exists in the east face of the courtyard wall. On the outside it is partly ruined, but has apparently been about 1 foot 5 inches square. Towards the courtyard it widens rapidly, and is roofed with flat slabs. Its aperture to the courtyard, if such existed, is choked with débris. At 2 feet 9 inches in there occur lateral recesses, 2 feet 9 inches broad, of which that on the north measures 1 foot 7 inches in greatest depth, while the other one is 9 inches in greatest depth. The roof of these recesses, with that of the passage between, is stepped up 1 foot 9 inches above the rest of the passage, which elsewhere is about 2 feet high. It is difficult to conceive what purpose this vent may have served. There is a vertical facing in the ruined courtyard wall to the south (see plan, fig. 1), apparently the cheek of a bar-hole, but it is above the level of the vent.

The masonry of the castle is exceedingly stout. A hearting of stones of all sizes, grouted in run lime, is cased by large undressed "heathens" or surface boulders, some of which are 2 feet or more in diameter. In some places the fallen masonry lies in great masses, in which stone and lime cohere as firmly as ever. The style of the work is typical of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century castles in Aberdeenshire, marked by the very free use of mortar in filling the interstices between the large irregular stones. Small flat pinnings inserted horizontally, which are so characteristic a feature in sixteenth-century work, are here totally absent.

Obscure foundations, not easily distinguished from the remains of comparatively modern structures, suggest that the buildings of the castle have been continued south of those described. A wall may still be traced, running south for some 51 feet from the south-west angle of the great tower. It seems to terminate in an oblong structure with an apsidal south end, measuring about 33 feet by 17 feet over the walls (see fig. 5).
This structure, which may have formed an angle tower of a southern courtyard, is now traceable only by prominent grassy mounds.

Strong in themselves as the castle buildings have clearly been, they occupy a position of very great natural strength (fig. 5). Westward the ground slopes rapidly from the walls to the deep and picturesque rocky gorge through which the foaming Cluny hurries impetuously to the Dee. On the east front the site of the castle is now bounded by a road leading to a farm. Beyond the road a small strip of rough wooded ground contains a mill-lade, which is taken off the Cluny about 200 yards above the castle, and joins it again below the bridge. Opposite the castle the lade is about 30 yards from the nearest part of the ruins. There can be little doubt that this lade is an ancient feature which, in addition to supplying the castle mill, had played its part in the defensive arrangements. Abreast of the castle it is partly rock-cut, a vertical stone face, now about 4 feet high, probably scarped, occurring at a distance of about 7 yards from the left bank of the lade. No doubt the castle buildings were carried right to the edge of this scarp, but have been obliterated by the construction of the farm-road. I am assured locally that foundations have on several occasions been unearthed both beneath the road and in the wood beyond it. Thus the lade would have answered the purpose of a moat, and doubtless the isolation of the castle area was completed by transverse ditches north and south. The northern ditch must have been obliterated by the construction of the modern road and bridge over the Cluny; but a stone-built conduit, running northward, exists beneath the floor of Rowan Cottage, and doubtless drained into this ditch. Some traces of the southern ditch seem yet to exist in the rapid falling of the ground beyond the apsidal building south of the keep.

At Invercauld House there is preserved a remarkable old map, on a large scale and carefully painted by hand, of Auchendryne and Castleton. Through the kind permission of Colonel Alexander H. Farquharson of Invercauld, I have been privileged to copy the portion which includes Kindrochit (fig. 6). It gives a very interesting representation of the castle ruins, which are shown as existing to a considerable height. The mill-lade is clearly apparent, and also the old bridge across the Cluny, opposite the castle, and so several yards above the present structure. Doubtless the postern on the west side of the

1 My attention was first directed to the significance of the lade by Dr Kelly.
2 In 1732 the bridge over the Cluny was of timber—Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 641. Rev. Charles Cordiner, in his Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland (1780), p. 22, has the following note, which clearly refers to Kindrochit: "A little way above the Castle of Brae-Mar there is a square tower upon the top of a rock; the rock on three sides is washed by the cascades of a rivulet, which falls into the Dee. The building is
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Castle was for giving convenient access to the bridge. Colonel Farquharson informs me that the date of this map is about 1775. I do not doubt that the representation of the castle is meant to give an approximate idea of the appearance of the ruins at that date, if only because the same map gives a very neat and exact little drawing of the more modern Castle of Braemar. Incidentally, the map affords us an interesting picture of Castleton in the eighteenth century, with its hand-

![Map of Castleton of Braemar, circa 1775](image)

Fig. 6. Castleton of Braemar, circa 1775.

ful of cottar houses and small gardens, and one larger building, probably the “hoodhouse” or inn, or perhaps the “Courthous,” shown on a rough sketch map of 1735, preserved among the Invercauld Papers. Two mills, one a waulk mill, are indicated in connection with the lade.

In the absence of architectural detail, it is not easy to form an

greatly demolished, but is said to have been a fortress and hunting-seat, at times the residence of the Kings of Scotland. Over the rivulet there is a good stone bridge of one arch, having a machine placed on the side for breaking the ice in winter, that the people may be the more readily supplied with water.” Cf. the same writer’s Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain (1785), vol. i., article “Braemar Castle,” last paragraph.

opinion as to the date of the castle. The uniform thickness and construc-
tion of the walls suggest strongly that the whole of the remains now
existing belong to one period and straightforward effort of building.
The plan, with its great donjon and barmekin wall, does not indicate
a castle belonging to the first period of Scottish military architecture
in stone and lime—the thirteenth century, or period of courtyard
castles with high and thick screen walls and flanking towers. So far
as it is preserved, the plan rather suggests the type of castle erected
after the War of Independence, when square tower-houses with appended
courtyards came into vogue. At the same time, the simplicity of the
structure, the great thickness of its walls, and above all the style of
masonry, indicate a date comparatively early within this period. Gen-
erally, the castle recalls the greater strongholds of the fourteenth century,
such as Threave, Dundonald, or Torthorwald.1 With such a conclusion
the ascertained history of the castle fully agrees.

The Castle of Kindrochit occupied a position of much strategic
importance in the Middle Ages (fig. 7). In those days, one of the great
routes across the Mounth ascended Glen Clova and Glendoll and the
"ladder" at Jock's Road, and, passing the col at Tolmount, came down
on Deeside by Glen Callater and the east side of Glen Cluny. Another
and also much frequented route ascended the Mounth via the Spital of
Glenshee and Glenbeg, crossed the ridge by the Cairnwell Road, and
reached the Dee valley down the west side of Glen Cluny.2 At Kindrochit
a bridge over the Cluny connected these two roads; and the importance
of the castle, as its name (Ceann-Drochaid) attests, was strictly that of
a bridge-head (fig. 8). These great routes across the Mounth from the
south were carried northwards from Kindrochit by "a passage on the
river Dee, by boate, at Casteltoune in the Brae of Mar."3 This ferry
is mentioned as far back as 2nd December 1564, in the charter conveying
the lands of Braemar and Strathdee to the Earl of Moray—croftam vulgo
lie Cowbill Croft cum cymba lie cowbill de Casteltoun assedata pro trans-
portatione colonorum patricie extra aquam de Dee.4

1 In general dispositions Kindrochit closely resembles Torthorwald. See the plan in Ancient
2 The present road from the Cairnwell to Braemar keeps to the right bank of the Cluny,
joining the Tolmount Road at the confluence of the Callater; but in ancient times the road
seems to have crossed to the left bank of the Cluny, about the spot where Fraser's bridge was
erected in 1780 in connection with the military road from Blairgowrie to Fort George. See
G. M. Fraser, The Old Deeside Road, p. 90, footnote; also p. 210.
3 Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 77. In the sketch map of 1735 in
the Invercauld Papers the ferry, and the "Boatman's hous" on the north bank of the Dee, are
shown just below the mouth of the Cluny, with the comment: "Publict Ferry, and non other
fitt place in the parish."
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The Mounth passes have been in use from time immemorial, and it is therefore not surprising that tradition carries the origin of Kindrochit Castle back to a remote antiquity. Legend indeed asserts that both the bridge and the castle were erected by Malcolm Canmore; and the tradition is entitled to credence, since it has a pedigree which carries it far beyond these days of shifting population, tourists' handbooks, and

Fig. 7. Kindrochit Castle: Strategic Map.

history made to order. Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran, in his "Description of Aberdeenshire," written in 1716–17, states that "after Malcom Cann Mor threw a bridge across the Cluny, it was called Ceann-drochit." And Alexander Keith, author of a View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, in 1732, speaks of "the King's Castle of Kindrocht, in Castletown, now ruinous: said to have been built by King Malcolm III., and to have been inhabited

1 Braemar, by the Hon. Stuart Erskine, p. 4. This note upon Kindrochit does not appear in the "Description" as printed in Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, ed. J. Robertson, pp. 31–59. Several MSS. are known to have existed (see Preface, p. x.).
Fig. 8. View of Braemar from Glen Chiem. The old road to the Cairnwells is seen in front; the old road to the foothills is visible on the opposite bank of the Cluny. In the distance are the granite tors of Dn a' Bhuin, "with a hard mist upon his snow's head."

Photo W. Brierly.
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(as well as Kildrummy) by the Earls of Mar of the Royal family”—i.e. the Stewart Earls of Mar in the fifteenth century. The same author also enumerates our castle among nine royal strongholds in the diocese, namely, one at each royal burgh (Aberdeen, Kintore, Inverurie, Banff, Cullen), and Kildrummy, Dunnideer, Hallforest, and Kindrochit. A still more interesting notice is by the “Water Poet,” John Taylor, who, in the remarkable account which he has given to posterity of his visit to the “Brea of Marr” in 1618, has the following notice of Kindrochit. “I saw the ruins of an old castle, called the castle of Kindroghit. It was built by King Malcolm Canmore (for a hunting house), who reigned in Scotland when Edward the Confessor, Harold, and Norman William reigned in England: I speake of it, because it was the last house I saw in those parts; for I was the space of twelve days after, before I saw either house, corne-field, or habitation for any creature but deere, wilde horses, wolves, and such like creatures, which made mee doubt that I should never have seene a house againe.” The tremendous scenery of Braemar had indeed made a powerful impression upon this Londoner. It “is a large country,” he tells us, “all composed of such mountaines that Shooter's hill, Gads hill, Highgate hill, Hampsted hill, Birdlip hill, or Malvernes hill are but mole-hills in comparison, or like a liver, or a gizard under a capons wing, in respect of the altitude of their tops or perpendicularitie of their bottomes. There I saw Mount Benawne”—Ben Avon—“with a furr'd mist upon his snowie head instead of a night cap; for you must understand that the oldest man alive never saw but the snow was on the top of divers of those hills, both in summer as well as in winter.”

As the poet tells us that he visited the ruins with “my good Lord of Marr,” he must have obtained his information from the Earl himself; and we may thus infer that the tradition of Canmore's connection with Kindrochit was current at the opening of the seventeenth century in the family who owned the castle. In the face of these circumstances it is hardly possible to doubt that Malcolm Canmore did actually erect a bridge and place of strength here; though it is equally certain that no portion of the present ruins dates back to anything like so remote a period. King Malcolm was at least twice in the valley of the Dee: in 1057, when he slew Macbeth at Lumphanan, and in 1078, when he again visited the north on the same task of curbing the unruly half-Norse independence of Moravia, which was to give such trouble to all the Scottish Kings until, early in the thirteenth century, the vigorous measures of Alexander II. brought this remote province conclusively

1 Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 643-70.
2 See P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, pp. 120-3.
under Anglo-Norman influence. It is more than probable that the bridge and castle on the Cluny, like other castles which afterwards sentinelled the passes over the Mounth, were erected by King Malcolm in connection with his operations against Moravia, and the need for securing communications with the more settled districts to the south.

The traditionary account of the origin of Kindrochit Castle is set forth in great fulness by the author of an interesting "Memorial Concerning a Cross Road from Inverlochy, by Ruthven of Badenoch, and Through Braemar to Aberdeen," written some time between the conclusion of General Wade’s road-making activities in 1737 and the outbreak of the "Forty Five."¹

"After the total overthrow and extinction of the Pictish Nation, and the repeated expulsion of the Danes, there was nothing next to their almost perpetual Wars with England that gave such disturbance to the Scotch Kings as the frequent Commotions and Insurrections of the Turbulent Highlanders and Borderers, to suppress which they were necessitate to make frequent Expeditions in person, which sometimes proved fatal to those Princes, and very often fruitless, after considerable loss and charges, which did always terminate in the Utter devastation of the most of the Neighbouring Countries, the possession by their Majesty’s most loyal and peaceable Subjects.

"It was for this reason that Malcolm the 3rd, King of Scots, one of the wisest of their Princes, did build a Strong Castle in the Brae of Mar, in the very center of the Grampians, call’d the Castle of Kindrochit, and that out of pretext of a Summer Residence, for his diversion of Deer-hunting, but in effect to bridle the Stubborn disposition of the fierce and lawless Inhabitants; and more particularly the Stance of the said Fortress was pitched upon as most necessary by reason of the inaccessibleness of that Country and its centrical Situation, which made it always remarkable for being the Commonplace of Rendezvous of the whole Turbulent and disaffected People of those parts, there being equal expeditious access to the same in some few Days from the several remotest Corners of the Highlands, and where they could rest securely without fear of being attacked even by much superior Numbers, and the Inhabitants themselves by reason of their situation were still amongst the first and last in Arms, in all Insurrections time out of mind."

It is only another proof of the remote origin which must be assigned to these ancient routes, that the ecclesiastical history of Kindrochit carries us back to an epoch greatly anterior even to that of King Malcolm. In the legend of the origin of the Priory of St Andrews it is stated that St Regulus or Rule and his companions, in the eighth century, brought the relics of St Andrew from Constantinople to Kilrymont in Fife, the place which ever afterwards bore the name of the patron saint whose bones it then received. Proceeding northward with the relics, Regulus and his companions, says the legend, "crossed the mountains called Moneth, and reached the place then called

Doldencha, but now known as Chondrochedalvan” (transierunt montana seu Moneth, et venerunt ad locum qui vocabatur Doldencha, nunc autem dictus Chondrochedalvan). Here they met Hungus, King of the Picts, returning from an expedition against the Scots of Dalriada; and the king, prostrating himself before the sacred relics, at once made a gift of the place to God and St Andrew. After this he accompanied Regulus and the relics, by Monichi and Forteviot, at each of which place churches were dedicated to the saint, back to Kilrymont, which was then established as the ecclesiastical capital of the Pictish kingdom.

In its present form this legend has doubtless been dressed up in Roman days for the purpose of exalting the antiquity and priority of the metropolitan see of Scotland; and Mr Archibald B. Scott, in his recent work on the Picts, has suggested that the original of the legendary St Regulus was an obscure Celtic saint, Riaghuil, connected with the early ecclesiastical history of St Andrews. But however garbled the story may be in its present shape, “it is impossible to doubt,” as Mr W. F. Skene says, “that there is an historical basis of some kind.” “The circumstantial character of the narrative,” he proceeds, “is of a kind not likely to be invented. The place beyond the Moneth or Grampians, called Chondrochedalvan, is plainly the church of Kindrochit in Braemar, which was dedicated to St Andrew. Moniki is probably not Monikie in Forfarshire, as that church was in the diocese of Brechin, but a church called Eglis Monichti, now in the parish of Monifith, which was in the diocese of St Andrews; and Forteviot was also in the diocese of St Andrews.”

As Dr Reeves pointed out, Chondrochedalvan is plainly an amalgam of the name Kindrochit, “bridge-head,” with Alvan or Alien, an ancient name for the Cluny found often in the old charters. King Hungus or Ungus is clearly the forceful Pictish monarch, Angus MacFergus, who reigned from 729 or 731 to 761. He was a vigorous soldier, “a great military leader and born ruler,” who made himself, in the words of Dr Hume Brown, “virtual master of Dalriada and Strathclyde, as well as king of the Picts. Of no one before him,” continues the historian, “could it be said that he came so near being overlord of North Britain; and had his work been continued by his immediate successors, North Britain might have been consolidated a century before any country of western Europe.”

1 The Pictish Nation; its People and its Church, p. 261.
4 This is proved by Skene in his paper on St Andrews, noted above (pp. 308-9).
5 Scott, Pictish Nation, p. 309.
How came this powerful Pictish monarch to be at Kindrochit when the clerical procession met him? Was there a place of strength here even at this early time, three centuries before King Malcolm? Of this we know nothing; but the cumulative evidence is irresistible that our castle has a history, as a royal residence, stretching remotely into the mists of the Celtic past. Whatever embellishment may have been added in medieaval times to the legend of St Regulus, its association of Kindrochit with this great Pictish king is a convincing proof of the high antiquity and importance of the locality.

One point more. If we agree with Skene (and of this I think there can be little doubt) that the St Andrew legend, in so far as its topographical particulars are concerned, has a substratum of truth, we glean the fact that in the eighth century Kindrochit was known not by its present name, but as Doldencha—whatever that may mean. This, it will at once be noted, is in entire accordance with the statement of Sir Samuel Forbes and others that the place was called Kindrochit after Canmore threw a bridge across the Cluny.

Kindrochit, of course, lay within the territories of the ancient Celtic Mormaers of Mar; and its Church of St Andrew, for which such a distinguished pedigree is claimed by the Regulus legend, was gifted by Duncan, Earl of Mar (circa 1211-circa 1244), to the Augustinian Priory of Monymusk. The charter specifies “the Church of St Andrew of Kindrouch . . . with 1 acre of land in Aucatendregen on the other side of the stream which is called Alien.” Aucatendregen is of course Auchendryne (i.e. Achadh-an-Droighinn, thorny land), or that part of Braemar which lies on the west bank of the Cluny (anciently Alvan or Alien)—in contradistinction to the part on the east bank, which was originally a separate community, clustering round Kindrochit Castle and hence known as Castleton. The name Auchendryne is now practically obsolete, “Castleton of Braemar” being to-day the full orthodox designation of the whole village. It is said that the church alleged to have been founded by St Regulus was known as the White Church; a

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1 In regard to this word, my friend Mr F. C. Diack writes me as follows: “I have tried for it many a time when among the Gaelic people in Braemar, but the word is evidently obsolete. Such a hideous orthography as Chondroched doesn’t say much for the spelling of Doldencha. It would be possible, of course, to suggest explanations, but with the word obsolete, and no early Gaelic spelling to be had, they would remain mere guesses. Equally obsolete is the true name of the river; nothing but Uisg Chhuanadadh to be heard.”

2 “Ecclesiam Sancti Andree de Kindrouch cum obensionibus et oblacionibus et omnibus aliis justis pertinenitis suis et cum una aera terre in Aucatendregen ex altera parte annis qui vocatur Alien.”—Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree, ed. Cosmo Innes, pp. 367-8, 372.

3 “The name of the place as spoken in Gaelic to-day is Ach an droighinn. In this dialect final -adh is dropped. The full spelling is achadh. The meaning is ‘thorn-field.’ Aucatendregen is not a Gaelic spelling, old or new, but it isn’t far off. Achadh in old Gaelic means cultivated ground as opposed to untilled.”—Mr F. C. Diack.
name (Candida Casa) frequently found in association with old Celtic religious sites, for example at St Ninian's settlement at Whithorn. The origin of the name is explained by Mr Scott as not due to the use of stone in building the early churches (as Bede avers in the case of Whithorn), but to an importation of the name of St Martin's settlement at Tours, upon which many Celtic monasteries in Britain were modelled. The site of the Church of St Andrew at Kindrochit is now occupied by the burial vault of the Farquharsons of Invercauld in the old parish churchyard.

Although the evidence is thus clear that Kindrochit has a civil and ecclesiastical history extending far back into the darkness of Celtic times, we approach daylight only with the fourteenth century. In the reign of Robert II. (1371-90), Kindrochit springs suddenly into prominence as a royal residence during the hunting season. The Register of the Great Seal contains a series of charters granted by this king from Kindrochit, and in the Exchequer Rolls are noted the expenses of the court while in residence here. Charters are dated from Kindrochit on 10th July 1373, 26th July and 26th August 1377, 4th July and 20th August 1379, 31st August 1380, and 30th August 1382 (two charters). A charter granted at "Glenshee," 27th June 1376, was doubtless executed at the Spital there during the royal progress to Kindrochit. The charter of 26th August 1377 is of particular interest, because the names of witnesses give us a glimpse of the distinguished company assembled in the royal court at Kindrochit. It is a grant of the lands of Esslemont and Arnage in Formartine to Sir William Keith, the Great Marischal, and is witnessed by William, Bishop of St Andrews; John, heir apparent (afterwards Robert III.); Robert, Earl of Fife; William, Earl of Douglas; Master John of Peebles, the King's Chancellor; and Sir James and Sir Alexander de Lindsay. The well-known charter gifting the lands of Rubislaw in free burgage to the citizens of Aberdeen was granted by King Robert from "Kyndrocht in Marr" on 20th August 1379. This charter also is witnessed by a distinguished gathering: William, Bishop of St Andrews, and John, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Lord Chancellor; John, heir apparent, Earl of Carrick, and Seneschal of Scotland; Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith; William, Earl of Douglas and Mar; and Sir James and Sir Alexander de Lindsay.

In addition to these charters under the Great Seal, there is also extant

1 Pictish Nation, p. 78; also the same writer's St Ninian, Apostle of the Britons and Picts, pp. 42-3.
an interesting precept, dated “at Kindrocht in Marre,” 29th August 1378, conveying a yearly pension of 20 solidi out of the burghal rents of Aberdeen to the poet John Barbour.\textsuperscript{1}

The Exchequer Rolls contain frequent notices of expenses incurred by the king while hunting at Kindrochit. They are entered under the Accounts of the Clerk of Liverance, who controlled the provisions supplied to the royal household. Entries of such outlays are noted under the years 1371, 1376, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1384, 1387, and 1388. Usually there is a bare entry without specification, but in 1381 and 1384 £65, 3s. 8d. and £69, 13s. 4d. are paid to Robert Rolloc, baker, the latter entry being in reference to expenses incurred in Glenconglas\textsuperscript{2} as well as at Kindrochit. In the former year there is also an entry for 53s. 4d. for the carriage of one jar (dolium) of wine sent to Kindrochit for the King’s use.\textsuperscript{3}

Thomas, last Earl of Mar in the old Celtic line, died in 1374. He was succeeded by his sister Margaret, married to William, first Earl of Douglas, who (as we saw) witnessed two royal charters granted at Kindrochit in 1377 and 1379. This earl was a mighty warrior against the “auld enemy” both in his own marchlands and in France, where he suffered hurt at Poitiers (19th September 1356). Their son James, Earl both of Douglas and of Mar,\textsuperscript{4} was slain in the moment of triumph at Otterburn (19th August 1388). He was with his mother at Kildrummy Castle on 15th August 1384, when his seal was affixed to a writ by her conferring a grant of land on the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Garioch.\textsuperscript{5} As the Exchequer Rolls show that King Robert was at Kindrochit then, doubtless Douglas was in attendance upon his royal master. This shifting of the centre of political gravity across the Mounth to Kindrochit is interesting when we reflect that the arrangements for the campaign of Otterburn were matured at a conference of barons, unknown to the King, held in Aberdeen.

“The dead Douglas who gained the field” was succeeded by his sister Isabella, who entered into possession not only of the earldoms of Mar and the Garioch, but also of the vast Douglas estates. Countess Isabella

2 The water of Conglass flows north-westward through a narrow glen in Kirkmichael Parish, Banffshire, joining the Avon below Tomintoul.
3 See *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ii. (1359-79), pp. 304, 543; vol. iii. (1379-1406), pp. 25, 45, 51-2, 68-9, 80, 90, 113, 147, 177.
4 An interesting memorial of this connection between the two great houses of Douglas and Mar may be seen to-day at Linluden College, where one of the heraldic shields in which the ruins of this beautiful building abound bears the Mar arms (a bend between six cross crosslets fitchée) quartered with those of Douglas (a heart, on a chief three stars).
THE ROYAL CASTLE OF KINDROCHIT IN MAR.

married Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother-in-law of Robert III., and, according to Wyntoun,

"A manfull knyght, bathe wise and war." 1

On 10th November 1390 King Robert at Methven granted a special licence to "our dear brother Malcolm de Drommond, Knight, to build a tower or fortalice on the lands of Kyndrocht with their pertinents in the Earldom of Mar." 2 There can be no doubt that it was subsequent to this licence that the powerful oblong tower was erected; and having regard to the exact similarity in masonry and general characteristics of the structure, I am strongly disposed to assign the rest of the existing ruins to about the same date. Undoubted castles of the fourteenth century are somewhat rare in Scotland, and the known date of this one, despite its destroyed condition, makes it of special value as a standard for comparative purposes. In this connection one turns instinctively to the monumental volumes of MacGibbon and Ross, which will always remain the foundation of patient and solid work upon which all students of Scottish architecture must build. From these volumes I have collated the annexed table (fig. 9) of 60 rectangular towers (including Kindrochit) assigned to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 3 The detailed figures and the average speak for themselves; and it will be perceived that the tower at Kindrochit is the fifth largest for area in Scotland. It has been one of the grandest and strongest keeps in the country, and the complete demolition of this exceptionally powerful structure is very greatly to be regretted.

In 1402, while engaged upon the construction of his tower at Kindrochit, Sir Malcolm Drummond was attacked by a band of unknown ruffians, and so mishandled that shortly he died. 4 This outrage was supposed to have been instigated by Alexander Stewart, a natural son of the terrible Wolf of Badenoch. At any rate, in 1404, Stewart with a band of caterans stormed Kildrummy Castle, where Drummond's widow, Isabella, Countess of Mar, was residing, and, forcing her to marry him, established himself as Earl of Mar. By this surprising metamorphosis, "from a rude and ferocious freebooter he became one of the ablest captains and most experienced statesmen in the nation." 5

2 "Sciatis quod concessimus dilecto fratri nostro Malcolmo de Drommond militi licenciam nostram specialen ad edificandum turrem siue forsetum in terris de Kyndrocht cum pertinenciis infra comitatum de Marre."—Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 162. The original document is stated to be at Drummond Castle.
3 In this list should have been included the famous tower of Cawdor, the licence for which was granted in 1454. It is 45 feet in length by 34 feet in width, and the walls are 11 feet thick.
4 See W. Watt, History of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 79.
5 Dr J. Longmuir, Speyside, p. 141.
**Scottish Rectangular Towers**

**XIVth & XVth Centuries**

Collated from Macgibbon and Ross

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<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Thickness of Walls</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Size</th>
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**Average**  47 FT  34 FT  10 FT  8 FT  1638 sq. ft.

**Notes**

1. Towers are arranged in descending order of length, and where lengths are equal, of breadth.
2. Where thickness varies, an average has been taken to work out the general average.
3. Fractions other than \( \frac{1}{2} \) have been counted as the nearest whole.


**Fig. 9.** Table of Scottish Rectangular Towers.
He was a man of varied interests, which ranged from horse-breeding to piracy. In connection with his activities in the latter direction, Dr Th. A. Fischer, in his work on *The Scots in Germany*, has some interesting particulars. "In Scotland, as in other countries," he writes, "men of the highest rank took part not only in trading beyond the seas, but also in the more fascinating enterprise of procuring booty at sea by force, an enterprise which they considered, as their forefathers did before them, a legitimate field of knightly prowess and adventure. Prominent in this respect is the Earl of Mar in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Once he had with his companion Davidson taken a Prussian *Kraier* (small ship) on her voyage to Flanders and later on tried to sell the goods at Harfleur, where, however, they had been arrested by Hanseatic merchants. The Parliament of Paris refused the handing over of these goods to the proper owners on account of letters of safe-conduct granted to the Scotsman. Moreover the Earl of Mar, Alexander Stewart, excuses himself in a letter written at Aberdeen and addressed to Danzig, saying that not he but Dutch fishermen had committed the deed (1410). He even threatened a feud and did not hesitate in the following year to put his threats into execution. Again the inhabitants of Danzig, or Danskia as it is invariably written, had to suffer most. One of their skippers, named Claus Belleken, who was about to carry a load of salt, flour and beer from Rostock to Scotland, was attacked by the people of the Pirate-Earl on the 6th of June, 1412, near Cape Lindesnaes. They threatened to throw him overboard, but relented and finally permitted him to escape in a boat with three of his men. The rest of the crew were taken prisoners and carried to Scotland, where they were employed in carrying stones for the building of a castle in the interior of the country. Two men, Tideman von der Osten and Hanneke Schole, made good their flight and arrived home safely by way of Flanders."

What was this castle of the Earl of Mar which in 1412 was built by the forced labour of Claus Belleken's captured crew? Bearing in mind that Sir Malcolm Drummond was engaged in the erection of Kindrochit Castle when he was murdered in 1402, I think it is highly probable that Stewart was continuing his victim's work when the capture of the Danzig mariners placed an opportune supply of labour in his hands. If this is so, it is indeed remarkable that the castle in the wilds of

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1 It is recorded that he "brocht out of Ungary in Scotland sindy gret hors and meris, to spreid the cuntre be thair generation. ... Thus was the cuntre, within few yeris efter, fillit ful of gret hors: howbeit, afore his time, was nocht but small naggis In this realm."—J. Bellenden, *Croniklis of Scotland*, ed. 1821, vol. ii. p. 508.

2 Pp. 5-6.

3 This is Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, who fell at Harlaw, 24th July 1411. The Provost and the Earl of Mar were on intimate terms.

4 The italics are mine.—W. D. S.
western Aberdeenshire should have been in part erected by men from the remote province of East Prussia.

The subsequent history of the castle is involved in the shifting fortunes of the earldom of Mar. On Stewart's death in 1435 the earldom was annexed to the Crown, in spite of the claims of Sir Robert Erskine, the nearest heir of Countess Isabella. To advance these claims we find Erskine making bargains with certain Aberdeenshire gentry, offering them lands in the earldom if they would assist him to obtain it. Thus, on 26th June 1439, Sir Robert Erskine, styling himself Earl of Mar, grants to Sir Alexander Forbes of that ilk half the lordship of Strathdee. The other half had been similarly granted to Robert Lyle of Duchal; and, accordingly, these two grantees entered into an indenture made at Perth on 26th March 1444, the tenor whereof runs as follows: "It is accordit at the forsaid Robert the Lyil has geffyn and sale gyff to the forsaiide Schir Alexander herettably ale and haile his part of the landis of Stradee and Kyndrocht with his part of the castale of the samyn lands with all thar pertinence, to be haldyn of the said Robert in blanche ferme; and gyff hym charter and possession als son as it likes the saide Schir Alexander efter at the saide Robert sal recover pos-

Of course these contracts were never implemented, for the Crown continued to retain the earldom of Mar in its own hands or those of its nominees. The wardenship of Kildrummy and Kindrochit Castles, sometimes together and sometimes apart, was bestowed on a variety of personages, and between 1451 and 1484 frequent entries connected with Kindrochit appear in the Exchequer Rolls. They include payments of salary to the warden of the castle—Alexander Stewart of Strathdee, Lord G lammis, and the Master of Huntly appearing successively in this office; rents drawn from the demesne lands; and occasionally special items, such as a payment of £10 in 1438 for the pasture of the King's horses, or an unspecified amount paid in 1464 to Master John Lyoune "for expenses incurred hunting at Kindroch on the King's request the year the King died." 2

In all these records of the fifteenth century mention is regularly made of Kindrochit Castle. In the fourteenth-century notices, on the other hand, we find no mention of the castle as such, the place-name being noted without any specification. This circumstance confirms the

1 Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. pp. 190–1, 194, 393.

THE ROYAL CASTLE OF KINDROCHIT IN MAR.

view that the stone fortress is all subsequent to Sir Malcolm Drummond’s licence of 1390. The earlier building which Robert II. used as a hunting-lodge may have been a structure of a more primitive kind—perhaps one of those “peels” or stockaded enclosures which figure so largely in the Wars of Independence. In the fifteenth century Kindrochit Castle was the chief messuage of the lordship of Braemar; the other divisions of the Mar earldom, with their messuages, being the lordships of Cromar (Migvie Castle), Strathdee (Aboyne Castle), Midmar (Midmar Castle), and Strathdon (Doune of Invernochty). All these castles existed in the thirteenth century.

The later history of the castle is obscure, and there appears to be no contemporary record of when and under what circumstances it was finally abandoned. But in the “Memorial Concerning a Cross Road,” already referred to, we are very circumstantially informed that “this Castle and Fortress of King Malcom’s was of great use for many Ages, for keeping the peace of that and the Neighbouring Countries, until neglected and let out of repair in the Reign of King James the 5th, and at last fell to total ruin and in Rubbish about the beginning of the Reign of K. James the 6th.” Its modern successor may be accounted the present Castle of Braemar; but there is an evident hiatus in continuity, for we have seen that Kindrochit Castle was already in ruins at the date of Taylor’s visit in 1618, while the Castle of Braemar was not erected until 1628, as we learn from the “Memorial Concerning a Cross Road,” wherein it is stated that “in the year 1628, the 3 year of the reign of King Charles the 1st, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, built a new Strong Castle (with Iron Gates and barr’d Windows) within a furlong of the Ruins of King Malcom’s, designed for a hunting seat for his family.” The house of the Earl of Mar’s at which Taylor stayed must have been some building intermediate between the desertion of Kindrochit and the erection of the present Braemar Castle.

At Edinburgh, on 22nd March 1634, King Charles I. confirmed a very

3 Ibid. On the other hand, the Rev. Charles M’Hardy in the Statistical Account, 1785, vol. xiv. p. 350, states that the castle was built by the Erskines after they were reinstated in the Mar earldom in 1565. “About the end of Queen Mary’s reign, these lands were excambed with the Earl of Marr for the lands of Monaltry, and soon after his accession to the estate, he built the present house.” But in support of the Memorialist we have the “View of the Diocese,” 1732 (Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 643), which says that the castle was built by “John, Earl of Mar, grandfather to the present John, Duke of Mar”—the attainted leader of the “Fifteen”; also Pennant, who in his Tour in Scotland, 1779 (3rd ed., 1774, p. 113), describes the castle as “a square tower, built about a hundred and fifty years ago.” If the Erskines, after their accession to the Mar estates in 1565, did build a house of some kind in Braemar, this would have been the place where Taylor stayed in 1618, 10 years before the present castle was built.
interesting charter by John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine and Garioch, of certain lands in Glengairn to Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, dated at Edinburgh Castle 6th and 13th July 1633. The reddendo is “payand yeirlie to ws at our present duelling hous in the Brae of Mar callit the castell of Kindrocht 25 merkis; and doubleing the same soume the first yeir of the entrie of ilk heir; and als payand yeirlie at the said castell 6 pultrie foullis, and winning and laying in yeirlie 10 loadis of peattis to the said castell befor the feist of Lambas, and the half of ane long carriage of ane horse yeirlie not excid- ing the distance of thrie seoir mylles fra the said castell as the samyne sall be requyrit.” Irvine is also bound to appear, personally or by proxy, “in thrie head courtis at the said castell,” and is directed to supply four men and hounds when required by the Earl for hunting purposes, and to put up “lunkardis” and make “tinschellis” for this purpose. In this charter the ancient name Kindrochit Castle, as the place where feudal services were wont to be rendered, is clearly applied to the more modern Castle of Braemar. This castle (fig. 10) is a turreted house on the ordinary L-plan, with a stair tower in the re-entrant angle. It was burned by John Farquharson of Inverey—“the Black Colonel”—in 1689, to prevent it falling into the hands of General Mackay, and remained a roofless ruin until 1748, when it was leased by the Government and turned into a military post for suppressing Jacobitism. At

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1 *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1634-51, No. 99. “Lunkardis” and “tinschellis” are both explained by Taylor in his delightful account of the great hunt which he attended in 1618. The former are “small cottages built on purpose to lodge in . . . the kitchen being always on the side of a banke, many kettles and pots boyling, and many spits turning and winding, with great variety of cheere,” of which there is a surprising enumeration, culminating in “most potent AquaviUe.” The “Tinckhell” are thus described: “Five or sixe hundred men doe rise early in the morning, and they doe disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight or tenne miles compass, they
that date the interior was much altered, the upper part of the castle rebuilt with plain large chimneys and ginger-bread battlements, and the whole surrounded by the loopholed wall, with a salient on each face, precisely similar to the wall built at the same date round Corgarff Castle in Strathdon.

In its present condition the fine Castle of Braemar is a building of remarkable picturesqueness, which attracts widespread interest among the thousands who annually visit the capital of the Deeside Highlands. On the other hand, little or no attention is paid to the neglected ruins of the far older Castle of Kindrochit, and many visitors come and go without even learning its existence. Yet what I have been able to glean, in regard to the building and its history, is sufficient to prove its great importance, both as a powerful fortress and as a royal residence dating from remote antiquity. Scanty though its remains may be, it amply warrants the claim, put forward on its behalf by a recent writer, to be "the most distinctive historical possession of the whole upper valley of the Dee." ¹

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doe bring or chase in the deere in many heards (two, three, or foure hundred in a heard).” ⁴ Cf. Scott, Lady of the Lake, Canto vi. xvii.: ⁵

"We’ll quell the savage mountaineer
As their Tinchel cows the game";

and his note thereon: “A circle of sportsmen, who, by surrounding a great space, and gradually narrowing, brought immense quantities of deer together, which usually made desperate efforts to break through the Tinchel.” ⁶

¹ Fraser, Old Deeside Road, p. 231.

⁴ Doer, Old Deeside Road, p. 231.

⁵ Vol. LVII.