# Hoddom castle: a reappraisal of its architecture and place in history

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## SUMMARY

During more than 1000 years Hoddom and its immediate environs played an important role in the political and religious life of Scotland. This paper gives a resumé of some of the events that gave it that importance and of the life of Sir John Maxwell, fourth Lord Herries, whose relentless crusade to enforce law and order in the West March caused the new castle of Hoddom and the watch tower of Repentance to be built. It then gives a detailed description of Hoddom castle, the strongest and most important castle to be built in the Borders in the 16th century, discusses its date, and gives a summary of the later owners and of the additions and alterations which they carried out.

# INTRODUCTION

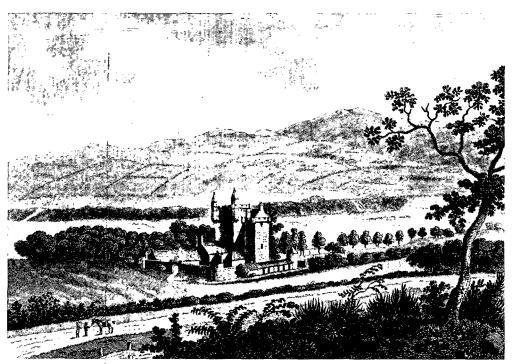
Hoddom castle has long been something of an enigma. It does not stand on the lands of Hoddom, nor in the parish of that name, but on the opposite bank of the river Annan in the parish of Trailtrow (since 1609 united with Cummertrees). The sheer bulk of the castle, with walls up to 9 ft (2·74 m) thick, would be consistent with an origin in the 14th or 15th centuries; yet it has long been accepted that it was not in fact built until the latter half of the 16th century. The only architectural features in the main body of the castle to which any particular building period could be assigned with any certainty were the two gun-loops, or shot-holes, in the east wall of the basement (until recently the only ones known to exist below parapet level), and these could have been later insertions, as was the case at Caerlaverock (another Maxwell stronghold) and Amisfield in the same county (Maxwell-Irving 1971, 209, 212–14). The possibility that an earlier tower-castle was restored or rebuilt at the later date has been suggested by some writers, but generally discounted.

During more than three and a half centuries of continuous occupation up to 1947, successive phases of additions and alterations had obscured almost every original feature within the tower-house itself, so that neither MacGibbon and Ross (MacGibbon & Ross 1888, II, 137–9) nor the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in their *Inventory* for Dumfriesshire (RCAMS 1920, No 90), could find much of historic architectural interest to record. The situation outside was little better. Although the progressive development of the castle externally has been fairly well documented since the middle of the 18th century, in paintings, etchings, architects' drawings and photographs, much of the outside structure of the original tower had likewise been obscured by the various wings and other additions that almost engulfed the three lower floors on

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ILLUS 1 Hoddom castle, by John Clerk of Eldin, c 1750



ILLUS 2 View from Repentance tower, by Francis Grose, 1789

the north, south and west sides. Even higher up, the old castle did not wholly escape the improver's hand.

It was only after the extensions on the south and west sides of the old tower began to be demolished in 1953, and much of the internal plasterwork was stripped in the 1970s, that so many original features, whose existence had long remained unknown, were once again revealed. It is now possible to look at the castle in a much clearer light, and to appreciate it as the dominating, and well nigh impregnable, Border fortress it was clearly intended to be.

# HISTORY

#### EARLY HISTORY OF HODDOM

Hoddom first came into prominence in AD 573 when St Kentigern was recalled from Wales by King Rhydderch and established his episcopal see here for a while before returning to Glasgow. For a thousand years thereafter Hoddom remained a place of considerable religious significance, especially to the bishops of Glasgow - a fact that the Master of Maxwell had cause to remember in the 16th century (p 212). Nothing now remains of the early 'church' except for fragments of some early Christian crosses (Radford 1954, 174-97)1 and the sites of two later churches, each with an adjacent medieval graveyard. One of the churches stood on the left bank of the Annan a short distance below Hoddom bridge, and the other beside Repentance tower on the top of Trailtrow hill. It is not known which should be more closely associated with St Kentigern, but it has been suggested that the existence of a chapel on such an unlikely site as the summit of Trailtrow hill may well commemorate the sacred place where he first preached to an assembly of the local people (RCAMS 1920, xxi)<sup>2</sup>, while a date c AD 700 has been ascribed to the earliest surviving remains at the other site<sup>3</sup> (Radford 1954, 180-1; 1963, 105).

Shortly after the Bruces were granted the lordship of Annandale by David I early in the 12th century, they in turn subdivided their domain into lesser baronies. One of these was the lordship of Hoddom, or 'Hodelm', which gave its name to the Anglo-Norman family who settled there. The caput of this district is said to have been the site now occupied by Hallguards, a site that may well have been occupied earlier, and perhaps even as far back as the time of Kentigern himself.4 It is a natural eminence on the left bank of the Annan, some 300 m above Hoddom bridge. Nothing is now known about the 12th-century stronghold, but one would have expected a motte of the type introduced by the Normans at that time and so common in the region.<sup>5</sup> No obvious evidence of such a structure has, however, survived. Udard de Hodelm and Robert de Hodelm witnessed charters by the Bruces,6 and a resignation, concerning lands in the neighbourhood c 1190-1214 (Fraser 1894, I, 1-3). In 1202 Uduard de Hoddom surrendered to the Bishop of Glasgow 'the whole right of patronage which he claimed in the church of Hoddom' (Radford 1954, 183). Adam de Hodolm swore fealty to Edward I in 1296 (Black 1946, 360).

It has been suggested that a fortified manor-house may subsequently have been built on the site, 'surface indications' of such a structure having been noted (Wilson 1962, 351). Homesteads of this type began to appear in Scotland, as a diminutive form of their English counterparts, during the course of the 13th century but little is known about them.7 They were generally associated with the smaller landowners of modest means (Dunbar 1966, 35-6). However, more recent examination of the site has failed to identify any such earthworks,8 or even the likelihood that a site of this nature would have been chosen for a fortified manor-house. Hoddom's importance was actually declining at the time, with the Hoddom family dispersing elsewhere and finally disappearing from the local scene around the beginning of the 14th century.

Whether or not there was any special reason for Hoddom's decline, the whole of lower Annandale remained in a state of flux throughout the major part of the 14th century. This arose from the conflicting English and Scottish claims to sovereignty over the lordship of Annandale and a continued English presence at the key stronghold of Lochmaben castle. The English tried to settle their own landowners in the territory, and the Scots resisted, so that no lands were safe. Hoddom's fate would have been no different from that of its neighbours. It was a climate in which lawlessness abounded. William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, who had been granted Annandale by Edward III in 1336, complained bitterly of the devastation caused to his Annandale lands, on the one hand by English raiders, and on the other by David II's increasing inclination to occupy the district (Gladstone 1919, 141). In 1360, three years after the Treaty of Berwick, an arrangement was made between David II and the Earl of Northampton whereby the revenues of Annandale should be divided equally between them.<sup>9</sup> This agreement was subsequently renewed, but in the meantime the state of lawlessness continued to worsen. Eventually, in February 1383/4, on the expiry of the 'Great Truce' concluded between the two kingdoms, the Scots marched against Annandale and received the surrender of Lochmaben. English rule in Annandale had come to an end (Webster 1958, 64–80).

From the Scottish crown the lands of Annandale, which included the lands of Hoddom, passed first to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and then to his son-in-law, the Earl of March, on whose forfeiture in 1409 they were acquired by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas (RCAMS 1920, xxv). Shortly afterwards Douglas granted the lands of Hoddom to Simon de Carruthers; and in 1452 James II erected these and all other lands held by the Carruthers into the new barony of Carruthers (*ibid*, xxviii). The lands of Hoddom subsequently came into the possession of Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Angus, High Chancellor of Scotland, who, in 1495, granted them to Andrew Herries, eldest son of Herbert, first Lord Herries, <sup>10</sup> on his marriage to the Earl's youngest daughter, Janet (Fraser 1885, III, 149).

Whilst there is no direct evidence that any of these noble lords ever resided at Hoddom, it is quite likely that it was during the latter period that the old castle of Hoddom was built (see appendix A).

# THE 'DUKES' OF HODDOM

The principal occupants of the lands of Hoddom, Ecclefechan and Trailtrow were a branch of the Border Irvings, who had long been settled there. Their chieftain was known by the ancient title of 'le Duc', or 'the Duke'. One of their duties was to maintain the bale-fires on Trailtrow hill (Irving 1907, 122), the first of a chain of signal beacons set up by the Scottish parliament in 1448 to give warning of any English invasion; thence chains of beacons would relay the news up Annandale, Nithsdale and beyond into Galloway (APS, I, 716). By the turn of the 16th century this surname constituted a substantial force, and thereafter figured prominently in lists of available forces.

When William, third Lord Herries of Terregles, died in 1543, he was succeeded by this three daughters, to each of whom he left one third of his estate. The eldest, Agnes, became *de jure* Baroness Herries. Four years later she married Sir John Maxwell, Master of Maxwell, the second son of the fifth Lord Maxwell. In February 1548–9 Lady Agnes received a Crown charter of her share of the lands of Hoddom, and the following May she granted them, 'all and haill my twenty pound land of old extent of Hoddom', to Richard Irving 'called of old Duke Richie', with the express consent and assent of her husband 'for the good and faithful services done to him and me' by the said Richard (Irving 1907, 120–1). It was a substantial reward for what must have been outstanding services, probably during the recent troubles with England. The lands involved were those of Knockhill, Whitehill and Duke's Close, to the north and north-west of the old castle. It is noteworthy that the castle itself did not form a part of Lady Agnes's portion.

Knockhill became Duke Ritchie's seat, and it was there that the 'Duke of Hoddom's' tower was built. Judging by the manner in which it was portrayed by Timothy Pont when he surveyed Dumfriesshire in 1595–6 (Blaeu 1662, 57) it was a substantial stronghold, included with the most important group in the county. The ruins survived until 1772, when they were pulled down and the stone used to build the present house on the site (Irving 1907, 127).<sup>12</sup>

# ENGLISH INVASIONS OF ANNANDALE, 1542-8

From 1542 to 1545 the English were making repeated incursions into Dumfriesshire, systematically advancing ever deeper into the territory. It was part of the 'Rough Wooing', Henry VIII's relentless campaign to force the submission of the Scots and secure the marriage of Queen Mary to his son, Prince Edward. The principal object of the raids was to obtain the allegiance of 'assured' Scots, ravage the property of those who resisted and take possession of the key strongholds. In one of these raids, in September 1544, Sir Thomas (later Lord) Wharton

'burnt the town of Crookedmoore, the maynes of Hodholme, the townes of Hodholme, Souplebank, Pellestells, lard Latymer's lands, the towns of Bushe, Bronelands, Holme and Crooke, and all the peills, houses, corn, and steds within Hodholme';

they also burnt the towns of Middlebie and Ecclefechan, and on their return Bonshaw and Robgill (Armstrong 1883, lxvi).

After the death of Henry VIII in January 1546–7, the Protector Somerset put renewed pressure on Scotland, concentrating on the East and Middle Marches and Lothian, while the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton were left to keep the West March occupied. In September Castlemilk was taken and Annan sacked, whereupon most of the surnames of lower Annandale submitted and took the oath of 'assurance'. By October Wharton was in control of most of Dumfriesshire. Shortly afterwards he arranged for a detailed survey of the area to be made. One result was the 'Platte of Castlemilk', a map giving a pictorial representation of the principal strongholds and towns in the West March and the distances between them (Merriman 1967, 179). Castlemilk, Lochmaben, Lochwood and Annan are shown in Annandale: Hoddom is not.

By the end of November Lord Wharton had pledges for some 7000 'assured' Scots, including John Maxwell, the Master of Maxwell, the most powerful man in the West March, who promised the service of '1000 and moe' men in Nithsdale, and Richard Irving, 'called Dukes Rychye', who pledged 142 men<sup>13</sup> in Annandale (Armstrong 1883, lxxiii–lxxvii). There is no mention of the Herries, the head of the family at that time being Agnes, Baroness Herries, who was still a minor and a ward of the Crown (Scots Peerage, IV, 409). The reasons for Maxwell's submission were twofold: first, his elder brother, Lord Maxwell, was a prisoner of the English; and second, he had been crossed in his suit for Lady Agnes Herries by the Regent Arran, and intended to further his cause by supporting Arran's rival, the Earl of Lennox, who was planning to return to power with English help. However, although Wharton appeared to have control of the West March, his position was in fact very tenuous; he was too dependent upon the support of 'assured' Scots, and Arran knew it. A strong resistance to the English presence was growing under the leadership of Douglas of Drumlanrig; but Arran also knew it was unlikely to succeed without the key support of the Maxwells. Somehow he had to win over that support. He had to break Maxwell's liaison with Lennox and the English, and he could only see one prize that could achieve this. Abandoning his own plans for the future of Lady Agnes Herries, he offered Maxwell her hand in marriage. Maxwell accepted (Scots Peearage, IV, 409). So when, in February 1547/8, Lord Wharton again marched to Dumfries, the support expected from the 'assured' Scots did not materialize; and although he eventually defeated Drumlanrig, now actively assisted by Maxwell<sup>14</sup> and other 'assured' Scots, his losses were so great, and the whole country now so hostile, that he was forced to withdraw to Carlisle. Sir Thomas Horcloft later bitterly reported to Somerset:

'John Maxwell was well rewardyt with the doghter and heyr of the Lord Herrys for that jorney, whech is countyt to be of as grete landes as the Lord Maxwell' (Armstrong 1883, lxxxv).

For revenge the English executed some of Maxwell's pledges.

In July 1548 the struggle came to an abrupt end, when an alliance was formed between Scotland and France, and Queen Mary travelled to the French court. The English campaign had lost its purpose. Two years later peace was formally concluded.

## SIR JOHN MAXWELL, MASTER OF MAXWELL, FOURTH LORD HERRIES

Sir John Maxwell, <sup>15</sup> Master of Maxwell and later fourth Lord Herries of Terregles, was the second son of Robert, fourth Lord Maxwell. <sup>16</sup> He rose to eminence early in life, and from then on his story was very much a part of the history of both the West March and Scotland itself. It is, however, only a small part of that story that concerns us here.

When Sir John's father died in 1546, his elder brother Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, was a prisoner of the English, and it was not until 1549 that he was released. During this period Sir John, now 'Master of Maxwell', had control of all the family lands and the surname, with its dependents, and as such was the most powerful man in the West March. The fifth Lord Maxwell died in 1552, leaving two infant sons, Robert, sixth Lord Maxwell, who died two years later, and John, seventh Lord Maxwell. Sir John acted as their guardian. So only three years after his brother's release, Sir John once again found himself head of the family and acting chief of the surname. He had also, by his marriage to Lady Agnes Herries in 1547, acquired possession of her third of the extensive Herries estates, thus further extending his influence.

The Herries estates were widespread in south-west Scotland, and carried with them considerable power. They included the baronies of Terregles and Kirkgunzeon, Moffatdale and Evandale, 17 Mortoun Woods, Myretoun, and Bernwell and Symontoun; half the barony of Ur; and the lands of Lockerbie, Hutton, Tolnagarth, Hoddom, Ecclefechan, Nether Wormanbie, Schelis, Fewrule, and others (Fraser 1873, I, 500). Lady Agnes Herries's share included the family seat at Terregles, but not the old castle of Hoddom. The two thirds of the estates inherited by Lady Agnes's younger sisters, Katherine and Janet Herries, were granted by them to John Hamilton, son of the Regent Arran, in 1550-1 and 1552 respectively (Scots Peerage, IV, 408-9); and in September 1561 they were purchased from him by Sir John Maxwell. 18 However, it was not until 12 December 1566 that Sir John was able to purchase Hamilton's right of redemption (Scots Peerage, IV, 408, 410; Fraser 1873, I, 500). Only then, with Sir John finally in possession of the Herries estates free from all encumbrances, did the crown at last recognize him, jure uxoris, as Lord Herries. 19 The following April he took his seat in parliament for the first time, and in the same month the Lord Lyon granted 'Johnne Lord Maxwell of Hereiss' new armorial bearings, quartering the arms of Maxwell and Herries<sup>20</sup> (Fraser 1873, I, 514). In the meantime, on 8 May 1566, Queen Mary and King Henry (Darnley) granted Sir John a new charter under the Great Seal of the lands and barony of Terregles and Kirkgunzeon, and of the lands and half the barony of Ur (Fraser 1873, I, 513). This was ratified by parliament on 19 April 1567 (APS, II, 558).

Sir John Maxwell was first appointed warden and justiciar of the West March of Scotland in 1546, and, apart from a short period in 1547–8 when he was 'assured' to the English, remained in office until 1550. He was re-appointed warden in 1552, 1554, 1557, 1560, 1565 and 1579, holding the office for a total of 15 years until he finally resigned in August 1579 (Rae 1966, 240–1). He was also keeper of Liddesdale in 1554 (*ibid*, 244); one of the commissioners specially appointed to deal with

Border affairs in 1557, 1561, 1563 and 1580 (*ibid*, 258–9); and in 1565 was specially charged by Queen Mary with guarding the Borders.

Sir John undertook his duties with the utmost diligence, often frustrated, but never faltering in his efforts to establish and maintain peace. When, for instance, he felt compelled to resign as warden in 1553 because he lacked the support necessary to carry out his duties effectively, he readily agreed to assist his successor. Considering the manifold problems he encountered on both sides of the Border, as well as having to contend with major invasions by the English in the 1540s and 1570, he acquitted himself remarkably well. Whereas his father had been accused by the English of being somewhat dilatory in redressing grievances when he was warden, it was Sir John who, in 1560, found himself repeatedly making the same complaint against Lord Dacre, the English warden. As matters did not improve, Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary appointed commissioners to look into the matter, one of whom was Sir John himself. Agreement was finally reached in September 1563 (Fraser 1873, I, 507). Sir John was also repeatedly obstructed by landowners and others in his own March. In 1564 he complained to Mary, who ordered that proclamation be made on his behalf throughout the West March (*ibid*, I, 508). The following year it was further agreed that Sir John Maxwell be sent 40 or 50 soldiers

'to assist in restoring and maintaining tranquillity, and to withstand England in the event of its invading Scotland' (*ibid*, I, 511).

In January 1565/6 Queen Mary and Darnley made a public declaration of their confidence in him (*ibid*, I, 511–12). Later in 1566 Queen Elizabeth also bore testimony to the efficiency with which Sir John had performed his duties as warden (*ibid*, I, 514), and again in 1579 she wrote to him personally thanking him for his work in the administration of justice and towards peace between the two kingdoms (*ibid*, I, 567).

In his younger days Sir John was a supporter of the reformed party and a friend of John Knox, but in October 1565 he finally deserted their cause and joined Queen Mary. Thereafter he was one of Mary's closest and most loyal supporters. He fought for her at Langside in May 1568, where he commanded the light horse, a traditional Border contingent, comprising on this occasion mainly dependents and tenants of Lord Maxwell. He was her host at Terregles for several days during her flight south, and accompanied her into England. For the next nine months, together with the Bishop of Ross, he was Mary's personal envoy during the protracted and painful negotiations with Queen Elizabeth. He eventually returned to Edinburgh in February 1568/9 (Fraser 1873, I, 506–57). Whilst Sir John did not waver in his loyalty to Queen Mary and his endeavours to secure her release (and to this end he was implicated in more than one Catholic plot), his subsequent conduct followed a somewhat tortuous diplomatic path in his efforts to maintain peace between the various rival factions.<sup>21</sup>

Two weeks after Mary's defeat at Langside messengers were despatched from Edinburgh with letters to charge 'John Lord Herries and all others having, keeping and detaining the houses of Drumfreis, Terriglis, Traiff, Lochmaben, Annand, Hoddum, Carlaverok and Langholme' to deliver the same within six hours after the charge (ATS, XII, 128). The following month the Regent Moray made a military progress through Galloway and Dumfriesshire. He destroyed a number of castles, and ordered that Herries's house of Terregles be thrown down. But when Drumlanrig advised him it would be doing Herries a favour, as he intended to throw it down himself and built it in another place, Moray cancelled the order, scorning to be 'a barrowman to his old walls' (Fraser 1873, I, 530).<sup>22</sup> On 20 June Moray marched to

'Hoddom a place of Lord Herries' and a strong fort – held against the Regent, and they shot heavy ordnance and slew a horse and some men. This night the thieves gathered 1000 men, and broke a chase on some of ours outside of the camp: but the Regent's men issued and took 2 or 3 . . . .'

The following day the house was surrendered to the Regent, on condition that those within were spared their lives 'and na mair - all bag and bagges to remane in it', though it was reported that 'thai mycht haif holdin long enewcht, yf thai had bene gud fellows within it'. The castle was then delivered into the safe keeping of Drumlanrig, who was appointed its warden (CSPScot, II, 445).

There was a resurgence of activity on behalf of Queen Mary in 1569, with Catholics on both sides of the Border seeking her restoration and the re-establishment of their faith. At the same time Leonard Dacre was raising a rebellion in Cumberland to recover his family estates (Ridpath 1776, 633-4), while Border rebels exploited the general unrest to their own advantage. Dacre was eventually defeated in February 1569/70, and fled across the Border, where he was received by the Lords Herries and Maxwell. The situation was by now causing Queen Elizabeth such concern that in April she sent the Earl of Sussex north to deal with it. While he laid waste the East and Middle Marches of Scotland, Lord Scrope marched into Dumfriesshire. On 21 April Scrope reported to Sussex:

'According to your Lordship's direction I entered Scotland on Tuesday at night last the 18 April, and on Wednesday at night encamped at Ecclefechan within Hoddom. On Thursday morning I sent Symon Musgrave as general of horse to burn and spoil the country, and to meet me at Cummertrees, and the said Symon with the gentlemen aforenamed burnt the towns of Hoddom and the Maynes, Trailtrowe, Revell and Cockpole, . . . which townes were of the lands of the Lords Herris and Maxwell' (CSPScot, III, 129).

Nevertheless, Scrope's action was not the success intended; he had met strong opposition from Herries in Nithsdale and Galloway, and from Johnston in Annandale (Fraser 1873, I, 563). Four months later Sussex himself crossed into the West March. On 29 August he reported to Elizabeth:

'I wrote to Lord Herris, finding fault with his doings herein. . . . Receiving no such answer from Ld Herries, as I expected, I entered Scotland on 22nd instant, and returned hither [Carlisle] on the 28th; in which time I threw down the castles of Annand and Hodoun belonging to Lord Herries, the castles of Domefrese and Carlaverock belonging to Lord Maxwell. . .' (CSPScot, III, 327).

Herries then became more conciliatory; he promised Sussex that he would not receive Elizabeth's rebels, and thereafter worked for an amicable settlement until a peace treaty was finally agreed in February 1572/3 (Fraser 1873, I, 564-5).

When James VI assumed the government in March 1577/8, Lord Herries, who was appointed one of the king's new council of twelve, was asked for his advice for quietening and keeping order in the West March, in view of his vast experience during more than 30 years service there. He presented his report the following January. It comprised a detailed account of the problems encountered by the warden and justiciar, and his proposals for the future administration of that office, including the recommendation that:

'Because the Lord Hereis, the Lord Carlile, . . . hes landis in Annanderdaill, it is requisite that they sall assist the warden and answer for thair men, and expedient [that] they sall remane with honest houshauldis in tymes of greit dissobeydience in that cuntrie; the Lord Hereis in Hoddum, the Lord Carlile in Kelheid or Torthorwald, . . . and gif the Lord Maxwall, beis not warden, at his hous of the Langholme' (Fraser 1873, II, 483-7).

Despite objections by Lord Maxwell, Herries's proposals were accepted; Maxwell resigned as warden; and Herries was appointed warden and justiciar in his place.

Lord Herries finally resigned the wardenship in August 1579. The following May he was one of the commissioners sent to quieten the Borders (Rae 1966, 259). He died in Edinburgh in January 1582-3 and was succeeded by his eldest son, William.<sup>23</sup>

WILLIAM MAXWELL, FIFTH LORD HERRIES (c 1555–1603)

Although only 17 when he first sat in parliament, in 1572, and a Privy Councillor 10 years later, the fifth Lord Herries did not inherit his father's outstanding qualities. Nevertheless, he was one of the commissioners appointed in 1585 to look into the matter of Lord Francis Russell's murder during a warden's meeting in the Middle March (Rae 1966, 259);<sup>24</sup> and for four brief terms between 1587 and 1600 he was himself warden of the West March (*ibid*, 242–3). He also attended James VI during two judicial expeditions to Dumfries in 1597 (*ibid*, 268). His continued adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, however, brought him into conflict with both the king and kirk on a number of occasions throughout his life (see *Scots Peerage*, IV, 414).

Meanwhile Herries continued to pursue the Maxwells' traditional feud with the Johnstones and Irvings. His personal involvement seems to have stemmed from the death of his brother John at the hands of the Irvings of Gretna in 1585 or early 1586. This led to a 'deadly feud' between them (*Border Papers*, I, No 579). In May 1586, in company with Lord Maxwell's brother Robert, Douglas of Drumlanrig and others, Herries ravaged Irving and Johnstone lands from Kirtledale to Dryfesdale (*ibid*, No 425); and when James VI later commanded that he enter into ward to answer for his actions, he refused (*ibid*, No 587). Herries led another raid against the Johnstones in 1595, while he was warden, but this time he was forced to retire (*Scots Peerage*, IV, 414). Then in 1597 he burned the lands of the Irvings of Gretna (*Scots Peerage*, IV, 414).

Following the treacherous murder of Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, warden of the West March and one of the most distinguished wardens of all time, James VI immediately appointed Lord Herries as his successor, and ordered him to lie at Hoddom, Sir James Johnstone at Lochmaben and Douglas of Drumlanrig at a new place, and to keep the country quiet (*CSPScot*, XIII, 661). This was confirmed by the Privy Council in August (*RPC*, VI, 154), by which time Richard Lowther had already reported to the English court that Lord Herries was 'lying with some forces at Hoddome to quiet that country' (*Border Papers*, II, No 1200). Then in November 1601, Herries was ordered to appear before the Privy Council, 'to give his best advice concerning the weal and quietness of the country', and to bring with him James Murray of Arnealmerie, captain of his castle of Hoddom, to answer charges concerning the slaughter of Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk (*RPC*, VI, 301). Herries duly appeared, but without Murray, whereupon the Council ordered Lord Herries to be denounced and committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle (*ibid*, 316). Whether Herries was detained or not, he was certainly free the following February. He died at Terregles in 1603.

# JOHN MAXWELL, SIXTH LORD HERRIES (d 1631)

William's eldest son, John, sixth Lord Herries, also lived at Terregles. He was a Privy Councillor and in 1618 was appointed a commissioner to keep order in the Middle Marches (*Scots Peerage*, IV, 415). By his marriage to his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of John, eighth Lord Maxwell, and sister of Robert, first Earl of Nithsdale, his eldest son eventually succeeded, in 1667, to all the honours of the Lords Maxwell, Earls of Nithsdale, and became chief of the name. Lord Herries sold Hoddom to Sir Richard Murray of Cockpool in 1627, and died in 1631.

# THE MURRAYS OF HODDOM (1627–90)

It is not clear why Sir Richard Murray bought Hoddom, as he had no issue and apparently continued to live at Comlongon Castle, only five and a half miles away. During this time a relative, Patrick Murray of nearby Brocklerig, kept the keys (Edgar 1746, 120). On Sir Richard's death, in 1636, he was succeeded by his youngest and only surviving brother, Sir John Murray, first Earl of Annandale, who 'greatly increased and improved [Hoddom] with additional buildings' (*Stat Acc*, VII, 310). Sir John lived at Hoddom in preference to Comlongon, and died there in 1640. His son James (d 1658), second Earl of Annandale, went to England, where he lived privately during the Civil War; having no children, he conveyed Hoddom c 1653 to his grandfather-in-law, Sir David Carnegie (d 1658), first Earl of Southesk.

The first Earl's great-grandson Charles (d 1699), fourth Earl of Southesk, was in 1688 served heir-male of his father in his extensive properties in the counties of Aberdeen, Dumfries, Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Kirkcudbright, Peebles and Selkirk (Burke 1959, 2109). Two years later, in 1690, he sold Hoddom to Mr John Sharpe, burgess in Dumfries.

# THE SHARPES OF HODDOM (1690–1877)

John Sharpe was the son of George Sharpe, burgess of Dumfries. The family had been burgesses in Dumfries and active in burgh affairs for generations. John was succeeded by his son George, also a burgess of Dumfries. This line ended in 1769 with the death of Matthew Sharpe of Hoddom. He was succeeded by his nephew Charles, the son of William Kirkpatrick of Ailsland, a younger brother of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, third Baronet of Closeburn. On inheriting Hoddom Charles changed his name to Sharpe. He then set to work on the castle, 'which he has repaired, and much improved, by adding several rooms to it' (Stat Acc, VII, 310).

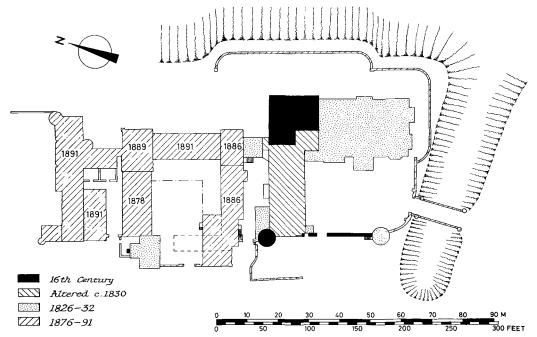
Charles Sharpe (1750-1813) had four sons, none of whom had issue. The eldest, Lieutenant-General Matthew Sharpe (1774-1846), succeeded him at Hoddom and, in 1826, commissioned William Burn, the distinguished Edinburgh architect, to design extensive additions to the old castle. These were apparently complete by 1832. After General Sharpe's death the estate was administered by trustees until after the death of the third brother, Admiral Alexander Sharpe (1785-1860), when, on 26 February 1861, William Sharpe (?1793-1875), the only surviving brother, registered his sole right to the lands of Hoddom, Ecclefechan, Hoddomstanes and others as heir of tailzie and provision to General Sharpe, and to the lands of Mill of Hoddom, Carruthers, Trailtrow and others as heir of tailzie and provision to his second brother, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (1781-1851) of Edinburgh (Reg Scot Dumf, 1861, Nos 33, 34). William had himself taken up residence at nearby Knockhill c 1847, and he continued to live there for the rest of his life (Irving 1903, 199). Then in November 1877 William's trustees sold Hoddom to Edward Brook of Meltham Hall, near Huddersfield (Reg Scot Dumf, 1877, Nos 814, 832).

The estate at this time comprised: the £20 land of Hoddom; the £5 lands of Ecclefechan, all of which were part of the Barony of Herrries of old; 40s lands called the lands of Hoddomstanes; 20s lands of Barhill; the Mill of Hoddom and certain fishing of the Water of Annan there; 18 acres of the lands of Riddings, Meinside and Brockhillrig; £8 land of Trailtrow, with certain salmon fishing there; and parts of the £2 land of Brydekirk and Trunshaw, commonly called Trunshawhead and Woodcockhair.

# THE BROOKS OF HODDOM

Edward Brook immediately commissioned a further extension to the castle, comprising a whole range of new public rooms, offices, service quarters, stables and other outbuildings to the north of Burn's west wing. From the dates given on the fabric, this work apparently lasted from 1878 until 1891 (illus 3). At the same time he had a new formal garden of trees, shrubs and lawns laid out to the west of the castle. Edward also purchased the nearby house and estate of Kinmount from the Marquess of Queensberry in 1896 (Reg Scot Dumf, 1896), and the two properties have remained with the family ever since. Edward died in 1904.

He was succeeded at Hoddom by his elder son, Edward Jonas Brook (1865-1924), and at Kinmount by his younger son, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Brook (1866–1930) (Reg Scot Dumf, 1904). On Edward's death Hoddom passed to his brother, who chose to remain at Kinmount, while Hoddom was maintained by a housekeeper and assistant until 1935 when it became a Youth Hostel. The family returned to Hoddom four years later, when, following the adoption of Kinmount as a hospital soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, Colonel Edward Brook's children and



ILLUS 3 Plan of Hoddom Castle showing dates of additions

their nanny went to live in the old castle. It was not long, however, before Hoddom itself was also requisitioned by the War Office, and so it remained for the rest of the war. During this period it was at various times occupied by commandos, French Canadians, the 51st Highland Division and about 400 Churchill tanks that subsequently went to North Africa and El Alamein.

On 25 September 1947 the contents of the castle were sold. Six years later the demolition of the south and west wings began.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE

The present castle of Hoddom was built 640 m west of the earlier site, on the opposite bank of the river Annan, where it stands on the edge of a low plateau. To the east it is defended by a steep bank, which falls some 14 m to the broad valley below, while to the south there is a deep gully, providing a natural defence on two sides. It was also a position of great strategic importance, with the ancient beacon hill of Trailtrow – on which the watch tower of Repentance was built (appendix B) – overlooking it immediately to the south and the main invasion route into western Scotland only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles to the north-east.

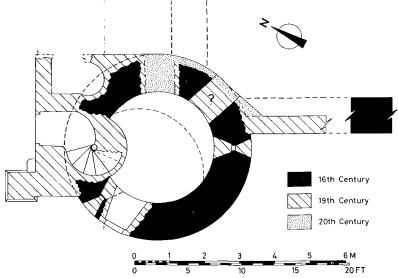
The castle itself is a massive, L-plan tower, much the largest of its period in the Borders. It stands some 14 m back from the bank and was enclosed by a large courtyard extending 28 m to the west and 35 m to the edge of the gully to the south. This courtyard may also have extended to the bank on the east side, but the arrangement of the machicolations in the parapet above – there is none of the south side – and Grose's drawings (*infra*) tend to suggest otherwise. At the north-west, south-west and south-east corners were strong, round, corner towers, two storeys in height. The first two were certainly provided with splayed gun-loops at the lower level to cover the surrounding area, and there

is no reason to suppose that the south-east tower was not similarly equipped. These towers are shown in the 18th-century illustrations of the castle by John Clerk of Eldin c 1750 (illus 1), Francis Grose in 1789 (illus 2) and an unknown artist in 1795 (Irving 1907, 122), all of which also show them with octagonal tiled roofs and chimney stacks, though these latter features may have been added later.

The south-east corner tower was demolished and the south-west one completely rebuilt by William Burn c 1830. The courtyard wall and gateway on the south side also date from this period. It has, however, recently been established that the north-west tower still retains original 16th-century features. These include the vaulted basement and two splayed gun-loops, now blocked, which covered the ground to the north-west and south-west (illus 4). Other details have been obscured by later additions and alterations, whilst the east wall was only faced in the 1970s when the adjacent wing was finally demolished. The basement is 10 ft 4 in (3·15 m)<sup>25</sup> in diameter, within walls 3 ft 4 in (1·02 m) thick, and had a maximum height of 8 ft 3 in (2·51 m) to the top of the segmental, almost semi-circular vault.

The wall on the west side of the courtyard contains much original masonry, only the north end having been completely rebuilt c 1830 for incorporation in the adjacent wing. The old wall was some 12 ft (3.66 m) high by 3 ft 4 in (1.02 m) thick. It may originally have carried some form of defensive parapet, as the inner face is offset by 11 in (0.28 m) at a height of 7 ft 3 in (2.21 m) in the central portion, and 8 ft 11 in (2.72 m) nearer the south-west tower, whilst the earliest illustrations show a simple form of crenellation. These illustrations also show the present gateway, which appears to date from the 17th or early 18th century; it is 10 ft (3.05 m) wide by 11 ft (3.35 m) high, with an arched head and quirked-edge-roll<sup>26</sup> moulding. The gates themselves are modern. No evidence of earlier fixings or fastenings has survived.

Within the courtyard there would have been the kitchen and other outbuildings. There is no evidence now of where these stood, but their remains may well have been incorporated in the various buildings shown along the south wall and in the north-west corner in the 18th-century illustrations. They would not have stood near the main tower, as such an arrangement would have rendered the basement gun-loops ineffective.



ILLUS 4 Plan of tower at north-west corner of barmkin

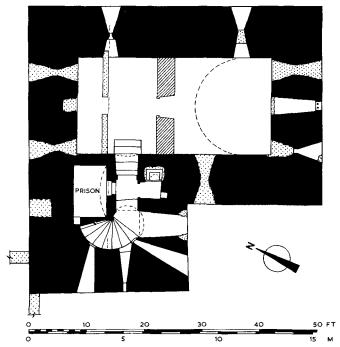
The tower-castle itself comprises a main block, measuring 51 ft (15.54 m) from north to south by 35 ft 2 in (10.72 m) from east to west, from the north end of which a stair wing, 27 ft 7 in (8.41 m) wide, projects 15 ft 3 in (4.65 m) towards the west. The former rises four storeys to a corbelled-out parapet walk 47 ft 3 in (14.40 m) above the ground (illus 5). Within this rises a gabled roof containing a garret. The wing continues above the main parapet level to provide two more floors of accommodation, served by a secondary wheel-stair in its south-east corner, before terminating in a flat roof within a parapet some 70 ft 2 in (21.39 m) above the ground. The main walls average 8 ft 10 in (2.69 m) in thickness and are of roughly coursed, red sandstone rubble, while the turrets, parapet walls, vaults and other details are of finely cut ashlar. All the door and window surrounds, fireplaces and corbelling are also finely moulded.

The entrance is in the re-entrant angle of the wing. The doorway itself, however, has been altered to such an extent that no original details survive. At some stage it has been enlarged, and this can be seen along the first 3 ft 2 in (0.97 m) of the entrance passage where the walls have been roughly cut back in line with the wider, internal portion. The original double rebates for door and yett, and drawbar holes, are also missing. Indeed, the jambs give every appearance of being wholly later insertions, only 1 ft 4½ in (0.42 m) deep and unusually shallow along the outside walls. Certainly the stones' broached surface and the quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet<sup>26</sup> mouldings around the arrises have been dressed much more recently than the 16th century. This is also true of the segmental arch-head, whose voussoirs also incorporate a massive cable-hood moulding.<sup>27</sup> The curious absence of a 'die' in the mouldings at the foot of the jambs may be due to the doorstep having been raised to give a level passage at some later date.

Above the entrance there is a vast armorial panel, some 3 ft 6 in (1.07 m) wide by 5 ft (1.52 m) high. It is surrounded by a boldly projecting, heavy roll-moulding above a chamfered and chased sill, in the underside of which are cut two grooves each about 2 ft (0.61 m) long by 3 in (75 mm) wide. The panel itself is missing, 28 while the space is now occupied by the remains of a much later, dummy sash-window with glazing.



ILLUS 5 North-east elevation



ILLUS 6 Plan of basement

Inside the entrance a passage leads through the thickness of the wall, on the left to the foot of the main wheel-stair and on the right to a second passage leading down four steps into the basement of the main block, 1 ft 8 in (0.51 m) below (illus 6). Both passages are roofed with segmental vaults. On the south side of the latter passage there is a small guardroom. It measures only about 5 ft 6 in (1.68 m) by 2 ft 10 in (0.86 m), but apart from the doorway and a roof of flat slabs the inside has been so much altered that no other original features are certain.

Immediately across the passage from the guardroom is a substantial prison, measuring 9 ft 1 in (2.77 m) by 5 ft 10 in (1.78 m) and built entirely of massive, well cut masonry to frustrate any attempt at escape. The doorway is only 2 ft (0.61 m) wide by 4 ft 2 in (1.27 m) high, compared with the 6 ft 6 in (1.98 m) high guardroom door opposite, and is contained within heavy jambs with boldly rounded arrises. The prison floor is two steps down, 2 ft 5 in (0.74 m) below the passage. It is paved with massive slabs some 9 in (0.23 m) thick, designed, like those in the prison at nearby Bonshaw tower, to prevent tunnelling. There is an original open aumbry or 'lamp' recess, 1 ft 6 in (0.46 m) wide by 1 ft 5 in (0.43 m) by 1 ft 5 in (0.43 m), 2 ft 11 in (0.89 m) above the floor in the north-west corner, a surprising feature. The chamber is roofed with a segmental barrel vault, which reaches a maximum height of 7 ft 4 in (2.31 m) and runs from north to south to help support the stair above. A small air-vent rises through the vault near the south-east corner (illus 6); it is angled at 61° towards the south and, although now blocked only 8 in (0.20 m) up, would appear to have emerged in the vicinity of the entrance to the great hall above, rather than through an outside wall.<sup>29</sup> The stone shelves are modern.

Just before one enters the main basement chamber there is a doorway with heavy jambs and boldly rounded arrises, similar to those around the adjacent prison doorway. The door itself is missing, but in all probability the one now situated further up the passage, at the foot of the stairs, came from here. Its style is that of an internal door (appendix D) and, when complete, it would have been the right size; its present position is not even a doorway.

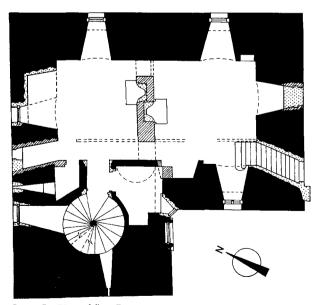
The basement was originally one, large, barrel-vaulted chamber, 9 ft 7 in (2.92 m) high, which was lit by a small window high up in the middle of the south wall. The latter feature is now blocked, but it retains its small, rectangular surround, 1 ft 4 in (0.41 m) wide by 1 ft (0.30 m) high, with a quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet moulding and iron grille (the only one left) on the outside. There is evidence of a similar window in the

north wall, where an opening below the hall window has been filled in on the outside and a larger opening, some 2 ft 9 in (0.84 m) wide, has also been filled high up on the inside. Immediately below, another opening has also been filled in. It was presumably some form of storage cupboard, as it is rebated for a door frame on all sides. It measures 2 ft 3 in (0.69 m) wide by 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) high overall. All these openings were apparently filled in when the basement was converted to a wine cellar in the 19th century. The subdivision of the basement and floors above will be dealt with later. The other features of importance at this level are the gun-loops.

There are two splayed gun-loops in the east wall of the basement, but until recently no others were known (RCAMS 1920, No 90). However, with the removal of the later additions and plasterwork, and a new survey of the entire fabric, a major part of the castle's original artillery strength has been revealed. There were two further gun-loops in each of the north and south walls, and another in the west wall of the main block covering the entrance. There are also two gun-loops of another type, splayed on the outside only, in the wing at the foot of the main stair, where they protected the wing from the west and the castle's entrance from the south-west. These latter loops are 8 ft 6 in (2.59 m) and 10 ft 6 in (3.20 m) long respectively, with an angle of fire of no more than 15°. Despite this limitation (which would not have been apparent from the outside) their size and presence would have made a daunting contribution to the overall impression of strength confronting a besieger. At their inner end they had a small rebate around the opening, presumably for some form of wooden door or shutter. The gun-loops in the main block are still largely filled in, the only complete example being that at the north end of the east wall (see appendix C).

The main stair, which averages about 10 ft 10 in (3·30 m) in diameter, rises as far as the second floor, where it is roofed with a very shallow, segmental vault. Access to higher levels is then gained by a smaller wheel-stair, 8 ft (2·44 m) in diameter; this rises within the thickness of the wall in the wing's south-east corner, terminating in a cap-house on the flat roof. At both the first and second floor levels the major part of the wing is taken up by solid walling, originally pierced only by narrow slit-windows in the north and west walls. Two of these were later enlarged to give access to new additions. The lowest window in the north wall was opened up to accommodate a flight of stairs, which led down to the ground floor of an early extension on that side. When the extension was later removed, the outer doorway was filled in and a new, larger window, with a quirked-edge-roll surround and vertical bars only, inserted at the original level. The other opening is on the west side between the first and second floors, where the slit-window was opened up c 1830 to give direct access to the third floor of the new west wing.

Before entering the great hall on the first floor a doorway on the right admits to a barrel-vaulted chamber, 11 ft 9 in (3.58 m) high, within the re-entrant angle (illus 7). The construction of this room is

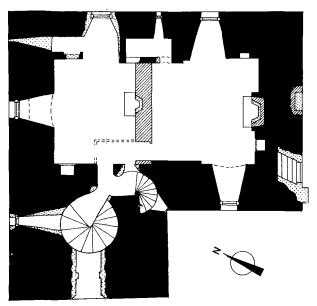


ILLUS 7 Plan of first floor

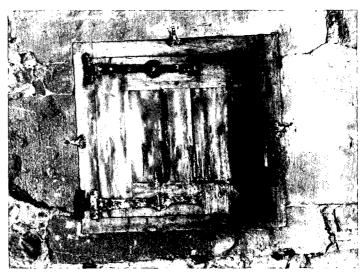
most unusual and its precise purpose obscure. Apart from the room's awkward shape, the south side of the vault, instead of being supported directly on the wall beneath in the normal manner, is cantilevered 1 ft 1 in (0.33 m) out from it on a continuous course of heavy, squared slabs, while in the south-east corner the hall fireplace intrudes into the room to a depth of 2 ft 2 in (0.66 m) by 1 ft 1 in (0.33 m). It may be that this room was also intended to benefit directly from the hall fire in some way, but as this corner was squared off when the fire was closed in the 18th century, insufficient detail remains for any certainty in the matter. There was no other fireplace in the room, and the only illumination was a small slit-window which originally existed in the re-entrant angle before the present, larger window was inserted. The north jamb of the doorway retains its original rebate and heavy hinges, but the south jamb has been altered.

The first floor of the main block was originally a single chamber, forming the great hall. It had a large fireplace in the west wall, a garderobe in the north-west corner and an aumbry in the south-east corner; any other original features disappeared during later alterations. The fireplace, which was 7 ft 4 in (2.24 m) wide, 3 ft (0.91 m) deepland 3 ft 10 in (1.17 m) high, has a quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet moulding on the jambs but a plain lintel. Both jambs bear the same mason's mark. When the hall was later subdivided in the 18th century, the fireplace was closed up altogether and encroached upon the north side by the new corner of the adjacent chamber! The doorway to the garderobe also has a quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet surround, as did all the original windows at this level, the garderobe itself being lit by a small slit-window. Like the other mural chambers at higher levels, it is roofed with flat slabs. The windows on the east and west sides were originally protected by iron grilles and only occupied a small, top portion of the present, much larger openings, where the original bar-sockets may still be seen. The north window was no doubt similar, but it has been greatly altered, including the removal of the east ingo, and now has a quirked-edge-roll surround with no bar-sockets, while the window at the south end was first converted into a doorway to give access to an early addition on that side, and then, after that addition had been removed, finally filled in c 1830 when the new south range was added. At the same time the wall in the south-west corner was breached to accommodate a stone stair, which led up to the higher, first floor of this range. The wall in the north-west corner had already been opened up at an earlier date to give access to an addition on the north side. When this addition was later removed, the present small window, with a quirked-edge-roll surround, was inserted in the opening.

The second floor of the main block was also a single chamber, though here the fireplace, which was originally 5 ft 5 in (1.65 m) wide by 4 ft  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in (1.48 m) high, was in the south wall (illus 8). It too had a quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet surround. Later it was reduced in size. On its right there is a small aumbry



ILLUS 8 Plan of second floor

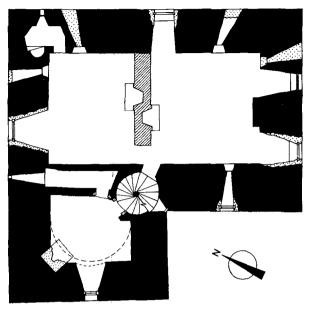


ILLUS 9 Aumbry in south wall of second floor

which retains its original, wooden surround and panelled door almost complete (illus 9). Above this, and 7 ft (2·13 m) above the floor, another opening, 2 ft 8 in (0·81 m) wide by 3 ft 5 in (1·04 m) high, with a heavy stone lintel, has been completely filled in. It was most likely a high level window, all trace of which disappeared on the outside when the chimney arrangement was altered c 1830. In the north-west corner there was another, larger aumbry, rebated for a door, and in the south-east corner a small open-aumbry or lamp-shelf. The garderobe in the north-east corner was originally entered through a doorway with a quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet surround in the east wall, but both this and the garderobe's slit-window and flue were later filled in, and a new access to the chamber formed in the ingo of the adjacent east window. The original doorway bears two masons' marks. A similar doorway nearer the middle of the east wall gave access to another mural chamber, 8 ft 5½ in (2.58 m) by 3 ft 10½ in (1.18 m) by 8 ft 3 in (2.51 m) high, lit by a small slit-window. It originally had an opening, 8 in (0.20 m) wide by 1 ft 3 in (0.38 m) high, in its north wall, but this was closed when the adjacent window recess was enlarged; it was probably a lamp-shelf. The doorway was also filled in and superseded by a new opening at the south end when the principal chambers were subdivided; but it has recently been reopened, once again exposing the original inner rebate and heavy hinges. The original windows, like those in the hall below, were all very small, with iron grilles, and occupied only the upper portion of the present, much larger ones. The more northerly of those on the east side was especially small, the whole window and recess having been rebuilt at some period. In the top left-hand corner on the outside the original moulding may still be seen, partly built up by the later surround.

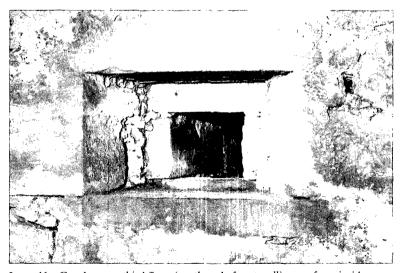
The higher floors are reached by the smaller wheel-stair, which starts at this level and rises within the re-entrant angle. The first door reached admits to a barrel-vaulted chamber, 12 ft 6 in (3.81 m) high, in the wing (illus 10). It was lit by a relatively large window in the west wall, but had no fireplace, the present one in the north-west corner being a later insertion. A doorway in the east wall leads over a 10 in (0.25 m) high step into a mural chamber,  $12 \text{ ft } (3.66 \text{ m}) \log \text{ by } 3 \text{ ft } (0.91 \text{ m})$  wide and 9 ft 3 in (2.82 m) high, roofed with massive flat slabs. The purpose of this chamber is obscure; not only is the small slit-window set much higher than usual, with the sill some 7 ft 9 in (2.36 m) above the floor, but there is a pronounced outward curve at the north end of the east wall, while the whole of the east wall is also curved inwards as it rises to provide stronger support for the roof slabs.

Seven steps higher is the third floor of the main block, a unique example of high-level defence. Apart from a garderobe with flue and slit-window in the north-east corner, and a single window in each of the east and south walls, the principal feature of this floor was the generous provision of substantial gun-loops (illus 10). In the original arrangement there appear to have been two loops in each of the north, east and south walls and one in the west wall, complementing those at ground level, but individually orientated. However,

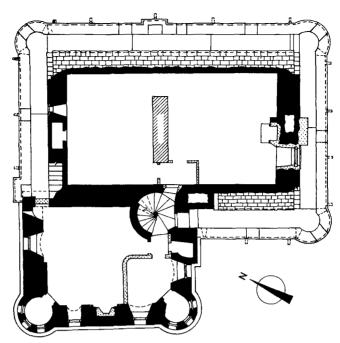


ILLUS 10 Plan of third floor

those at the west end of the north and south walls disappeared in the 18th century, when the chamber was divided and the walls were opened up for additional windows. The remaining loops were apparently closed up at the same time, except for the west one, which had a matching, albeit totally ineffective, window inserted into the loop at the outer wall face. Each of these loops was splayed outwards through most of the wall's thickness with only a shallow splay on the inside (illus 11); but although the average angle of fire was only 15° (the same as the gun-loops at the foot of the main stair), these were also clearly designed for guns of some substance. The main problem under siege would have been to clear the smoke.



ILLUS 11 Gun-loop on third floor (south end of east wall), seen from inside



ILLUS 12 Plan of fourth floor

The top floor of the main block is a garret, set within the main parapet walk (illus 12). It has a slitwindow in the north gable and no doubt originally had a similar one in the south gable, where a larger window and adjacent fireplace were later added. The only other feature is a mural storage-cupboard in the middle of the north gable. This is very unusual in that, although the entrance is rebated on three sides for a small door, 1 ft 9 in (0.53 m) wide by 2 ft 10 in (0.86 m) high, like a conventional aumbry, it is situated at floor level and admits to a small chamber or wall-safe, 4 ft 7 in (1.40 m) wide, 2 ft 1 in (0.63 m) deep and 4 ft 7 in (1.40 m) high, roofed with a single stone slab.

The roof of the main block appears to pre-date the addition of the central chimney stack in the 18th century and, apart from the slates, is probably original. It is of double collar-rafter construction, with struts at the wall-head and braces reinforcing the lower collars. The feet of the principal rafters are also ashlared at the wall-head. Each of these principals is made in two pieces, which are tenoned into a common purlin, made up of scarf-jointed sections, that runs the length of the building between the collars. All the joints are tenoned and pegged.

Continuing the ascent of the stair, a door on the south side leads directly to the main parapet walk, while another door a few steps higher admits to the fourth floor of the wing. The parapet walk, which is paved with the usual stepped flagstones draining through gargoyles, runs around the main block and originally continued into the wing chamber through another doorway, now blocked, in the wing's northeast corner (illus 12). It is carried on an enriched corbel table, and incorporates projecting rounds at the north-east, south-east and south-west corners. There are also substantial machicolations corbelled out beyond the parapet wall on the east side and where the main block joins the wing on the north side, but not on the south side, which lay within the protection of the courtyard. A third machicolation over the main entrance was enclosed within the wing's south wall and only accessible from the adjacent chamber. The parapet wall itself was of ashlar, the top course of which had a roll-moulding on its outer edge; it rose some 5 ft (1.52 m) above the parapet walk and was equipped with a number of embrasures, including one in the middle of each round. On either side of the latter openings the wall incorporated small, rectangular shotholes, of irregular size and height, which were splayed on the inside only (Maxwell-Irving 1971, 222). Another shot-hole of this type was incorporated in the parapet wall within the re-entrant angle; this gave additional protection to the tower's entrance by covering the courtyard immediately to the west (illus 13).



ILLUS 13 Re-entrant angle at parapet level, showing machicolation over entrance and flanking shot-hole

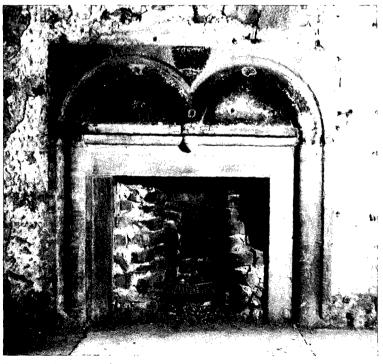
The north gable of the main roof terminates in a beacon or look-out platform, measuring 5 ft  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in (1.69 m) by 4 ft 1 in (1.24 m). On the outside this is carried on seven bold courses of enriched and continuous corbelling to oversail the parapet walk, while on the inside the gable continues as a low wall, rising 2 ft 3 in (0.69 m) above it. The precise purpose of this wall is not certain: whilst its construction is such that it acts as a counterbalance for the overhanging weight of the platform, its height could equally well have served either as a fire barrier to protect the roof or a seat, albeit very exposed, for a look-out. The south gable terminated in a chimney stack. This was increased in depth c 1830 by the addition on the south side of further flues, serving fireplaces in the new wing. Both gables are crow-stepped, but in order to reach the beacon platform the steps on the west side of the north gable are 2 ft  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in (0.72 m) wide, an arrangement found at nearby Comlongon more than a century earlier. The chimney stack above the great hall fire projects like a buttress at the wing's south-east corner, having been raised to the upper roof level when this was added (illus 13). Then, when the wing's parapet was rebuilt in the 19th century, this chimney, which was by then no longer in use, was closed off to support an additional, decorative round.

The fourth floor of the wing rises from an enriched corbel table, the same as the one around the main block, only 2 ft (0.61 m) higher; <sup>32</sup> and where the main block has rounds at the corners, the north-west and south-west corners of the wing are provided with projecting turrets that continue up the fifth floor to the roof. Each of these turrets has its own doorway, small round chamber and three small windows, giving a wide field of vision (illus 12). The main chamber has four, larger windows spaced around the outside walls; three of the window-recesses have splayed jambs supporting segmental arches, but the one at the north end of the west wall has square jambs below a semi-circular arch. All the windows have quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet surrounds. A hatch in the south wall gives access to the machicolation protecting the entrance. This was originally open to the room, but, unlike the machicolations on the parapet walk, which were at walk level, this one was reached over a substantial stone sill, 1 ft (0.30 m) deep and some 3 ft (0.91 m) above the

original floor level. It is now partially blocked. Also blocked is the doorway in the north-east corner of this chamber that once gave direct access to the parapet walk on the north side. It appears that the arrangement here may not always have been as simple as it seems, for what appears to be a broken drain-spout can be seen emerging through the corbelling immediately below the slit-window in this corner. The other feature of note is the large fireplace in the west wall. Originally measuring 5 ft 5 in (1.65 m) wide, 5 ft 2 in (1.58 m) high and about 2 ft 10 in (0.86 m) deep, it has a bold, edge-roll-and-hollow moulding on the jambs, which continues on the lintel as two semi-circles meeting at the centre (illus 14).<sup>33</sup> This fireplace was later partially filled to accommodate a smaller grate. From the various arrangements for easy access to the machicolations, and the stone floor below, it may reasonably be inferred that this unexpectedly large fireplace was intended to provide boiling liquids for use in defence.

The arrangement of the turrets and windows on the wing's fifth floor is similar to that on the floor below, except that all the window recesses have splayed jambs and there was an additional, small window overlooking the main block on the east side. It is noted, though, that the two outer windows in each turret were not added until the 19th century, as they do not appear in earlier prints (illus 1). All these windows have quirked-edge-roll surrounds. The fireplace at this level is in the middle of the east wall. It too originally had a large opening,<sup>34</sup> but its surround, which incorporates an inverted fillet between edge-roll and cavetto mouldings, is of a type that did not come into general use before about 1610, half a century after the moulding around the fourth-floor fireplace was in vogue. This fireplace was also later reduced.

The wing finally rises to a flat roof, recently renewed, where the dominant feature is a great, 19th-century, circular cap-house above the stair. Although the stair-head must always have had some form of protection, nothing is visible in the 18th-century illustrations of the castle. The embattled parapet wall, however, although renewed in the 19th century when the two rounds on the east side were added, closely follows the outline shown in the earlier illustrations, including the caps on the west turrets. It is likely that this work dates from 1889, the date shown on a rainwater head on the east side. The chimneys serving the wing fireplaces also terminate at this level, inside the parapet, where they are now closed off.



ILLUS 14 Fireplace on fourth floor of wing

## DATE OF THE NEW CASTLE

Sir William Fraser states that the fourth Lord Herries built the house of Hoddomstains (Hoddom castle) and the watch tower of Repentance (appendix B) in Annandale, the house of Kirkgunzeon<sup>35</sup> in Galloway, and Mosstroops tower<sup>36</sup> in Terregles, as well as causing the warden dykes of Dumfries and Annan<sup>37</sup> to be cast' for the towns' safety against the thieves of Annandale (Fraser 1873, I, 568); no dates are given. The only direct evidence for most of these statements appears to have been a manuscript history of the Herries family, some of which Fraser himself proved to be inaccurate. Nevertheless, it is evident from contemporary historical records, supported by the scant architectural evidence available, that it must indeed have been the fourth Lord Herries who carried out at least the major part of these works. One recently discovered piece of evidence would seem to confirm Fraser's statements and puts a precise date on the building of both Hoddom castle and Repentance tower:

3 May 1565. Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil.

My chief desire in going to Carlisle was to return by the Master of Maxwell's, and see the works he has in hand. In Annan town he has builded a fair tower . . . Within two miles of it he 'byldethe' two other forts – the one great – the other a watch tower of great height; in that he has a bell to warn the country at need, and beside the same a 'becone'. . . . and for justice I would the other wardens were like him (CSPScot, II, 155).

(I am indebted to Joachim W Zeune, Research Student, for drawing my attention to this reference.) Lord Herries also rebuilt the choir of Terregles church (RCAMS 1914, No 432), and had intended to rebuild Terregles itself. It was an ambitious programme of works, but one that was wholly in accord with Herries's political convictions and religious beliefs.

The old castle of Hoddom (appendix A) was not a stronghold of major importance, unlike the new castle, which could stand comparison with any of the great tower-castles of the 14th and 15th centuries in the West March. For this reason the English survey of the West March in 1547 makes no mention of a place of strength at Hoddom; and a new survey c 1563-6, whilst giving details of all the great castles around Holdom - Caerlaverock, 38 Torthorwald, Lochmaben, Castlemilk, Annan, Comlongon (Cockpool) and Kelhead - only mentions Hoddom itself as a place in passing between Castlemilk and Annan (Armstrong 1883, cvi-cxvi). By the latter date, however, the new castle of Hoddom must have been imminent, if not actually started, for in June 1568 the Regent Moray reported the surrender of Hoddom, 'a strong fort' of Lord Herries, which 'mycht haif holdin'. Two years later, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth deploring the Earl of Sussex's recent campaign in the West March, the Bishop of Ross complained that Sussex had thrown down 10 of the principal castles, 'two of which are most strong – Annand and Hodoun' (CSPScot, III, No 441). The latter reports clearly refer to the new castle, the one where, in 1577/8, Herries himself proposed he should keep residence in times of trouble. This castle is first illustrated in Timothy Pont's survey of 1595-6 (Blaeu 1662, VI, 'Annandail'), which also shows the 'Duke of Hoddom's tower (at Knockhill) but omits the old castle of Hoddom (at Hallguards).

There are few architectural details that can assist in dating the new castle, and none of the masons' marks is yet recorded elsewhere. The principal moulding found in the original work is the quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet. This was known as early as the 13th century in ecclesiastical architecture, though normally only as part of a more complex moulding. It does not seem to have reached vernacular architecture in the Borders before the latter half of the 16th century, and even then it was rarely found and sparingly used: for example, in a fireplace at Hillslap tower (Roxburghshire) in 1585 and a doorway at Abbot's tower (Kirkcudbrightshire). A moulding of greater interest is the roll-andhollow one around the wing's fourth floor fireplace. This is the same moulding found around the great hall buffet at nearby Bonshaw tower, an unusually strong tower of its type, which also has, on a lesser scale, related features in the gun-loops, prison and machicolations. These all generally belong to the third quarter of the 16th century. The twin semi-circle head on the lintel of the same fireplace is also found echoed above an aumbry at nearby Elshieshields tower, above a window at Barholm tower in Galloway, and elsewhere later in the 16th century.

One thing is certain, when the new castle was first built, it was lower than at present. The beacon or look-out platform on top of the main block's north gable would have been the highest feature, while the wing ended at fourth floor (garret) level. But, although the change in corbel level around the wing is very unusual, it is an original feature, contemporary with the corbel table of the main block.<sup>32</sup> The great fireplace and turrets in the wing at this level also appear to be original. The absence of bar-sockets from windows at such a height is not necessarily significant. The addition of the fifth floor came later.

# LATER ADDITIONS

Hoddom underwent so many changes during the 17th and 18th centuries that it is not possible to be certain who carried out any particular phase in the castle's development, or even be sure of the building sequence. At various times the wing has been heightened by one storey and the main block divided down the middle; windows have been enlarged, doorways cut through walls or closed up, and fireplaces progressively made smaller; while various extensions and outbuildings were added on the north, south and west sides. Some of these works are recorded and some of the improvers named, but before the end of the 18th century, when detailed records begin to appear, one can only give a general, and to some extent speculative, picture.

The earliest addition was probably the fifth floor of the wing, which raised the castle to its present height. The resulting two-storey turrets have been compared with those at Pinkie House (1613) in Midlothian (MacGibbon & Ross, II, 138), but the general concept of such turrets may be found as near as Amisfield tower (1600) and widely distributed elsewhere, especially in the northeast. The moulding around the fireplace is slightly later in date; it first appeared c 1625 and thereafter continued in use for the next 60 years or more. It seems quite likely that the addition of this floor was part of the extensive works undertaken by the first Earl of Annandale c 1636.

Other additions during the 17th century and first half of the 18th century included an indeterminate extension to the south, a major extension to the north and the two-storey building to the west shown in John Clerk of Eldin's painting c 1750 (illus 1). The only surviving trace of the first of these is the old roof-line on the tower's south wall (illus 15). This is not easy to interpret, but it suggests that the building was two storeys high on its west side, with a gabled roof that continued downwards over a single storey portion of the building, possibly of different date, on the east side. The only interconnection between the two buildings was at first floor level, where the former south window was opened up to provide a doorway.

The building on the north side of the castle was obviously more important, though again the only evidence of its existence are the details left in the walls of the tower itself. It was two storeys high, and had two pitched roofs, one running north—south on the east side and the other running east—west, possibly indicating an L-plan extension with the re-entrant angle facing north-west. It communicated directly with the main tower at both levels. From the west wing a mural stair led up to the tower's main wheel-stair, and thence to the main entrance, while at first floor level a new passage cut through the tower's north wall to the north-west corner of the great hall. When this building was also later demolished, the doorways were converted to windows (illus 7). It is quite possible that this extension was built during the later years of the 17th century, when many owners of Border towers, realizing that the security and attendant discomfort of such strongholds were no longer relevant, chose to build

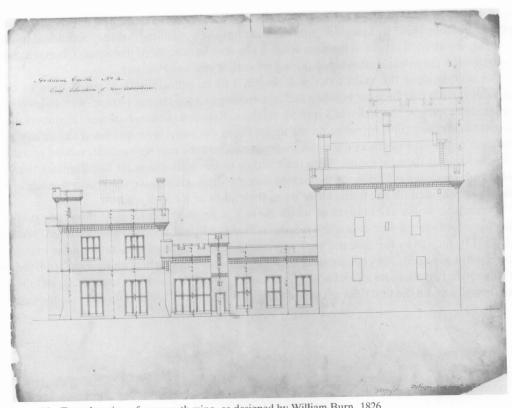


ILLUS 15 South-west elevation

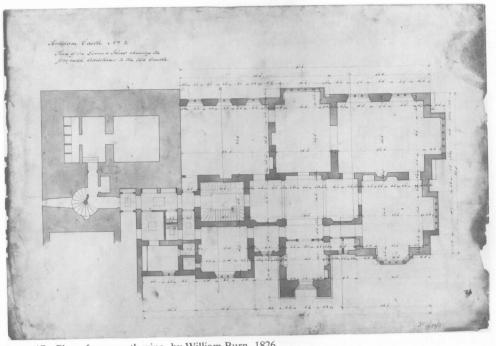
more comfortable accommodation besides, and often interconnected with, the old towers. Certainly there is an old door lintel, now re-positioned at the north end of the site, that is dated 1677 and bears the altered inscription 'GOD BE[MRYC]HERE'.<sup>39</sup> It relates to work carried out by the third Earl of Southesk, but one cannot say with any certainty from which building it came.

The addition on the west side of the tower was also two storeys high, but, unlike the extension to the north, did not communicate directly with it. Instead, a single storey lobby was built partly within the tower's re-entrant angle to give covered access to the wing. This may have been a later addition. The wing appears in Clerk's painting c 1750 (illus 1) and Grose's drawings published in 1789 (illus 2), one of which also shows the lobby, but no details are visible except a broad chimney stack on the west gable and some form of decorative pinnacle rising from the south-west skewput. These details also appear in the anonymous painting of 1795 (Irving 1907, 122). At some later date, and before Burn produced his plans in 1826, the two outbuildings shown further west were removed and both the wing and lobby extended as far as the north-west corner tower and curtain wall, for Burn's plans show this new, much larger wing and the service passage along its south side as existing 'Kitchen Offices' (NMRS, DFD/70/1).

At the time of Grose's visit Hoddom was in the possession of Charles Sharpe (née Kirkpatrick), who had inherited it in 1769 and lived there until his death in 1813. Four years later, in 1793, the Statistical Account relates that Sharpe had 'repaired and much improved [Hoddom] by adding several rooms'. It is believed that both the south and north additions were of much earlier date: the former



ILLUS 16 East elevation of new south wing, as designed by William Burn, 1826



ILLUS 17 Plan of new south wing, by William Burn, 1826

does not appear in Grose's drawings, neither is the north extension evident, and both had certainly disappeared before 1826. If, therefore, one can discount the possibility that the 'additional rooms' were among the kitchen offices in the west wing, it can only be concluded that it was Charles Sharpe who sub-divided the tower's main block during his earlier years at Hoddom.

The wall dividing the main block was designed to be self-supporting, rising from its own foundations the full height of the building and terminating in a tall chimney-stack, with an inverted, ogee-moulded coping. 40 The wall was 3 ft (0.91 m) thick. Between the new basement chambers there was a central doorway (illus 6), while on the upper floors doorways were provided on the east and west sides as required. Fireplaces were also incorporated into the new wall at first, second and third floor levels to serve the new rooms. With the building of this wall, the great hall fireplace became unusable and was closed off, while on the second floor the original fireplace was reduced in size and a new doorway provided for the mural chamber in the middle of the east wall.

The earliest works at Hoddom of which there is a detailed record were those designed by William Burn for General Sharpe in 1826–7. Some of Burn's original drawings have survived (NMRS, DFD/70/1–13), though by the time the work was complete the buildings were rather more extensive than originally envisaged. They comprised a large range, two storeys high, running south from the old tower (illus 16 & 17); alternations and additions to the existing kitchen offices to the west, including a late decision to rebuild the first floor and add a third storey (illus 18), with direct access to the castle's



ILLUS 18 Hoddom castle from the west, 1902

original wing at this level (illus 8);<sup>41</sup> and a further range of secondary buildings running away to the north-west. The new masonry was all finely cut ashlar, in marked contrast to the roughly coursed rubble of the tower and older work retained in the west wing and curtain wall. Although almost all of this work has now been demolished, there are many photographs of the completed buildings in the National Monuments archive (NMRS/DF) and elsewhere.

The final chapter in the development of Hoddom began in 1877, when Edward Brook bought the property. During the next 14 or so years the extent of the castle almost doubled, with a vast range of new buildings being added to the north (illus 3). Comparison of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps for 1859 and 1899 gives some idea of the changes; but whilst the wings added by Burn to the south and west of the old tower-castle have now gone, the later works to the north have been retained for other uses, and so may still be seen.

The principal feature of this new work is a large range, 123 ft (37.49 m) long, that lies to the north of the old castle and faces east. It comprises a long, central building, two storeys high, which runs north-south between two, matching but not identical, short, transverse wings, each of three storeys, running east-west (illus 19). This range, which was connected to the old castle by a short extension, incorporated new public rooms (drawing room, dining room and library) on the ground floor and additional accommodation for the staff above. From the wings at either end single storey extensions with lofts run west for 65 ft (19.81 m) on the north side and 97 ft (29.57 m) on the south side to enclose a courtyard. These wings accommodated the stables and coach-house as well as providing quarters for the grooms. At its west end the more northerly wing abuts a small, two-storey building that alone survives from the earlier outbuildings to the north. This was the coachman's house and tack-room. Further north another extension leads to a further range, 128 ft (39 m) long, that runs east-west. This includes a large, round tower with washrooms at its north-east corner. Further additions were subsequently made at the west end of this wing; but although they are dated 1891 on the rainwater heads, they were apparently not built until after 1899, as they do not appear on the Ordnance Survey map surveyed in that year. Among these most northerly buildings were the gas rooms and changing rooms for the nearby tennis court.



ILLUS 19 View from the north-east, showing the new range added by Edward Brook, c 1890

#### APPENDIX A

#### HODDOM OLD CASTLE

Very little is known about the old castle of Hoddom, which formerly stood on the site now occupied by Hallguards farmhouse. Like so many lesser Border strongholds, it did not play a significant role in either local or national affairs, and it is only by incidental references that its existence is known. There is no certain evidence of when it was built, or by whom; nor is it known why it was omitted from Pont's map of Annandale in 1595-6. Was it overlooked, or did Pont consider it insignificant alongside its majestic namesake on the other bank and the 'Duke' of Hoddom's stronghold, at Knockhill, immediately to the north? Or, as seems more likely, was it by then a ruin, unworthy of mention in the English reports of 1547 and c 1565 and subsequently succeeded by the new castle of 'Hoddom Stanes', built, as its name implies, partly from the stones of the old castle?

Were it not for its noble successor, it would no doubt have remained in obscurity. However, such was the interest of Captain Grose in the new castle of Hoddom and its history, when he toured Scotland in 1789, that he also chose to include a view of the older castle in his Antiquities of Scotland (Grose 1789, I, 139). 42 This is the only record known. All that remained of the castle was subsequently demolished to make way for further additions and alterations to the 17th/18th-century farmhouse. Only one identifiable fragment is known to have survived; lying amongst a rockery on the south side of the house is the lowest rybat of a stronghold's right-hand, entrance-door jamb. Cut from local sandstone, it has a quirked-edge-roll arris with die on the outside and a double rebate, for wooden door and yett, on the inside.

Grose's view of the ruin is, regrettably, not very informative. If the castle is seen from the east, as seems likely, the surviving tower stood roughly where the south-east corner of the present house stands. It was built of coursed and squared ashlar, with a splayed plinth course, and at that time rose three storeys to the ruinous wall-head. The only other features were two slit-windows in the end wall at first floor level and a single, larger window at the floor above. The narrowness of this end wall suggests a projecting wing or tower, rather than a rectangular block, while the carefully drawn, ashlar masonry and slit-windows on the first floor - Grose was an experienced antiquary, who prepared his own drawings - strongly suggests a date before the 16th century, and perhaps even as early as the 14th century. Ashlar masonry is most commonly found in castles of the late 13th and early 14th centuries (eg the earliest work at Caerlaverock, Morton and Hermitage), and it was during the later part of this period that the English were endeavouring to settle in lower Annandale.

## APPENDIX B

# REPENTANCE TOWER

The watch-tower of Repentance was not only an outpost for Hoddom castle, but also a sentinel for the major part of the West March. Standing on the summit of Trailtrow hill, ½ mile south of the castle, it had a commanding prospect over much of lower Annandale and the Solway plain, including the two principal invasion routes into south-west Scotland.

The site was first formally recorded as a look-out post and beacon at a meeting held at the College of Lincluden on 18 December 1448. The meeting was convened by William, eighth Earl of Douglas, warden of the West March, following the sack of Dumfries by the English earlier that year, and all the 'Lords, Freeholders and eldest Borderers' were commanded to attend and be sworn to uphold

'the statutes, ordinances and uses of Marche that were ordained in Black Archibald of Douglas' days, and Archibald his son's days, in time of warfare' (McDowell 1886, 190-5).

These ordinances were again set forth in detail and subsequently confirmed by parliament (APS, I, 716). They included an order concerning 'bailis birning and keping for cuming of ane Inglis oist in Scotland'. The main outpost was to be on Trailtrow hill, where 'ane baill [was to] be brynt', with the steward of Annandale responsible for its keeping. Tradition relates that this beacon was maintained by the Irvings of Trailtrow. There is no mention of a watch-tower on Trailtrow hill before Lord Herries built the new tower of 'Repentance' on the site sometime during the reign of Queen Mary. Only then, under a new Order was it ordained that

'the Maines of Howdam [were] to be occupyed, . . . This Man neither to be Warden, nor Stewart-Deput, but assist them as need shall require, . . . and never let man come in the Tower in his absence, but them whose Names shall be given him in writing, and that he assuredly take heed, that the Watch-house of Trailtrow be keeped be the Watch thereof: And in the time of Warfare, the Beaken, as is devised, that is ever in Weir and in Peace, the Watch to be keeped on the House-head; and in the Weir the Beaken in the Fire-pan to be keeped, and never faill burning, so long as the Englishmen remain in Scotland; and with ane Bell to be on the Head of the Fire-pan, which shall ring whenever the Fray is, or that the Watchman seing the Thieves disobedient come over the Water of Annand, or thereabout, and knowes them to be Enemies; And whosoever bydes fra the Fray, or turns again so long as the Beaken burns, or the Bell rings, shall be holden as Partakers to the Enemies, and used as Traitors . . .' (Border Laws, 197).

Despite its diminutive size, Repentance tower was well-suited to its purpose, strongly defended and virtually inaccessible to enemy artillery (illus 20). Built of local sandstone rubble, roughly coursed, with dressed margins and plain, roll mouldings, it measures 23 ft 8 in  $(7 \cdot 21 \text{ m})$  by 21 ft 4 in  $(6 \cdot 50 \text{ m})$ , over walls averaging 5 ft 6 in  $(1 \cdot 68 \text{ m})$  thick, and originally rose (the adjacent ground was about 3 ft  $(0 \cdot 91 \text{ m})$  lower then) some 30 ft  $(9 \cdot 14 \text{ m})$  to the parapet walk, which surmounts the wall-head on all sides. Within this a hipped roof of large, overlapping, sandstone flags, supported by a barrel vault, rises to a central, stone 'beacon'. The tower was originally divided into four storeys; but the top floor was later removed and much of the work above the wall-head 'restored' during the 19th century (see RCAMS 1920, No 89).



ILLUS 20 Repentance tower from the south

The tower's entrance is on the first floor, some 6 ft (1.83 m) above the old ground level. It was protected by strong inner and outer doors, and was originally reached by a removable, wooden ladder. From this level a second wooden ladder inside led down to the unvaulted basement. This chamber has no features save two, narrowly splayed, gun-loops in each wall. These have openings 10 in (0.25 m) wide by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in (0.17 m) high on the outer wall face, are individually angled so as to cover most of the ground round about, and would originally have been some 3 ft (0.91 m) above the ground. Their design is essentially similar to that of the gun-loops on the third floor of Hoddom castle. The only feature of note on the first floor is a stone seat, or recess, built into the south-east corner, opposite the entrance. From this level a further wooden ladder – more recently replaced by a stone stair, cantilevered out from the wall – gave access to the second floor, whence a stone stair in two, straight flights rises steeply to the parapet walk. The original bell would have needed to be a substantial size if the sound were to carry any distance; but in mistakenly replacing it with the modern 'beacon' – the original beacon was *beside* the tower – the 19th-century restorers swept away any vestige of how and where it was mounted.

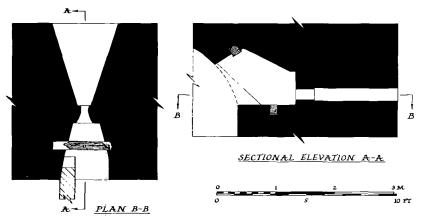
It is not known for certain why the motto 'Repentance' is carved over the tower's entrance. The most popular tradition relates that, by demolishing the ancient chapel on Trailtrow hill to provide building material for his castle, Lord Herries earned from the powerful Archbishop of Glasgow<sup>43</sup> the strongest censure for desecrating the one-time seat of his hallowed predecessor, St Kentigern. Lord Herries purged his sin by building the new watch-tower to guard the kingdom, with its reminder of his 'Repentance'. Whatever the reason for Lord Herries's repentance, the watch-tower was a natural accessory for the defence of the new castle.

## APPENDIX C

#### GUN-LOOPS IN BASEMENT

The gun-loop at the north end of the basement's east wall, although the only one at present fully exposed, is presumed to be typical of all the gun-loops in the basement. It is of a basically conventional type, splayed out on either side to give a field of fire of about  $37^{\circ 44}$  (illus 21). On the outside the opening is only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in (0.22 m) high to give maximum protection to the defenders, while the inside is opened out to a maximum height of 3 ft 2 in (0.97 m) to allow the gunner full access and manoeuvrability. The throat block in between is truly massive for such a feature; because of its thickness (1 ft; 0.30 m) it was made in two halves, split through the middle. For the same reason the throat, which is 7 in (0.18 m) high by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in (0.19 m) wide in the middle, had to be splayed out to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in (0.29 m) wide on either side to permit the gun or cannon to swivel through the required angle of fire.

Two features of note have come to light within the inner recess: one is an oak beam, approximately 6 in (0.15 m) square, built across the top of the recess where the basement vaulting joins the wall; and the



ILLUS 21 Gun-loop in basement

other is another oak beam, 5 in (0.13 m) wide,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in (0.16 m) high and 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) long, which is let into a channel that runs across the sill and into the wall on either side, some 12 in (0.30 m) behind the throat, such that its top is flush with the sill (illus 21). Although the latter beam is in an advanced state of decay, it still retains a much worn, vertical hole, approximately  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in (32 mm) in diameter, which pierces it near the centre. There can be little doubt that this hole was intended to take a gun support or the hook of a hakbut, with the beam sliding along the channel as the gun swivelled.

## APPENDIX D

#### OLD DOOR IN BASEMENT

The old oak door in the basement passage is of cross-boarded construction, fastened with clencher nails in the usual diamond pattern. It now measures 3 ft  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in (1.15 m) wide by 6 ft  $0\frac{3}{8}$  in (1.84 m) high, but it was originally some 3 in (0.07 m) taller, the bottom having been cut off at some period and the hanging of the door altered. This is evident from the door's method of construction and the rust-stained image of an earlier hinge of the same size and type, which is clearly visible 7 in (0.18 m) below the upper one.

The average thickness of the door is 1% in (48 mm). However, owing to the most unusual method of feather jointing the vertical boards on the front, the depth of each of these boards is tapered across its width from about 1 in (25 mm) to % in (19 mm). The closing stile extends the full depth of the door, and is rebated to take the horizontal boards at the back; in addition, the middle rail was set in with a dovetail and the top and bottom rails with a half dovetail, though only a vestige of the lowest one survived the door's shortening; there is no such jointing on the handing side. The iron hinges are also fastened with clencher nails. They are of an early strap type with spade ends, tapering along their length in both width and thickness. Although repositioned, they may well be original. Unfortunately no original fastenings for the door have survived, only evidence of where a bolt and lock were once fitted on the inner face.

The positioning for the clencher nails was scribed on the vertical boards in a diamond pattern. This is still clearly visible, except on the lower part of the door, where the surface is more worn and the clencher nails have rusted away. It is evident, therefore, that, although the door has undergone a number of changes and is of considerable antiquity – quite possibly as old as the tower itself – it has always served as an inside door.

## **NOTES**

- Some fragments are preserved at Dumfries Museum, but the finer pieces, including parts of more than one great preaching cross, were tragically buried under the east drive at Hoddom castle during its occupation by the army in World War II. According to the testimony of Walter Bell, who actually drove the road roller, the Pioneer Corps delivered a lorry load of stones, including 'stones bearing strange symbols and writing', and these were used to add about a yard to the north side of the drive prior to the arrival of a vast number of Churchill tanks. The carved stones were buried 'about 150 yards before the drawbridge'.
- 2 According to Mr A E Truckell, late Curator of Dumfries Museum, there is evidence that Trailtrow hill was occupied as a fort from a very early date.
- 3 The site of an early monastery has also been identified close by.
- 4 A considerable number of Dark-Age sites are now coming to light in the immediate vicinity.
- 5 See 'Mottes' by Stell 1975, 28–9, 128.
- 6 William de Heriz was also a witness.
- A moated manor was excavated at Dunrod, Kirkcudbright, in 1964–5 (Burdon-Davies 1966, 121–36). See also RCAMS 1956, 47–8.
- 8 If it was indeed earthworks that were identified, they must inevitably have been very fragmentary, and almost certainly belonged to quite a different period of occupation, and a different sequence of development, at the site.
- The agreement also provided that Lochmaben castle and certain lands, including the 'Park of Wodecokheir' just across the Annan south of Hoddom, should remain the Earl's exclusive property (Gladstone 1919, 141).

- 10 The Norman family of de Heriz came to Dumfriesshire in the train of the Bruces. In 1356/7 they received a crown charter of the barony of Terregles, near Dumfries, which thereafter remained the chief seat and principal residence of the family and their Maxwell heirs and successors for more than five and a half centuries.
- Although it has been widely assumed that the title was French in origin, the *Oxford English Dictionary* shows that it was also found in Middle English usage for 'a leader' at least as early as the mid 14th century.
- Contrary to some accounts the 'Duke of Hoddom's' tower never stood on the site of Hallguards, nor is its portrayal on the early maps meant to be so interpreted. This is confirmed by its relationship to the rivers shown; Pont clearly shows it on the site of Knockhill, whereas the site of Hallguards was further downstream, below the next confluence.
- There are several lists of the pledges taken, and the number quoted for each 'Gentleman' or 'Principal Headsman' varies from list to list.
- 14 'The Master of Maxwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie spears broken on him in the chase as he fled away' (quoted in Irving 1907, 34–5).
- The earliest reference to John Maxwell of Terregles, 'knycht', is in a Bond of Manrent dated 21 December 1553 (Fraser 1873, II, 478).
- Often incorrectly styled 'fifth Lord Maxwell', due to the erroneous habit of calling the second Lord Maxwell's eldest son, John (who *dvp* 1484), 'third Lord Maxwell'. (See *Complete Peerage*, VIII, 590–1.)
- 17 For the Herries' connection with these lands see Fraser 1894, I, xxii–xxiii.
- The circumstances under which Lord John Hamilton and his father became involved in the Herries estates, and Sir John Maxwell acquired their interest, are dealt with at length by Sir William Fraser (Fraser 1873, I, 500-1) and in the *Scots Peerage* (IV, 409-10).
- 19 The first appearance of Sir John Maxwell as fourth Lord Herries of Terregles was at the baptism of Prince James, 17 December 1566 (*Scots Peerage*, IV, 410).
- The same quarters are included in the writer's arms, as a direct descendant (Lyon Register XLVI, 73).
- 21 See Lord Herries's own account of his conduct in *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and a portion of the Reign of King James VI*, Pitcairn, R (ed), Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1878.
- Terregles was rebuilt or modernised by the fifth Lord Herries in 1601, and again by William Haggerston Constable and his wife, Lady Winifred Maxwell, in 1789. It was finally demolished in 1961.
- Although William sat in parliament as fifth Lord Herries in 1584, he did not formally succeed to the Herries honours and estates until after the death of his mother, Agnes, *suo jure* Baroness Herries, in 1594 (*Scot Peerage*, IV, 413).
- 24 Ridpath (1776, 664) gives a somewhat biased account of the incident. See Fraser 1971, 312–14, for a more balanced summary of events. See also *Border Papers*, I, No 330 *et seq*.
- 25 Imperial measurements are used for structural details throughout this paper, with metric equivalents in brackets.
- The following abbreviations can be used in reference to common mouldings: QER . . . quirked-edge-roll; QERF . . . quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet.
- A similar, though not necessarily contemporaneous hood mould is found on the building work added in 1891.
- 28 It is reasonable to presume that this panel bore the arms of the fourth Lord Herries, granted him in April 1567, at about the same time as Hoddom was built.
- Although the prison and its air vent are larger than those found at Bonshaw and Lochwood, in the same county, there is an undoubted similarity in the way the air vents in all three prisons pass through the vaults and rise vertically within the thickness of the walls above.
- 30 The infill has been penetrated to a depth of 10 in (0.25 m) without any sign of a rebate for another cupboard or wall-safe.
- 31 The steps at Comlongon are 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) wide. They lead up to two look-out platforms on the east gable.
- 32 The two levels of corbelling both spring from a single, moulded stone within the re-entrant angle (illus 13).

- The edge-roll-and-hollow moulding is fairly rare in the Borders, though not peculiar to any one area. It is found nearby at Bonshaw tower, which has certain other affinities with Hoddom.
- 34 It could not be reached for measurement, as the floor is now missing.
- The building referred to was Corra (or Corah) castle, ½ mile south of Kirkgunzeon. King David II granted the lands of Kirkgunnane to Sir John Herries of Terregles in 1367 (Fraser 1873, II, 414). The first castle on the site may well have been built before the fourth Lord Herries's time, in which case he either rebuilt it or, as at Terregles, repaired and strengthened it. A defensive moat could still be traced in 1792 (Stat Acc, V4, 220). All that now remains is a small portion of a late, probably 17th-century building that measured about 51 ft (15·54 m) by 22 ft (6·71 m) (RCAMS 1914, No 275): all earlier remains have been supplanted by the modern farmyard. The Lords Herries did periodically reside at Corra, and various documents are dated here in the 17th century. It was at Corra that Queen Mary and Lord Herries spent the first night after her defeat at Langside in 1568 (McDowall 1867, 284).
- Mosstroops (or Moscrope's) tower was a massive, keep-like building added at the north-east corner of old Terregles house (Gray 1894, 48). This house, which is illustrated in *The Book of Carlaverock* (Fraser 1873, 530), was finally demolished and replaced by a modern mansion in 1789 (see note 22).
- It is not certain which dykes are meant. Dumfries itself was defended by an assortment of walls, ramparts and ditches, which dated back at least to the early part of the 14th century (McDowall 1867, 147). They were never considered strong enough to offer more than token resistance against intruders, and although their repair was ordered in 1575 (Edgar 1746, 10), Herries was out of office at the time. There was another defensive ditch and bank at Dumfries known as 'Warder's Dyke', 'where watch and ward were constantly kept', which ran between the Nith and Lochar Moss (*ibid*). There is no record of when it was built or by whom, though it is presumed to have been protection against English invasions rather than local thieves. Lord Herries did have defensive ditches dug at Annan c 1565, when he was warden, but these ran between an inland moss and the Solway and were part of the burgh's defences against the English (RCAMS 1920, xxxii).
- 38 Caerlaverock is illustrated without the gun-loops that must have been inserted in the gatehouse around this time.
- 39 It is a mystery why one section of the inscription was at some time deliberately cut out and re-cut with the apparently meaningless letters 'MRYC'. (The motto of the Carnegies of Southesk is 'Dread God'.)
- 40 This chimney stack was especially high to ensure that the smoke was carried clear of the wing.
- Neither Burn's original designs of November 1826, nor the surviving alternative details of March 1827, show the upper floors of this wing as actually built. There is, however, no doubt that they were contemporary with Burn's work.
- 42 This was a *second* Plate 2 of Hoddom (the first being a distant view of the new castle illus 2), and it was not included in all editions of the work.
- 43 The archbishop at the time was James Beaton II, who was archbishop from 1552 to 1570, and again from 1598 to 1603 (*Brit Chron* 1961, 293).
- 44 This is less than the 44° generously estimated in Maxwell-Irving 1971, 208, when access was limited.

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Illustrations 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12 are based on plans prepared by the RCAMS; they and illus 16 and 17 are reproduced with their kind permission. Reproduction of illustration 1 is by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland; illustration 18 is from a photograph by the writer's late grandfather, John Bell Irving of Beanlands, Cumbria. Illustration 2 is from an original engraving. All other illustrations are by the writer.

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