How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?
A few observations.

Alastair Maxwell-Irving, FSA, FSAScot.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders? A few observations

Alastair Maxwell-Irving, FSA, FSAScot.

Abstract

The question of how many tower-houses there were in the Scottish Borders crops up from time to time, but nobody has yet been able to give a definitive answer. This paper deals with a number of aspects of the subject, and attempts to show why there can be no simple answer. It compares the work of early surveyors and map makers in the 16th and 17th centuries, together with the written records of the period, and tries to explain some of the differences between what was recorded then and what has been learned from more recent research. At the same time, it also tries to clarify the distinction between the different types of fortified houses in the Borders during the later Middle Ages, and why this is relevant to such analyses.

At a recent conference on castles, the old question of how many tower-houses there were in the Scottish Borders cropped up once again during a general discussion. As far as I know it is a subject that has never been seriously researched in its entirety, and despite having spent well over half a century studying and researching the towers myself, it was a question I could not answer. Indeed, I do not think anyone can give a definitive answer, for a number of reasons.

For a start: What does one mean by a 'Border Tower', and what point in history should one take as one's datum? These defensive strongholds came in all shapes and sizes over a period of nearly 300 years. From the great tower-house castles of the late 14th and 15th centuries to the lesser towers of the 16th century and later, more and more of these strongholds were being built, and rebuilt, while others were disappearing from the scene, for one reason or another - English invasions, clan feuds, the official razing of the homes of those declared outlaws, or those just abandoned. And then there were the strongholds of lesser families, pele-houses, bastle-houses and simple peles. Should they also be included? There is no simple answer.

The most obvious starting point for any such survey is the maps of Timothy Pont, surveyed during the closing years of the 16th century and first published by Joan Blaeu in 1654 (Koeman, 70-76). There are a total of ten maps covering the three Marches of the Borders: The Merse, Lauderdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale & Ewesdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, Eastern Galloway and Mid Galloway. Unfortunately, only one sheet of Pont's original manuscripts for the Borders has survived for comparison; this covers all of Nithsdale and, separately in one corner, a small portion of Teviotdale (Stone, 187-197). Pont's maps are of inestimable value for what they have recorded, but at the same time they are very frustrating, as he does not appear to have always been consistent in the symbols he used to denote the various townships, castles, tower-houses, etc., and Blaeu's interpretation of his manuscripts has further muddied the water by the wholesale 'editing' of Pont's symbols to provide a more standardized appearance of the maps.[1] Pont's sketches, where available, remain a much more valuable resource.

A simple count shows that the total number of individual 'habitations' (towers, bastles, peles, fermtouns, homesteads, settlements, etc.) that Pont/Blaeu recorded was about:

> 459[2] East March
> 769[3] Middle March
> 1260[4] West March

This gives an overall total of about 2488 'habitations', excluding towns and large villages. But this can only be taken as a rough guide. One has also to bear in mind that Pont never mapped Upper Annandale, from Lockerbie northwards.[5] A major handicap in comparing Pont's maps with Blaeu's copies is the absence of so many of Pont's originals, and when the sole surviving one for the Borders is compared with Blaeu's 'copies', there are major differences. For example, in Glenesslin, a tributary of the Cairn Water in Dumfriesshire, Pont marks 7 sites with a 'tower' symbol and 11 with a plain circle, 'o', whereas Blaeu just shows 18 'towers' (Illus.1 and 2). This seems to have been for cartographic convenience, to produce a 'pretty' map, but it completely distorts the statistics, and we are left wondering how many towers there really were, not only here but elsewhere too. It is only fair to point out, however, that Pont's manuscripts are often written in a very small script that is in many places scratchy, or overwritten, and difficult to read. If we knew for certain that the 'o' symbol used by Pont represented a fermtoun or homestead without a tower, it would help, but, whilst Pont correctly shows the humble 'pele' of

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?
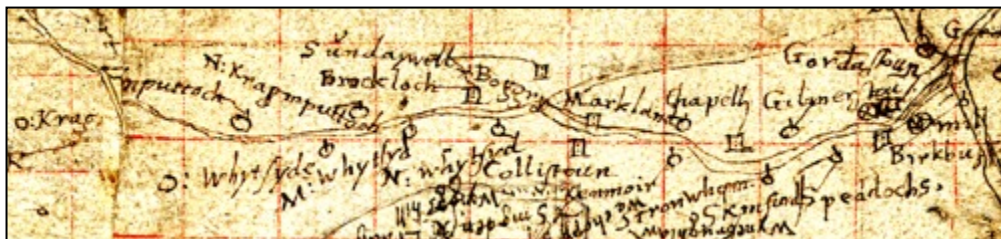
Illus. 1. Pont's manuscript map of Glenesslin in Nithsdale. (Reproduced by courtesy of the National Library of Scotland).
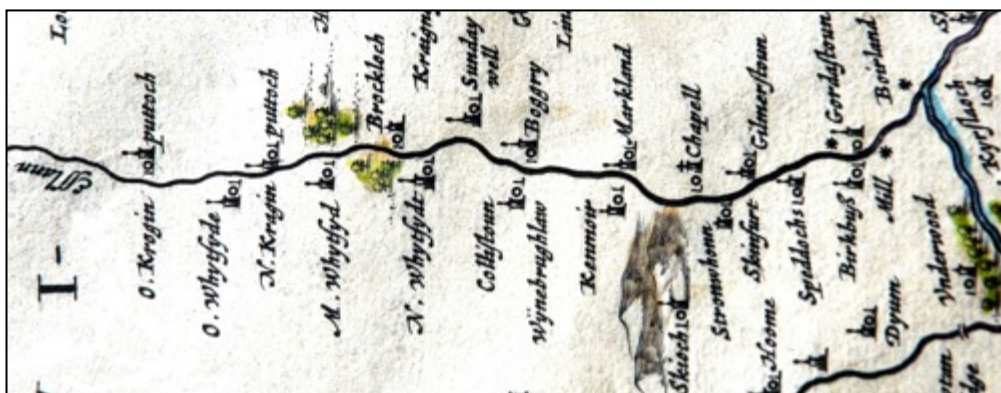
Illus. 2. Blaeu's interpretation of Pont's map of Glenesslin.

Illus. 3. Pont's manuscript map of the Minto area of Teviotdale.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Brockloch, in Glenesslin, with the tower symbol (its ruins survive) (RCAHMS – Glenesslin 1994, Figs. 11, 14) on his Nithsdale map (Illus. 1), this is clearly not the case elsewhere. Fermtouns, moreover, often had a tower as well for mutual defence, classic examples being found in Peeblesshire at Glentress, Langhaugh and Lour (RCAHMS 1967, Nos.505, 515, 517).

Other subtle, but important, differences between Pont's and Blaeu's versions of Nithsdale include: (1) Glencairn Castle, where Pont has drawn a tall tower with corbelled-out parapet, turrets and two side towers with pitched or conical roofs, whereas Blaeu has omitted the parapet and turrets and only shown small side wings without roofs; (2) Terregles, where Pont's large tower with side towers has been reduced by Blaeu to a standard, single tower; (3) Caerlaverock Castle, where Pont's attempt to indicate the substantial size of the 13th century castle has again been changed by Blaeu to a simple tower like any other; (4) Enoch Castle, where Pont's portrayal of a large tower with several secondary buildings has been reduced to a simple tower with wings or a barmkin; and (5) Over and Nether Gribton, which Blaeu shows as two towers, whereas Pont clearly differentiates between the two, by indicating the former with an 'o' and the latter with a tower. These are just a few examples; there are many more.

In dealing with the small fragment of Pont's survey of Teviotdale that has survived - the area around Hawick and Ancrum - Blaeu has resorted to much simpler symbols, perhaps to get such a large area on one map. The area around Minto, for example, where Pont has clearly shown Minto Tower (Fatlips) on a hill and various sized towers at Minto, Barnhills, Minto Craig, Newton, Denholm and Hassendean (Illus. 3), has been reduced by Blaeu to no more than a series of 'o' symbols (Illus. 4); and this practice was repeated throughout most of Teviotdale (Illus. 5). Many of the spellings of place names have also been changed, and Barnhills and Minto Craig have ended up on the wrong sides of Craigend Burn! In Teviotdale as a whole, Blaeu gives 483 habitations, only 107 of which are shown as towers (including just 11 major castles), leaving the vast majority as plain 'o's (*Blaeu Atlas* 2006, Map 3, 'Teviotdale'). But this is a complete distortion, for many of the latter are known to have been towers, many of which still exist, while others are recorded in documents. Apart from the towers around Minto just described, another example is the tower of Dolphinston, which is now just a site 4 miles SE of Jedburgh. It is shown as an 'o' (Illus. 5), yet it has a well documented history as a "tower and fortalice" ("cum turre et fortalicio"), first in the possession of the Ainslies of Dolphinston, and then, after being acquired by marriage, in the possession of the Kers of Littledean (RMS III, No. 342; IV, No. 489; V, No. 1456; Scots Peerage VII, 330-1). "Dolphistoun" is also specifically mentioned in an Act of Parliament of 1481, as one of the places where 20 'men of war' were to be posted (APS II, 140). It is even more confusing, when one finds Mervinslaw pele-house (Illus. 15), near Jedburgh, shown as a tower (Illus. 5), while the similar, and neighbouring, pele-houses at Slacks (Illus. 16) and Northbank only merit an 'o', and a fourth pele-house, at Kilnsike, appears to have been omitted altogether (despite the ruins surviving to this day) (RCAHMS 1956, Nos. 931, 933, 934). Another pele-house, at Leitholm, is also omitted from the map of 'The Merce' (RCAHMS 1915, No. 140).

It is misleading where groups of towers are only shown as a single entity. There are two known examples in Teviotdale. One is at Lanton, near Ancrum, where a restored tower still survives. Whilst the settlement is only shown by a single 'o', there are known to have been two other towers in the village (RCAHMS 1956, Nos. 433, 434). Darnick also had three towers, two of which survive, one in its entirety (Illus. 22) and the other as a much altered ruin (RCAHMS 1956, Nos. 580, 581).

Towns and other large communities are more complex, for, like the hill-towns and cities of mediaeval Italy and some other parts of Southern Europe, where defensive towers proliferated, either for individual or mutual protection, some of those in the Scottish Borders had a number of towers and bastle-houses. Jedburgh, for example, is known to have had at least six towers, Hawick had several (RCAHMS 1956, p.44), including Drumlanrig's Tower (Illus. 20) and Lockerbie had two, with several others, now lost, close by. Bastle-houses were even more numerous, being a cheaper form of defence for communities throughout the Middle and East Marches, though only three are known in the West March. In the earlier years of the 16th century, these were by no means always

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 4. Blaeu's map of the Minto area of Teviotdale, based on Pont's survey.

Illus. 5. Detail of the Jed Valley from Blaeu's map of Teviotdale, showing the paucity of 'tower'symbols. "Dolfintoun", for example, was a known tower-house.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

built entirely of stone, and the roofs were of thatch, so they fell an easy prey to English raiding parties, especially in the 1540s (L & P, Henry VIII, XIX, Nos. 333, 625; XXI, No. 1279). In November 1544, no less than "16 strong bastell houses" were burnt in Lessuden alone in one raid by Sir Ralph Eure (Armstrong, lxx). Towers of stone often merited special mention, such as during a raid in November 1543, when "a stone howse in Overhowden [was] spoyled", while other towers were "burnt" (Armstrong, lviii), and a year later "a towre of the lord of Bucklughe's called Mosse-House [was] smoked very sore" (Armstrong, lxvi).[6] In the same month, Sir Bryan Layton burnt Little-ton Hall and stables and all the other houses thereabouts, "saving the stone house" (Arm-strong, lxvi). Incidentally, the callous disregard for life and property in these raids was stagger-ing. One English report for 1543-4 records 222 towns and 133 houses burnt, 4 towns 'spoiled', 8 other properties damaged, 89 Scots killed and 695 taken prisoner, as well as more than 11,000 horses, cattle and sheep taken or 'burnt' (in the general conflagrations of barns, etc) (Arm-strong, lv-lxiii).

Blaeu's map of Liddesdale is quite different from Teviotdale; it shows 157 habitations, only three of which are mere 'o's. The rest are all shown as towers, including the major stronghold of Hermitage Castle. Were they really all tow-ers? Certainly life in Liddesdale was hazardous to say the least. By comparison, a less formal survey of the area was carried out only a few years earlier for Lord Burghley by Edward Agli-onby. Popularly known as "Aglionby's Platte", it is dated 'December 1590' (Illus. 8) (*Archaeo-logia* XXII (1829), 161-171). It does not claim to be a comprehensive map of the area, but names 108 significant Scottish towers from Lid-desdale to Annandale (excluding the castles of Caerlaverock and Lochmaben). Interestingly, twenty five of these are towers in Upper Annan-dale that were omitted from Pont's 'Annandale' (*Blaeu Atlas* 2006, Map 10, 'Annandale'); but even that list omits some of the surviving tow-ers, such as Lochhouse Tower (Illus. 18), Gle-nae, Boreland, Breconside, Frenchland, Blacklaw, Mellingshaw, Raecleugh, Kinnelhead and Whamfray,[7] as well as omitting others, such as Dinwiddie, whose site is now lost.[8] In Lid-desdale itself, 21 'significant' towers are shown on the Scottish side of the Border - as well as 23

on the English side. But it was by no means the whole story. In the parish of Castleton alone, the RCAHMS, in their Inventory for Rox-burghshire, list 17 known 'sites', apart from ruins, and in the county as a whole 52 'sites'.[9]

The recorded sites are largely those where ruined walls could still be seen, or local tradition identified heaps of rubble, when the earliest Ordnance Survey maps were made. The case of Dolphinston has already been mentioned, where the O. S. map shows the "site" within a small clump of trees. Other sites, such as Cockburn's Castle and Eldinhope in the Yarrow valley, re-corded the "remains of" towers, where all that can be seen today is a heap of overgrown stones barely even showing the outline of the former walls. These were commonly the successors of earlier towers of timber, so many of which fell victim to the English raids of the 1540s. In 1544, Lord Wharton "burnt Bonshaw, Robgyll and all the houses, peills, steds, and corn in their way" in Kirtleside, Dumfriesshire (Armstrong, lxvi); but when the Earl of Sussex came on the rampage in 1570, he felt he had to employ much more drastic measures, demolishing and de-stroying with gunpowder "The Castell of Car-lavrok, . . . Closburne, Tynnell, Bonshaw, and dyvers uther houssis" (Irving, 43). Bonshaw is known to have been rebuilt around that time, and in 1585 it was described by Lord Scrope, the English Warden of the West March as "one of the strongest howses of that border" (Illus. 12) (Border Papers I, No. 321). Nearby was another Irving tower, Woodhouse, whose name was presumably self-explanatory; it too was rebuilt in stone, the ruins of which may still be seen.[10]

Whilst timber towers were going up in smoke right across the Borders in the 1540s, a whole new generation of stone towers started to come on the scene after the Reformation of 1560. This was a direct result of the Reformation itself. Lands that had formerly been possessed by the church were now acquired by the local nobles and their families, leading to much greater secu-rity in their possession. This in turn led to a great increase in the building of stone towers, especially after the English incursions of 1570, and again in the 1580s. The dates on many of these towers record their construction.[11]

Just as the Romans had established signal stations throughout their empire to give rapid warning of trouble over long distances, so the Borderers had as early as the 13th century estab-

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 6. Detail from Blaeu's map of the Manor Valley in Tweeddale, showing an abundance of 'tower' symbols. Peebles is on the right.

Illus. 7. Detail from Blaeu's map of The Merse around Home Castle.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

lished beacons on the hilltops to warn of English invasions; and in 1448 it was decreed that these be further augmented by additional beacons on designated hilltops up the principal valleys (APS I, 352). At a more local level, families and groups of families had likewise sited their strongholds in such positions that they too had chains of communication, especially up the valleys. This became much more evident in the second half of the 16th century, when the new towers were built. The lines of sight can still be followed. Thus one can follow the link along the major valleys of Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Annandale and Nithsdale, as well as along such lesser valleys as Manor (Illus. 6), Ewesdale, Kirtleside, Glenesslin and the Cluden, and these can clearly be followed on the Blaeu maps. It is only in the Merse in the east and Galloway in the far west that the links are less obvious. The Merse, being less hilly, relied largely on a few key sites, such as Smailholm and Home, both of which had a vast field of view (Illus. 7). There was also a beacon at Evelaw in the Lammermuirs,[12] and no doubt others whose location is not now known.[13] Despite the ravages wrought by English incursions - as well as those wrought by the Scots in return - beacons did serve a purpose. An English raid on Old Roxburgh in June 1545 had to be abandoned "in consequence of the beacons burning all round" (L & P, Henry VIII, XIX, No.1279).[14] The rallying call had gone out.

The distribution of towers in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the eastern half of Galloway, is more problematic, as the history of the district becomes further removed from the frontier politics of the Borders the further west one goes. Whilst Blaeu shows about 725 individual habitations or settlements in the area, only 92 are shown with the symbol used for 'towers', and only 38 of these lie west of the Ken-Dee valley. This compares with only 31 towers that can be seen today, either as complete towers or recognizable ruins. In addition to these, there are 10 other known sites. On the other hand, only 20 of Blaeu's sites are clearly defined as important castles or towers, and only 13 of these are still standing at least in part, though what little is left of the once important castle of Cally barely qualifies.[15] If only we had Pont's original manuscripts for comparison. An English survey of the West March *c*.1565 only mentions 13 of the principal strongholds, namely Cardoness

(Illus.11), Garlies, Threave, Kenmure, Sanquhar, Drumlanrig, Castlemilk, Lochmaben, Torthorwald, Maxwell's Castle in Dumfries, Caerlaverock, Cockpool (Comlongon) and Annan (Armstrong, Appendix No. LXX). This compares with the more local 'Platte of Milkcastle', made in 1547, which only shows Castlemilk, Lochwood, Langholm, Hollows, Mangerton, Cockpool (Comlongon) and Caerlaverock (Merriman, M. 'The Platte of Castlemilk, 1547', *TDGAS*, 3rd Series, XLIV, 175-181).

The most complete list of towers in Eskdale and Annandale was published by the RCAHMS in their volume on 'Eastern Dumfriesshire'. Based largely on the researches of John and Robert Hyslop of Langholm some ninety years earlier (Hyslop 1912), they list a total of 116 known towers and places of strength, together with a map showing their locations (RCAHMS 1997, 211, 312-5).[16] The sites of four of them are 'uncertain'. There are a number of known omissions in Annandale and Kirtleside, and a few others whose existence and location is now largely lost. It does, nevertheless, provide a benchmark against which the other sources can be judged for that particular area. Aglionby's total of 108 towers, for example, is comparable; but both are very far short of the Blaeu totals of 190 habitations for Annandale and 114 for Eskdale and Ewesdale, a total of 304 habitations for roughly the same area.

If one narrows the comparison in those surveys to just one valley, Kirtleside, the RCAHMS lists just 16 sites, compared with 14 on Aglionby's Platte and no less than 42 on Blaeu's map (Illus. 9). As the majority of the sites shown by Blaeu were once known towers, including two sites not marked as towers that were in fact towers (Mossknowe and Redhall), why the discrepancy? Some of the more remote sites, such as Dumbretton, Tundenby, Kirtlehead, Winterhopehead and Carruthers, are associated with 'homesteads' and 'settlements' as recorded on the earliest Ordnance Survey maps, and a few, such as Kirtlebridge and Gretna, are known villages. If one adds to this perhaps a generous half dozen other 'settlements only', that still leaves about 31 actual towers, twice as many as previously listed; and if one were to extrapolate that across the whole of Annandale and Eskdale, it would give a total for that area of about 230 towers. The difficulty

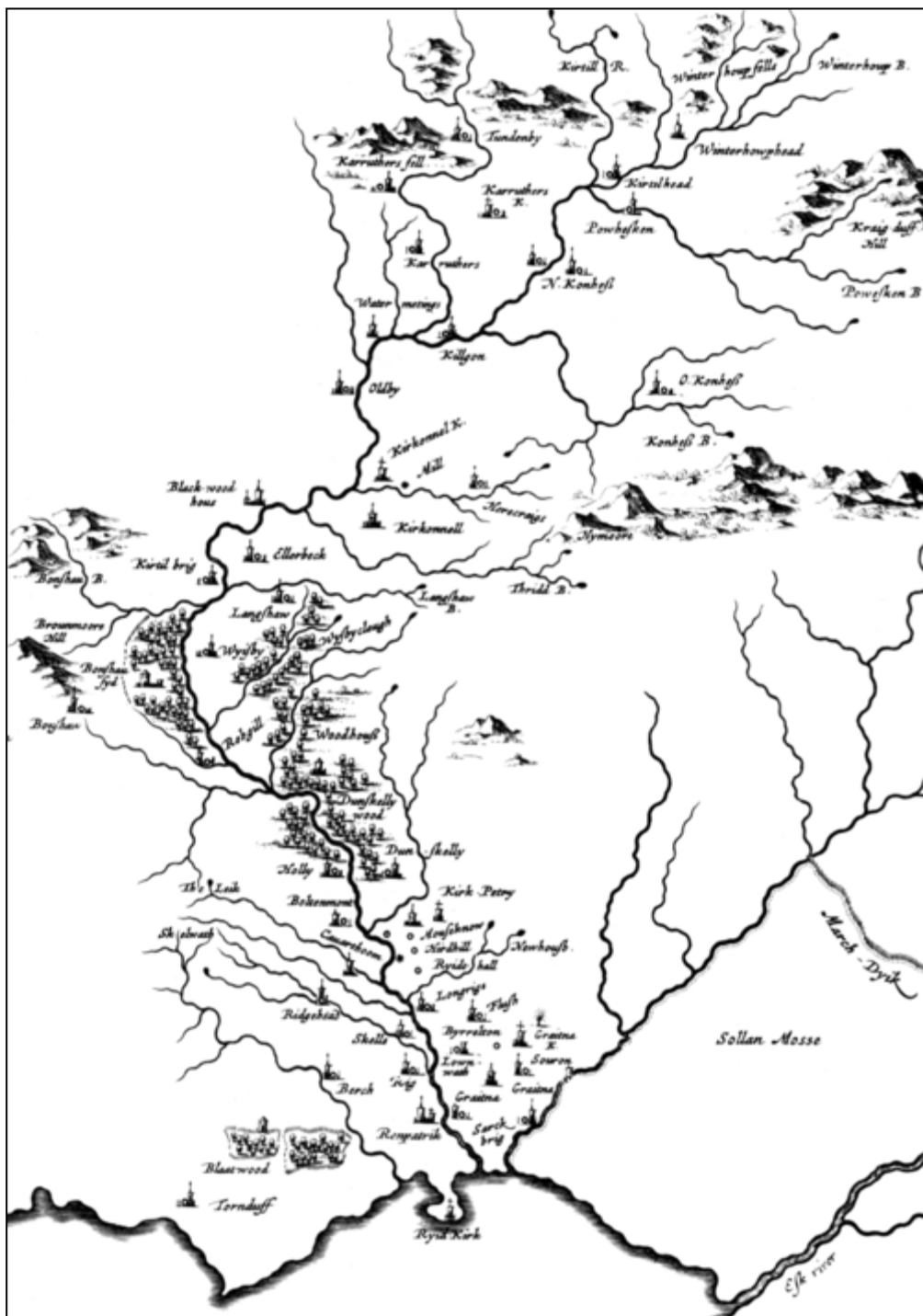# How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?
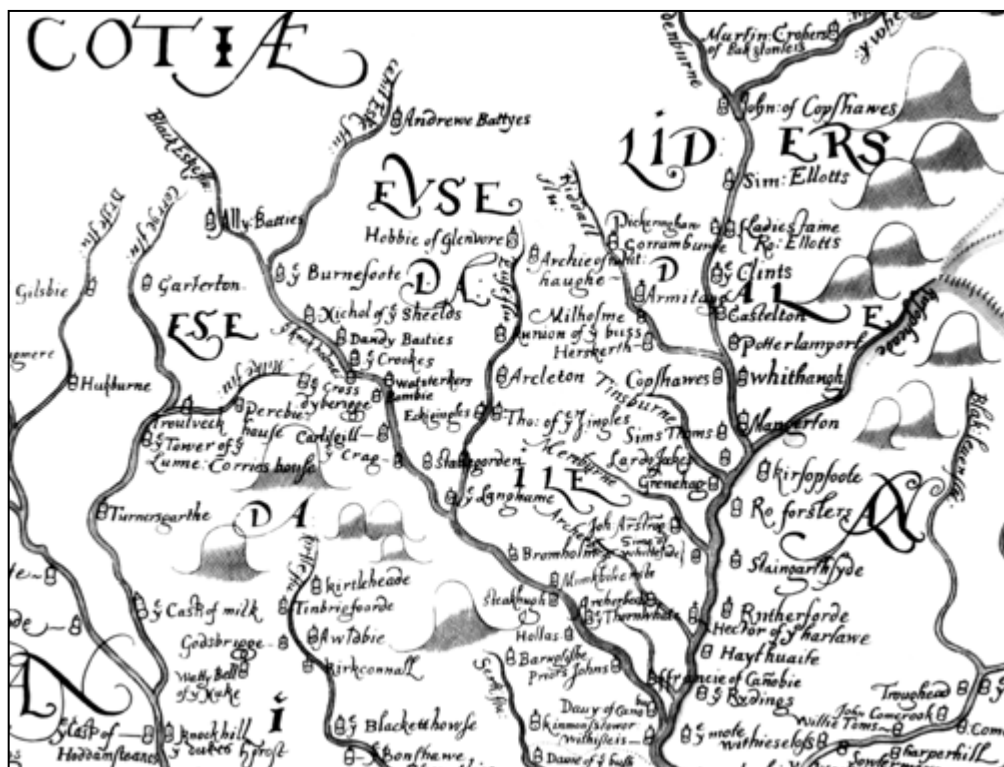
Illus. 8. Detail of Upper Eskdale and Ewesdale from Aglionby's Platte, 1590.

is that the Borders are a mix of very different political and social groups, for which one cannot generalize.

One question that is not easily answered is: What qualifies as a 'tower-house'? In most cases in the Borders, the answer is fairly obvious, whether one is dealing with the great tower-house castles such as Threave, Newark, Neidpath (Illus. 10) or Cardoness (Illus. 11), or the lesser towers of the 16th century, such as Hillslap (Illus. 21), Kirkhope (Illus. 19), Bonshaw (Illus. 12) or Fourmerkland (Illus. 13). Large or small, they were all towers or fortalices built as 'strongholds' for their owners. On the other hand, the great castles of enclosure, such as Caerlaverock or Roxburgh were not, despite the fact that they incorporated towers within their overall plan. Morton, too, started life as a castle of enclosure, which was later partly rebuilt.[17] But that leaves three other categories of stronghold, already mentioned, which were built for defence by the lesser, and poorer, landowners or tenants: bastle-houses, pele-houses and simple peles.[18]

Bastle-houses and pele-houses - as the terms are now used - had much in common, the principal difference being that the former had vaulted basements and sometimes internal stairs, but neither was ever more than two stories high, with perhaps an attic. They certainly could not be described as 'towers', yet they were treated the same by Pont, and they served the same purpose as 'strongholds'. Like many towers, they also reserved the basement for livestock and storage, whilst living on the floor above. One clear distinction, however, was their size and shape. The ratio of length of side wall to width of gable for bastle-houses and pele-houses was much greater than for an average tower. Bastle-houses are much commoner on the English side of the Border, where many have survived the rigours of time, either in groups in villages or on their own amongst the hills;[19] but this may not always have been the case, as so many on the Scottish side were reported destroyed or burnt during English incursions (*supra*). Surviving examples in Scotland include

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 9. Kirtleside (from Blaeu's map of Annandale). (Note:- Bonshaw and Bonshawside have been transposed).

several ruins and sites in Berwickshire;[20] the oldest part of Old Gala House in Galashiels (Illus. 14) (RCAHMS 1957, 41-3); several incorporated into later buildings in Peebles (Buchan I, 251); the ruins of Kinnelhead and Raecleugh in Upper Annandale (Maxwell-Irving, 172, 215); a recently identified bastle in New Abbey (Ward, 30); possibly Queen Mary's House in Jedburgh;[21] and a number further north in Lanarkshire (Ward, 26-30).

Pele-houses, on the other hand, appear to have been confined largely to the wild moorland of Southdean parish in Roxburghshire, where almost complete, but roofless, examples are found at Mervinslaw and Slacks (*supra*) (RCAHMS 1956, Nos. 932, 934). Two more ruins are found at Kilnsike and Northbank (RCAHMS 1956, Nos. 931, 933), while a second site has been identified at Slacks, and other sites nearby at Hilly Linn, Hindshaughhead, Longslack Sike, Watties Spindles and White Hill (RCAHMS 1994 - Southdean, 11-17). The ruins of Glenae Tower, in Annandale, also suggest a pele-house (Maxwell-Irving, 147).

Peles (as opposed to pele-houses) were in some respects the simplest of all towers, though the sole surviving complete example, at Sundaywell in Glenesslin (Illus. 17) (Maxwell-Irving, 241), although now modernised, shows that they were not restricted to two floors, but were indeed 'towers'. They represented a simple form of tower that appears to have been largely confined to the valleys north and west of Dunscore, in Nithsdale. Built of clay mortar — like most bastles and pele-houses —, they were small and almost square with walls about 3ft (0.91m) thick. Their basements were not vaulted, and unlike the more typical towers, there is no evidence that any of them had stone stairs. Another at nearby Bogrie was only finally demolished in the 20th century. The rest are now so ruinous that only the lowest courses of the walls and heaps of rubble survive, and most of that has been robbed to build dykes. Brockloch, further up the same valley, is a typical example (Maxwell-Irving, 266; RCAHMS 994 - Glenesslin, 13-14). It was shown by Pont as a 'tower' (Illus.1), while other probable sites in the valley only merited an 'o'. Other known sites in the neighbouring Cairn valley, such as Stewarton and Auchenfedrick, are not all marked or named; but none are shown as towers. Pont shows some 18 towers further up the val-

ley, but in addition uses another, simpler symbol for a further 43, which might have been peles. Blaeu does not discriminate between them, showing them all as towers.

None of this, of course, gives a definitive answer to the question of how many towers there were in the Borders; but it does create a picture of a fairly dense distribution of towers in the valleys of the Tweed, Teviot, Manor, Liddel, Esk, Ewes, Kirtle, Annan and the Nith and its tributaries, as portrayed by Pont and Blaeu; a less dense distribution in some other valleys; bastle-houses, pele-houses and peles in the poorer headwaters of valleys such as Glenesslin and in the windswept moorland of Southdean; and a more settled life as one travels further west in Galloway, with a relatively small number of great tower-house castles[22] and - if the surviving sites are to be taken as representative - few of the lesser towers of the 16th century. The evidence would appear to show that the vast number of 'habitations' shown by Blaeu in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright are very misleading, as, unlike elsewhere in the Borders,[23] the vast majority were nothing more than homesteads, fermtouns (farmsteads) and settlements without any tower at all, or indeed the perceived need for one.

Acknowledgements

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 10. Neidpath Castle.

Illus. 11. Cardoness Castle.

Illus. 12. Bonshaw Tower.

Illus. 13. Fourmerkland Tower.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 14. Old Gala House. (Original Bastle-house incorporated into NW wing of later house).

Illus. 15. Mervinslaw Pele-House.

Illus. 16. Slacks Pele-House.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 17. Sundaywell Tower. (The Pele tower has been modernised and converted into a farm-house).

Illus. 18. Lochhouse Tower, omitted from Pont's map of Annandale.

Illus. 19. Kirkhope Tower, near Selkirk.

Illus. 20. Drumlanrig's Tower in Hawick.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Illus. 21. Above: Hillslap Tower. Illus. 22. Below: Darnick Tower in 1991.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Notes

1   Blaeu's desire for standardization is clearly seen in his maps for other parts of the British Isles (*Blaeu's Atlas* reprinted by Thames & Hudson) as well as some of his maps for Mainland Europe, such as France, Belgium, Cologne, Northern Italy and Russia (*Atlas Maior* of 1665). There is, however, often a lack of standardisation where a given place appears on two, or even three, overlapping maps, appearing with one symbol on one and another on the other(s). It is not known whether this originated with Pont or Blaeu.

2   406 in the Merse and 53 in Lauderdale.

3   129 in Tweeddale, 483 in Teviotdale and 157 in Liddesdale.

4   114 in Ewesdale and Eskdale, 190 in Annandale, 231 in Nithsdale, 431 in Eastern Galloway and 294 in Mid Galloway.

5   The reason for this omission is not known, especially when he included Corehead on his map of Tweeddale. More than 30 known towers were completely omitted, as well as the old castle at Auchencass and several lost sites.

6   A month later, Sir Ralph Eure "won by assault the Mosse Towre" after a siege of 5 hours (L & P, Henry VIII, XIX, Pt. 2, No. 191; Hamilton Papers, II, No. 318), which was elsewhere described as a 'strong' tower.

7   See Maxwell-Irving 2000, pp.78, 87, 89, 143, 147, 172, 208 and 215.

8   Lost sites are now being found by archaeologists using geophysical techniques, such as ground radar. This has been successfully employed in recent years to map out 'lost' Norman castles, abbeys and mediaeval towns and villages in England, as well as much older sites.

9   In their Inventories for the Borders as a whole, the RCAHMS list 144 'sites', based largely on the early Ordnance Survey maps, but this is far from being a complete list.

10   The ruins were consolidated, with a new stair to the parapet walk, in 1877.

11   e.g. Carsluith (1568), Corbet (1572), Greenknowe (1581), Maclellan's (1581), Hillslap (1585), Isle (1587), Fourmerkland (1590).

12   The stone-vaulted top floor of Evelaw's wing could only be justified as the base for a beacon.

13   No doubt the vaulted top floor of Barholm's wing, in Galloway, served a similar purpose to that at Evelaw, though posssibly with another object in mind, as Barholm was far from the Border, but very close to smuggling activities in the Solway.

14   A further Act of the Scottish Council in 1587 ordained that "the lieges . . . keep watch night and day, and burn bales according to the accustomed order observed at such times upon the borders" (Lockhart, W. E. 'Historical Notes relating to Branxholme', *THAS*, 1906).

15   Balmangan, Barholm, Cally, Cardoness, Carsluith, Cumstoun, Kenmure, Kirkconnell, Machermore, MacLellan's, Plunton, Rusco and Threave. Little is left of Balmangan and Cumstoun (see Maxwell-Irving, pp.68, 115), and even less of Cally.

16   The map actually shows 2 more towers than are given in the list.

17   The story of Morton's architectural history is too complex to discuss here.

18   Although these three types of building are in general architecturally distinct, some architectural historians are not happy with such stereotyping.

19   See RCHM, 1970 *Shielings and Bastles*, 61-95.

20   Bite-About, Carfrae, Edington, Foulden, Kelloe, Leitholm and Witches Cleuch.

21   See Cruft, et al., 425.

22   e.g. Garlies, Cardoness, Rusco, MacLellan's, Threave and Kenmure.

23   Parliament defined the Borders as all the territory between the North Sea and the river Cree in Galloway.

How Many Tower-houses were there in the Scottish Borders?

Bibliography

APS *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1124-1707*. Thomson, C and Innes, C (eds.). Edinburgh, 1844-75.

Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Society of Antiquaries of London.

Armstrong, R B 1883 *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land*. Edinburgh.

Atlas Maior of 1665. Reprint of selected maps, Cologne, 2005.

Blaeu's Atlas of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Thames & Hudson, London (undated).

Blaeu Atlas of Scotland, The. Reprint, Edinburgh, 2006.

Border Papers *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland, 1560-1603*. Bain, J (ed). Edinburgh, 1894.

Cruft, K, Dunbar, J & Fawcett, R *The Buildings of Scotland: Borders*. London, 2006

Hamilton Papers *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century*. Bain, J (ed). Edinburgh, 1890-92.

Hyslop J & Hyslop R *Langholm As It Was: A History of Langholm and Eskdale from the earliest times*. Langholm, 1912.

Irving, J B *The Book of the Irvings, etc*. Aberdeen, 1907.

Koeman, C *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*. Amsterdam, 1970.

L&P, Henry VIII *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. London, 1862-1910.

Maxwell-Irving, A M T *The Border Towers of Scotland: The West March*. Blairlogie, 2000.

RCAHMS *Sixth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick*. Edinburgh, 1915.

RCAHMS *An Inventory of the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire*. Edinburgh, 1956.

RCAHMS *An Inventory of the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Selkirkshire*. Edinburgh, 1957.

RCAHMS *Peeblesshire: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments*. Edinburgh, 1967.

RCAHMS *GLENESSLIN, NITHSDALE: An Archaeological Survey*. Edinburgh, 1994.

RCAHMS *SOUTHDEAN, BORDERS: An Archaeological Survey*. Edinburgh, 1994.

RCAHMS *EASTERN DUMFRIESSHIRE:an archaeological landscape*. Edinburgh, 1997.

RCHM *Shielings and Bastles*. Ramm, H.G. et al. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). London, 1970.

RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum; The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306-1668*. Edinburgh, 1984.

Scots Peerage. *The Scots Peerage*. Balfour-Paul, Sir J (ed). Edinburgh, 1904-14.

Stone, J C *The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland*. Tring, 1989.

TDGAS *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society*. Dumfries, 1862-

THAS *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society*. Hawick, 1856-

Ward, T *Glenochar Bastle House and Fermtoun*. Biggar, 1998.