



THE ELLIOT CLAN

ELLIOT 'LOOSE ENDS'

The reassertion of a historic name

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Preface

Advances in the fields of information technology and genetics now enable us to put the Breton origin of the Elliots beyond dispute, even though several centuries of 'parental events,' almost certainly including the adoption of many orphans and broken men during a bloody, death-strewn era, led perhaps long ago to dilution of the Breton pedigree. Be that as it may, a picture now emerges of a clan of ancient Celtic-Brittonic origin, like that of the Stewarts, whose founder Walter fitzAlan came from Dol in Brittany, mutating, through the fortuity of the 12th and 13th century introduction of feudal military tenure into Scotland, into a typical Scottish clan based on kinship, whose name survived an official attempt to change it. In the United Kingdom the Elliot name is still at its most prevalent in the counties of the Scottish Borders and the northern counties of England, and a similar prevalence occurs in Brittany, north of the Loire, in Morbihan and Îlle et Vilaine, while its mutable co-variant, Alliot, prevails south of the Loire, in former Breton territory, but now in the département of Loire Atlantique, with a number of Halliots, Allots and Elots in the mix. We should not, however, overlook the association of Eliot (formerly spelt quite correctly as Ellyot) with the counties to which a Breton army, was sent by William the Conqueror to quell a revolt and repulse a Godwin invasion. Counties in which David I (1124-1153), King of the Scots, would later have allies, who like him, supported the claim of his niece and Henry I's eldest daughter Matilda to the throne of England, seized by Stephen, the last of the Norman kings. Within just a few decades of the Conquest of 1066, a new aristocracy had established extensive interconnections, largely through a combination of feudal military tenure and dynastic marriages leading to a number of great lordships containing estates scattered up, down and across the length of England, and into Scotland through the strategy of David I and his grandsons. While Cornwall was given to Brien Trihern, the vast honour of Richmond, given to his Penthièvre brother Alan ar Rouz, contained estates throughout eastern England and in the West Country. Their cousin Judicael's lordship of Totnes covered much of Devon, where Eliots first settled. The Norman-tutored Canmores needed the medieval equivalent of modern tank regiments, and this is where the Elliots came in, along with many Norman, other Breton and Flemish soldiers of fortune, with their retinues and families. Within just over a century some of these men with lands in both Scotland and England were still European in outlook, but many others, especially those like the Elliots who rallied immediately in 1306 to the support of their new king, Robert Bruce, and stuck with him through to Bannockburn (1314) and beyond, had clearly come to see themselves as fierce Scottish patriots. Some had integrated into the Highland clan structure, combining feudal lordship with chieftainship, a status accorded exclusively to the Elliots even as later as 1583, by the Elliots' arch-enemy, Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle. Others like the Douglasses sought domination south of the Forth in Galloway, Lothian and the Borders, where highlanders were still regarded with suspicion.

There is perhaps still much to be learned about the Elliots, and the presumed connection between them and the town of Arbirlot in Angus, a name derived from Aber-eloth, Aber-

elliot or Aber-ellot, whose existence was not recorded until the early 13th century, remains the subject of further research. Eloth was an Elliot variant name, which itself is a unique variant of a Breton name, corrupted by Norman French, still predominating in Brittany. The chances of the coincidental appearance of a name Elliot of Gaelic or other non-Breton origin in Scotland are now, in the light of its unique Breton pedigree, nil. The mystery has yet to be, and may never be, solved. In 1225 the bishop of St Andrews gave the parish church of Arbirlot to the monks and abbot of the abbey of Arbroath, but kept the church lands to himself. It is now clear that d'Elliot was retained, in the Norman fashion, as a noble title, but none of the barons neighbouring Arbirlot, or the head waters of Elliot Water reaching up to Carmyllie, were named as d'Elliot. Research is being continued.

Introduction

Despite acquisition of several publications by leading scholars, lack of direct access to a greater part of the historiography of Scotland, and collections of historical documents found in university libraries and other archives has inevitably left me with a trail of loose ends, following the presentation of my paper linked to the Elliot Clan Society's website. Happily this followed a point reached when evidence so far gathered was sufficient to establish not only the Breton origins of the Elliots, but the identity of the first known d'Alliot>d'Elliot* landholding in Scotland, that of the barony of the Brae in the vicinity of the Perthshire and Angus border uplands near to Glen Shee. Forfeited in 1306 following d'Elliot adherence to the cause of Robert Bruce, it was awarded by or in the name of John Balliol to Adam Brunyng, but its inheritance by Adam's son John, who became a Bruce ally, clearly led to a need for compromise when it came to Bruce's post-Bannockburn settlement. There still remained, however, several unanswered questions, and the probability that continuing research would lead to further interesting findings and observations relating to the Elliots. Ongoing research may to a great extent be helped by digitisation of both works of scholarship and collections of medieval and early modern collections of documents, like the Calendar of Border Papers (Volume 1) digitised by Cornell University, and other edited collections, such as those of the Victorian historian J H Round. It is remarkable, for example, how more careful reading of Thomas Musgrave's long letter to Lord Burghley, about Liddesdale and its surnames, and what he has to say about the Elliots that is not said about the Armstrongs or other lairds, leads to certain conclusions about the nature and status of the Clan even as late as 1583. There is evidence that as late as that date, the clan was still regarded locally as transplanted Highland clan.

Members past and present may never have appreciated the confusion caused by random and unpredictable medieval spelling. Some Elliots in the past have clearly thought that an Eliot is not an Elliot, or that Elliot variant names, even those commencing with **o**, would have been, and were still to be, pronounced as they were spelt, when all along there was almost certainly only one pronunciation, that of Elliot, and possibly its shorter vernacular form Elliot, which also occurs in Brittany. (French and Englishmen had a habit of drastically shortening Celtic Brittonic and Gaelic names.) Some medieval scribes, and even later cartographers, with no rules or conventions as to what letters to choose to reproduce its sound were available, seem to have had a struggle with this name.

** The choice of d'Alliot>d'Elliot is deliberate, since it is clear- as will be discussed below – that both names were still interchangeable. The first scribal preference for the Elliot baron of the Brae was that of d'Alliot, spelt variously as d'Allyth, d'Alyght and d'Alight. When 16th-17th century mapmakers heard the name they spelt it as Elicht, Elyeht and finally, Eliot.*

This is therefore a follow-up to my article of autumn 2014. In this paper, thanks to access to such additional sources, further light will be shed on the acquisition and abandonment of an English charter name, and on the naming and spelling practices of medieval scribes when

drawing up charters and other documents. Members have continuing access to my Autumn 2014 article, so that it is necessary only briefly to recapitulate here the first appearance of the Breton variant name Elliot (in several spellings which do not affect pronunciation) in England and Wales, and subsequently in Scotland. The arrival of the internet now gives us access to records culled from official sources, which demonstrate that not only is Elliot a name of Breton origin, names which have hitherto been treated as variants, were also imported, initially into England, in 1066. The notoriety of Elliot for its variant names is matched in Brittany by the numerous variants of a very old combined tribal and place name from which it is derived, that of the Halegouët or Halgoët, of which in 1066 Judicaël, corrupted by French to Juhel, was viscount before receiving from William the Conqueror an immense territory covering much of Devon, centred on the lordship of Totnes. It is almost certain that the Breton ancestors of the Eliot of St Germans, who were certainly not Anglo-Normans,¹ but who probably had a close long standing association with Normandy via mercenary service, had one or more of Juhel's seventy knights' fees, arising from the terms of his fealty to the Conqueror. Breton variants of the Halegouët toponym are set out in the following table, which reveals the exclusivity of each and every one as Breton names:

- THE VARIANTS OF HALEGOUËT [Halgoët] IN 21ST CENTURY BRITTANY
(number of births 1891 to 1991 and main geographic clusterings)

H.....	A.....	E.....
Hallegoët	Allegoët	Ellegoët
6, Finistère	32 Finistère	1 Finistère
Hallegot	Allegot	Elegoët
90 Finistère	90 Finistère	143 Finistère
Heleouët	Alliouët	Elliouët
13 Finistère	9 Loire Atlantique	1 Loire Atlantique
Helleouët	Alliot	Elouët
34 Finistère	2,790 Loire Atlantique & Aisne	29 Finistère
Halliot	Allot	Eliot
34 Loire Atlantique	1,037 Loire Atlantique	1,484 Morbihan & Seine Maritime
Helliet		Elliot
125, Côtes d'Amor		211, Morbihan
		Elliet
		3, Côtes d'Amor
		Elot
		14, Loire Atlantique

Progressive corruption by French ("deformation par francisation") starting with elision of the 'g'.

Hallegot >>>>> Heleouët >>>>>>> Halliot / Helliet (note the A and E sub-variants)

Allegot >>>>>> Alliouët >>>>>>> Alliot / Allot

Elegoët >>>>>>> Elliouët >>>>>>> Eliot / Elliot / Elliet / Elot (note the Allot-Elot subvariants, both in Loire Atlantique.)

English and Scottish imported variants: Elegoët > Eligott, Ellicott and Ellacott; Elliouët > Elwet; Alliot-Elliot no change, but Alyth appears in Perthshire as shown in NLS map archives, and Alitt in Yorkshire where the names Alliot and Allott are still more commonly encountered.

It will be recalled that the leading Breton nobles, Alain ar Rouz (Rufus) and Brien, sons of Eudo, count of Penthievre, a younger brother of the Duke of Brittany, were cousins of

¹ As accepted now by Earl Peregrine Eliot of St Germans. There are no surviving documents disclosing any Norman ancestry.

William the Conqueror, since all shared the same grandmother, Hawise of Normandy, and on that account each received from William lands which far exceeded in size those granted to other Breton nobles. Although there is no early trace of a title, Brien was later described as the Earl of Cornwall, the home of fellow Britons who spoke a language closely related to Breton. Alan received the vast honour of Richmond, centred on York, but with estates scattered throughout England, even as far as the south-west, making the 'honour,' consisting of about 160 fees,² second in size only to that of Lancaster. Alan's successors, who also inherited his lands in East Anglia, became earls of Richmond. It is no coincidence therefore, as indicated by Katherine Keats-Rohan,³ that Breton knights settled in the largest numbers in the West Country and Yorkshire, and that the A versions of Elliot: Alliot and Allott are still found, according to census returns, in greater numbers today in that county. One cannot but suspect that the Conqueror's settlement of Bretons in the West Country, where many Cornish men and women, as well as some Devonians, still spoke a language related to Breton, was deliberate. Whether or not Bretons treated their settlement in the West Country as a homecoming, will never be known.

In an essay presented to the *Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, reproduced as a note in French in his monograph, *The Creation of Brittany*, the historian Michael C E Jones drew attention to a ruling in 1914 in a case before the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords relating to a dispute involving the viscount Gage and Sir Robert Bouchier Sherard Wrey, over their inheritance of the Breton baronies of "Dynaunt Fitzwaryn et Martin", via lines of descent dating back to the twelfth century. Translated into English and paraphrased, Jones remarked that in England the effort put into tracing Norman ancestry was not generally matched by the descendants of Breton invaders. The Victorian J H Round was the first historian to show an interest in the Breton origins of a certain number of great families who arrived in England after the Conquest, such as those of Juhel of Totnes (viscount of the Halgoët), Alured of Lincoln, Alan Fitzflaad (progenitor of the Stewarts) and Eudo, son of Spirewic, the lord of Tattershall. Sir Frank Stenton wrote that Breton influence was at its most profound in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, and some parts of East Anglia.⁴

Jones makes the point that the possession of extensive lands ('de grandes propriétés') in Brittany did not automatically guarantee to Breton nobles participating in the Conquest early investiture with extensive lands in England. 'The lands and the manors which the lords of Fougères, Vitré, Dinan and Porhoët held in England were very modest in extent.'⁵

In the search for the settlements of Alliot<>Elliot, and those Breton colonists with other Halgoët variant names, the known long standing Devon settlement of the ancestors of the Breton Eliots of St Germans (spelt earlier as Ellyot), has perhaps led to oversight of these other areas where Alliot>Elliot must have settled in strength, especially in Yorkshire, where

² F Musgrove, *The North of England, a History of Roman Times to the Present*, (Basil Blackwell) 1990, p.81.

³ Katherine S B Keats-Rohan, *The Bretons and Normans of England 1066-1154, the family, the feof and the feudal monarchy*, (Nottingham Medieval Studies 36, 1992 and online).

⁴ F Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, (London) 1964, pp 1-4.

⁵ Michael C E Jones, *The Creation of Brittany*, (Hambledon Press, 1988) p.79.

the name Alliot and its Breton variant Allott (in more than one spelling), and even Allitt (earlier Allyt) is as firmly anchored as Elliot (all spellings) is, in the Borders. Although this particular 'loose end' may not completely be tied up, it is as well to remember that both of the variants Alliot (Dalliot or d'Alliot) and Elliot occurred in Scotland, with victory finally going to the latter, as a matter of scribal preference. As will be mentioned later, David I's extension of feudal military tenure to southern Scotland involved the grant of lands to de Brus and several others with lands in Yorkshire, where Breton the Earl of Richmond undoubtedly would have had a Breton retinue, and where his younger brothers also held lands.

Medieval spelling and pronunciation of the Halgoët variant toponyms

In effect, for some considerable time Alliot and Elliot were undoubtedly two sides of the same coin, pending localised fixation of scribal spelling preferences. Two authors of a work on the English language have described the 'urge to reform spelling in various ways' and make pronunciation fit spelling as recent. They wrote:

'Middle English spelling was considerably more relaxed than present-day orthography. The foregoing remarks (relating to their use of the Latin alphabet) describe some of the spelling conventions of Middle English scribes, but there were a good many others, and all of them used with a nonchalance that is hardly imaginable in the era of the printing press. Within a few lines, a scribe might spell both *water* and *watter*, *treese* and *tres*, *nakid* and *nakyd*, (and) *adder as eddre* and *edder*.'⁶

Familiarity with the unpredictability of medieval and early modern English and Scots spelling shows that the choice of the scribe who first heard, then wrote what is now spelt as Alliot or Elliot as Alyth, and of the English speaking clerk who spelt the name as Alight and Alyght, in the same document, should lead to no surprise at the choice of the semi-vowel *y* (*yes*) to represent what is now spelt as *io*⁷. While these names are now conventionally and acceptably spelt as Alliot and Elliot, the spellings Allyot and Ellyet, using *y* as a semi-vowel would not be phonetically incorrect. The habit of scribes, and later, lay notaries, of using a particular letter of the alphabet somewhat randomly, to represent a greater variety of consonant or vowel sounds than in today's usages, was continued into the 15th and 16th centuries, as demonstrated by the extracts of documents of this period in Appendix B.

William Caxton rendered *little* as either *lityl* or *lytil* on the same page. The Calendar of Documents preserved in France edited by Round, and cited below (page 8) reveal York or Jorvik spelt as Eurohic, Harborough spelt as Herborbeia, while other victims of scribal spelling, the Count of Mortain, the Earl of Montgomery and lord Mowbray, are named respectively as Moritoni, Montgomerico and Monbrai or Molbraio. Barrow provides a number of examples of scribal choices when describing the continental origin of several of 'Scotland's "Norman" Families, using quotation marks to signify a common catch-all use of

⁶ Thomas Pyles, John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, [Harcourt Brace & Co] 4th ed. 1993, p.140.

⁷ See Appendix A, entry no.9, showing that Alyth was spelt in Latin as Alight. Which was most common?

the description. The probable origin of the name de Quinci was Cuinchy near Béthune. Other origins and their scribal versions were de Chokes – Choques; Brus – Brix; Kircheville-Querqueville; Sinclair – Saint Clare sur Elles; Haig – La Hague.

In commenting on Middle English, and *a fortiori* Middle Scots, despite the growing distinctiveness of the latter, David Crystal has cited the sociolinguistic impact of the Norman invasion, when noting that ‘some words have a dozen or more variants.’⁸ It is almost certain that few if any of the many spelling variants of *Elliot* involved any change in pronunciation, meaning that any member of the society who attempts to pronounce all the versions of the name is wasting his or her time. By the 15th century Norman-French speaking scribes had made a permanent impact on the spelling of Middle English and Middle Scots, the latter marked by different pronunciation and spelling. The first letter *s* of Old English words was, for example, changed to *c*, as in *cercle-circle*. The *gh* spelling was imported into words like *night*, while in Middle Scots the change was to *ch* as in *nicht* along with other changes such as the past participle ending *it* (*watched, watchit*) and noun plurals ending in *is*. The sound of *w* became written as *qu*... The indigent language of the south was the Middle Scots version of English. The need to converse with English speaking tenants led as in England to some bilinguality, although it has been observed that some Flemish settlers brought to Scotland by Flemish tenants-in-chief, stuck for some time to Flemish. The slower spread of Middle Scots to eastern Scotland north of the Forth suggests that when the first Elliots settled at the Brae, near to Glen Shee, circa 1160-1170, Gaelic would have been the predominant local language, although by the end of the twelfth century it had retreated into the uplands. The fact that Latin remained the language of administration led to many spelling variations when seeking to fit the Roman alphabet to what for some *scriptores* were strange vernaculars.

The hands of such *scriptores* can be seen at work in Brittany, England and Scotland, in the mix of H, A and E variants, all conforming to the same pattern, which were in reality the work of different scribes, making their own spelling choices. Hallegoët, Allegoët and Elegoët are minimal variants, all mainly occurring in the ancient clan Halegoët homeland in Finistère, with other variants evolving across time and distance, during two centuries of demographic upheaval arising from resistance to Viking raiders, and later, a Viking army of occupation quartered alongside the river Loire, ending with, for many Breton mercenary kinships, close association with French-speaking Normans. Elliots and Alliot gained lands in Seine Maritime and Aisne in Picardy, as suggested by spikes in the numbers of these names there. Bretons were recruited by the Conqueror’s ducal ancestors, and this is borne out by Elliot and Alliot adoption of Norman style surnames, d’Elliot and d’Alliot, when many other Anglo-Bretons were merely given the tag ‘Brito’, before taking new surnames. The vowels **a** and **e** have the same value in words like **ago**, **about** and **mallet**. The letter **o** may also slip into use as a frontal vowel, as in the word *memento* when spelt as *momento*. This may explain the scribal choice of **o** as the first letter of some Elliot variants. **It almost certainly did not signal a change in pronunciation.** The peculiarities of modern English phonology and spelling even today means that English has to be learnt almost word for word (e.g. cough and bough) by both English speaking schoolchildren and foreigners. It

⁸ D Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, [Cambridge]1995, p.40.

cannot be said to be 'correct'. English phonetic spelling is better described as 'accepted' or 'conventional.' Elliot, Elliat, or Ellyut, using frontal vowels, are all three phonetically correct. As will be seen in the 16th century documents included in Appendix B the system of English phonology which is now 'accepted' took a long time to develop, thus colouring and sometimes distorting our understanding of medieval spelling.

Why Alliot was spelt as Alyth, Alight and Alyght

'Other new spellings were true innovations. The Old English symbol $\langle \text{g} \rangle$ was an Irish form; g entered English writing from the continent. In late OE \bar{g} had three values .. In Middle English times it acquired a somewhat different form, ȝ , called yogh, and was used for two sounds that came to be spelt as *y* and *gh* later in the period.....(e.g. "yield - ȝ eldan). This symbol, which continued to be written in Scotland long after the English had given it up, has been mistaken for *z* - the symbol that printers, having no ȝ in their fonts, used for it - as in the pronunciation of the names *Kenzie* (compare *Kenny*, with revised spelling to indicate a pronunciation somewhat closer to the historical one) and *Menzies*.* (The name was derived from Mesnières, displaying a semi-vowel, *ie* in French, like that of *io* in Alliot<>Elliot.)'

*Thomas Pyles, John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, (Harcourt Brace, 1993) p 137.

The scribal use of a first letter H as in Hallegoët or Heliët can also be ignored. Insofar as the letter *H* was concerned, Pyles and Algeo noted:

'The sound indicated by *h* was lost in late Latin, and hence the symbol has no phonetic significance in those Latin-derived languages that retain it in their spelling. The influence of Classical Latin had caused French scribes to restore the *h* in the spelling of many words - for instance *habit*, *herbage* and *home* - though it was never pronounced.'⁹

These authors also note French speaking scribes' insertion of *h* after *t* in a number of foreign words, with no consequence for French pronunciation, as opposed to that of other languages, in words like *throne* still written and pronounced in Medieval French as *trone*. This should be borne in mind when considering the spelling of Elliot as *Eloth* and *d'Alliot* as *d'Alyth*, the name which was recorded as *Eliëht*, *Elyeht* and *Eliot* in sixteenth to late seventeenth century maps of Perthshire and Angus.

The names of illiterate fighting men of noble rank, with some exceptions, like Brian fitzCount, lord of Wallingford, a close Breton friend and companion of David I who wrote his own memoirs, were thus at the mercy of medieval scribes, more often than not those of various ethnicities who ran royal or magnate administrations or 'writing offices.' Lesser barons and knights were outranked by those bishops or abbots who undertook the king's

⁹ *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, p.168.

administration, and made their own decisions as to what name variant they liked the sound of best. In Scotland it was David I (1124-1153) who initiated the expansion of royal bureaucracy. While episcopal charters were common during this period, the use of lay charters vouching for lands granted to tenants-in-chief, or by magnates and barons to sub-tenants, linked to knight service, garrison and castle-ward, did not take off until the 1180s during the reign of William I the Lion (1165-1214), after which the use of such charters began to increase. It has been shown, for example, that a number of William's early charters betray the hand of the bishop of Lincoln. The development of royal administration with its devotion to keeping written records was somewhat slower in Scotland than in England.

As already indicated, when faced by a new name in one of several vernaculars, a scribe of no matter what ethnicity, would set as his priority the formulation of the name in Latin. Matthew Hammond's description of scribal habits in relation to personal names, could have applied equally to what was still a novelty, that of the choice of a surname:

'The act of choosing a name becomes an action laden with meaning and symbolism: this realisation has led many scholars to a new methodology of personal names. Moreover, besides 'ethnicity' being malleable, there is also the very real possibility that other considerations or motivations (such as family) 'trumped' ethnicity, as it were, making it less important than previously thought.

The second problem is less frequently discussed and involves the written translation of personal names. The implications of the fact that nearly all the contemporary documents were in Latin have rarely, if ever, been discussed in the Scottish context. Historians view names in vernacular languages (Gaelic, French, English, Norse) through the prism of a lingua franca: Latin. Due to this situation, and depending on the ability and/or preference of the scribe, personal names could either be rendered 'untranslated', as it were, in one of the vernaculars, or, more often, **'translated' or altered in a form more palatable to Latin-literate eyes and ears.*** The imperative of standardisation, furthermore, may smooth over a more complex contemporary reality. **It is likely that many powerbrokers on the ground in medieval Scotland were aware of these ambiguities and exploited them.'**¹⁰ (*My bold print.)

Surnames were less of a problem for Norman knights, who merely adopted their place of birth, or local toponym, prefaced by 'of' -'de', and this practice was followed by some Bretons like the Elliots, or William d'Aubigny (d'Aubin ), the Breton lord of Belvoir in Leicestershire. The majority of Bretons were, however, tagged as "Brito" (the Breton), in the same way that Flemish colonists were given the Latin tag "Flandrensis" (the Fleming). Happily the adoption of the Norman naming custom by Elliot patriarchs has solved the

¹⁰ Matthew Hammond, *A Prosopographical Analysis of Society in East Central Scotland, circa 1100 to 1260, with special reference to ethnicity*; submitted for the degree of Ph. D. Department of History (Scottish History Area) Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow April 2005 , pp67,68, published online.

problem of tracing their origins. The noble title of d'Elliot still existed in pre-Revolutionary Brittany.

Lack of a surviving charter recording the grant of the barony of the Brae between Glen Shee and Glen Isla on the Perthshire-Angus borders to Elias d'Alliot/d'Elliot (scribal spelling d'Alyth- see below), who witnessed a charter of 1182 issued by the bishop of Dunblane¹¹, perhaps indicates that Elias (whose receipt of a biblical name was common to most ethnicities at this time) as suggested above, was installed at the Brae some time during the 1160s, or even earlier during the reign of William's older brother, Malcolm IV(1153-1165). (See Appendix A).

The mutable names Alliot and Elliot : a Yorkshire connection?

The mutable names Alliot, Elliot emerge, along with others, from a distinct pattern of Halgoët variants with a long Breton pedigree shown on page 2, in a way which exposes their spelling as a matter of varying scribal preferences, applied to names which were all probably pronounced in the same way. The scribe who entered the name of baron Elias of the Brae as a witness in a charter of 1182 decided on a first letter A, while using y as a semi-vowel. The cartographers listed below (p.16) chose the E variant, that of Elliot, and the vowels **ie..and io** where the scribe of 1180 had used the semi-vowel **y**. Clearly there was a certain amount of fluidity between the *Alliot-Elliot* spellings, before the final geographic anchorage of either.

In my previous contribution I claimed that the question of the pathway to Scotland for what would undoubtedly have been a landless younger son of a Breton military affinity with all of the attributes of a closely knit Celtic Brittonic clan, perhaps with a retinue containing near or distant young Elliot relatives, was somewhat academic, in view firstly of their undisputed settlement in Scotland, and secondly of its coincidence with the introduction of feudal military tenure in 12th century Scotland. One of the most interesting features of this so-called 'Davidian' revolution was the movement of men suspected of being caught up in, or seeking to avoid, a vicious civil war in which David I was, as a supporter of his niece the Empress Matilda, in alliance and contact with the earls and barons of south-western and western England¹². Medieval means of communication and modes of travel should not blind us to the network of relationships established by men who were as European as they were Anglo-Norman, Flemish or Breton, many until the reign of King John (1199-1216) still possessing lands either side of the channel. John Balliol retained his lands in Picardy. Marriages linking the families of nobles and gentlemen often involved the acquisition of lands in more than one country or dukedom, and when recruiting Flemish and perhaps closely associated Breton mercenaries, the Canmore kings had access to a far flung, sophisticated network of recruiters called '*locatores*.' Long distances were travelled by pilgrims or ecclesiastic and aristocratic groups involved in marriage and treaty negotiations and the to-ing and fro-ing of bishops and nobles between Scotland and France, or Scotland and Rome also demonstrated the establishment of many long, if slow, lines of

¹¹ *Scottish Episcopal Acta, i, no. 32. Trad. ID SEA, i, no. 32*

¹² G W S Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (Edward Arnold Ltd), 2003, p.288

communication, reduced on occasions by hard riding by relays, as when the news of the Norman invasion reached King Harold, in Yorkshire.

Since Alliot<>Elliot acquisition of lands in Scotland can no longer be doubted, speculation about their final trans-British migration as professional soldiers, and how they benefited, may seem pointless. Some discussion of the opportunities open to individuals and affinities brought about by the extension of feudal military tenure, in the hands of barons and knights of mixed Norman, Flemish and Breton ethnicities, is necessary since the huge impact of the so-called 'Davidian Revolution,' and the likelihood that the Elliots were among its many beneficiaries, appear to have been overlooked or underestimated in previous histories of the Elliots. Their task, like that of all the other warrior settlers, was to further the ambitions of a still insecure Anglo-Gaelic Canmore dynasty, starting with the subduing of the north. They were David I and his grandsons' *probi homines*, or 'trusted men.'

Research undertaken by F Lawrence-Fleming into the ancestry of the Fleming earls of Wigton, and the findings of Barrow in relation to King David I's network of connections, reaching as far as the West Country, point to a northward migration of future landholders in Scotland, often landless younger noble sons, in some cases via the Breton-held earldom of Richmond, and other Yorkshire lordships, held by David's brother-in-law Henry I's 'new men.' A supporter of his niece, the 'Empress' Matilda against King Stephen, King David had allies in the counties in which Elliots first settled, in the old kingdom of Wessex. Barrow describes the presence of the Flemish baron, Robert of Bampton in Somerset, and his following, at David I's court during the civil war arising from succession to the English throne disputed by King Stephen and Henry I's daughter, and David I's neice, the dowager Empress Matilda. He also points to 'Berchelai' and Castle Cary in Somerset as the origins of the Scottish de Berkeley (Barclay) noble family. Lawrence Fleming points to similar West Country origins of the ancestors of the Flemish Baldwin of Biggar, stepfather of John de Crawford, whose own ancestors had settled in Yorkshire. Citing Burke, he wrote:

'John Burke, however, in the third volume of his Genealogical and Heraldic history of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, concurred with Chalmers: "Crawfurds (sic) of Scotland: In support of the curious hypothesis respecting the origin of the Crawfurds and their descent from the old Earls of Richmond, given in vol.ii. p.ix., we have to add the following remarks to show, first, that Theobald, the reputed ancestor of the Douglasses, and Baldwin of Biggar, who married the widow of the founder of the Crawford family of Scotland, were settlers in Yorkshire, under the Earls of Richmond.'"¹³

Lawrence-Fleming also cites Burke when describing the settlement of another Flemish knight, Berowald Flandrensis, granted lands in Moray by Malcolm IV(1153-1165), circa 1154.

'Theobald (and probably Baldwin also), according to a charter of Earl Alan, drawn up in Coutances on the border to Brittany sometime between 1136 and 1147, was a

¹³ F. Lawrence-Fleming, *The Ancestry of the Earl of Wigton, and other Essays Relating to the Family History of the Flemings*. (Paragon Publishing) 2011, p.83.

member of Earl Alan's household both in Brittany and in Yorkshire (*Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, editor J H Round, London 1899.*)'

This finding remains unaffected by the mistake of placing Coutances, in the south of the Cherbourg peninsula, on the border with Brittany, although before the westward expansion of the Normans during the 10th century, Bretons had sought to extend their eastern boundary there. It is however, surely relevant that Baldwin, like other barons and knights with connections to the West Country, from where much of the opposition to King Stephen, led by Robert of Gloucester also sprang, was, like David I and Earl Alan, a staunch opponent of Stephen. His move to Scotland took place at some time after the death of Earl Alan in 1147.

Page | 13

The thought that the Breton earl of Richmond would not have had as tenants or as household and garrison knights, alongside those Flemings like Theobald and Baldwin, numerous Breton knights, sons of those Bretons already established with lands in Yorkshire, is surely untenable. The same could be said of his brothers, Ribald, who received the Lordship of Middleham from Alan Rufus, which passed eventually by marriage to the Nevilles, Bardolf, who moved to England where he held the lordship of Ravensworth and became the ancestor of the Fitzhugh family and Bodin, Lord of Bedale. Lawrence-Fleming adds:

'Baldwin's connection to the family of David I of Scotland would likely have been through the king's son and heir, Prince Henry, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon.... Baldwin was after about 1170 succeeded as lord of Biggar and also possibly as sheriff of Lanarkshire by his son Waldeve.'¹⁴

The Elliot DNA project seems to have revealed a predominant Celtic-Brittonic bloodline, with a strong Flemish admixture. The near certainty that the migration of Alliot-Elliots coincided with that of a number of men of Flemish origin, like Theobald, Baldwin and Berowald, whose grandson took the name Innes, may cast some light on this finding.

Musgrove emphasises David I's Yorkshire connections, among whom were the de Brus (Bruce) family of Cleveland, for whom the progenitors of the Elliots of Scotland may have nourished strong loyalties, perhaps explaining their prompt and continuous steadfastness to the cause of Robert Bruce, from 1306 and the forfeiture of the barony of the Brae near Glen Shee, right through to their resettlement by him in Liddesdale circa 1320. As lesser knights and members of a de Brus retinue, any Elliots may not, at first as mere knights, have had sufficient status to make it into any royal charters or other documents. Their elevation to a barony – albeit that the early Canmore kings' baronies were not of the same size and status as those yet to be created by Robert I, with 'sake, soke, toll and infangentief' – brought to Elias d'Alliot (d'Alyth) the required stature to qualify as a witness to a bishop's charter. The name Elliot was not unknown in the Bruce lordship of Annandale, and this may indicate a stepping

¹⁴ *The Ancestry of the Earl of Wigton*, pp.86,87.

stone to a barony north of the Forth. Many beneficiaries of Malcolm IV (1153-1165) and William I (1165-1214) were already in possession of lands in the south.

The services of other northern mercenaries, especially from Yorkshire, but also from Northumberland and Cumberland, were available to David I, who had held the lordship of Hallamshire from Henry I, as well as the principality of Cumberland, another area in which Breton mercenaries had, with Normans, formed a military colony established by William Rufus (1087-1100).¹⁵ Many among the recent Norman, Flemish and Breton settlers in Yorkshire, following its devastation during the 'Harrying of the North' by William the Conqueror were, like King David himself, counted among Henry I's 'new men,' whose promotion arose from the role which they had played in his survival and eventual triumph, in opposition to his brothers Robert Curthose and William Rufus. David's relationships with these men were tied to the Canmore line's long standing ambition of restoring the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. In 1134, when his crown was under threat from the rebellious earl of Moray in the highlands, he asked his Yorkshire-Norman friends for military support, which was rendered under the leadership of Walter l'Espece of Helmsley, who assembled a force at Carlisle. Musgrove, who unfortunately uses the description "Norman" again as a 'catch-all', wrote:

'Secular interconnections between southern Scotland and northern England, especially Yorkshire, were just as strong and multifarious. They were principally the outcome of King David's deliberate Normanization of his kingdom and his introduction of the tenurial and military relationships known as "feudalism." ... It brought Norman officials and Norman landholders into Scotland on a considerable scale: some were brought in directly from Normandy, some from David's estates scattered over the east Midlands, but principally they were drawn from Norman families settled in Yorkshire. Walter of Rydale went from the North Riding to serve David I and founded the Scottish family of Riddell; Ranulf son of Walter of Lowthorpe in the East Riding became the king's falconer. This migration of Normans from Yorkshire was a major contribution to the feudal plantation north of the border and involved the great families of Brus, Balliol and Mowbray, as well as many Anglo Norman families of humbler standing.'¹⁶

Clearly, a more precise description would have included the mixed ethnicities, not solely Norman but Flemish, Breton, Picard and others, involved in what Musgrove calls 'Normanization.' Similarly, many of the new monastic foundations had close connections to Yorkshire mother houses, such as Nostell Priory in the honour of Pontefract, and Rievaulx, whose monks were among the first to occupy the great new abbey of Melrose. Among the families of 'humbler standing' were the Herries and the Johnstones, whose descendants would rise to prominence in the West Marches during 16th century, the latter in particular in a feud with the Maxwells.

¹⁵ Michael Lynch, *Scotland, a New History*, (Edinburgh, paperback 2011) pp 79,80.

¹⁶ Musgrove, *The North of England...* p.61

Given the tantalising appearance here of the name Elliot in the Bruces' lordship of Annandale :

Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, has given, granted, and by his charter established, for himself and his heirs, to Henry of Kirkcudbright all his land of Cummertrees (DMF) and all his other land of Ryehill (DMF), which John son of Reginald and his mother, Simon son of Reginald, and Reginald, son of Eliot, held of Robert de Brus in the villa of Ryehill; they shall have power to grind corn at Robert's mill free from multure, rendering four skips of malt, half at Pentecost and half at Martinmas for all services. Firm date circa 1242 X 31 March 1295.¹⁷

...and the first de Brus lord's inclusion in his retinue of the Yorkshire Johnstones and Herries families, there is in this charter a strong hint of an early Elliot-de Brus connection, which could explain the alacrity with which the Elliots came to the aid of Robert Bruce in 1306, and their steadfastness in his cause. Denial of the exclusively Breton origin of this name, as a unique toponym variant is now impossible. The fact that Eliot is used as a personal name may point to the honouring of a proudly borne Breton name – since, according to Michael Jones the Breton immigrants were intensely proud of their origins – also indicated by the naming of Elliot daughters as Ellota, examples of which are found in both Scotland and Cumberland. (Elot and Allot being both Breton and Scottish variants of Elliot-Alliot).

This surname (Allott) is derived from the name of an ancestor. 'the son of Alot'; query, a form of Eliot, **with Eliota** as fem.; v. Elliot In the Ulverston Registers, Lancashire, the forms are Alletson, Aletson, Elatson, Elattson, Elletson, Eletson, all representing the same patronymic Eliotson; v. Alletson in Index of Registers of St Mary, Ulverston. In any case the surname, with its variants, is of fontal origin.¹⁸

The adoption of Scandinavian naming customs by some Alliot<>Elliots suggests a very early migration of one or more members of this Breton clan to Cumberland following its occupation under William Rufus by Normans and Bretons, means that whilst a Cumbrian pathway to Scotland cannot be ruled out, the distribution of the Alliot<>Elliot surname confirms the suspicion that almost the entire manhood of this Breton mercenary clan participated in the Conquest of 1066, and again with a large number of Elliots making a later crossing, perhaps in the grand army with which the Conqueror was forced to return in 1068. The Breton settlements in Devon and Cornwall followed the dispatch in 1069 of a Breton contingent to the West Country, in order to suppress a rebellion and repulse a West Saxon invasion.

Does the charter below provide a brief and tantalising glimpse into the later history of one particular Elliot daughter? Nowhere else in any surviving document from the 11th to the 14th century does this name appear, although it seems to have made an appearance in North Lancashire, as shown in the textbox above.

¹⁷ Source: Alan Macquarrie, 'Notes on some charters of the Bruces of Annandale, 1215 – 1295', *TDGAS* 58 (1983), 72-9, no. 8.

¹⁸ [– *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, written: 1872-1896 by Charles Wareing Endell Bardsley]. (NB Yet more confirmation that Elwald and Ellot were two separate, and separately sourced, names.)

Gilbert of Cassingray, son and heir of Laurence and Ellota of Cassingray, has given, granted, and by this his present charter established, to Sir Nicholas de Haye, lord of Erroll, all his land of Cassingray (FIF), with all rights and all renders which he had in that land, holding it of the lord king, and making all custom and service for the land as he and his predecessors did.¹⁹ (My underlining).

Finally, it cannot be presumed from available evidence that a second wave of Alliot-Elliots, the sons, grandsons or nephews of the Elliots of 1066, were not brought to England in the retinues of either Henry I, on his defeat of his brother Robert Curthose at Tinchebraie in 1106, or any of his 'new men' who were to be raised in status and installed in Yorkshire. Historians have always recognised a Breton migration in two waves, the first in 1066, and the second in the early 12th century, the Breton Fitzalans, among Henry's 'new men' arrived, bringing with them the future steward and founder of the Stewart dynasty. Citing the French historian Le Patourel, Michael Jones wrote: (translated from French)

'There were many other (Breton) beneficiaries, dispersed largely across Anglo-Norman territories; but even before his accession, Henry I had started to employ Breton mercenaries. The accession of Henry II, which had provoked hostilities between the king and the duchy, does not seem to have shaken in any significant ways the position of these Bretons holding territories on both sides of the Channel.'²⁰

Jones makes the point that many Bretons of modest knightly status were awarded small subtenancies, but as with all lesser knights, upward social mobility could arise from feats of arms or judicious marriages, just as much as the fortunes of other families might decline, and lineages die out through an absence of male heirs. In establishing the identity of Breton colonists, he writes (translated from French):

'It must be recognised that in arriving at these rough estimates, it has been necessary to rely for the most part on onomastic evidence, about which some doubts may be legitimately expressed. The importance accorded by the Anglo-Bretons as to their origins, in maintaining the habit of keeping traditional names, is a question which has not been fully examined. Several families appear, in effect, not to have forgotten these for several generations. To Manno the Breton, the Domesday lord of Wolverton (Bucks.), succeeded Meinfelin Brito (died sometime after 1136), who was followed by Hamo (d.1185), succeeded by his three sons: Hamo (d.1196-1198), Guillaume (William) (d.1248) and Alain (d.1249). In the English branch of the Dinan family, the names Josc and Olivier were still used during the 14th century; Eon and Alain were still then used by the Zouches (with lands in Scotland-my note), and Alan and Brian was used alternatively by the lords of Bedale (Yorks.), earlier considered the creation of Earl Alain (d.1146), but now considered to be probably the descendants of Scolland, Richmond's steward whose origins remain unknown, and

¹⁹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC) Fifth Report, App., 'Muniments of Sir J. Bethune, Bart.'*, 624, no. 5, Firm date circa 4 October 1282 X 1 August 1294.

²⁰ Michael C E Jones, *The Creation of Brittany*, (Hambleton Press) 1988, p90.

who is met for the first time in the English charters of Earl Stephen of Richmond, during the 1090s. However, the successive names of his descendants demonstrate as much respect for the lords of the honour of Richmond as for direct links with Brittany. There are fewer doubts in the case of many (Breton) names used by Richmond's men during the 12th century: Roald, Harscouët, Hasculf, Rualent, Gurwant and Guihomar are frequent, and the origin of many knights in (Henry II's) census of 1166, in addition to those identified by *Brito*, with names such as Alured, Hervé, Jordan, Hoël, (Welsh Hywel) Morvan and Jarnogan, is a safe conclusion. Despite some incertitude we may feel fairly sure when William Fitzalan has among his men, in Shropshire, Brien le Chen, Herbert son of Gurant, Gwomar le Rotur and Gwido Extaneus, or when Baderon of Monmouth names Ranulfus Brito, Jordanus, Elveredus, de Neuham and Ywain (Gaelic Ewen) son of Andreae among his men, and when in the honour of Wallingford (Berks – held by the Breton Brian Fitzcount – my insertion) lived Galfridus Boterel, Morevanus, Ruelent de Alverson, Alanus de Valennes and Urveius Malet, that we have here those who are Bretons or count Bretons among their immediate ancestors.²¹

The point should be reiterated here that the adoption by Bretons of the Norman custom of taking place names, or toponyms like the Halgoët variants, reflects the adjustment of many former Breton mercenaries, whether as knights or barons of modest status, to Norman culture. While Jones's assertions may seem to have little to do with the Eligotts, Ellacotts, Alllots, Elliots, Allots and Elots, the identification of many more Bretons may help members of the Society to fully grasp the extent to which Bretons were involved in bringing feudal military tenure into England, Wales and, later, Scotland. In Ireland, invaded by Henry II during the latter half of the 12th century, Elligott became MacElligott.²²

The Europeanisation of Scotland

Geoffrey Barrow wrote:

'With the Normans, whether we view them with favour or disfavour, we feel we know where we are. Our mental picture of them is one of the fixed points in our historical consciousness. Hard of face and of fist, restless, rapacious, ruthlessly efficient, they were the men who dragged Scotland, struggling and kicking, into the middle ages.'²³

The picture which is conjured up is the movement not just of knights, but their families, goods and retinues, in a process which according to Barrow, general histories take for granted, while lumping all the incomers as 'Normans', which they were clearly not. 'The general historians have shown little interest in the precise origins of particular families,

²¹ *The Creation of Brittany*, pp 81, 82.

²² http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/ireland_invasion_01.shtml#two

²³ Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, p.279.

while some family historians 'have piled error on error.'²⁴ The leading scholar on the introduction of feudal military tenure in Scotland, Graeme Ritchie, quoted by Barrow, wrote not only about the Normans, but 'Duke William's Breton, Lotharingian, Flemish, Picard, Artesian, Cenomannian, Angevin, general-French and Norman Conquest.'²⁵ Barrow also draws attention to mistakes made even by learned scholars in automatically assuming that the origin of anyone with a Norman- sounding name would be found in France. The publication, the *Scots Peerage* does not escape criticism.

The Norman, Breton, Flemish and other ancestors of those who were to become fierce Scottish 'patriots' during the Wars of Independence, did not all arrive 'as part of a tidy and logical process, nor can they all be fitted into a pattern centred upon King David and his English estates.'²⁶ The settlement of the Lovels of Hawick, for example, can be traced to their membership of the retinue of the Flemish baron, Robert of Bampton in Somerset, who took refuge during the English 'anarchy' for some time at the court of King David, and the control of his castle at Castle Carey. The arrival of others, like the Giffards of Yester, can be traced to the marriage of David's son, Earl Henry of Northumberland, to Ada, daughter of Earl William II de Warenne. Such immigration was continued, in a second phase, north of the Forth, by David's grandsons Malcolm IV and William I, although Malcolm granted away lands hitherto held in royal demesne by their grandfather, especially in Clydesdale, where Malcolm distributed lands particularly to Flemings, Theobald in Douglasdale, William Finemund in Cambusnethan, Baldwin of Biggar, Thankard of Tankerton, and numerous others. Here were the progenitors of the Murray and Douglas clans.

Given the extent to which Bretons, Flemings, Picards and other former mercenary nobles had been absorbed into the predominating military and religious culture of the Normans, it is nevertheless accurate to describe the changes wrought by the introduction of feudal military tenure in Scotland as 'Normanisation.' That one, or almost certainly more, Alliot-Elliots had a role to play in this process, on receipt of lands between Glen Shee and Glen Isla, cannot be doubted. Barrow poses the question:

'How many Normans came to Scotland and what was their impact upon Scottish life, did they really introduce feudalism, to what extent did their menfolk bring with them wives and children, how much did their womenfolk bring in the way of personal possessions and household goods, how far did they alter the character of Scottish trade, did they learn any language but French, how did they make the long journey and who paid their fares?'²⁷

The priority for historians is not to make airy generalisations about our Scottish 'Normans'; it is to find out exactly who they were.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.280.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.280

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.288

²⁷ *The Kingdom of Scotland*, p.295

Insofar as the Alliot<>Elliot are concerned, the evidence is overwhelming that they were members of an offshoot or sept of a very old Celtic-Brittonic clan, who crossed the Channel in 1066 in some numbers, and whose aspirations and the pursuit of the spoils of war, in the shape of lands, led to the subsequent scattering of ambitious cadets and their families, especially throughout the regions initially dominated by their Halebouët and Penthièvre lords, and eventually through the use of any one of the many connections arising from service to a king or one great man or another, to Scotland and promotion to the barony of the Brae.

The barony of the Brae

In my previous article I endeavoured to explain how and why the first surviving written version of d'Alliot<>Elliot was the work of a scribe, probably a French speaker more used to rendering names from Latin into French vernacular, who used the **y** of Alyth as a semi-vowel rather than **io**, while in typical French fashion inserting a silent **h**. In a prisoners' list of 1296, the names are rendered by an English speaking scribe as Alight and Alyght. As confirmed in my Autumn 2014 article, Walter d'Alyth forfeited the barony of the Brae in 1306, following his prompt rally to the side of Robert Bruce.²⁸ The circumstances surrounding the emergency and quite extraordinary transfer of the whole Elliot clan ("twelve great families"), not until the discovery of the de Soules conspiracy are a strong pointer to the recovery of The Brae by Walter d'Alliot<>d'Elliot, probably by 1308 or 1309.

While to modern eyes this and many other medieval spellings seem unfathomable, as a long, slow improvement in phonetic spelling took shape, the mapmakers of the 16th to early 18th centuries, who heard the name spoken by local people wrote it more accurately as Elycht, Elicht, Elieht, and finally and by modern standards, correctly, as Eliot. The maps can be viewed and enlarged on screen via the National Library of Scotland website:

16th to 18th century cartographers and the town, kirk, river and forest of Eliot

- Timothy Pont (1560?-1614?):** One map showing the Kirk of Elioht.
Robert Gordon (1580-1661): four maps drawn at separate intervals, wrote the names: Kirk of Elit, Kirk of Elycht, Forest of Elycht*, Water of Elyeht
Robert Gordon with Joan Blaeu (1596-1673): one map with the name Forest of Elit.
- Herman Moll (1654-1732):** A cartographer of great repute, two maps each with the name Eliot.
John Adair (1650-1722) and James Moxon (1671-1700): One map, as with Moll, showing the town of Eliot.

(*Note also: Gordon and Timothy Pont each drew maps containing Ardbiriot/Arbirlet and a river 'Ellet.' Although faint, Pont's 'o' in Elioht is nevertheless discernible. Written also with a quill pen, there is therefore a strong possibility that Gordon also wrote Elyoht.)

See Appendix C for fuller details and NLS references

²⁸ G W S Barrow. *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, (Eyre & Spottiswoode) 1965. Forfeitures listed page 447 (Appendix).

How and why later on in the 18th century the old scribal version of Alliot<>Elliot, that of Alyth, was made to replace Eliot, perhaps by cartographers ignorant of earlier maps, while over-relying on the purely scribal name, remains for the moment an unresolved loose end. In some perverse way later cartographers who became more aware than earlier ones of both names, the clerical one of Alyth and the later spoken one of Eliot (as per Moll, Adair and Moxon), may have treated Eliot as a misspelling! What seems to be clear is that d'Alyth, d'Alight and d'Alyght, all scribal attempts to spell d'Alliot, of which the mutable phonetic variant d'Elliot was no less accurate, was a Brittonic surname and not the name of any thanage which might have existed earlier in the locality. While the baronial settlement or 'town', its kirk and an extensive 'forest' had over a century during which to acquire the surname as a place name, the original geographic or place name was 'the Brae.'

The importance of all of these facts lies in the firm conclusion that Walter d'Elliot, or his heir Walter, brought this Breton variant toponymic surname down with his clan from the Perthshire-Angus uplands, in compensation for d'Elliot loss of the barony of the Brae in 1306, and almost certainly with a mission prescribed by Robert I (Bruce). **How or why, then, were the Elliots given the new surname Elwald?** Whose decision was this? Was it typical of the carelessness or nonchalance shown towards names by high ranking, literate, Latin speaking *scriptores*? Since the Elliots were intruded into territory parts of which were occupied by Northumbrian turncoats, like the Armstrongs, who came to be both Scots and English, and, unlike the Elliots, freely engaged, as Musgrave reports, in cross-border intermarriages, was this a political decisions? To the north were the southern Scottish Turnbells, and to the west were the Johnstone and Herries descendants of knights of Yorkshire origin. As far as can be ascertained Clan Elliot, with its unusual attributes as a former Celtic-Brittonic clan, was the only clan from the north of the Forth, led by a man who would still in the 16th century be described uniquely as a chieftain (not a laird), intruded in its entirety, undoubtedly with a special mission, into the Borders.

Like several families which migrated circa 1160 from earlier English or Scottish lowland landholdings to new lands north of the Forth, the Elliots would have undergone several decades of 'gaelicisation' before the retreat of Gaelic into upland parishes. The transition to feudalism appears to have been a relatively smooth one, not involving any displacement since there were large tracts of uncultivated 'wastes' available for exploitation, in which the Flemish incomers were experts, while incoming barons north of the Forth also took to the idea of clan chieftainship. Clans were founded by the St Clairs (Sinclairs), by Freskin de Moravia (the Murrays), by Berowald (Clan Innes) and since the Elliots settled into one of the Highland fringes at about the same time as these feudal lords-turned-chieftains, some gaelicisation is bound to have taken place, although the discovery of Flemish DNA haplogroups among some of today's Elliots bears out a history of their close relationships with the Douglasses.

Walter d'Elliot, a.k.a Elwald

The notion harboured for some time by some that the name Elwald 'morphed' into Elliot, was always of doubtful phonological and linguistic validity. Scott of Satchells was right all along, and it can now be dismissed since the evidence that the name Elliot, a unique variant of a name of ancient origin, was brought down to Liddesdale circa 1320, is overwhelming. When considering the nature and conduct of the war between 1306 and that date by Bruce and his generals, Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, with the latter establishing firm control of the extensive, impenetrable zone known as 'the Forest', a suspected earlier Elliot presence in Liddesdale, at a time when its previous occupants were aligned with John Balliol and his Galloway followers, cannot be dismissed. That their former patriarch, whose descendants were still described as 'chieftains', as opposed to 'lairds,' as late as the 16th century, may have been the recipient of a charter for lands which he already held by force, cannot be ruled out.

There can longer be any doubt that the names Alliot and Elliot are unique co-variants of an old Breton toponym, and its Breton origin is, as already indicated corroborated by the results of the Elliot DNA project. A variety of other mainly Germanic haplogroups nevertheless points to the rate at which Breton ancestry was diluted over some three centuries of warfare, intermarriages and adoptions as Elliots of the orphaned sons of Elliot women, married or otherwise. A tentative start to this process of dilution through so-called 'parental events' may have been made during the earlier history of the clan, during a time of confrontation with occupying Vikings. The Alliot-Elliots were among Celts who came to occupy southern Brittany, up against the old Carolingian marches, among men of Frankish (Germanic) origin, who from time to time fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bretons against the Viking army of occupation. Since Elliot is a unique variant toponym, the chances therefore of a second, independent origin of the name are virtually nil. Its arrival in Scotland coincided with the arrivals of many other names of continental origin, although the Elliot pedigree stands out from all others, Norman, Flemish or Picard, on account of its ancient British origin.

A much closer forensic analysis of documents which contain what was undoubtedly a scribal, or charter name, that of Elwald, particularly those in which both names, Elwald and Elliot (pronounced but not yet spelt as Elliot?) appear, point to the eventual victory of the historic spoken name, *Elliot*, over the scribal name *Elwald*, in which literacy and the unaided signing of documents may have played a part. D'Elliot, just as its alter ego d'Alliot, was a noble name, disclosing long standing Norman influences, to which any warrior family of Breton origin would have stubbornly held with ferocious pride. It is as well to note, therefore, that wherever the name Elwald appears on any surviving document or account, it does so only in the hands of third parties, wardens, officials and others with access to sheriffs' records and muster or wapinschaw rolls. With the disappearance from later documents of the name Elwald, we may be sure that Elliot, spelt for some time as Elliot, was the name used regularly in everyday discourse. It could never have been a forgotten name,

suddenly making its reappearance, at a moment of recovered memory, during the second half of the 16th century, when it became the majority choice!

How or why Walter d'Elliot, formerly of the Brae near Glen Shee, took or was obliged to accept, an anglicised name, will forever remain the subject of speculation. We do not know who drew up the Redheugh charter, on the instructions of either Bruce or his bastard son, and Lord of Liddesdale, Sir Robert, although it is reasonably certain that the Elliots were finally settled there on the instructions of Bruce himself, particularly since this was for him a territory of great strategic importance.²⁹ While it is tempting to regard the name Elwald as a rough translation of the Breton Elliot toponym, given the probable handing down from generation to generation the clan's ancient association with the forest of the Halebouët, proof of this is missing. Elliot/Alliots, Eligotts, Ellacotts and Ellicotts were the descendants of the 'people of the willow (saughtree),' which also became a geographic toponym, and a long standing 'vicomté,' held over centuries by different noble Breton families. On the other hand, the primary meaning of the Old English root name 'wald' was that of power, rule or control, a name lost from the Middle English vocabulary, to the profit of its secondary meaning, 'forest' or 'wood.' During the early Middle Ages, names ending in 'wald' were given exclusively to men of power, rulers, princes or chieftains. In Old Norse, it took the form 'valdr', as in Rognvaldr, one time prince of the Vikings of the Loire. In modern Scandinavian, it now appears as the name suffix 'vald.' Whatever the name was meant to convey: the arbitrary decision of a scribe, indulging in practices described by Hammond (page 7) a decision that these men from north of the Forth should have a new name, or the use of borrowed, well known Old English name to convey the idea of power and chieftainship, the reaction of those Elliots within 'the twelve great families' described by Scott of Satchells will remain a mystery. Did the families of Elliot collateral branches (several surely by 1320) adopt the name? If by adoption is meant use of the name in everyday communication, the answer is probably, 'never.'

If discovery of the reasons for this name change was thought to be attainable, bookmakers would probably give shorter odds in favour of the influence of whichever scribe, bishop or abbot, outranking Walter, drew up the Redheugh charter, exercising his discretion and authority in favour of a name whose sound he liked better than Elliot. (vide Matthew Hammond, see page 7 above.) This may, however, be doing the scribe a disservice, since it is as well to contemplate the vulnerability of these men from the north, who were intruders arriving in what was still virtually another country, Lothian and the Borders. The reason for the name change may have been political, leading to Elliot acquiescence. While the religious and military culture known to us as 'feudalism' did not penetrate westwards into the Highlands and Isles, but nevertheless spanned the Forth, Scotland was still a country ethnically and culturally divided between north and south. While many earlier newcomers became Gaelicised, the only concern of others in the south, like the Douglasses, was to remain there and expand their southern power bases. Little attention has so far been paid to the milieu into which the Elliots were intruded, and the inevitable problems of adjustment. The

²⁹ The king's writing office, headed by his chancellor, Bernard of Litton, was located at the Abbey of Arbroath, where the name Elliot or Ellot would have been familiar. The name change wrought on the Elliots suggests that the Redheugh charter was drawn up for Sir Robert Bruce in the south, possibly at Kelso or Melrose.

change from Elliot to Elwald involved only one of two syllables, and we may therefore wonder whether the change of surname was intended to assist such a process of resettlement and readjustment.

The main point of interest here, however, is that the town of Elliot, whose original scribal name, Alyth, has been restored to modern maps, is only one piece in a chain of evidence in which each piece of evidence corroborates all others. The deliberate singling out of 'Robin' Elliot, not as a laird like all others, but as a 'chief' with the 'commaund' of all his 'grayne', by Thomas Musgrave (see below, p.38, App.B) solves the puzzle of how men with a common English name could be chieftains of a Scottish clan. This was, of course, always a ridiculous notion. Men of noble Breton descent, proud of their ancient toponym as well as their early integration into the culture of fellow Celts, would never have abandoned it. By the end of the 16th century, the charter of 1320 was redundant, a family curio. In 1584 Liddesdale was in the king's hands and for a time he designated Robert and Martin Elliot, and the Armstrong laird of Whithaugh as its keepers.

The progressive reassertion of Elot > Elliot in the 16th century

During the 15th century the writing of the name Elwald was always the work of third parties, whether royal officials, wardens or others. A stage was then reached when both names, Elwald, or its final variant Elwood, and Elot appear in the same document, like this one as early as 1518:

'Have gotten pledges for the Elwandes of Reidheugh and their band like as I had before and for the Ellots of the other gang of Gorrenberry, except so many as win (dwell) in Teviotdale on Mark Ker's lands and are servants to the warden, who say they will remain in Teviotdale and not come to Liddesdale and therefore they will enter no pledges.'³⁰

Ignorance, or carelessness with the name Elwald is evident here in the misspelling as Elwand. The Master is sticking formally to the Redheugh charter name, while his switch to Elot in relation to Gorrenberry suggests that here were Elliots determined either to stick to, or to reassert, the old name. This does not seem to bother the Master, and he is happy to use the latter name in these circumstances. What this and other documents prove, is the parallel use of two distinct and separate names. Two of the most instructive documents, set out in the two text boxes below clearly demonstrate that as soon as the chieftain and a younger generation of Redheugh brothers and cousins were able to write unaided, and sign their names without the notary's guidance, they signed their names as Elot. It will be seen in both documents that any pressures during this period to standardise spelling had not reached the Borders.

³⁰ *Report to the Privy Council, following their reprimand of him, by the Master of Hailes, dated 17 May 1518, cited by The Dowager Lady Elliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Elliott 11th baronet of Stobs, "The Elliots, the Story of a Border Clan," Anthony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, 1974, p.20.*

The introduction of parish registers

One question which may not have been raised in previous histories of the Elliots is that relating to the impact of the statutory introduction of parish registers in Scotland, from 1552 onwards, although the taking up of the requirement was for some time patchy. Was this for many collateral Elliots, whose names had never so far made it into official records, what we would now call a 'crunch time?' Even if the old surname had always been used freely in everyday spoken transactions, while the charter name of Elwald had had to be, or was, tolerated, the question of it becoming a fontal name may very well have been the spur to the gathering speed with which, as the documents of the second half of the 16th century show, the name Elwald/Elwood was abandoned. For some time this must have caused some confusion among Marcher Wardens, sheriffs and others. Of two surviving documents relating to the last great raid carried out by Liddesdale men, in 1593, under the leadership of William Elliot of Larriston (Robert the 17th of Redheugh had just succeeded his father), nicknamed 'Will I Dally', one still uses the name Elwood, while in the other, baron Scrope, well acquainted with the Elliots, describes a raid by a thousand men led by William Elliott. With the former document Elwood is getting near to its last gasp. (See Appendix B, p.x)

Bond by James Douglas of Cavers, Robert, son of Robert Elliot of the Redheugh, and others, to enter certain Elliots prisoners to the Laird of Fernyhurst, dated 19 December 1546. (Extract)

'Be it kend to all men be this present wrytyn that we, James Dowgles of Cavers, shiref of Tewydayll, Robert Elwand, sone to Robyn of the Redwych, Archbald Elwand his eym. Young Wylliam Elwand and Robyn Elwand of Thorlyshop, that quhayr [=where] Jhon Ker, lard of Farnyhyrst, hays in to prison Jhon Elwand, sone to Hob Quhysterk, we desyr him to lat ws [us] tham to souerte; and we bynd and oblysys ws be the faith and throwth [truth] in our bodys, conjunctle and severale, to the lard of Farnyhurst, and Robert Ker his brother, to enter the sayd Jhon Elwand, Rolland and Jhone, on the twynty day of the Yowll, quilk is Sanet Marugeris day nyxt to cum.....In wytness heyrof we hayf subscrivit thir presents before master Patryk Lorane, notar pwbylk, quhilk is manifest under his sign manwell the xix day of December in the yer of God ane thowsand fyf hunder xlvj yers; before thir wytnes, Jhon Crosar, William Scot, balye of Hawik, Robert Elwald callit Gawynis Robert, William Dowglas and others. (signed...) **James Dowglas. Robert Elwald, with my hand led be Master Patrik Lorane. Archibald Elwald, with my hand at the pen led be Master Patrik Lorane, notare. Sym Elwald, with my hand at the pen led by Master Patrik Lorane, notare, in absens of my brother young William. Patricius Lorane, notaries publicus, etc., teste manu propria (= in my own hand).**

(Source: The Fernyhirst mss. at Newbattle, vols 1537 to 1607, no.8, cited by Robert Bruce Armstrong, The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the debatable land, 1883, vol.1.)

Bond by certain Elliots to enter Robert Crosar a prisoner to the Laird of Fernyhirst, dated 21st June, 1548.

RYCHT worshipful Sir, efter most hartlie commendation, we pray youe rycht effectusly to lat wss [us] have to souerte, Robert Crosar, youre presonare, taken be youe, and we bynd and oblis ws faithfully, be the faith and truth in our bodies, entire the said Robert Crosare agane to you, your airs, executors or assignes, as hail man and feire, the first day of Julij nixt to cum within your inrne yetts of youre castell of Farnehirst, and to remayne quhill [while] lauchefull entre be takin of hyme,

... In witness of the quhilk [the which] things we have subscrivit this present band wyth our hands at the pen, the xxj day of Junij the yeir of God m.ve furty aucht yere, before thir witness, Johnn the Grayme and Niniane Nyksone with uther divers.....

Robert **Ellot**, younger with my hand at the pen. Arschebald **Ellot**, with my hand at the penn. Williame **Elwald** of Lauerokstanis [Larriston] with my hand at the pen, **led be Sir John Scot, notar publick, of my command.** [my bold font and underlining - KEH.]

(Source: *The Fernyhirst MSS at Newbattle, vol.1537-1607 nos. 15 and 16, cited by Robert Bruce Armstrong, The History of Liddesdale....*)

The two Roberts whose names appear in the above two documents are obviously Robert the 14th, and his son, the future 15th chieftain of Redheugh, who would two years later, in 1550, marry or contract to marry Jean Scott, the sister of Buccleuch.³¹ Here is evidence of an assertion of the older toponymic name, while old William, Robert the 14th's former guardian, needed help to sign, and was thus required by the notary to use the Redheugh charter name. Young Robert and Archibald are in no such way obliged to sign as Elwald. According to Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur, 'Although he (Robert 15th) did not long survive his father and his leadership of the Clan was of short duration, Robert had acted as his father's deputy for many years.'³²

The next most instructive document, below, when taken together with that of 1548 (above) reveals that the assertion of the Elliot name, still spelt (if not pronounced?) as Elot, seems to have passed into the hands of a younger generation of Elliots.

³¹ The Dowager Lady Eliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Eliott, 11th baronet of Stobs, *The Elliots, the story of a Border Clan*, (Anthony Rowe Ltd) 2nd ed.1995, p32.

³² *Ibid.*, p32

QUEEN MARY

1561

Quenis Grace and Counsale, with certificatioun and he failye, he sall incur the Quenis indignatioun.

Memorandum that lettres be direct charging thir personis underwritten to compeer befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, the day of December nixt to cum, for thair advyse to be gevin in materis concerning the weill of the Bordouris: that is to say, Williame Cranstoun of that Ilk, Knycht, Adame Scot of Alanehauch, Adame Scot of Burnefute, Sym Scot of Fynnrik, **Archibald Elwald of Fallinesche [Falnash]**, **Martine Elwald fo Reideuch**, **Williame Elliot callit young Williame**, David Turnbull of Wauchop, Thomas Hoppringle of Murecleuch, **Williame Elliot, called Archeis Will**, Walter Ker of Dolphinstoun, Johne Gledstanis of that Ilk, Richard Rutherford of Edgaristoun, Nichole Rutherford of Hundolie, Knycht, Johne Rutherford of Hunthill, Adame Kirkton, Johne Hoppringle of the Bentis, James Ker of Corbet, Andro Ker of Graden.

(Source: the Register of the Privy Council, Vol 1.)

Robert the 16th was still a minor when his father, keeper of Hermitage Castle and Deputy-keeper of Liddesdale, died. Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur recorded his death as 'by 1566'³³ The clan was led by his guardian, Martin of Braidley, shown in the document as Elwald, suggesting that the formidable old Martin either clung to or was required to use the scribal name, while young William and Archie's Will were free to assert their historic toponymic surname. Martin had taken up residence at Redheugh, and here once more is a demonstration of the simultaneous existence of two distinctly separate names.

Although the cartographers (Appendix C) demonstrated that the scribal spelling, Alyth, represented what was earlier pronounced as a name which came to be spelt, in Britain and in Brittany, as either Alliot or Elliot, and that the latter variable name was undoubtedly the name brought down to Liddesdale, sight of these documents is enough alone to dispel any notion that Elwald had 'morphed' into Elliot or that the latter was Elwald expressed in border dialect. These formal documents were surely no place for nickname versions of surnames. Whatever personal nickname was given to any one Elliot, the clan surname was always retained. Nicknames were used only to qualify first names.³⁴ What they suggest is that Elliot had indeed survived as a name used in oral communication, and that Elwald had always been regarded formally by third parties, scribes, notaries and other government servants, as the name to be used by them, since this was the name entered into the Redheugh charter, and probably written in sheriffs' records and muster (wapinschaw) rolls.

³³ *The Elliots*, facing Preface at p.ix.

³⁴ Quite often the first name patronymic nickname was used to distinguish one William or Archie from another, in the same way that French country folk used mothers' names, like the fictional "Jean de Florette."

For whatever reason the chieftain of ca.1320 took an anglicised surname, probably the most profound and significant change indicating survival the older Breton clan toponym, was the emergence of what had become a much enlarged clan, powerful and independent, spread over a greatly expanded territory, with lands under the control of the heads of collateral branches or 'graynes' who had probably never respected the 'new' name. The lists, emerging from the historical record, of the deeds of these kinsmen, reveal men invested with lands, now more distantly related to the Redheugh family, asserting independence. The Elwald-Elliots of Liddesdale could do what they wanted, but this did not bind the Elliots of Teviotdale (see p.20). Such may have been the effect of upward social mobility among Elliots. The Calendar of Border Papers does in fact reveal progressive abandonment of the name Elwald, with arch enemies like Thomas Musgrave, Captain of Bewcastle, himself a leading Reiver, always using the name 'Elliott'.³⁵ By 1583 the cadet Martin Elliot had become a formidable old warlord. As Lady Elliott and Sir Arthur put it, 'It is clear that the Elliots, inspired by the forceful leadership of Martin and with active support of the Armstrongs, became increasingly powerful and independent as the century neared its close.'³⁶

The Calendar of Border Papers

As conceded in my introduction, lack of access to document collections, primary and secondary sources which have not so far been digitised and made available online, has led to reliance on those sources which are now more generally available either on the internet or in works of scholars who have the time and resources to dig deeper. Nevertheless, there is now quite enough evidence to establish, without further doubt, the Breton origin of the name Alliot/Elliott and its co-variants, before each version (Alliot v Elliot, Elligott v Ellacott or Ellicott) became permanently anchored in specific localities. (Ellacott remained the more common version in Devon.) We have now to guide us the more recent work of scholars in more than one academic discipline, particularly the history of the English language, with special reference to the anarchic nature of medieval spelling, and the specialised discipline, that of 'prosopography.' How or why those 16th and 17th century maps, also now available thanks to digitisation, which prove that Scott of Satchells was correct in his message that there was a town of Elliot near to the foot of Glen Shee, appear to have escaped attention, is a mystery. The maps may have been seen at some time in their original format, but perhaps their significance was not grasped due to the placing of too much trust in medieval spelling. That significance is now heightened by the discovery that Elliot ancestors were, without a shadow of doubt, members of the Breton contingent in William the Conqueror's army of 1066 and that the name is indeed of Celtic-Brittonic origin.

One of the most extensive collection of documents, letters and reports, which disclose the depth and extent of Elizabethan bureaucracy, and its network of spies and reporters, is that of the Calendar of Border Papers, now digitised by Cornell University, and accessible online at www.archive.org/stream/cu31924091786057#page/n179/mode/2up. These have surely been pored over by many historians, but it seems that the significance of two or three features of documents or letters relating to the Elliots may have been overlooked. The most

³⁵ [archive.org/stream/cu31924091786057#page/n179/mode/2up](http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924091786057#page/n179/mode/2up)

³⁶ *The Elliots...*p.49.

important documents, letters etc., have been extracted and are reproduced in Appendix B. Taken together with documents already disclosed in foregoing pages, they point to the increasing use of the name *Ellot* (as previously suggested, perhaps always pronounced as *Elliot* is now pronounced) by third parties, officials who hitherto were the only people known to have used the name, formally, which would have been written not only into the original Redheugh charter, but also in muster (wapinschaw) rolls and sheriffs' records. A naming pattern is revealed, in which royal servants, wardens and other officials have increasingly accepted the use of two names, the formal scribal or charter name, Elwald, and the inherited, true family surname of Elliot, spelt as *Ellot* or *Ellott*. A point is then reached when the names Elwald and Elwood appear only intermittently, while men like Musgrave, with his particular knowledge of the Liddesdale surnames, while undoubtedly harbouring grievances against them, consistently use the name *Ellot* or *Ellott*. Elwald and *Ellot* are in these and all other documents two entirely separate names, one a French-influenced Breton variant whose progress in England and Scotland can now to a greater extent than before, be traced, and the other a common English name, imposed or adopted for a particular, as yet undetermined purpose.

The second possible oversight, since I have not so far seen any comment on the subject, is the singling out of Robert of Redheugh, or 'Robin', by Thomas Musgrave as the only Border family patriarch who is named as a chieftain, rather than a lord or laird, and the only one said to have the command of all the Elliot offshoots or 'graynes.' (See below, pp 28,29)

A third factor which may have so far been overlooked, is the apparent need by older Elliot cadets, to have their hands guided when signing documents, while quite suddenly, their younger sons and nephews sign their names as *Ellot*, without any need for a notary's help.

Literacy among the Border 'surnames'

'The **Education Act 1496** was an act of the Parliament of Scotland (1496 c. 87) that required landowners to send their eldest sons to school to study Latin, arts and law. This made schooling compulsory for the first time in Scotland. It decreed that 'all barons and substantial freeholders shall put their eldest sons and heirs into school from the age of 8 or 9,' and that 'these shall remain in grammar schools under competent instruction until they have perfect Latin.' In the view of A.D.M Barrell,³⁷

'The importance of the (Act) has also been greatly overstressed. It laid down that all barons and substantial freeholders were to send their eldest sons to grammar schools and then, when they had mastered Latin, to university for three years. The intention was to equip members of the landed class with the educational skills required for the effective exercise of their widespread judicial role, and thereby relieve committees at the royal court of the growing pressure of appeals from the localities.'

In the absence of finance the Act appears to have had a limited application and was largely ineffective, 'the burden on royal courts continued to increase.'

³⁷ A.D.M.Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, 2000), pp 204,205

By the end of the Middle Ages, grammar schools could be found in all the main burghs and some small towns. In some rural areas there were petty or reading schools that provided an elementary education. Private tuition in the families of lords and wealthy burghers sometimes developed into "household schools". Girls of noble families were taught in nunneries and by the end of the fifteenth century Edinburgh also had schools for girls, sometimes described as "sewing schools". There is documentary evidence for about 100 schools of these different kinds before the Reformation. After the Protestant party became dominant in 1560, the *First Book of Discipline* set out a plan for a school in every parish, but this proved financially impossible.³⁸

It had always been the tradition for the youngest sons of noble families to go into the church, or to take vows and receive an appropriate education, principally in learning Latin, with some, like Robert Bruce's youngest brother, achieving scholastic distinction in European universities. During the pre-Reformation era some Elliot sons may have taken this path, and this could be a subject for further research. The initial reaction to the Education Act of 1496 in many communities was nevertheless, as already mentioned, slow and patchy, and any reading of the history of turbulent times in the Borders should perhaps lead us to the conclusion that Elliots engaged in warfare, the defence of Liddesdale, and regular *chévauchées* would have had little time for schooling. Perhaps the real impetus in favour of the spread of literacy came from the Reformation, and the years leading up to it, with its attendant emphasis on scripture, spearheaded largely by some barons, members of the gentry and the new professions, like that of law. The humanist concern with widening education was shared by the Protestant reformers, with a desire for a godly people replacing the aim of having educated citizens. In 1560, the *First Book of Discipline* set out a plan for a school in every parish, but this proved financially impossible.³⁹ Professor Lynch comments on a deep spiritual commitment felt among adherents to a personal faith, as demonstrated by the 'preaching of the Gospel, prayers in the vernacular, communion under both kinds'....nourished by access to William Tyndale's edition of the New Testament during the decades of the 1530s and 1540s, leading up to the Reformation in 1560.

'The case that Protestantism had a "firm footing" a generation before 1560 is based partly on the survival of about a hundred identifiable victims of the sudden campaign against heresy waged by Cardinal Beaton between 1538 and 1543, but it also rests partly on the conjecture that the bulk of the 1,000 "assured Scots" who collaborated with the English during the wars of the 1540s had Protestant sympathies.'⁴⁰

Writing of devastation wreaked by English forces in Liddesdale and the Borders, forcing Borderers to give pledges, Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur Eliott, added in a footnote:

³⁸ A reliable and well researched entry in [wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_schools_in_Scotland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_schools_in_Scotland)

³⁹ R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Scotland, a New History*, p.188, citing G.Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men, Politics and Power in Mary Stuart's Scotland*, (London 1983) pp 9,11,22.

‘The Ellots made a token assurance but, as the English Warden complained, failed to send in their pledges; nor did they ever do so. The three Teviotdale barons, the laird of Buccleuch, Walter Kerr of Cessford and Mark Kerr did not even make a token assurance. When Throgmorton approached them, Buccleuch protested furiously that they would rather be hanged than “so degrade theyre Howsys.”’⁴¹

In 1528 the nobleman Patrick Hamilton, influenced by Lutheran theology whilst at the universities of Wittenberg and Marburg, had become the first Protestant martyr when he was burned at the stake for heresy outside St Salvator's College at Saint Andrews.⁴² The cause of reform also enjoyed influential support. At this time, the clergy produced a list for the king of over a hundred landowners disaffected to the church. Such was the strength of sympathisers of reformation that, on the death of James V in 1542, they were able to form a government (under the vacillating Earl of Arran who, at that point, favoured an English alliance and reforming causes).

The breach between Robert the 16th of Redheugh and his uncle and former guardian Martin, on account of Robert's marriage to Marion Hamilton and her family connections which 'placed Robert definitely within the Queen's Party'⁴³ raises a question as to the strength of earlier Elliot Protestant sympathies, leading to a greater interest in scripture. In any event, Lynch observes that 'arguments about the breadth of literacy in Scottish society have tended to concentrate on evidence of the ability to *write*, as measured by the highly imperfect means of the ability to sign one's name...'⁴⁴ Certainly by 1548, when the hand of the notary led the apparently illiterate old William of Larriston to sign as an Elwald, the younger Ellots were capable of writing their own names, and did so not as Elwald, but as Elliot.

Thomas Musgrave and the Elliots

The powerful **Musgrave family** was a prominent English Border family, a Riding or Reiver clan of Cumbria and Westmorland, constantly at feud across the border. The earliest record of the Musgraves is that of Gamel, Lord of Musgrave, of the county of Westmorland and divers manors in county Cumberland, living in the time of King Edward the Confessor (1042-1065) predating the Norman Conquest. DNA sampling suggests a Strathclyde Brittonic ancestry. The Musgraves though often Wardens of the West March during reiving times and among the thirteen most notorious of the reiving clans were known locally as de'ils (devils) dozen and consisting of the Armstrongs, Bells, Carletons, Dacres, Elliots, Grahams, Johnstones, Kerrs, Maxwells, Musgraves, Nixons, Storeys and Scotts. MacDonald-Fraser wrote:

‘There is a tendency to think of clanship as a peculiarly Scottish thing, but it is evident that on the Border the tie of tribal blood was no stronger among the Kerrs,

⁴¹ *The Elliots...* p.27, citing the Hamilton Papers, Vol ii, p.116, No.7, 23 October, 1543.

⁴² Included in Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

⁴³ *The Elliots, the History of a Border Clan*, p.46.

⁴⁴ *Scotland, a New History* p. 259, citing R.A.Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, (Cambridge 1985).

and Scotts and Armstrongs of Scotland than among the Forsters, Ogles, Fenwicks, Charltons, Halls and Musgraves of England.'

Deputy and then successor to his father, Sir Simon Musgrave, as custodian or captain of Bewcastle, during the Scrope wardenship of the English West March, Thomas, was as big a rogue as any of the Border warlords, and an arch-enemy of the Armstrongs, Elliots and Grahams. By 1583 he was, like his father, an active member of the extensive Elizabethan intelligence network, created by men like Lord Burghley, and the notorious spy-master, secretary Francis Walsingham. His letter to Burghley of late 1583 has been a mine of information for both professional, local and family historians. As in many such letters from various correspondence the tone is somewhat ingratiating, and that of a man, with an eye to his future, seeking to impress the great Elizabethan statesman with his detailed knowledge. The letter is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix B.

MacDonald-Fraser was quick to note the extent to which Armstrongs broke the law relating to cross-border marriages, and that to which the Elliots did not.

'Borderers were not the kind to ask leave for anything, and especially not to go courting. They married across the line with a fine disregard for the laws, which young Scrope in 1593 confessed were "too remissly executed" - so frequently, in fact, that when Thomas Musgrave drew up his celebrated list of Border riders, he made special note of those Mangerton Armstrongs who were *not* married to English girls, and underlined the point by singling out the Elliots because few of them took English wives. The Armstrongs seem to have found the Graham and Forster girls particularly attractive, and vice-versa.'

Robert of Redheugh is described uniquely as a chieftain, not as a laird.

I have, however, so far found no reference in the works of scholarship available to me of one of the most significant features of Elliot history, brought to notice by Musgrave:

THE ELLOTTES OF LYDDISDALL: Robin Eliot of the Reddhughe, cheife of the Ellottes

which should be contrasted with:

THE LORD OF MANGERTON and his frendes, and their allyauuces with Eugland :-
Seme Armestronge lord of Maugerton marryed John Fosters daughter of Kyrsope foot...

and all other leaders of riding families, whom he describes as lords, meaning lairds, spelt as 'lards' as probably pronounced in Border dialects.

The Elliots are even further distinguished from these 'lairds' by the report that, apparently uniquely, the only man described as a chieftain, who has full command of **all** of his 'graynes':

All these are **Robin Ellotes** (Redheugh) brethren, or his men that are **daly at his comaundement.....**

.....The grayne (sept) of the Ellotes called the Borneheedes... (names)..... The grayne of the Ellotes of the Parke (names)..... The grayne of Martyn Eliot of the Bradley hyghe in the Lyddall...(names).

All these Ellotes and manie more of them are at Robin Ellotes comaundment and dwell betwixt the Armytage in Lyddisdall and Whethough towre=-fewe of them married with Englishe women. (My underlining and bold print -KEH)

The implications of this are quite clear. It suggests in the strongest terms that the Elliots had always been set apart, in the minds of their neighbours and nearest enemies like Thomas, from other Border riding families. They had a 'chieftain,' not a laird, and unlike Mangerton, whose kindred may not have been so cohesive, and other patriarchs, as such he had total command of all of his 'graynes', which to local men like Musgrave, aware of Elliot history, must have meant the bringing by Elliots into Liddesdale of Highland customs . There can surely be no doubt that more than two centuries after this clan from north of the Forth was intruded into the Liddesdale war zone, its history and resettlement, as newcomers, in Liddesdale was still a matter of local folklore, passed down from generation to generation. By the time of Scott of Satchells, in the late 17th century, such memories had faded - but not quite completely. For some considerable time, this resettlement of what must have been thought of as a clan from the north, would have been the topic of many local hearthside conversations. While an Elliot chieftain's sister did marry into the Forster family of (English) Kershope, Musgrave's report may very well reflect a fiercely felt patriotism dating back to the Wars of Independence, and an isolated flouting of the law relating to marriages to Englishmen, and English women.

Three other documents, 101, 711 and 900 (Appendix B) are interesting insofar as they reveal old Lord Henry Scrope using both the charter name Elwald/Elwood and the clan name Elliot, while his heir as warden of the West March, Lord Thomas uses only the clan name Elliott when reporting the last great raid executed by one thousand men led not by Robert, who participated, but by William Elliott of Larriston, suggesting that he was the one Elliot with recognised qualities of leadership, capable of rallying and leading other riding families.

The last of these three documents was dated October 8, 1593, but it was followed up during November by a report from Forster, he too using the name Elliott.

In other sources relating to this last grand raid, quoted by Lady Elliott and Sir Arthur, the Register of Privy Seal, March 1603 and George Elliot's *Border Elliots* of 1893, the name Elwood is maintained, again, not by the Elliots themselves but by administrators. Given the

history of the clan name, there is no way in which it could be regarded as 'informal', in contrast to a 'formal' scribal, charter name of Elwald. What seems to have occurred by the end of the 16th century is the acceptance by men in authority of two quite separate names, with one, Elliot finally overwhelming the others, Elwald or Elwood, brought about by the extent to which it was used day in and day out in ordinary discourse. Perhaps this was a process which started almost as soon as the first chieftain of Redheugh accepted, or was obliged to accept, a change of surname, for one of a number of possible reasons already outlined. To fighting men who were content to leave the business of writing and administration to high ranking noble bishops and abbots, like Robert Bruce's chancellor, Abbot Bernard of Linton, who, in transposing names into Latin, felt free to change them to suit their own preferences, a scribal surname variant which appeared only in documents drawn up by administrators or Wardens' clerks, may have been of little consequence, so long as their real names were maintained in everyday conversation. The taking of offence at this practice would have had to await a time in which Elliots were capable of reading documents and writing their own names, while signing them. When Henry Percy's son Geoffrey was named in a charter pertaining to lands near Jedburgh as Gaudfridus, written in English as Gaudfrid, it is hardly likely that he stopped calling himself Geoffrey.

Clan amnesia

Loss of family records, like those of the Elliots and the Crawfords, during outbreaks of fire cannot entirely explain a collective loss of memory as to the origins of a clan like that of the Elliots, whose history can now be said without hyperbole to be one of epic proportions. The children of noble families learned by rote their ancestral lineages, and it is probably therefore to the traumatic events of the late 16th and early 17th century, the loss of lands, executions and transportations, that we should look for the reasons for clan amnesia. The Elliots are not the only Border affinity without an uninterrupted oral history, handed down from generation to generation. More than one distinguished Border family history is replete with 'believed to be's', 'almost certainlies' and 'probably's.' Indeed, the question arises as to whether the several noble and distinguished Border families of the 18th century wished to forget the very past which their modern descendants came to wish that they had remembered. It is fair to say, however, that such has been a gathering pace of life and of social, demographic, economic and technological change since the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, that only now have many people of all ranks in society have suddenly, thanks to the digital revolution, set off a general renewal of interest in ancestries.

Information made available by the digitisation of old records, maps and registers relevant to the history of the Elliot Clan, coupled with the discovery of the human genome, has pointed to areas of research and keys to certain puzzles relating to Elliot history, and provided us with advantages not available to past clan historians, as well as to professional scholars. It would be a mistake to think that knowledge that the ancestors of all Elliots had arrived in England, before migration to Scotland, would not have immediately made them turn their attention to one of Scotland's most momentous historical events, that of the introduction into Scotland of feudal military tenure by 12th and 13th century Scottish kings, all French speaking

and Norman tutored, with the aid of scores of ambitious and aspiring young Norman, Breton, Picard and Flemish knights, like the Norman ancestor of the Bruces or the Breton ancestor of the Stewarts, some, according to existing status, given lands, others gaining lands eventually through service as ‘menies,’ the name given to household knights. Many Scotsmen today could, if they wished to participate in a DNA project being undertaken by the University of St Andrew’s, discover that their most distant Scottish ancestors were Flemish migrants, some of whom, like the Douglasses and Murrays rose to positions of great power and prominence.

Research into the so-called Davidian Revolution (that begun by king David I [1124-1153]) which as well as bringing feudalism and sheriffdoms into Scotland, saw the creation of parishes and the building of new churches, the founding of monasteries occupied by monks of varying ethnicities drawn from mother houses in England and on the continent, and the growth of royal bureaucracy in the hands of noble bishops, deans, abbots and monks, very much involves the solving of puzzles involving names and the ways in which names were spelt by such administrators.

To better understand the anarchic spelling of medieval scribes, it is necessary to turn to scholars in other disciplines, such as the history of the English language. In the case of the Alliot<>Elliot and their other co-variant toponyms, it is necessary to turn to French scholarship in relation to the corruption of Breton names by French, although such ‘déformation par francisation’ should come as no surprise to anybody familiar with similar corruptions and shortenings of Brittonic (Welsh) and Gaelic names in English. We learn also, that in the absence of any rules or conventions, like those of today, governing phonetic spelling, that no matter how many spelling variants of a name written by different medieval scribes can be turned up in primary sources, few if any of them affected pronunciation. Take, for example, the variant spelling Oleott. How many of today’s Elliotts who, in satisfying their curiosity as to why some seventy Elliot variant names existed, have pronounced this name beginning with an **o** sounding like the **o** in *pot*? Even today there are many words spelt with an **o**, which sound the same as an **a** or an **e** in other words, simply because they are pronounced with a frontal vowel, and all frontal vowels sound the same. The **o** of *faggot* or *parrot* is not pronounced in the same way as the **o** in *got*. It is pronounced in exactly the same way as the **a** in *ago* or *about*, or the **e** in *mallet*. The same can be said of the **u** in *gamut*. In the **phonetic** alphabet there is only one symbol for these frontal vowels: **ə**.

Not much time is needed when poring through old documents, even those written as late as the sixteenth century, as shown in Appendix B, to understand that the literate folks of those times struggled to find the right letter to fit the right sound, especially in the case of those scribes of continental ethnicity who spoke, and wrote primarily in, Latin. Hence the mutability of all of the Alliot<>Elliot co variants, even Alliot-Alyth-Alyght-Alight-Allott-Alitt. So variable were the old spellings that the question arises as to whether the name spelt as Elliot was always pronounced as it is today, and whether the insertion of the *i* was a belated spelling correction by those Elliotts whose new found ability to write and sign their names unaided led to the Elliot, and then the Elliot signatures on documents, and not

Elwald. **The map evidence clearly demonstrates that the name Elliot with an *i* was not a first time use of this spelling, and almost certainly, pronunciation of the name.**

One more loose end requires further research: that of the connection of what was undoubtedly a name of unique origin, Elliot or its variants Eloth (with a typically French redundant *h*) and Elliot, which appears over the sea off the Elliot Water estuary.

Conclusions

The Elliots were those members of an old Breton clan whose toponymic name had been corrupted in a typical way by Norman French, indicating long standing close association with Normandy, probably as mercenaries, before 1066. The clan had been broken up and scattered during two centuries of warfare, against Franks and the Vikings of the Loire. Alongside them at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 were other members of the clan, coming from different corners of Brittany, including Finistère, the original clan homeland. For a long time their names were treated as variants of Elliot, when in fact all names, including Alliot, Elliot, Elligott and others were co-variants of the old Breton clan name, that of the Halegouët. All had A and E versions. The two variants Elliot and Alliot, existed in Brittany before their arrival in England in 1066, and were at first interchangeable, Alliot or Allott in one place or time, changing to Elliot and Elliot in another place and time, before either version was finally anchored in one region or another, according to its majority scribal preferences. Unlike other Britons, who were either late in taking surnames or used patronyms (son of, or fitz), the ancestors of the Elliot chieftains adopted the Norman style of using 'of' (de) plus a toponymic place name or name of a geographical feature. In south-west England, one of the main areas of post-Conquest Breton settlement, the E version of the name prevailed. In Scotland there was some scribal wavering between d'Alliot and d'Elliot. D'Alliot was clearly the preference imposed by the earlier medieval scribes, responsible for the variants Alyth, Alight and Alyght, in which, as explained by historians of the English language, *y* and *gh* replaced the old English letter *yogh*, each representing two sounds, one of which was the semi-vowel pronunciation of the *io* of Alliot<>Elliot. Alyth, Alight and Alyght spelt what is now pronounced as Alliot or Elliot, starting with a frontal vowel. This interpretation gathers strength when contemplating the later scribal preference, exercised by one cartographer after another, finally led to Eliot, via the earlier attempts, Elicht, Elycht, Elieht, Elit and Elioht. The supplanting of Eliot by Alyth in maps dating from the mid 18th century may very well reflect the pedantry of later mapmakers aware of how the name had appeared on earlier charters but ignorant of the vagaries of medieval spelling, perhaps thinking that Eliot was the misspelling.

While the 'europeanisation' of Scotland has been broadly and briefly covered (p.17), the one most important and long overlooked fact to be grasped is that the medieval Scottish nobility was almost exclusively of Gaelic, Norman, Flemish, Breton and other continental ancestry, and a mixture of all. The development of a shared culture and shared traditions was, rather than race, led to the forging of a Scottish identity and incipient nationalism. The gulf which then occurred between English Eliots and Scottish Elliots, Eliotts and Elliotts would never, however, have been enough to justify that potty old rhyme about the St Germans spelling.

Irrefutable proof therefore that the name brought down to Liddesdale was indeed Elliot, prone to exactly the same shortening to Elliott as occurred in Brittany, demonstrates that for some reason which will remain forever open to speculation, these wild men from the north were given an anglicised name, that of Elwald, which later became Elwood. A more careful forensic examination of all documents containing either one or the other name, or from the mid 16th century, both names, exposes the gradual abandonment of what had been treated as an 'official' charter name, in favour of the old genuine name. Looking at the way in which Elliots signed certain documents, it is patently obvious that when the name was signed with a free hand, it was signed as Elliot. The idea that somehow one name morphed into another is patently and linguistically ridiculous.

Whatever we call the first chieftain of Redheugh, both d'Alliot and d'Elliot are correct. As already stated, d'Elliot became the favourite, and that is how he should now be acknowledged. Taking into account the now undoubted truth of the first earl of Buccleuch's claim, via Scott of Satchells, it seems apparent that Walter and his clansmen and tenants of The Brae had either successfully resisted seizure of his barony in 1306 by the Balliol or Comyn adherent, Adam Brunyng, or had retaken it when Bruce's campaign was gathering strength, probably at some time between 1308 and 1310.

The extraordinary fashion in which the Elliots were transplanted entirely from The Brae to a large chunk of the wild and strategically important Liddesdale uplands, close to Hermitage Castle, in what for Bruce must have been a matter of extreme urgency, following the de Soules conspiracy in 1320, suggests that the Elliots were his equivalent of today's shock troops or special forces. No other clan appears to have been totally transplanted in such a way.

Care has to be taken with documents in which the scribal versions of Alliot<>Elliot have been translated by scholars from Latin into the English Alyth, even when the name was written in Latin as Alight or Alyght. There has never been any justification for showing Alight or Alyght as Alyth. Nevertheless, whenever and wherever the name appears in surviving documents it is among or alongside the names of other patriots of considerable standing and reputation. The choice of the Elliots for their special mission cannot have been in any way a random one. The Border needed to be sealed by men capable of dealing with any repercussions, or repeat scenario in the hands of other clandestine opponents, following the conspiracy. The position of Bruce was still not a safe one.

Until the pacification of the Borders in the early 17th century, which was a disaster for the clan, it seems clear from the way in which Musgrave singled out 'Robin' (Robert) Elliott as the only patriarch meriting the title of chieftain, as opposed to 'laird.' Among other Liddesdale families the Elliots must have been spoken of for over two hundred years as the clan from the north.

Primary sources which include the names Alyth, Alight, Alyght (Alliot) and Elliot

1. John, bishop of Dunkeld, for Coupar Angus Abbey; with common assent of his chapter, has given land of 'Adbreck' (PER), free and quit of payment of teinds and all service and secular exaction pertaining to bishop and his successors, rendering annually 5 marks.

Witnesses: Abraham of Madderty; Adam, persona of Auchterhouse; Alexander, persona of Longforan; Arnold, chaplain of Meigle; Brice, persona of Crieff; **Elias of Alyth**; Eugene or Ewen, clerk, persona of Clunie; Geoffrey, clerk of Melville; John, master, nepos of Bishop John of Dunkeld; Matthew, dean of Dunkeld (1214-36); Nicholas of Scone, chaplain of Scone; Ralph, chaplain of bishops of Dunkeld; Reginald, chaplain of Bishop John of Dunkeld; Thomas, steward of Bishop John of Dunkeld; William Gifford, son of Hugh Gifford, lord of Yester

PoMS, no. 3413 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3413/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

2. Simon, bishop of Dunblane, for Cambuskenneth Abbey; has granted the church of Kincardine [in Menteith] (PER) with its chapels, lands, teinds and all its offerings and obventions and all its rightful appurtenances to be held in free and perpetual alms as freely, quietly, fully and honourably as the charter of King William I attests and as it holds its other churches. Reserving episcopal right. Witnesses: Abraham, brother of persona of Kincardine; Bean, master of Dunblane; Cormac, priest (Dunblane); Henry, chaplain (Dunblane); Isaac, clerk; John, chancellor of Earl Gilbert of Strathearn;

Jonathan, bishop of Dunblane (d.1209/10); Macbeth, chaplain of Michael persona of Muthill; Mael Poil, prior of celi De of Muthill; Malcolm, persona of Inchmahome; Malise, persona of Dunblane; Martin, steward of Bishop Simon of Dunblane; Matthew, chaplain of Tullibody; Matthew, son of Simon of Tullibody; Michael, clerk, persona of Logie; Michael, persona of Muthill; Richard, chaplain of earls of Strathearn; Simon of Tullibody; Simon, master, physician (fl.1189×99); **Simon, persona of Alyth.**

PoMS, no. 2722 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2722/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

3. Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, justiciar of Scotia, for May Priory; has given for lighting of St Ethernan[^s] of Isle of May, one stone of wax or 40d. annually received at 'Rossyn' (Rossie, FIF?) at fair of St Andrew. Witnesses: Adam of Alyth, clerk; Bernard of Airth; Hugh de Beamish, knight; Richard, clerk (13C); Robert de Wauchope, knight; Thomas, chaplain (13C); W. of 'Syneburn'

PoMS, no. 5529 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5529/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

(Note: Adam may not have been an Elliot. By this time the name had been given to the town, and Adam would then have used the name in the conventional means of identification.)

4. List of Scottish prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar and committed to named prisons. The earls of Ross, Atholl, Menteith, John son of John Comyn of Badenoch, Richard Siward, John fitz Geoffrey, Andrew of Moray, John of Inchmartine, David son of Patrick of Graham, Alexander de Menzies,

⁴⁵ **(Database:** Amanda Beam, John Bradley, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Matthew Hammond, Michele Pasin (with others), *The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093 – 1314* (Glasgow and London, 2012), www.poms.ac.uk. [accessed 15 January 2015])

Nicholas Randolph son of Thomas Randolph, knights, sent to the Tower of London. Laurence of Strathbogie, Henry of Inchmartine, knights..... Malcolm of Drummond, John of Clogstone, knights, **Thomas de Alyght**, Nigel of Kilpatrick, Reginald son of Reginald le Cheyne, Reginald Sinclair, esquires, to Kenilworth Castle..... Alan de Lascelles, Laurence de Longaver, John Page and **Walter Alight, esquires, to Tonbridge Castle.**

PoMS, no. 18596 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18596/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

5. **Thomas d'Alyth, esquire, still held at Kenilworth in 1298**

From **William de Castello, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester** (an expense claim)

Castello, then sheriff of Warwick and Leicester in his account in the octaves of Trinity, regnal year 27. Including Malcolm of Drummond, John of Clogstone, knights, Thomas Daly, Niall of Kilpatrick, Amount of expenses of certain Scottish prisoners confined in Kenilworth Castle, made to William de Reginald son of Reginald Cheyne, Reginald Sinclair, squires, prisoners, enemies of the king, captured at Dunbar in Scotland and held at Kenilworth castle. (Listed are: Malcolm of Drummond, knight. John of Clogstone, knight. **Thomas of Alyth**, esquire. Niall or Nigel of Kilpatrick, esquire. Reginald Cheyne, younger, lord of Duffus. Reginald Sinclair, esquire.)

PoMS transaction factoid, no. 87651 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/87651/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

6. **Walter d'Alyth and his son Thomas, witnesses among others to:**

John of Pincerna, son and heir of Sir John of Pincerna, late lord of Elcho, has sold and established to Sir John of Inchmartine and his heirs, of John of Pincerna and his heirs, in perpetuity all the land with its pertinents which he has in the tenement of Pitmiddle (PER), by reason of the exchange of the barony of Elcho (PER), for £100 paid by the said Sir John in his need, except one acre that John of Pincerna gave to Adam, his garcon, during his lifetime, and after his death the said acre will revert to John of Inchmartine. Because his seal is not known, he has asked the officials of the deaneries of Perth and Gowrie to append their seals. (Names of witnesses: Richard Hay, knight, Gilbert, son of Richard Hay, knight, John Cameron of Baledgarno, knight, Robert of Harcarse, sheriff of Perth (d.1309), Peter of Brunton, constable of Perth, Michael Scott, the son (14C), Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore (d.1330), **Walter d'Alyth, Thomas, son of Walter of Alyth**. David of Blair (PER) (early 14C), Edmund Hay (of Leys) and Andrew of Monorgan

. PoMS, H3/0/0 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7139/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

7. **Summons to service in the army of Edward I, in France:** Letters patent by **John, earl of Atholl**, Alexander de Menzies and John de Inchmartine, guaranteeing that Sir Laurence of Strathbogie, Sir Henry of Inchmartine, Sir William of Moray, Sir Edmond Ramsay, Sir John Cameron, Sir William Hay, Sir Walter Barclay, knights, Simon de Hiskendy, John of Ireland, John of Strathbogie, Robert of Moncur, William Broun, David Cameron, Gregory Makenkert, **Walter of Alyth, Thomas of Alyth**, Nicholas Dirlowenan, Malise of Logie, Walter de Buttergask, Robert of Inchtur, John Buterwan, Michael Scott [Lescot], and Andrew de Strathgartney, **valets**, shall serve the king in his army in France or elsewhere. Append their seals at Winchelsey.

PoMS, H0/0/0 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7786/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

8. William Alyth and other burgesses of Perth swear fealty to Edward I.

John of Perth, burgess and alderman of St Johnstone of Perth, John son of Richard of Perth, Duncan Sellar, Richard de Neville of Perth, Ralph Tendeman, William Alyth, John Treasure, William son of John of Perth, Bernard Mercer, John Serle of Perth, Donald Bryde, Robert Fulk, Philip Tacket, Warin of Whitby, Wadin of Perth, Thomas Wight, Simon Glover, burgesses, and the whole community of St Johnstone of Perth, having come into the allegiance and obedience of their lord, the lord Edward, king of England etc., promise for themselves and their heirs, upon pain of body and possessions, that they will serve him well and loyally against all men, etc.; they have sworn this on the holy gospels; each of them has performed fealty to their lord, the king of England.

Firm date 28 August 1296; Dating Notes 28 August, 24 Edward I; Place date (modern) Berwick-upon-Tweed; Source for Data Entry TNA, E 39/99/11; Palgrave, *Docs*, no. 52; *CDS*, ii, no. 814; *Instrumenta Publica*, pp. 121-2 (Ragman Roll); Charter type Letters Patent (Fealty) Language French.

PoMS, no. 17568 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/17568/>; accessed 23 January 2015)

(Note: In translations from Latin, the surname was elsewhere **Alight**, i.e. **Walterus de Alight**.)

9. "Walter of Alyth, valet **Walterus de Alight**

Roll of names of magnates and others of Scotland who performed homage to the King of England.

Firm date 14 March 1304 ; Dating Notes 14th day of the month of March

Source for Data Entry TNA, E39/4/10; Palgrave, *Docs*, no. 108 (pp. 194-5); Trad. ID *CDS*, ii, no. 730

Charter type Memorandum; Language Latin.

PoMS, H6/3/0 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/8616/>; accessed 23 January 2015)

(Note: In the original document the name is **ALIGHT**.)

10. Walter forfeits his barony of the Brae in 1306, following his support for Bruce.

Extract

<i>Forfeited landowner</i>	<i>Lands</i>	<i>Petitioner</i>
Hay, Gilbert de la Atholl, earl of	(Errol ?) Atholl	Hugh Despenser..... earl of Gloucester...
Fraser, Alexander	Cornton	John de Luk
Alyth of the Brae, Walter Innerpeffray, Malcolm of	in Perthshire in Perthshire	Adam Brunyng* Adam Brunyng
Murray, William, of St Fort	Kinninmonth	John de la Mare.....
Soules, John de	Old Roxburgh	Richard Lovel
Durward, Alan	Fichlie, Abd.	William Montfitchet
Barclay, Walter of	Perthshire	Gilbert Peche

[* Brunyng succeeded by his son John, who became a Bruce adherent, and a substitute justiciar.]

Source: G W S Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, Appendix.

11. Reginald, son of Elliot: Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, has given, granted, and by his charter established, for himself and his heirs, to Henry of Kirkcudbright all his land of Cummertrees (DMF) and all his other land of Ryehill (DMF), which John son of Reginald and his mother, Simon son of Reginald, and **Reginald, son of Eliot**, held of Robert de Brus in the villa of Ryehill; they shall have power to grind corn at Robert's mill free from multure, rendering four skips of malt, half at Pentecost and half at Martinmas for all services. Firm date circa 1242 X 31 March 1295

Page | 40

PoMS, no. 8238 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8238/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

12. "Ellota of Cassingwray" (Fife) Gilbert of Cassingray, son and heir of Laurence and Ellota of Cassingray, has given, granted, and by this his present charter established, to Sir Nicholas de Haye, lord of Erroll, all his land of Cassingray (FIF), with all rights and all renders which he had in that land, holding it of the lord king, and making all custom and service for the land as he and his predecessors did. Firm date circa 4 October 1282 X 1 August 1294.

PoMS, H3/132/1 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/4910/>; accessed 15 January 2015)

Appendix B

Extracts from the *“Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland.”*⁴⁶

101: SCROPE⁴⁷ TO BURGHELY (Aug.2, 1581)

I understand by your letter of the 27th of last month, that her Majesty desires a more particular account of the disorders committed by the Liddesdale men, than in my former letter to Mr Secretary Walsingham, and have therefore sent a special note of these since Easter last. “Even this last night save one, they have broken an honest mans howse in Gillesland, spoyled him of xvjten kye and oxen, his horse, and woounded his sonne in peril of death, which as the poore man sayeth, is done by the Ellottes of the best sorte.” I have to crave pardon for not sooner sending your lordship the King’s answer to my demand for reformation of these disorders, which I now do, having deferred it only till I heard of the Laird of Cesford’s home coming (who I hear is now returned from Court), and with whom I have to deal in these affairs. I have written to him to meet for redress, but have no better hope of it than I have done for three years past, for all his promises. “My man who caryed my letter to the King, was verie hardlie intreated at thErle of Arrens handes, who can not use any man well, but verie yll affected to any towards me.” Carlisle.

Signed H.Scrope.

I delivered your lordship’s commendations to Mr Warcoppe, who hath his humblie recommended unto your lordship.

1p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the foregoing:-

“West March Anglie. A Breviat of thattempates comytted by the Lyddesdails Scotishmen within thoffice of Bewcastle, and other plaices within the West wardenrie of Englande upon thinhabitantes their since Easter last past 1581.-

The Complanantes	Thoffenders	Thatttemptes committed
28 <i>Marcij</i> 1581 Jeffraie Sowrebie	Upon thArmstranges of the Calfhills and Kynmont sonnes with their complices...ix	xij oxen, x old kye, and all thinsight of his howse.

⁴⁶ J Bain (ed.) *Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland, Vol 1* [1893] Preserved in HMSO and Cornell University Library.

⁴⁷**John Scrope, 8th Baron of Bolton (Yorks)** was a somewhat reluctant supporter of the Pilgrimage of Grace, a northern uprising in protest at the reforms of Henry VIII but incurred the king's displeasure when he allowed sanctuary to Adam Sedbar, Abbot of Jervaulx who was on the run from the King's Commissioners. Scrope was himself obliged to seek refuge in Skipton castle and the King's men fired his Bolton castle residence. Abbot Sedbar was caught and executed.

His son **Henry Scrope, 9th Baron Scrope of Bolton** (1534-1592), was governor of Carlisle in the time of Elizabeth I, and as such took charge of Mary, Queen of Scots, when she crossed the border in 1568; and he took her to Bolton Castle, where she remained till January 1569. There is a hint of Yorkshire dialect in Henry’s letter, above, with the shortening of ‘the’ in some places, e.g. ‘all thinsight.’

His son, **Sir Thomas Scrope, 10th Baron Scrope of Bolton**, was Warden of the West March in the Anglo-Scottish border country and governor of Carlisle in 1596 when Walter Scott, the "Bold Buccleuch", staged his raid on Carlisle to rescue the reiver Kinmont Willie Armstrong.

Scotishemen

2 <i>Aprilis</i> 1581 Isabell Rowtledg weadowe	Upon thEllotes 30 men	iiij old oxen, vj old kie, one horse and all thinsight of hir howse.
12 <i>Aprilis</i> 1581 James Rowtledg of tHill	Upon thEllotes and their complices 50 men	viiij old oxen, xij old kye, one meare and all his insight.
liij <i>Junij</i> 1581 Ritchie Rowtledg	Upon thEllotes and their complices 80 men.	xxxtie old kye, fortie old oxen, taking with open day forraie.
24 <i>Junij</i> 1581 Malle Nixson Johane Nixsons, pore weadowes	Upon thEllotes and their complices 24 men.	xvten old kye, ix old oxen.
26 <i>Junij</i> 1581 John Rowtledg, Jerardes John	Upon the Crosers and Ellotes	ix horse and naiges
Sir Symond Musgrave, knight captan of Bewcastle.	Upon thEllotes and their complices... ...c men and above (100?)	xltie old kye, xxtie old oxen and the taking of Thomas Rowtledg of Todholles Englisheman prisoner and his horse.
12 <i>Julij</i> 1582 James Forster, son to Adam	Upon thEllotes and their complices c men.	xxtie old kye, xvten old oxen all thinsight of his howse, and the wounding and mayminge of Thomas Batie and Lowrie Forster, Englishemen
14 <i>Julij</i> 1581. Archie Nixson	Upon thElotes and their complices c men	30 old kie and oxen, the spoile of thinsight of his howse and two of his neighbours.
<i>Julij</i> 1581 James Forster of Synywhait	Upon thEllotes and their complices c men	50 kie and oxen and all his insight
<i>Ult Julij</i> 1581	Upon thEllotes and their complices	xvten kie and oxen, one horse, all his insight, and his sonne wounded verie sore in perill of his death.

132. BORDER COMPLAINTS (August 21, 1582)

“Complaint Michaell Waules of Stewarsheiles in Ryddesdale upon Arch Elwet of the Hill, James Elwet his brother, younge John Elwet of the Parke, Hob Elwet of the Parke, sonne to James, Jock Elwet of the Park, son to Scots Hob, Martyne Elwet of the Hewghouse called Red Martyne, and their complices to the nnumber of ane hundreth persons, for that they came to Eleshawe and there reft, stale and tooke awaye lxxx kye and oxen, vj horses and meares and howsehold stuf, to the value of xlli sterling, a slew dog, and then murdered and slew Roger Wales and John Waules, the xxjth of August 1582. Wherof he dothe aske redress. *No signature.*

¼ p. *Written by Foster’s clerk. Indorsed: “Complaints of the Midle Marchemen of England against the opposite Scotts.*

[Comment: a typical spelling variation executed by Foster’s clerk. Intriguingly, however, had the name been pronounced as it was spelt, it would have matched the pronunciation of the Breton variant, Elleouet.]

166. THE NAMES OF THE MARCHES (circa July 1583)

“A note of the gentlemen and surnames in the Marches of England and Scotland.

EAST MARCHES. – England; gentlemen – Forsters, Selbies, Graies, Strowders, Swiners, Mustians.

Surnames: Johnsons, Vardes, Ourdes, Wallisses, Stories, Armestronges, Dunnes Flukes.

Scotland ; gentlemen.-Humes, Trotters, Bromfields, Dixons, Craws, Crinstons.

WEST MARCHES. – England; gentlemen. –Musgraves, Loders, Curwenes, Sawfelde.

Surnames: Greames, Rutlitches, Armstrongs, Fosters, Nixons, Tailors, Stories,

Scotland: Maxwells, Johnsons, Urwins, Grames, Bells, Carlills, Battison, Litles, Carrudders.

MIDDLE MARCHES. – England; gentlemen – Ogeles, Fenickes, Hernes, Withringtons, Medfords, Shafters, Ridlies, Carnabies.

Surnames; Ridesdale. –Halls, Hedleys, Andersons, Potts, Reades, Dunnes, Milburnes. Tindale; -- Charletons, Dodds, Milbornes, Robsons, Yaroes, Stapletons.

Scotland; gentlemen; East Tividale. – Carrs, Yongs, Pringles, Burnes, Davisons, Gillcrites, Tattes.

Lidesdale. –Rudderfords, Carrs, Dowglasses, Trombles, S(c)ottes, Piles, Robsons, Halls, Olivers, Ladlers, Armestronges, Elwoods, Nixons, Crosers, Turners, Fosters. *No date or signature. 1 ¼ pages, official handwriting.*

[Comment: The surnames clearly indicated some notoriety, but did not apparently qualify as “gentlemen”, but all the Scots of the Middle Marches are listed as ‘gentlemen’, ie. of noble birth. This, however, depends on the accuracy of the clerk’s descriptions. In any event, rogues these men may have been, but they must have been sufficiently important and ‘upwardly mobile’ to merit their entries. KEH]

197: THOMAS MUSGRAVE TO BURGHLEY, ON THE BORDER RIDERS. (end of 1583)

Because I understand that your honour is not well acquainted with the names of the waters and the dwelling places of the riders and ill doers both of England and Scotland, "I beinge animated by your lordshipes late curtesyes and inquisitions, have made boulde to present this platt both of their names, dwellynges aud allyaunces, one with another, trusting your lordship will accepte my dutye towarde your selfe aud good will to my cuntrey, not takeinge upon me to doe any thinge as a good clarke, for that I have not applyed my mynd to so good an exersyes, but have bene traned in

service, for defence of her Majesties poore people, that my father had the , credyte and charge of, in which I have spente a great parte of my tyme, not without the losse of my bloode, and manye troublesome travels and dangers" but with the losse of my deare frendes aud companyons which have bene cruelly murdered by the rebellyous Scottes. Maye it please therefore your lordship to understand, that the ryver called Lyddall, is a fayre ryver, and hath her course doune Lyddisdall, soe as the dale hath the name of the ryver. The ryver is all Scottishe, untill it come to Kyrsope foote, planted with Ellotes untill it come neare Wheatoughe towre, then the Armestronzes inhabit it on bothe sydes, untill it come to Kyrsope foote, where it takes the dyvysion of the realmes from Kyrsope-then the Armestrouges have the one syde, and the Englishe Fosters the other syde, soe it desendes by the Harlowe on the one syde and the Haythawyt on the other, aud runeth into the ryver called Eske Kyrsope is a smale becke and desendes from the wast groude called Kyrsope heade. It devydes the realmes from the meare dyke untill it meet with Lyddall, and is from the head unto the foote without habitacion, and at the foote of it is the fortes. Black Leven water is a littell brooke, and so is Whyt Leven the lyke, and are not in anie place a myle and a halfe dystant one from an other, and are inhabyted with the Nyxons, untill it come to a place called the Blackdobs, and then the Rutligis dwell on bothe the sides of it, untill it come to a place called the Lukkins of Leven, then it desendes Sowpert, wheare the Taylors have it, then it desendes the boundes of Sopert, and is inhabyted with Graymes called the Graymes of Leven, and runneth into the ryver of Eske at Gorth Storys howse called the Lard. Eske is a fayre ryver, and cometh throughe Esdall, and is Scottishe, inhabyted with Battesons of Esdell, untill it come neare a placed called the Laughalme castill and meateth with the water called Use, which waters aud dales are bothe my Lorde Maxwells untill it come to Canonby kyrke, and then the Armestronges and Scottishe Graymes have it untill it meete the ryver of Lydall at the Mote skore, where Fargus Grayme his howse standes. Then it taketh the devysyon of the realmes untill it come to a place called Morton rigge where Will of Kinmout dwelleth; then there is a mere dyke that goeth to a ryver' called Sarke, then is Eske Englishe on bothe sydes, and Sarke ryver devydes, and there are Graymes on both sydes, the one English, the other Scottishe untill it come to Gretnay, where it meteth Eske and both rune to Bownus, and soe take the sea. I shall therefore sett downe the Ellottes of the head of Lyddall as my skyle will affords, that your lordship maye knowe the better when their deedes shall come in question.

THE ELLOTTES OF LYDDISDALL: Robin Eliot of the Reddhughe, **cheife** of the Ellottes ; Wille Elliot of Harskarth his brother; Gebbe Elliott his brother Arche Elliot his brother; Gawan Elliot his brother; Hobbe Elliot of the Hewghus; John Elliot his brother; Adam Elliot of the Shaws; Arche Eliot called Fyre the brayes j Gybbe Elliot of the Shaues; Gorth Simson; Martin Eliot called Rytchis Martyn. All theise are Robin Ellotes brethren, or his men that are daly at his comaundement. The grayne of the Ellotes called the Borneheedes :-Joke Elliot called Joke of Ramsgill; Robbe Elliot called Ourst Robbe; Addam Eliot called Condu; Arche Eliot called Arche of Hill; Joke Eliot of the Hill; Joke Eliot called Halfe loges. The grayne of the Ellotes of the Parke :-Sims John Elliot of the Parke; Will Eliot, gray Wille; Robbe Elliot called Scates Robbe; Jeme Eliot of the Parke; Jeme Eliot called gray Wills Jerne; Hobbe Elliot called Hobbs Robbe. The grayne of Martyn Eliot of the Bradley hyghe in the Lyddall :-Martyn Eliot of the Bradley; Sime Eliot his sonne; Gowan Elliot called the Clarke; Hobbe Eliot his brother; Arche Eliot his brother; Joke Elliot called Copshawe ; John Eliot of Thornesope; Will Elliot of the Steele; Dand Elliot of the Brandley; John Eliot of the same Seme Eliot of Hardin. **All these Ellotes and manie more of them are at Robin Ellotes comaundment** and dwell betwixt the Armytage in Lyddisdall and Whethough towre=fewe of them marryed with Englishe women.

THE **LORD OF MANGERTON** and his frendes, and their allyaues with Eugland :-Seme Armestronge lord of Maugerton married John Fosters daughter of Kyrsope foot, and hath by her issue; Joke Armestronge called the Lordes Joke dwelleth under Denysshill besydes Kyrsope in Denisborne, and married Anton Armestronges daughter of Wyllyave in Gilsland ; John Armestronge called the lordes John, married Rytche Graymes sister called Meadope, and he hath two sonnes ryders in England. Joke his eldest sonne married Hobbe Fosters daughter of Kersope alyes; Thome Armestronge called the lordes Tome, dwelleth in a place called Hyghe Morgarton, not married with Englande. Runyon Armestronge called the lordes Runyon, dwelleth in a place called the Thornythaite. Rowye Armestronge called. the lordes Rowye, dwelleth in Tarrassyde, and married oulde Archer Graymes daughter. Seme Armestronge called Younge Seme, dwelleth on the Flates nere Mangerton, and married Rowye Fosters daughter called Robins Rowye. Thom Armestronge called Sims Thom, dwelleth in the Demayne Holme by Lendll syde, and married Wat, Storyes daughter of Eske, called Wat of the Hove ende. Dik Armestronge of Dryup, dwelleth nere Hyghe Morgarton, and his wyfe is a Scottishe woamen. Joke Armestronge of the Caufeld dwelleth on the Cawfeld, not married In Englaud. Gorthe Armestronge of the Bygams dwelleth on the Bygams, and married Will of Carl(i)lles daughter. All these are the Lorde of Morgertons unckles, or unckles sonnes at the farthest.

THE **ARMESTRONGES OF THE HOWSE OF WHETAUGHE TOWRE**:-Lance Armestronge the olde lord of Whetaughe ; Sime Armestronge the yonge lord his sonne ; Andrewe Armestronge called the ladyes Andrewe ; Arche Armestronge his brother; Frauncis Armestronge his brother; John Armestronge, called John of Whetaugh; Hobbe Armestronge his sonne, married Jeme Fosters daughter of the Stangerth syde ; Joke Armestronge his brother; Rynyon Armestronge called Gaudee; Rynyon Armestronge called Rynyon of Twedon; Hector Armestronge of the same; Joke Armestronge of the same, All these, and more that I cannot call to remembraunce, are the lord of Whethaugh his sonnes and brothers sonnes.

HECTOR ARMESTRONGE OF THE HARLAWE and his frendes and allyes,-Hector Armestronge called oulde Hector; Hector his sonne called yonge Hector, married Fargus Graymes daughter. Wille Armestronge called Hectors Wille; Thome Armestronge called Hectors Tome; Andrewe Armestronge of the Harlawe ; Patton Armestronge of the Harlawe ; Alexander Armestronge called the Gatwarde, married Gawins Wille Fosters daughter.

THE **ARMESTRONGES OF MELYONTON** quarter and their allyes with England :-Arche Armestronge called Rynyons Arche ; Gorthe Armestronge sonne to Rynyon ; Sime Annestronge, called Whetlesyd, married two English women - the fyrst was Robin Fosters daughter, the other Thome Graymes daughter called little Thome. Aby Armestronge sonne to Rynyon; Will Armestronge called Will of .Powterlam pert ; Gorthe Armestronge called Younge Gorthe of Arkyldon, married Will of Radhall daughter; Rynyon Armestronge his brother; Martyn Armestronge his brother; Dave Armestronge of Whetlesyd; Andrewe Armestronge of Kyrkton ; Hector Armestronge of Chengles; Thome Armestronge his brother married Gourth Routlishe daughter of Sbetbelt. Elle Armestronge his brother, married John Fosters daughter of Krakrop. Eme Armestronge his brother; Arche Armestronge his brother; Riche Armestronge called Carhand; Thome Armestronge called old Thorne of Chengles; Abye Armestronge called Thoms Abye ; Arche Armestronge his brother ; Rynyon Armestronge his brother.

THE **ARMESTRONGES OF THE LANGHOLME** and their allyes with England :-Creste Armestronge goodman of the Langholme castell, married Robbye Graymes sister called Robbe of the Feild; John

Armestronge of the Hollus, married Water Graymes sister of Netherby. Creste Armestronge of Borngles married Gorthe Grames daughter called Thomas Gorthe of Eske ; Hector Armestronge of the Stobbam; Rich Armestronge called Ekkes Riche.

THE ARMESTRONGES that came of the OFFSPRINGE OF ILL WILLS SANDY,-Ebye Armestronge the goodman of Waddusles ; Wille Armestronge his eldest sonne dwelleth in England, and enjoyeth that land that Kinge Henry the Eight gave old Sand Armestronge; Dave Armestronge his brother; Sande Armestronge his brother; Creste Armestronge called Sandes Creste; Creste Armestronge his sonne, and other two sonnes whose names I knowe not. Wille Armestronge called Kynmont, married Hotchane Grames daughter, sister to Hot(c)hans Ritche. Joke Armestronge his sonne ; Gorthe Armestronge his brother; Frauncis Armestronge his brother; Thome Armestronge his brother; Ryuyou Armestronge called Sandes Rynyon ; Thome Armestronge his sonne ; Arche Armestronge, called Sandes Arche ; Forge Armestronge called Sandes Forge; Joke Armestronge called Castills ; Joke Armestrouge, called Walls; Dave Armestronge, culled Dave of Kannonby, married Patyes Gorthes Grams daughter. Wille Armestronge his brother; Jeme his brother; John Armestronge called Skinabake ; Thome Armestronge of Rowenhome ; Gorthe Armestronge of the same, married Jeme Taylors daughter of Harper hill. Thus have I come downe Lyddell with the Ellotes aud Armestronges alonge the Scottishe syde, and I will goe forward downe Eske syde so far as it is Scottishe, and I will goe on to Gratney to the sea, and then come back to the Englishe syde, aud so goe downe agayne, that your honor maye be the more parfyte howe they dwell one agaynst the other.

THE URWENS and their alleyaunce with England downe to the Rad Kyrcke. The **Lord of Gratnay** married Forqus Grams daughter. Watt Urwen of Gratney hill married Robin Fosters daughter. Riche Urwen of Greatney hill; Edward Urwen of Gratnaye. Mongo Urwen married William Grames daughter of Levne. Will Urwen of Sarke bridge married Littell Thome Graymes doughier, Will Urwen of Readhall. Edward Urwen of Kyrke Patrick. Edward Urwen of the Baushaue married oulde Riche the Grames daughter of Netherby. Creste Urweu his sonne, Will Urwen of Kyrkconill; Jefrey Urwen of the Bonshawe ; Edward Urwen, called yonge Edward, married Robbe Grames daughter of the Fald. Gorthe Urwen of the Bonshawe ; John Urwen called the Dukes John. Heare endes the waters ande goe into the sea. And nowe that I have made an ende of the Scottishe syde of the water, I wil begin at Kyrsope, and so downe Lyddall agayne.

THE FOSTERS OF KYRSOPE and Lyddall, and their alleyaunce with Scotland :-Frauncis Foster of Kyrsopefoote **married Martyn Ellotes daughter of the Bradley.....**etc. (extract only)

THE RUTTLIGIS and there alleyaunce with Scotland which is but little, for that they are every mans praye :-John Rutledge of the Cructborne, slayne by the Scottish ryders. Etc.. (extract only)

Within the Ruttligis, dwell the NYXONS on both the LEVENS.... (extract only)

Soupart, and the Taylors that dwell there.

Sim Taylor; Jerre Taylor, Gibs sonne ; Joke Taylor; John Taylor called Chefton ; Cudde Taylor called Pottes Cudde ; John Taylor called Shanke ; Will Rutlidge of the Lukins; 'Will Rutlidge of the Sinke heade. Thus farr goeth Bewcastell parte of Soupart, and the other halfe is inhabyt.ed with Taylors and belongs to "William Musgrave, therefore I over pas their names. Heare I will note unto your honor, of THE GRAMES and howe they did first inhabit the water of Eske; for within the memorye of man yet beinge, they had no land there~ but the Storyes had it and the right thereof, for my oId Lorde

Daker having made a wardein rode, was by Englishmen betrayed, and Scotland had intelligence of his cuminge before he came, and was ready for him, so as he and all the cuntrey was in great peril], My Lorde Dakers, suspectinge olde Riche Grame, did apprehend him, and thought to have executed him for that. cause; it was his fortune to eskape out of the pryson, and in short tyme made him selfe cleare of that fact - for he did apprehend the deed doer, beinge a Story. The Storyes, fearinge my lorde Dakers fury, fled and lefte the cuntrey, and went into Northumberland... etc.(extract)

(A Graham marries an Elliot...)

RICH GRAME OF NETHERBY and his sonnes, his sonnes sonnes, and their allyauuces with Scotland.-Dik Grame called Riches Dik ; Water his sonne married Robbe of the Faldes daughter; Dave his brother married the larde of Meskyrshin his daughter; Will Grame his brother; Sime Grame his brother; Will Grame second sonne of old Riche, married his fyrst wyfe, the larde of Mangertons daughter, and hath nowe **Robin Ellotes sister of Lyddisdall**.... etc. (extract)

Addendum by Musgrave:

*West Tyvidale answereth to the English W. March.

Est Tyvedale answereth to the Midle March.

In West Tyvydale.-Lard (Laird) of Buckclugh, a Scott.

Lard of Bedoroule, a Trumbol!. (Turnbull)

Lard of Bon Jedwath, a Dowglass, (Douglas)

In Est Tyvydale.-Lard of Cesford, a Carr.

Lard of Craynston, a Carr.

"In Lyddisdaile.-The cheff ruler is the Lord Bothwell, to whom the Armitag, wherof James Carr is kepar."

19 pp. *Addressed at the head:* "To the right honorable and my singuler good lord, the Lord Burleigh lord Heigh Treasurer of England."

305. FORSTER TO W ALSINGHAM. (April, 1585)

The Borders are quiet" since our being **at Martyns towre**." For detaining the prisoners taken there" under bande," the opposite warden found great fault with me at our last day of truce holden at the Staweforde -as they were taken within Scottish ground; and I answered that they had taken many of her Majesty's subjects prisoners and ransomed them, and if they released them and repayed the ransom, I would release the Liddesdales.

There is a great " stur " between Lord Maxwell and the warden of the West Marches of Scotland, and Sir Thomas Karr the warden of the Middle March, is preparing to receive "Coroner Stewarde" coming with a force against Maxwell; who has sent word to them of East and West Tyvidale, that if any of them join" Coroner Steward ~' in burning or spoiling him, he will burn as much of them again. ,Ve are going to our" someringe on the Border bank". as quietly as ever we were wont to do. At my house nigh Alnwick. *Signed:* John Forster.

668. Extract from Middle March Bills (April, 1590)

Bills of Liddesdale since Bills of Liddesdale since the King's departure.

Raphe Anderson of Daviaheile.complains upon Robert Armestronge, called "Hob the taillour," Clement Croser of Borneheades, Rychard Armstrouge called "Dick of Dryupp," Rynioue Armestronge his brother, and others, for stealing 6 oxen, and taking John Anderson prisoner and ransoming him the morrow after st Luke's day 1589.

Page | 48

Raphe Hall of Gersomffeeld, John Anderson of Hatherwick, Thomas Hall of Otterborne, Robert Wintropp, Peter Bell, Hewghe Mewers, Clement Hall and Thomas Hedlie, complain upon **James Elliott, called "James of the Hill," Robine Elliott called "the Taillour," William Elliott called "Will of Fyttington," Arche Elliott of Ramesgill, Hob Eliot called "Hob the larde," Marke Elliott of the Hill, Will Croser of Ryckerton, John Elliot of the Hillend, Robine Elliott "the Bastarde of Glenvoren," Davye Elliot "Hobs Davie," of Dewes leases, Arche Elliott of the same, Will Ellett of Fyttington, Andrewe Elliott of Blackhall, John Elliot "the Child,"** and others, for taking said Raphe Hall and others prisoners at the Kyrke forde at "Martlemas" 1589, and ransoming them-who took from them 8 horses and mares, and still keep them prisoners.

Steven Pescood, John Pescood, Robert Stevenson, Arthure Thompson, Nicholas Yeldert, Robert Thompson, Gilbert Thompson, complain upon William Eliott of the Steile the younger, Hob Eliott of Thorlesopp, John Elliott and Gabriel Elliott of the Parke, James Elliott of the Bynks, George Simpson, Hob Croser, George Nixon called "ill drowned Geordie," John Nixon of Lareston, for coming at Martiumas last 1589 with 80 persons to the town of Over Warden and stealing 22 oxen, 20 kye, 6 horses aud meares with insight value 100*l.* sterling, and in pursuing their goods and lawful "trod," Arthure Thompson, Robert Stevenson, Anthony Stok, Mathew Leadbeter, were taken prisoners and ransomed at 23*l.* 13*s.* 4*cl.* sterling, Anthony Stokes' horse taken worth 4*l.* [besides others taken and ransomed at sums from 40*s.* to 9*l.*, horses, &c. taken worth 4*l.* to 6*l.*]

(suggested origin of the nickname "borneheades." See also Croser of Borneheades 668, p v)

... .. Thomas Reade called the "larde of the Borne," complains uppon A.rche Eliott of the Steile his brother James, Martin Croser and his son Clement, aud 20 others coming to the Borne in Redesdale, and stealing 30 kye and oxen, a grey meare and insight worth 20 marks, at "Martlemas" last.

675. ORDER BY THE KING OF SCOTS. (June, 1590)

The King with advice of the Lords of Secret Council commands Douglas, Hume, Carmichael and Hay, four of the commissioners in last number, to consider the state of the Borders and how it may be amended.

676. SIR JOHN SELBY TO BURGHLEY. (June 22, 1590)

I have received your honours letter of the 17th instant, wherein your lordship, expecting Sir John Carmichael's coming from the Scottish king with some complaints, requires me to inform you of any counter demands that we may oppose thereto for these East Marches. These are as follow :-

At Michaelmas 1588, 100 Liddesdale and West Tevidale thieves raided Mannyelawes of cattle, &c. worth 200*l.*, and no redress has yet been got from Lord Hume the warden.

At Christmas 1588, 120 Liddesdale thieves burned West Newton, "two Chrysten soules" a mall and a boy, and carried off horse, nowte, &c., worth 300*l.* sterling. The wardens deny redress, and the King and Council ordered Bothwell to make satisfaction, which is still delayed.

In February last, 200 Liddesdale thieves burned Myndrome, the barns, corn, and cattle, carrying off goods worth 300*l.* or 400*l.* sterling. Through Mr Bowes the ambassador, and the Council of Scotland (in the King's absence) I procured a meeting with the warden of Tevedall, and filed the bill, but can get no delivery; and the warden though he seems very willing, can get no obedience of Liddesdale for this bill or others.

I have had no day of truce with the Scottish wardens since last October, which is one great cause of the thieves' boldness. These Liddesdale men are the most disordered of all the Border—they come in great bands through Tevedall and "the Marc" into these East Marches, and return with their booty quietly the same way, without resistance, as they have no warden to answer for them by Border law. Also they dwell so far within their country from these East Marches, that revenge by us is almost impossible. Meetings ought to be kept monthly by the wardens or their deputies, and the want of this in my opinion (which your lordship asks) is one of the greatest causes of these disorders. If the Scottish wardens "would spare, fiell and dilyver upon theyr honors, for stowethes and attemptates," I think the English wardens would answer for their parts. And I doubt not my lord Chamberlain would promise the like for this wardenry. Berwick. *Signed* : John Selbye.

677. SCROPE TO BURGHLEY. (June 21, 1591)

I received yours of the 17th on Sunday last—the delay in answering "was occasioned through my disease in my mouth (so troubling me for the tyme) that I was not able to speake and give any directions." But now having some ease, in answer to your enquiries, I have sent herewith some few of the greatest of the late Scottish outrages upon us, which are "meetest for redress" and reserve the others, being a multitude (not to be forgotten) and too many to trouble your lordship withal! at this present, and would require a special messenger to carry them! For the later, I think best, that offer be made to redress any proved injuries by those in my wardenry, on receiving the like from the Scots. I make this general offer, because I know not the particulars wherein they are most grieved. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Scrope.

711. (Henry) SCROPE TO BURGHLEY. (June 28, 1591)

I enclose your lordship notes of two late outrages, which I have also reported to Mr Bowes the ambassador in Scotland, to move the King for redress. " But as I thinke Bothwell his escape oute of warde hindered the course that otherwise might have bin had from the Kinge for the firste, so I am of opynion the presence of the earle nowe emongst those yll men, both occasyoned the laste, and will be a meane also to hinder at this tyme all justice and redresse for them, or any other injuries, unles by your lordshipes zood meanes her Majesty be moved to wryte very earnestlie unto that Kinge for some good and speedie course to be taken in those behalves." Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrope.

Inclosed in the above " A note of the names of such as were at the heryshipp of Jeffraye Taylier the 26 of June 1591 :-

Archie of the Hill, Jocke Elwood his brothers Bonne, James Elwood Archies brother, Hobb Elwood of the Shawes, Archie Croser of the Bowholme, "yll " Hobb Elwood and Hob of the Leys, with others to the number of vjxx men.

Uppon the same nighte did these men herrye Hutchie of Scalebyand Will of Scalebye, with "redd" Edward Urwen, in reavinge of vjxx cattell, vjxx kye, xj kaloes" and 3xx gaitte, and burninge of fyve howses, with all insight of small goods

900. (Thomas) SCROPE TO BURGHLEY (Oct 8, 1593)

Having occasion to write to my "Lord Chamberlin" for his satisfaction, as I did not do so at my late "dispatches" to your lordship as to my proceedings with Maxwell, I accompany his "pacquett" with these few lines "advertising that I am this daye informed of a very grett outrage in a daye foray yesterday, made in Tindale by **William Elliott**, otherwise called **Will I Dally**, and his complices of Lidersdale; who is reported (calling unto him all the men he could make in Liddersdale, Eusdale, Esedale and, Annondale) went accompanied with 1000 men on horse and foote, who partinge them selves into foure companies, foraged through Tindale in foure severall places: swepinge the goods of the country before them: and having broughte from thence as is saide 500 head of cattell besides shepe and goates." Carlisle. *Signed* Th.Scroope.

I am going to Bolton for very urgent business, and shall be there 7 or 8 days before my return.
1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Note: This last big cross-border incursion, according to this was led by William of Larriston. Robert 17th had not long succeeded as chieftain) is described by Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur Eliott in their History of the Elliots, page 63. Their source was The History of Liddesdale, by Robert Bruce Armstrong, according to a MSS held in the National Library of Scotland. This document describes the miscreants as Elwoods, while this separate report by Scrope describes them all as Elliotts. This surely is another pointer to significant tension between the two names, Ell[i]ot the older and Elwald/Elwood the 1320 scribal name.

Extract from a letter from Forster to Burghley (November, 1593)

(2) (The King and Council to Bowes.) 17th November 1593.-For answer to the bill of the inhabitants of Tyndale against **Will Elliott** of Lariston &c., "wheranente as ye have ben moste earneste with us, so may ye be a wytnes of. the juste ocasionnes of the neccessarie delaye of your answeare, which nowe partlye bycause of our late disease, and partlie throughe absence of our warden and somme that yt behovedeus to deall with for this matter, in respecte of the presente wante of officers to make Liddesdale answeareable, and of somme new troubles falne out in the West Marches of this realme"-whereby we are moved to take the more on our self ill token how we disallow such attempts to trouble the happy amity between your sovereign and us, and omitting all delays upon the appointment of new officers for Liddesdale and public meetings on the March when the days were longer, and weather better, and the dangers of such open meetings by great numbers of armed men, with quarrels and feuds standing among them, "we will fyle this bill ourselfe uppon three of the persones contained herin to wytt, **Will and Martyn Ellotts**, and Will Armestronge of Kynmothe (beinge credeblelie enformede that Mangerton was not att this attem.pte)," and deliver a gentleman made worth the bill to the warden of the Myddle Marches of England or his deputy, at Berwick or his own house of Alnwick on the 26th instant or sooner, to remain till the principals are delivered for his relief or the bill paid, "which wilbe difficill inoughe to be gott done, consideringe the goods are fallen amonge the hands of such a multitude for the most parte vagabonds and unresponssall, dwelleinge in sundrie marches," and the men" billed as faulters" few in number and often disobedient. Besides as it has been the custom for open attempts filed by the princes, their commissioners, or the wardens on their honours, the single avail of the goods was always accepted, we require the same may be accepted here, as shall be received for the other attempt that gave occasion for the present one-whereby further attempts and hindrance of

APPENDIX C

Map names and National Library of Scotland references.

1. "Forest of Elicht or Elieht" and "Kirk of Elicht or Elieht"

Name: Gordon, Robert, 1580-1661

Title: Glen Yla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shye, out of Mr. T. Pont's papers yey ar very imperfyt.
Glen Isla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shee...

Imprint: [ca. 1636-52]

Pagination: 1 manuscript map ; 315 x 345 mm.

Shelfmark: Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 43)
(*Confusion of c and e due to faint downstroke with quill pen.*)

Page | 52

2. "Kirk of Elit"

Name: Gordon, Robert, 1580-1661

Title: Brae of Angus, [and] The height of Anguss, M.T.P.
Height of Anguss.

Imprint: [ca. 1636-52]

Pagination: 1 manuscript map ; 408 x 352 mm.

Shelfmark: Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 42)
(*Gordon here, in a fashion typical of all writers of this period, chooses another spelling.*)

3. "Forest of Elit"

Name: Gordon, Robert, 1580-1661
Blaeu, Joan, 1596-1673

Title: Scotiae provinciae mediterraneae inter Taum flumen et Vararis aestuarium : Sunt autem Braid-Allaban, Atholia, Marria Superior, Badenocha, Strath-Spea, Lochabria, cum Chersoneso qui ei ad occasum praetenditur; cum singulis earundem partibus / opera Ro. G

Imprint: [Amsterdam : Blaeu, 1654]

Pagination: 1 map : col. ; 396 x 511 mm., on sheet, 528 x 614 mm.

Shelfmark: WD3B/34

4. "Forest of Elycht or Elyeht," "B. Elycht or Elyeht" (burn?), "Elycht or Elyeht"

Name: Pont, Timothy, 1560?-1614?

Title: [Glen Isla and Lintrathen; parts of Strathmore near Coupar Angus]

Imprint: [ca. 1583-96]

Pagination: 1 manuscript map ; 41 x 30 cm.

Shelfmark: Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 28)
(*In the next map, Pont opts for the spelling Elioht.*)

5. "Elioht" (the pen stroke completing the 'o' is faintly discernible)

Name: Pont, Timothy, 1560?-1614?
Title: [Middle Strathmore]
Imprint: [ca. 1583-96]
Pagination: 1 manuscript map ; 20 x 23 cm.
Shelfmark: Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 29)

6. "Forest of Elycht," "Elycht" and "Water of Elyeht", with a distinct 'e'.

Name: Pont, Timothy, 1560?-1614?
Title: [Strathardle; Glenshee and Glenericht]
Imprint: [ca. 1583-96]
Pagination: 1 manuscript map ; 40 x 29 cm.
Shelfmark: Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 27)

7. (The town of) "Eliot"

Name: Moll, Herman, d. 1732
Title: The Shire of Angus or Forfar / by H. Moll.
Imprint: [London : Bowles and Bowles, 1745]
Pagination: 1 map : hand col. outlines ; 250 x 191 mm., on sheet, 362 x 221 mm.
Shelfmark: EMS.b.2.1(23)

8. (The town of) "Eliot"

Name: Moll, Herman, d. 1732
Title: The South Part of Perth Shire Containing Perth, Strathern, Stormount and Cars of Gourie &c / by H. Moll.
Imprint: [London : Bowles and Bowles, 1745]
Pagination: 1 map : hand col. outlines ; 185 x 261 mm., on sheet, 221 x 362 mm.
Shelfmark: EMS.b.2.1(21)

9. (The town of) "Eliot"

Name: Adair, John, ca. 1650-1722
 Moxon, J. (James) fl. 1671-1700,
Title: The Mapp of Straithern, Stormount, and Cars of Gourie, with the Rivers Tay and Jern / surveighed and designed by J. Adair ; James Moxon sculp.
Imprint: [S.l. : s.n., 1720?]
Pagination: 1 map ; 422 x 660 mm., on sheet, 533 x 755 mm.
Shelfmark: EMS.s.320