

ELIOT AND ALYTH: A TOWN WITH TWO NAMES.

Notes relating to the Breton origin of the Elliots; their 12th century settlement on alienated thanage lands of Alyth; forfeiture in 1306, followed by resettlement in Liddesdale by Robert Bruce 1307-8, and his revival of the king's thanage, 1313 x 1319.

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Introduction

Y-chromosome research has now definitively confirmed the Breton origin of the Elliots (Eliots, Eliotts and Elliotts), English and Scots, already indicated by the existence of the name and its cross Channel variants in Brittany, notably in Morbihan and Loire Atlantique, where *Alliot* and *Allot* became the more common spellings, as they did in northern England, notably in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and initially in Scotland. The Elliot DNA project (2000 – 2015 : see Appendix B) has disclosed a prevailing Celtic-Brittonic DNA haplogroup within the group of nearly three hundred Elliot male participants, and the maintenance of a remarkably close kinship.

The results of the project have led to a renewal of interest in Elliot origins, and in particular in the history of the clan in Scotland, where its integration into medieval Scottish society was clearly a consequence of the introduction of feudal military tenure into Scotland by the kings of the Scots, David I (1124-53) and his grandsons, Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William I (1165-1214). Past research by family and Border historians had been for a long time hindered by the loss of the clan archives and family papers during a fire at Stobs Castle in 1712, a surprising oversight of the so-called 'Davidian Revolution,' and by unsubstantiated assumptions as to the origins of English Eliots, particularly those of the Eliot earls of St Germans in Cornwall. To some extent the original settlement of Elliot/Alliots is still reflected by the distribution of these co-variant names across Brittany, Normandy and Great Britain. This suggests a considerable post-Conquest migration of Elliot/Alliots, initially to England, spearheaded by the mercenaries of 1066, a cutting of ties to the Breton homelands, and a rate of assimilation that may explain loss of contact between scattered Elliot/Alliot families. Somewhat ironically, the long delayed task of establishing shared Elliot ancestry was undertaken by two mid-19th century Anglo-Scottish American genealogists.¹

The Breton exclusivity of the name Eliot and its variant Aliot is the result of corruption by French of an old purely Celtic-Brittonic name, commonly described in Brittany as *déformation par francisation*. This fact, together with the results of the DNA project, means that the presence of the name in Scotland, even when given to a minor river, Elliot Water, in Angus, could never have been a matter of mere coincidence. Eliot is not a Gaelic name and its appearance of on all surviving old maps of Perthshire, accessible via the NLS website, long before Alyth made its first, late 18th century appearance, can mean only one thing: Walter Scott, the first earl of Buccleuch, at odds with the Elliots of Liddesdale, was right when he claimed that they came from a town called Elliot (spelt as Eliot) near to the foot of Glen Shee, before resettlement at Redheugh, near to Hermitage Castle, by King Robert I.

¹ William Harvey Elliot, William.S.Porter, *Genealogy of the Elliots* (New Haven USA, 1854), 12.

Despite experience of research gained as a UCL graduate in Modern History (1968-71), lack of opportunity and access to sources other than those already cited in published texts or accessed via PoMS and other databases, prevent me from further development of any emerging theme. My objective has been merely to establish a sufficiency of evidence in support of a number of findings which in my view should be brought to the attention of university-based scholars with a particular interest in either the history of Scotland in the Middle Ages, or the more particular history of the Borders.

My findings should be of general historical interest, given that they

- a) add to what is already known about Breton settlement in Scotland, which is much less than what is known about Bretons in England, thanks to the efforts of historians such as Michael Jones and Katharine Keats-Rohan;
- b) provide further insight into resettlement on new lands by Bruce of those of his middle ranking supporters who had been dispossessed in 1306;
- c) amount to a rebuttal of the assumption that lands of the thanage of Alyth, from which Robert I issued a charter in 1319, had never been previously alienated;²
- d) point to the seizure by Bruce or his lieutenants of Liddesdale as early as 1307, when, as already established, cross-border raiding began to take place, and when the men of Galloway and Liddesdale took refuge with their cattle in Inglewood Forest in Cumberland.

Summary.

Elias d'Aliot, a Breton, was at some time during the second half of the twelfth century infested with a substantial alienated part of the thanage of Alyth, to the southeast of the king's forest of Alyth. Despite being one of a group of Bretons who had adopted French-corrupted Breton surnames, in the Norman fashion, Elias was given the local, native surname, d'Alyth, but being typically proud of his Breton identity, he either rejected it, or continued in all innocence to use his existing surname, also spelt as Eliot in both Great Britain and Brittany. Such was his position and he and his kinship's local predominance, that Eliot became for over four centuries the familiar name of the town which is now known as Alyth. This old name, derived, according to competing claims, from the Gaelic *àileadh* or *àilt*, did not appear on surviving old maps held by the National Library of Scotland, until the late 18th century. Before then 16th and early 17th century mapmakers undertaking local surveys were told that they were in 'Eliot,' the name which thus appears on earlier maps, along with what may have been the Elliot *caput*, a settlement shown as *Auchtereleot*. The Elliots became fierce Bruce partisans, were stripped of their lands in 1306 and resettled next to Hermitage Castle in Liddesdale by Bruce, almost certainly in 1307, when raiding began and existing Liddesdale tenants took flight with their cattle across the border and into Inglewood Forest. By 1319 Bruce had revived the former thanage of Alyth, and may have given the former alienated Elliot lands to Coupar abbey.³

² More searching questions relating to Elias d'Alyth, alias d'Aliot or d'Eliot and his 13th century Elliot descendants undermine previous assumptions relating to this thanage.

³ *RRS*, v, no.145.

The evidence.

1. The name.

The name Eliot in all its phonetically correct spellings (Elliot, Elliott, Elliott) is notorious for its large number of variants, noted, for example, by George MacDonald Fraser in his history of the Border Reivers, *The Steel Bonnets*. D'Aliot appears among them as Dalliot, whilst the name became Elliot(t) in the Middle March, before the vowel *i* was restored, reputedly on receipt of the news of the death in the Tower of London, in 1632, of the parliamentary rebel, Sir John Eliot of St Germans. The results of the Elliot DNA Project have led to a shift in the focus of research, which now reveals that some Elliot name variants are in reality co-variants of a much older Breton toponymic surname which, like many such names, did not escape corruption by French, described by French historians as *déformation par francisation*. Personal contact with Professor Louis Elegoët of St Derrien (Côte d'Amor), from whose name the anglicized and similar sounding *Elligott, Ellacott and Ellicott* are derived, revealed the existence of the old Celtic-Brythonic name *Halegouët* ('the willow folk,' – Welsh *helig*) which, together with a number of uncorrupted Breton variants, survives only in small numbers (see table below). That the old name had survived corruption by French seemed unlikely, but without the modern facility of rapid electronic searches of various databases, it would have been impossible to trace French-corrupted variants, which fall into the exclusive morphological pattern shown in Table I, below. The function of time, geography and distance in alterations to the name is certainly apparent.

Breton variants before corruption by French:*

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Hallegoët > 6 All Finistère | Allegoët > 32 All Finistère | Ellegouët 1 Finistère |
| Hallegot > 90 All Finistère | Allegot > 90 All Finistère | Elegoët 143 All Finistère |

Partial 'déformation par francisation.' (elision of g)

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Alliouët > 9 Loire Atlantique | Helleouët > 34 Finistère | Elliouët 1 Loire Atlantique |
| | Heleouët > 13 Finistère | Elouët 29 Finistère |

Final corruption by French. (vowel sound shift)

| | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| Halliot > 34 Loire Atlantique | Alliot 2,790 Loire Atl. and Aisne | Helliet 125, Côtes d'Amor | Eliot 1,484, Morbihan and Seine Maritime |
| | Allot 1,037 Loire Atl. | | Elliot 211, Morbihan |
| | | | Elliet 3, Côtes d'Amor |
| | | | Elot 14, Loire Atlantique |

Table 1 : Progressive 'déformation par francisation' of Halegouët (Halgoët).

*Source: www.geopatronyme.com

Two particular features of Breton history are instrumental: the *bretonisation* of Haute Bretagne by the Celtic Bretons of the north, which brought them into contact with French-speaking communities, and the social and cultural impact of the growth of Norman power and the availability of a surplus of Breton mercenary knights and archers.⁴

British Aliot/Eliot variants – 1881 census ⁵

Allitt: 567, of which 301 in England, mostly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, areas of heavy Breton settlement, and with 26 in Scotland. The striking closeness of this variant, and that of *Allot[t]* below, to the spelling and pronunciation of the various medieval spellings of *Alyth*,

(*e.g. Alitht, Alicht, Alect*) may have contributed to the ease of use of the surname Aliot or Eliot. Both of these versions were prone to further shortening as Allot and Elot in both Brittany and Great Britain.

Ellitt, a medieval survivor recorded in small numbers in Yorkshire. Sometimes spelt earlier as **Elyt**.

Alliott: 128, dispersed in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire and Kent, also found in the USA and Australia

Allott : 2,169, 830 in Yorkshire, 96 in Lancashire, 43 in Lincolnshire, 68 in Wales, 53 in Scotland.

Ellett: 441, spread mainly in Middlesex, Somerset, Norfolk and Surrey.

Alletson: 194, the majority in Lancashire.

Elletson: 535, the majority in Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Ellott: 158, dispersed in Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Surrey, Cumberland, Northumberland and Yorkshire. Robert Elliot the 17th of Redheugh is said to have caused the *i* to be reinserted into Elliot(t) during the early 17th century, following the death of Sir John Eliot, MP for St Germans, in the Tower of London in 1632. The number of letters L and T became a matter of parochial variation. Elliott was the parochial spelling in Canonbie, while Eliott was that of Stobs.

Ellacott: 772, main groups: 174 Devon, 55 Middlesex, 12 Cornwall, 12 Gloucestershire, 10. (Scotland 20). Henry Ellacott was the Elizabethan sheriff of Exeter who in 1578 contributed £25 to the defence of England against the Spanish Armada. ⁶

Ellicott: 1,564, main groups : 159 Devon, 31 Cornwall, 28 Somerset, 23 Hampshire, 27 Kent, 13 Gloucs.

Elligott: 43: 16 England, 27 Ireland. Also found in the USA and Canada.

MacElligott 4,486, Ireland 824, USA 2,080, Australia 386.

An old variant which has survived: **Ulliott:** Yorkshire 35, Northumberland 6. In 1881 there were 282 Elliots in Wales.

Of particular interest is the early use of Elliot as a Christian name, feminized as Elliota or Ellota, since it almost certainly indicates an earlier settlement of Elliots north of the Forth:

⁴ A.de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1899), 28-29, cited in Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany, a Late Medieval State* (London, 1988), 29.

⁵ www.forebears.co.uk (accessed 17 November, 2015).

⁶ Henry Brougham Guppy, *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* (London, 1890), 153, and at www.archive.org/details/homesoffamilynam00gupprich (accessed 18 February 2016).

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).⁷

The name, suggesting a very early Breton settlement through the adoption of Norse patronymics has also been found in northern Lancashire and Westmoreland :

‘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.’⁸

2. Settlement in England, post 1066.

The location of lands held in England by the Aliot/Eliot cadet or collateral family to which Elias d’Aliot belonged remains unknown. The name itself did not enter into the historical record until the Hundred Years War, when its appearance in muster rolls suggests an early Elliot post-Conquest scattering mainly in the West Country, across southern England, and into the eastern and northern counties. These were precisely the counties and territories in which most of the Bretons involved in at least three waves of migration, beginning with 1066, acquired lands, particularly within Cornwall, held initially by Brien fitzEudes, in Devon, where Judicaël (Juhel) held the honour of Totnes, owing the service of seventy knights, and throughout the several north-eastern, eastern and southern counties in which Brien’s brother, Alain ar rouz (le roux) held many manors attached to his vast honour of Richmond. Other fitzEudes who settled in England were: Bodin, who became a monk at St Mary’s York; Ribald fitzEudes, lord of Middleham in North Yorkshire (another Breton held the lordship of Bedale); Bardolf, lord of Ravensworth in North Yorkshire. Cumberland and Carlisle were seized by William II (Rufus, 1087-1100), with the aid of a mixed Norman and Breton force, established as a military colony.⁹ Given the undoubted progress from household knight or *menie* and castle ward to infefment with feudal tenures, and the vice-regal authority of the future David I (1124-53) in Cumberland and southern Scotland or his Yorkshire connections as Lord of Hallamshire, including those with Walter Espec, the founder of the abbey of Rievaulx, it is much more likely that Elias’s family lands were located somewhere in northern England.

‘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

⁷ PoMS, no. 12155 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/12155/; accessed 31 October 2016)

⁸ [– *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, written: 1872-1896 by Charles Wareing Endell Bardsley]. (NB Yet more confirmation that Elwald and Elliot were two separate, and separately sourced, names.)

⁹ Michael Lynch, *Scotland, a New History*, (Edinburgh, paperback 2011) pp 79,80.

families of Brus, Balliol and Mowbray, as well as many Anglo Norman families of humbler standing.’¹⁰

Katharine Keats-Rohan has produced details of known Breton tenancies-in-chief and sub-tenancies, extrapolated from the Domesday survey. Eight counties in particular stand out:

| County | Breton Tenants-in-chief | Breton Sub-tenants |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Lincolnshire | 7 | 15 |
| Yorkshire | 3 | 14 |
| Cambridgeshire | 1 | 15 |
| Norfolk | 5 | 5 |
| Northants | 5 | 24 |
| Glocs | 3 | 19 |
| Devon | 8 | 14 |
| Cornwall | 1 | 7 |

Michael Jones notes the settlement of many more lower ranking Bretons:

‘Domesday montre seulement, en effet, ce qui est confirmé par des documents postérieurs, en particulier mettant en lumière les *Cartae Baronium* de 1166, le nombre très considérable de Bretons tenant par service militaire, au cours du siècle qui a suivi la conquête. Ce sont, en majorité, des seigneurs avec des fiefs très petits, souvent même une fraction.’¹¹

It is interesting to note that the A variant, Alliott and Allott, became anchored principally in the north of England.

3. Settlement in Scotland and the identification of the Aliot/Eliots.

Elias d’Alyth was a witness to a charter in which

John, bishop of Dunkeld, for Coupar Angus Abbey; with common assent of his chapter, (gave) the 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.¹²

Among other witnesses was Thomas Giffard, son of Hugh, a man ‘almost certainly of baronial rank’ granted Yester by Malcolm IV.¹³ On 2, March, 1196 x 1199: William I granted to William tofts in various places including a ‘full toft’ at the castle of *Alith*.¹⁴ Barrow describes these Giffards as a branch of the ‘main clan of Giffard based upon Longueville-le-Gifart’ near to Dieppe, although in a list of ‘Bretons patronized by Henry I (1100-35), Keats-Rohan includes Robert Giffard de

¹⁰F Musgrove, *The North of England, a History of Roman Times to the Present*, (Basil Blackwell) 1990, 61

¹¹ Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany, a Late Medieval State*, (London, 1988),75, citing *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 volumes, London, 1896, I. 186-442.

¹² PoMS, no. 3413, (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3413/; (accessed 15 January 2015)'

¹³ G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, (Edinburgh, 1973), 271.

¹⁴ *RRS*, ii,410.

Fougères.¹⁵ In a further reference to a Giffard Breton connection she discloses the fact that

‘(dès) 1086, Raoul de Fougères avait épousé Avice de Bienfaite, fille d’un parent du roi, et petite-fille d’un autre, Gautier Giffard.¹⁶

SELECT ROLL CALL OF ELLIOTS – ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

England

Sir William de Aliot, purported by Henry Algernon Eliot Esq., in vol. 10, p.147 of the Royal Naval Biography (1790), to be his ancestor. A largely embroidered and apocryphal account which has d’Aliot alongside the Conqueror when he stumbled on disembarking at Pevensey Bay, and knighted by him. Henry was nevertheless aware of the alternative spelling of Eliot.

Hamo Ellyot, Esquire, man-at-arms recorded as serving at Castile, under Edmund Langley, earl of Cambridge during the Hundred Years’ War.¹⁷

John Ellyot, Esquire, man-at-arms, at sea,1404, captained by Robert, Lord Poynings

Russel Elliot, Esquire, man-at-arms, on naval expedition, captained by Sir Thomas Trivet, 1387.

Walter Eliot, armed archer, captained by Sir John Salvain at Rouen, one of some fifty Eliot (Elliot or Ellyot) archers listed in Hundred Years’ War muster rolls.

William Elliot, Master of Rolls, 13 November, 1485 to 26 November 1487.

Hugh Elyot, a merchant of Bristol, who with Thomas Ashurst obtained letters patent, dated at Winchester, 9th December, 1503, authorising them ‘not only to discover new countries; but to take out with them any English subjects to inhabit and settle in them.’ He discovered (reached the already discovered?) Newfoundland in 1527, and on page 296 he is described as the prime pilot of our nation.’[Elyot’s voyage with Robert Thorne is mentioned in other sources. The word ‘discovered’ was the choice of John Dee, the Elizabethan mathematician, and it probably meant further exploration.]

Sir Richard Elyot, appointed by Henry VIII, as a Justice of the King’s Bench (1509), summoned to meet with the Peers in his first parliament, 21 January 1510.

Sir Thomas Elyot, a learned man in the reign of Henry VIII, author and scholar educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon; appointed by Henry as one of his negotiators at Rome in the affair of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon in 1532, and ambassador to Charles V, in 1536. He died in 1546.

¹⁵ K.S.B.Keats-Rohan, *Le role des Bretons dans la politique de la colonisation normande de l’Angleterre*, (MSHAB 74, 1996), 181-215, 13.

¹⁶ Keats-Rohan, *Le role des Bretons*, 4, citing E.M.C.van Houts ed., *The Gest Normannorum Ducum of Guillaume of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigny*, (2 vols., Oxford,1993-5),ii, 270, where Robert of Torigny names their sons as Fransualo, Henri and Robert Gifard.

¹⁷ www.medievalsoldier.org/search.php (Database established by the universities of Reading and Southampton).

Sir John Eliot of St Germans. With Dudley Digges and others, committed to the Tower of London, before being sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure and fined the enormous sum of £2,000. Having rejected an offer of freedom on condition of making his submission, Sir John died in the Tower on 27th November, 1632.

Hon. John Eliot (d.1823), created **Earl of St Germans** (Cornwall), 1815. His descendant Peregrine Eliot, 10th earl, died on 15 July, 2016, and was succeeded by his son Albert, the 11th earl.

Scotland

Elias d'Aliot, witness to a charter 1189 x 1203, probably the first of his line to have been granted a substantial fee by William I, alienated from his thanage of Alyth, and probably centred on the settlement of Auchtereleot, now renamed Auchter Alyth.

Robert the 10th of Redheugh (d.1497), captain of Hermitage Castle, recipient of extensive lands from Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus and Lord of Liddesdale, for his part in the battle of Arkinholm and the defeat of the Black Douglasses, in 1455. Described by Angus as his 'familiar squire,' Robert gave his grandson as a hostage, together with Angus's own son, as guarantee for an agreement between Angus and Henry VII.

John Elliot of the Park: October 1566, in a hand to hand fight Lord Bothwell shot 'Jock' in the thigh, but the latter retaliated and seriously wounded Bothwell with his two-handed sword. Mary Queen of Scots rushed to Bothwell's side at Hermitage Castle, into which his admittance had been negotiated by Robert Elliot of the Shaws, with a number of escaped Armstrong prisoners, who had taken over the castle. Three months later, the recovered Bothwell set out to punish the clan, but was roundly defeated by the formidable Martin Elliot and his followers.

Martin Elliot of Braidley (d.1591), clan chief during the minority of Robert the 16th of Redheugh, whose prestige and power among the Border clans had steadily grown, found himself in the curious position of leader of rebels on both sides of the frontier. On the one side most Borderers, however violently they may have rejected Bothwell, regarded Mary as their rightful sovereign and opposed the Protestant Confederate Lords who were attached to the interests of England. On the other side many of the families in the North of England, being Catholic, favoured Mary and were in revolt against their own Queen on the grounds of religion. Thus Martin was chosen to represent not only the whole of Liddesdale and Teviotdale, but also the inhabitants of Tynedale and Redesdale. As a consequence both Queen Elizabeth and the Regent Moray were forced to seek Martin's assistance in maintaining peace on the border, however much they may have disapproved of his politics. To this end Martin was sent £100 by Elizabeth to keep the peace and shortly afterwards in October 1567 he was called to Edinburgh to receive a gift of 300 merks Scottish for an undertaking "to keep and to cause to be kept good order from Berwick to Hermitage Castle." (*The Elliots*, pp 40-41.)

William Elliot of Larriston (executed 1603) and the great Tynedale Raid of 1593, the subject of a letter from Thomas Scrope, Warden of the English West March, to Lord Burghley, 8 October, 1593: '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 Liddersdale; 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.'

Robert Elliot the 17th of Redheugh (d.1673) at daggers drawn with the Lord of Liddesdale, Walter Scott, the first Earl of Buccleuch, who when on campaign in the Low Countries recounted to his teenage runaway junior kinsman, Walter Scott of Satchells, the story of Bruce's resettlement of the Elliots in Liddesdale. His dispute with Robert, which involved the stay of an order of removal (eviction) of his Elliot tenants, thanks to Robert's powerful connections, mostly via marriage, lends great credence to the story of the Elliot arrival in Liddesdale. Robert's grandmother was Jean Scott of Buccleuch, and his wife was Lady Jean Stewart. There were also strong connections with the Hamiltons. Intriguingly, Gilbert Elliot of Stobs remained Buccleuch's 'lovit friend.'

Sir Gilbert Elliott of Stobs, first Baronet and chief, following the death of Robert the 17th. Knighted in 1651, made baronet by Charles II in 1666. His descendant, Sir Arthur Elliott, the 11th baronet, and the Dowager Lady Elliott of Stobs, produced their history, *The Elliots, the Story of a Border Clan*, in 1974. His daughter, Margaret Elliott of Redheugh is the current chief of Clan Elliot.

General George Augustus Elliott, Lord Heathfield (1717 -1790), the 'Hero of Gibraltar,' (1779) the eighth surviving son of the 3rd baronet of Stobs, commander of the 15th Light Horse, known as 'Elliott's Horse,' adopted by George III as 'the King's Royal Regiment of Hussars.'

Jean Elliot (1727-1805), daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot Lord Minto, Lord of Justiciary and anti-Jacobite (1693-1766) and the author of *The Flowers of the Forest*.

Sir Gilbert Elliott, 1st Earl of Minto (1751-1813), Viceroy, Corsica during the French Revolution, Governor-general of Bengal, 1807-1813. Took from France the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, subdued Borneo and its pirates, created Viscount Melgund and Earl of Minto 1813.

The Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot of Harwood P.C., C.H., M.C., F.R.S., M.P., LL.D., F.R.C.P (1888-1958), Cabinet Minister in the Chamberlain government, served in the War Office thereafter. In 1956 Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Simon, a 'persona' d'Alyth, was among the witnesses to a charter of about the same period, by Simon, bishop of Dunblane, granting the church of Kincardine in Menteith with its chapels, lands, teinds... to Cambuskenneth Abbey.¹⁸ The use of the name 'd'Alyth' assigned to Elias was therefore a unique, personal entitlement, but it is now certain that this remained a charter name only, while a proudly vaunted Breton surname was accepted in popular local usage. This must surely be taken to indicate a man exercising enough power, irrespective of rank (as either a baronial or non-baronial tenant-in-chief), yet little attention to him appears to have been made by historians seeking to identify those thanages which remained intact throughout the 12th and 13th centuries.

There is good reason to believe from map evidence, the role which Elias's descendants can be seen to have played in local administration, and their imprisonment in England, that the Aliot/Eliot captains were men of some substance

¹⁸ PoMS, no. 2722: www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2722/; accessed 15 January 2015).

and military prowess. The latter would have been in keeping with a Breton mercenary tradition. The existence of a settlement named by cartographer John Adair (see below, note) as Auchtereleot as some considerable distance from what was probably the new town and castle of Alyth, along with the entitlement to use the name d'Alyth, suggests a holding of considerable size, probably consisting of all thanage lands outside the bounds of what was almost certainly a new town and castle with tofts, and excluding the king's forest of Alyth. In September, 1234 Alexander II confirmed by charter that the monks of Coupar Angus were to have a way through the king's forest of Alyth.¹⁹ There are numerous surviving documents revealing kings' foresters as minor tenants in chief whose names appear as witnesses to various charters. There is, however, no evidence that Elias was a king's forester nor any surviving mention of a forester of Alyth, and like most Bretons his mercenary origins would more likely have fitted him for a military role, which his descendants were still undertaking one hundred years later. Whether or not he emerged from the ranks of the mercenaries which William I had sent for on at least one occasion remains a matter of speculation. No record survives, however, of any service connected with an undoubtedly new castle of Alyth, whose scant remains today leave unanswered the nature of its construction.

The use and retention of their surnames by those Bretons who had adopted the Norman fashion of taking toponymic or locative names is explained by Keats-Rohan:

‘The Bretons are unusual among mediaeval peoples for having a highly developed awareness of their national and cultural distinctness, and this awareness was not confined to the predominantly Celtic Bretons of the west of Brittany. Eleventh-century seigneurs of north-eastern Brittany, not yet part of the Norman adventure but having contact with Normans and holding Norman lands, were apt to give charters referring to themselves as *Haimo, patria Brito, or Riualionius (Rivallon), Britannicus gente*.’²⁰

The maps described below (also Appendix A) provide strong evidence of the familiar local use of Elias's exclusively Breton surname and suggest the possession, whether as a baron or non-baronial tenant-in-chief, of a substantial feof, with a degree of local power and influence to cause to be accepted as a place name his proudly vaunted Breton name, possibly by many who were ignorant of, or unconcerned by, the contents of any charter touching Alyth. This latter name was itself the victim of chaotic spelling, leaving open the question of what name one scribe or another intended to convey in writing. The existence of the Alliot/Elliot variant *Allitt I* may even explain an easy drift from Alyth to Aliot. Nevertheless, here was a man with a charter entitlement to use the name d'Alyth, whose own settlement, obviously that of Auchtereleot (now named Auchter Alyth), was situated at some four and a half kilometres to the east of the town, and at a much longer distance from the king's forest of Alyth, to its northwest. This was no minor tenant. There is no record of any other landholder within a radius of the same size along an arc from due north of Alyth round to its southeast, so that notwithstanding the retention in royal demesne of the forest of Alyth, what must have been a large chunk of the former thanage was almost certainly alienated to Elias, in return for the

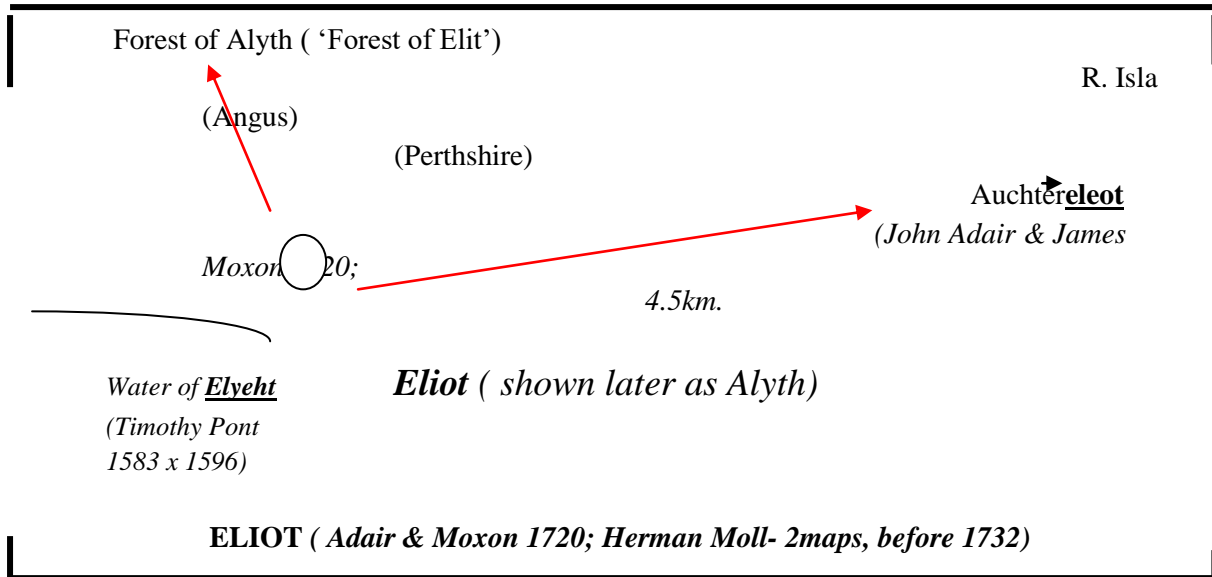
¹⁹ *RRS iii, no.212.*

²⁰ K.S.B.Keats-Rohan, *The Bretons and Normans of England 1066-1154, the family, the fief and the feudal monarchy*, Nottingham Medieval Studies 36 (1992), 42-78, at 7.

performance of services for which no record has survived. The map below suggests the infertment of Elias d’Aliot with all alienated thanage lands minus the king’s forest.

Clearly, these were names obtained by Adair and Moll in particular, not from any charter, but by word of mouth from people in the localities shown, during surveys undertaken in situ. Although the two names Alyth, (Alith, Alitht, Alycht and Alicht) and Aliot may have led to some confusion, by no stretch of imagination could the uniquely Breton *Eliot* have been a variant of *Alyth*.

Details of surviving sixteenth to early eighteenth century maps are contained in Appendix A.



4. Walter d’Aliot (d’Eliot), his brother Thomas and his sons Walter and Thomas.

As if the maps, particularly those of Adair and Moll, were not enough to prove the redundancy of the charter name Alyth as a familiar name, so long as the Eliots were secure in their lands, further corroboration may be found in the way in which English, not Scottish scribes, spelt the names of Elias’s descendants, Walter and Thomas, when compiling lists of prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar in 1296. Some crossing of boundaries between history and linguistics, including the history of the English language could perhaps have led scholars compiling the PoMS database to recognition of the name Aliot, spelt as *Alight* and *Alyght*, at a time when, following disuse of the old letter *yogh*, *gh* was used to represent the phoneme /j/ of ‘year’ or ‘yield,’ and its allophone *io*. The English scribes would have had no intimation of any charter name, and there can be no doubt that Walter and Thomas gave their name as pronounced today as Aliot, a name whose opening middle vowel probably led to its alternative spelling as Eliot (as per the *a* and *e* in *ago* and *mallet*). Medieval spelling is replete with *A* and *E* variants, as in the Latin rendering of a Flemish name, as *Archembaldus* or *Erchembaldus*. Two historians of the English language provide an explanation.

‘The Old English symbol $\langle \delta \rangle$ was an Irish form; *g* entered English writing from the continent. In late OE δ had three values. In Middle English times it acquired a somewhat different form, \mathfrak{z} , called *yogh*, and was used for two sounds that came to be spelt as *y* and *gh* later in the period. 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 \mathfrak{z} 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*'.²¹

Further clarification is provided by David Crystal:

'Following the Norman Conquest, the distinctively Anglo-Saxon symbols gradually disappeared at first because the French scribes preferred more familiar letters, and later because Continental printers did not have the sorts to print earlier symbols. Ash was replaced by *a*, thorn and eth by *th*, yogh chiefly by *gh*, and wynn by the new letter *w*.²²

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An English scribe with no clue as to any alternative charter name assigned to two men who simply gave their Breton names as d'Aliot, wrote it down as *Alight* and *Alyght*:

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**.²³

In the same year, on 28 August a William Alyth, burgess of Perth, together with other burgesses, swore an oath of fealty to Edward I.²⁴ Dr Matthew Hammond of Glasgow University noted in relation to Perth:

"It is possible that personal names can expand our understanding of the cultural makeup of the city, and place it within a broader geographical context. For example, Willelmus filius Johel suggests as a patronymic the Breton Judhael, often anglicised as Joel. Breton names were significant across Britain at this time. William son of Ketell gave his daughter the Breton name Wymarc. **These names may suggest Breton cultural contacts not previously recognised in Perth.**" (My bold print).²⁵

Whether or not Walter gained his release on condition of serving Edward I in France is unknown, but his sons, members as valets of the household of John, earl of Atholl, when the latter gave sureties for their service with him to Edward I:

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 Inchtute, John Buterwan,

²¹ Thomas Pyles, John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (London, 1993), 137.

²² David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, (Cambridge, 1995), 258.

²³ PoMS, no. 18596 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18596/; accessed 15 January 2015)

²⁴ PoMS, no. 17568 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/17568/; accessed 23 January 2015). (Note: It is not at present known whether the name Alyth was translated from Alight or Alyght by the PoMS project team.)

²⁵ Matthew H. 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), p 112.

Michael Scott [Lescot], and Andrew de Strathgartney, **valets**, shall serve the king in his army in France or elsewhere. Append their seals at Winchelsey.²⁶

It appears, however, that their uncle, Thomas d'Aliot, along with others at Kenilworth, either refused Edward I's terms or were not offered them, since when still incarcerated there on 8 June, 1298, they were the subjects of a sheriff's expense claim. Thomas found himself among men whose names were either already prominent, or were to become so:

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.²⁷

Whether or not this description of Thomas arises from an erroneous translation from the Latin of the original document, if his name was written as Alight or Alyght has not been verified.

In what appears to have been the hand of an English scribe, among one hundred names of men appearing in a ragman roll of 1304 who performed homage to Edward I, there is the name Walterus de Alight which in the light of new evidence has been wrongly translated as Alyth.²⁸ Walter is described as a valet, which is almost certainly an error, since Walter junior, the valet of 1297, would have entered into his majority.

On 21 June in the same year, Walter senior and Thomas again found themselves in exalted company, when witnessing a charter by John of Pincerna, son and heir of Sir John of Pincerna, late lord of Elcho, marking the sale 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.....

Witnesses to this charter were:

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**, Edmund Hay (of Leys) and Andrew of Monorgan.²⁹

The involvement of Roger de Mortimer offers some insight into levels of English supervision of local administration following performance of homage by landholders in 1304.

CHARTERS ISSUED AT ALYTH, and other records, 1165 – 1249

William I issued a charter at **Alitht**, 1165 x 1170. (*RRS*, ii, no.110).

William I grants to William Giffard tofts in various places including a 'full toft at the castle of **Alith**, 2 March, 1196 x 1199. (*RRS*, ii, no.410).

²⁶ PoMS, no. 18435 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18435/; accessed 08 January 2017).

²⁷ PoMS transaction factoid, no. 87651 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/87651/; accessed 15 January 2015).

²⁸ PoMS transaction factoid, no. 86668 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/86668/; accessed 09 January 2017)

²⁹ PoMS, H3/0/0 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7139/; accessed 15 January 2015).

William I held a court at **Alith**, February 1201 x 1 March 1202. (*RRS*, ii, no.430 *Glasgow Registrum*, no.90).

William I issues two charters at **Alith**, 30 November, 1202 x 1213. (*RRS*, ii, nos.436,437) .

William I issues two charters at **Alicht**, 26 March, 1201 x 1205) . (*RRS*.ii, nos.455, 456).

William I issues a charter at **Alith**, 24 August, 1203 x 1207. (*RRS*, ii, no.465).

William I issues a charter at **Alect**, 6 March, 1208 x 1210. (*SHR*, vol.86 (2007), pp314-318).

William I issues a charter at **Alicht**, 5 July, 1209 or 1210. (*RRS*. ii, no.487)

Alexander II – charter to the burgh of Aberdeen, issued at **Alith**. (*RMS*, vi, no.1233).

Alexander II grants to Coupar Abbey a right of way through his **forest of Alyth**, 6 September, 1234.

The earliest surviving record of a thanage:

Robert I grants to Coupar Abbey lands in his thanage of Alyth, 8 February, 1319. (*RRS*, v, no.145).

A search of the PoMS database reveals that charters were frequently witnessed by the thanes of thanages which appear not to have been completely alienated as knights' fees, indicating their continued involvement in local justice and administration. Following medieval protocol, if a man was a thane he was described as such. Walter d'Aliot, alias d'Alyth, was not a thane, but was certainly the holder of former thanage lands. The thanage of 1319 was a revived thanage.

5. Dispossession and resettlement.

Like other Bruce partisans whose names appear in a list of those dispossessed of their lands in 1306, from which the names shown below have been extracted, Walter d'Aliot alias d'Alyth, forfeited his holding, described on this one occasion only as 'the Brae.' Whether or not this amounts to an inkling of a name always given to that portion of the former thanage alienated to the first Breton d'Aliot to receive lands in Scotland, remains a matter of conjecture.

Extract³⁰

| <i>Forfeited landowner</i> | <i>Lands</i> | <i>Petitioner</i> |
|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Hay, Gilbert de la | (Errol ?) | Hugh Despenser..... |
| Atholl, earl of | Atholl | earl of Gloucester... |
| Fraser, Alexander | Cornton | John de Luk |
| Alyth of the Brae, Walter | in Perthshire | Adam Brunyng |
| Innerpeffray, Malcolm of | in Perthshire | 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 |

³⁰ Taken from a list 'based on the roll printed in Palgrave, *Docs.Hist.Scot., 301-318*, cited by Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, Appendix A, 447.

Adam Brunyng, a Scot, had recently been rewarded by Edward I for his participation in the capture of William Wallace.³¹ His son John appears at some stage to have come into Robert's peace later on in his reign, and was awarded lands in the north-east, possibly as a substitute justiciar.³² With Anglo-Scots occupation of the Perth garrison, and powerful local opposition to Bruce which included earl John of Atholl's son David, Brunyng may have taken saisine of The Brae, before his own dispossession, probably during 1313 when Bruce was finally succeeded in seizing Perth and its environs and subduing local opposition.

Precisely when and where the more common Scottish spelling of Aliot as Eliot (Elliot, Elliott, Elliott) became the fixed, general scribal preference is unknown, but it is almost certain that throughout the 13th century the Scoto-Breton Elliot kinship had grown considerably in size, and had become for Bruce an important military asset. Repossession of their forfeited lands would have been marked by further references to Walter d'Alyth or his heirs, in relation to what was undoubtedly their involvement in local administration, already indicated by charter and other surviving documentary evidence, but Bruce had too many enemies in and around Perth with whom he had to contend, even following his triumph at Inverurie. A resettlement of this substantial, warrior kinship must nevertheless have taken place, in an area where Bruce's lieutenants had established control, probably before the end of the year 1307.

At the age of sixteen Walter Scott of Satchells ran away from home to join the regiment which his Border heidsman and kinsman, Walter, the first earl of Buccleuch, had raised in the Borders and transported to Holland in 1629. In 1688, at a ripe old age, he published his *True History of several honourable families of the right honourable name of Scot, in the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and others adjacent, gathered out of ancient chronicles, histories, and traditions of our fathers.*³³ In it he recounted what the earl had asserted, namely that:

‘The town of Elliot was their antiquitie,
Which stands in Angus, at the foot of Glenshie;
With brave King Robert Bruce they hither came;
Which is three hundred and eighty years agoe;
In West Teviotdale* these gentlemen did dwell, (*An old way of describing Liddesdale)
They were twelve great families, I hear my goodsir tell;
Their chief was a Baron of renown,
Designed Reid-heugh, which is now called Lariston.’³⁴

The poetic form notwithstanding, corroborative evidence now reveals this to have been a straightforward, unembellished account of the earl's reminiscences. It is entirely possible that one or more Elliots of Teviotdale (rather than Liddesdale) were serving in Buccleuch's regiment at the time, and conversation may have turned to the dire straits in which the clan 'cheife,' Robert Elliot the seventeenth of Redheugh, and grandson of Janet Scott of

³¹ www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11084/; (accessed 11 August 2016)

³² Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 414.

³³ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Henry Paton, 'Scott, Walter, of Satchells (b. 1613, d. in or after 1688)', rev. Alexander Du Toit, first published 2004, see www.oxforddnb.com/index/101024927/Walter-Scott-of-Satchells, (accessed 14 August, 2016)

³⁴ Scot, Walter, of Satchells. *Metrical History of the Honourable Families of the Name of Scot and Elliot*. Comp Captain Walter Scott. Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1892. cited in The Dowager Lady Elliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Elliott, 11th baronet of Stobs, *The Elliots, The Story of a Border Clan* (Chippenham, 1974), 346.

Buccleuch, after he had barely escaped summary justice during the brutal pacification of the Borders which followed the accession of James VI to the throne of England. Robert was clinging on to his lands in Liddesdale, facing allegedly trumped up charges of theft and plotting to assassinate Buccleuch, who had had for some time retained in his hands an Order of Removal (forfeiture) against the Elliot chieftain. Only five years earlier, however, he been persuaded by letter from Francis Hamilton, a friend of Robert's former brother-in-law, John Murray of Lochmaben and Earl of Annandale, to secure postponement of Robert's trial.³⁵ Buccleuch served on the Privy Council with Lochmaben, and this perhaps led to the Council's reluctance to have manufactured or shaky evidence tested in open court. Buccleuch's attitude towards the Elliots nevertheless contrasted that of his father 'the Bold Buccleuch,' particularly with the prospect of a grant to him of forfeited Elliot Liddesdale lands in prospect. The eviction of Redheugh would have gone counter to old Border traditions, and the close relationships and obligations formed during many decades between greater and lesser Border lairds so well described by Anna Groundwater. The grant of a respite on all charges against Robert soon followed the death of James VI and I, but 'the long conflict had taken its toll and left him virtually a ruined man.'³⁶ Married to Lady Jean Stewart, he was dead by 1673. Here then is the historical background that lends so much credence to Buccleuch's claim as to the resettlement of the Elliots. The Elliot clan chieftain Robert the seventeenth of Redheugh was finding himself in precarious and straitened circumstances, so that Buccleuch would have had no reason to invent or embroider what he disclosed to his teenage kinsman and others. The earl was wrong only slightly, when placing Eliot in Angus, bordering lands surrounding what was probably the Eliot baronial caput in Auchterleot, stretching to the river Isla forming the Perthshire boundary with Angus.

6. Liddesdale and the Middle March 1307-8.

Richard Oram describes the Forest as a northern extension of what William Kapelle had labelled a 'free zone,' frequented by outlaws and brigands, encapsulating the whole of the Middle Marches, including Liddesdale, that had earlier formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, or a 'greater Galloway.'³⁷ A connection with the raids into Galloway of 1307, when both Galwegians and the men of Liddesdale took refuge, with their cattle, across the border in Inglewood Forest, reveals the distinct possibility that Liddesdale fell to the Bruces at the same time.³⁸ There is no mention in any of the sources of an English garrison at Hermitage. With outnumbered or reluctant forces, composed mainly of his Wauchopedale tenants and any Liddesdale freeholders who had not fled, exposed as sitting ducks, the keeper of Liddesdale and of Hermitage Castle, Sir Simon Lindsay, laird of Wauchope, would surely not have attempted to defend what had become a soft target. Cross-border raiding was soon to follow, as shown by the English reaction as early as September, 1307, when keepers of the

³⁵ Robert's first wife was the daughter of John Murray (later Earl of Annandale). His second wife, whom he married sometime after 1618, was Lady Jane Stewart, third daughter of the Earl of Bothwell.

³⁶ *The Elliots*, 75.

* An old description which included Liddesdale.

³⁷ R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070-1230*, (Edinburgh, 2011), 228. W.Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, (London, 1979) 7, 144-46, 205-8.

³⁸ *Robert Bruce*, 281.

peace were appointed to control the English west marches, in reaction to ‘the thievish incursions of Robert Bruce.’³⁹

Bearing in mind the changes from knight to mounted archer service that Robert I imposed on several former knights’ fees, during his programme of resettlement and redistribution of powers and functions, an ex-post facto grant by charter of lands found significantly adjoining those of Hermitage Castle, it is highly probable that Walter d’Eliot, or if he had not survived, his eldest surviving son, probably became the first holder of a fee in return for military service in a Border valley and gateway of great strategic importance. Like the Avenel lordship, that of Liddesdale does not appear to have been held by successive scions of the de Soules family in return for knight service, and in any event, a settlement of a Breton mercenary or *menie* by David I, in or near to the ‘Free Zone’ during the 12th century would have been most unusual. The Elliots were late feudal military incomers, intruded into a community of cornage freeholders. Until 1306 and early 1307, Liddesdale was held from Nicholas de Soules by Sir Simon de Lindsay:

Sir Simon de Lindsay

‘Sir Simon de Lindsay, *de jure* fourth laird of Wauchope, was a younger son of Sir John, the Chamberlain. In his father’s lifetime, and as early as 1278, he had the lands of Arthuret in Cumberland, as a vassal of Sir John de Wake, lord of Liddell. The great barony of Liddell lay on the English side of the...border, and Sir John de Wake also held from Sir Nicholas de Soulis the lands of Liddesdale and Hermitage on the Scottish side. **The freeholders in the barony held by cornage**, which in this case meant that those holding by this tenure were required to serve in the van of the English army when invading Scotland and to form the rearguard on its return. When war broke out ...Sir Simon fought on the English side, and in 1298 King Edward, “having confidence in the loyalty and discretion of his beloved and faithful Sir Simon de Lindsay,” put him in chief command of the district of Eskdale; and on 30th Oct. 1300, as a matter which concerned him in his official capacity, he was notified of the condition of the truce made with the Scots. About this time, Sir John de Wake being dead and his heir a ward of the English crown, Sir Simon was given the keeping of his barony, with the two fortresses of Hermitage and Liddell.⁴⁰

[Note: Hermitage was a stone fortress, Liddell Strength an easily breached earthwork with palisade].

Unfortunately, any surviving Redheugh charter in Eliott hands would have been destroyed by the fire of 1712 at Stobs Castle already mentioned.

Although the question of just how far the Middle March territory loosely described as ‘the Forest’ extended to the south is difficult to answer, the cross-border raiding which commenced in 1307, and the flight of Liddesdale and Galloway men with their cattle into

³⁹ *CPR 1307-13*, 3-4 ; *CChR 1307-13*, 42 ; *Guisborough*, 384; in *The Wars of the Bruces*. 46.

⁴⁰ *Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society*, Vol II, ed. John Lindsay MA. MD.,(Edinburgh 1920), 178-9. (My bold print.)

Inglewood Forest in the same year, suggest that the control of the Forest of Selkirk established by James Douglas before the end of that year extended to Liddesdale. The elimination of any threat by Lindsay and whatever local indigenous forces of doubtful loyalty he had at his disposal, would surely have been a military necessity, and his abandonment of Liddesdale and attachment to Ingram de Umfraville was probably prompted by the encroachment of Douglas's forces and perhaps even desertion by his Wauchopedale tenants. Although Bruce would in due course award the lordship of Liddesdale, forfeited in 1320 by the traitor William de Soules, to his bastard son, Sir Robert Bruce, the fierce attachment of the Douglases to Liddesdale which would lead to the assassination of one Douglas by another, in 1353, had its roots in this earlier seizure of this most important strategic military asset, from which scores of cross-border raids would be mounted during the following three centuries. Certainly the more devastating raids initiated by Bruce himself from 1311 onwards, could not have been launched with an enemy firmly ensconced at his rear, in Liddesdale, occupied long before the chroniclers of Lanercost revealed it as the route taken in 1314 by returning raiding forces in order to avoid the English garrison at Carlisle. The presence of this garrison points to the need for patriot control of the valley at a much earlier stage. It is not at all fanciful to envisage an Elliot captaincy and garrison by Elliots of Hermitage Castle. With other lands in this extensive escheated Border lordship under patriot control for what other reason would Bruce have chosen to implant his footloose Elliots on a newly created fief near to the castle?

7. The reappearance of the Elliots.

Given the role played by Walter d'Aliot or d'Eliot in local administration, if only as a regular witness to various charters and actions in the sheriff's court, the restoration of Elliot Perthshire lands, inconceivable before 1313 and the fall of Perth to Bruce, would have been marked by the reappearance of his or his heir's name in surviving documents, alongside the names of the sheriff and other local worthies of middling rank. As has been seen, on at least one occasion in 1304, Walter found himself alongside a man of high seigneurial rank, but following dispossession his name, recorded by Scottish scribes as d'Alyth and by English clerks as d'Alight (d'Aliot), disappeared from the historical record of 14th century Scotland.

Living off the land by the pillaging and plundering of Anglo-Scots enemies would have amounted to a long-standing Breton tradition, which, by the 17th century was marked by the French invention of the verb *bretonner*, meaning to rob and pillage. This was the pastime of Breton recruits to the French royal army, between paid engagements, and of the Breton mercenaries of 1066, excoriated by Anglo-Norman chroniclers. The milieu from which Elliot military settlers, including the Elliots, were drawn is described by Robert Bartlett:

‘William Rufus's liberality to paid knights was legendary. Henry employed many Breton fighting men during his wars. “Because that people is so poverty-stricken in its own homeland,” noted William of Malmesbury, “they earn their pay in foreign gold by service abroad.... whenever the king required paid soldiers, he poured out large sums to the Bretons.’

There can be little doubt that Walter would have captained a formidable patriot war band, fitting, in modern parlance, the job description which Bruce and his lieutenants would have had in mind for the captaincy and garrisoning of Hermitage Castle and the retention of its

surrounding territory. The ruthlessness for which the Elliots were to be eventually noted undoubtedly had its roots in a much more distant past.

In Liddesdale, the Elliot chieftain,⁴¹ who, in typical medieval fashion, set the tradition of baptising all future chieftains of the clan as Robert, viewed locally perhaps as an intruder from the north, was formally named, as already described, as *Elwald*. The results of Y-chromosome research have brought to an end speculation as to whether in some way *Elwald* had morphed during the space of two centuries into *Ellot* (*Elliot*). This was never morphologically feasible and *Elwald* was simply not a Breton name. That he needed a new charter name cannot be doubted, and as already discussed suspicion falls on *Elwald* as a nickname (not in the modern sense) or by-name. Such speculation is, nevertheless, somewhat academic, in the face of the pride, already highlighted, which descendants of Breton colonists took in their ancestry and Breton names. The short form *Ellot* can be seen to have survived as the familiar name in everyday social intercourse, whilst in administrative instruments only, clerks, notaries, wardens and other officials produced various versions of *Elwald*, such as *Elwett* and *Elwand*. Closer inspection of these reveals growing confusion, among officials clearly aware of the familiar surname. By the early 16th century both names, *Elwand* and *Ellot*, started to appear alongside one another in single documents, as in a report of 17th May, 1518, by the young Bothwell's tutor, the Master of Hailes:

‘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.’⁴² (My italics.)

Such an interchange of the popular, spoken name *Ellot* (*Elliot*) and the charter name ‘*Elwald*,’ spelt bewilderingly sometimes as *Elwand*, points to some confusion among those like the Master of Hailes, and the use of the charter name only in written communication. The use of both names in a single document persisted until the 1560s as shown in this extract from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland:

‘Quenis Grace and Counsale, with certificatioun and he failye, he sall incur the Quenis indignatioun. Memorandum, that lettres be direct charging thir personis underwrittin to compeer befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, theday 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 Fynnisk, Archibald *Elwald* of Fallinesche (Falnash), Martine *Elwald* of Reidheuch, Robert *Ellot* of Reidheuch, Williame *Ellot* callit young Williame, David Turnbull of Wauchop, Thomas Hoppringle of Murecleuch, Williame *Ellot*, callit 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 Kirkstoun, John Hoppringle of the Bentis, James Ker of Corbet, Andro Ker of Graden.’⁴³ (My italics.)

⁴¹ This could have been Walter senior, if he had survived, or Walter junior, the former Atholl valet, or his brother Thomas. As already indicated, all future chieftains were Christened as Robert.

⁴² *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, cited in *The Elliots*, 20.

⁴³ Scotland Privy Council, John Hill Burton, David Masson, Peter Hume Brown, Henry Paton, Robert Kerr Hannay, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, (H.M. General Register House, 1877), vol I, 169.

Standing out from the above record is an apparent preference for the old Breton name by leading younger members of the clan. Two documents, however, provide the most plausible explanation for the increasingly active rejection by Elliots themselves of their assigned charter name, that of literacy and the acquisition of writing skills. In 1546 leading Elliots were more or less required to sign their names as *Elwald*, since Patrick Loraine, the notary, was guiding their hands.

‘.....In wytness heyrof we hayf subscrivit thir presents before master Patryk Lorane, notar pwiblyk, 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.’⁴⁴

Two years later, when signing another pledge dated 21 June, 1548, to produce Robert Crosar (Crozier), a prisoner, old William of Larriston, erstwhile tutor to Robert Elliot, still needed the helping hand of a notary who stuck perfunctorily to the charter name, the younger men, Robert and his cousin Archibald signed without assistance as Elliots:

‘... 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 (Graham) and Niniane Nyksone (Nixon) with uther divers..... **Robert Elliot**, younger *with my hand at the pen*. **Arschebald Elliot**, *with my hand at the penn*. Williame Elwald of Lauerokstanis [Larriston] with my hand at the pen, *led be (by) Sir John Scot*, notar publick, of my command.’⁴⁵ (My italics.)

This belated attainment of literacy in the leading Elliot families perhaps bears out A.D.M. Barrell’s contention that the importance of the Scottish Education Act of 1496 ‘has been greatly overstressed.’⁴⁶ Literacy seems to have been a late Elliot acquisition, which should not surprise historians familiar with the rough and ready ways of the Border clans. By the end of the 16th century *Ellot* had overtaken *Elwald* and its variants, in most surviving documents reproduced in the *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*.⁴⁷ In a report to Lord Burghley dated 2nd August, 1581, the warden of the English west march detailed ten separate cross-border raids by the *Ellotes*. Among the victims were two named as Routledge and Forster, who were themselves inveterate raiders.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ 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*, vol. I, (Edinburgh, 1883, and Clan Armstrong Trust, 1992).

⁴⁵ Fernyhirst mss., nos. 15 and 16.

⁴⁶ A.D.M.Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), 204,205.

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, 2 vols ed. J.Bain, (1893) Preserved in H.M.Public Record Office.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of Letters and Papers*, vol.I., 101.

8. Robert the 17th of Redheugh and his relationship with Walter Scott, the first earl of Buccleuch.

Research undertaken by the Dowager Lady Elliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Elliott, the 11th baronet of Stobs, led to the most detailed account of the life and fate of the last Robert of the original Redheugh line, which evidence now shows to have been created in 1307, or shortly thereafter, as indicated by reports of cross-border raids and the flight into Inglewood forest of Liddesdale yeomen tenants and Galwegians, with their cattle, during that year. To a great extent the following summary relies heavily on those authors' disclosures in *The Elliots, the Story of a Border Clan*, first published in 1974.

Robert the 17th of Redheugh was around seven years older than his future adversary, Walter Scott, who succeeded to his father Lord Walter Scott of Buccleuch, at the age of twenty-one in 1611. Included in the lordship was Hermitage Castle, where the Elliots had been keepers during the lordship of the Red Douglas earls. The keepership of the castle was now in the hands of Robert Scott, brother to the earl. Few of the border kinships escaped at one time or another from splits or internecine quarrels, the deadliest of which was that between the Kerrs of Cessford and of Ferniehurst. A split had developed within the Elliot kinship when Robert's father had, in the face of opposition from the formidable Martin Elliot of Braidley, married Marion, daughter of James Hamilton of Sprouston and Marie Hepburn, supporters of the ill fated Mary, Queen of Scots.⁴⁹

Robert would have been ten years old at the time of the great raid of 1593, led by his uncle William of Larriston, later of Hartsgarth, who was also his tutor, until, at the age of fourteen, two Hamilton brothers, William Elliot of Falnash and John Elliot of Copshaw became his trustees.⁵⁰ Robert also had lands in Teviotdale, where in 1607 his uncle Gilbert ('Gyb wi' the golden gartins'), married to Margaret Scott of Harden, purchased Stobs. In retrospect it is possible to see that Gilbert, lord Buccleuch's 'luvvit friend,' had seen the writing on the wall in relation to the pacification of the Borders, long before his Liddesdale chief and other kinsmen, particularly the recalcitrant lairds of Braidley, old Martin and his grandson Martin, who would face the hangman's noose. By the time of the death of Robert the 17th around 1673, Stobs had already become a baronetcy. The last bastion of Anglophobic resistance was Liddesdale, in the hands of the Elliot-Armstrong-Crozier-Nixon confederacy, and James VI and I was to stoop to nothing less than its eradication, by summary hangings ('Jeddart justice') if necessary. The extent to which by the middle of the 16th century the Redheugh chieftain had control of all his 'graynes' as indicated in a report addressed to Lord Burghley during late 1583 by Thomas Musgrave, remains a matter of speculation.⁵¹ Men like the collateral John ('Jock') Elliot of the Park, who in 1566, despite being shot, took his two handed sword to Patrick Hepburn, the fourth Earl of Bothwell, appeared to have acted on their own initiative, as did Martin Elliot of Braidley when forcefully frustrating Bothwell's attempts at revenge.

Notwithstanding his alliance with leading figures like the Murrays of Elibank and Lochaber and growing participation with them in government, Buccleuch and other allies, were ever

⁴⁹ *The Elliots*, 46.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Of Deeds MSS*, vol.123, 29 November, 1606, cited in *The Elliots*, 55.

⁵¹ *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, , 2 vols ed. J.Bain, (1893), 2 vols, vol i, no.197.

ready to resort to old ways in defence of kinsmen or such allies. In 1596 he led the raid to break William (Kinmont Willie) Armstrong out of goal in Carlisle castle, and in 1597 he found himself as a pledge (hostage) at Berwick, having failed to have found pledges from among his Liddesdale tenants, even at the head of one hundred and twenty horsemen.⁵² Further determined effort saw Elliots and Armstrongs delivered as pledges and removed at the insistence of Queen Elizabeth to York castle, from which William Elliot and Sym Armstrong eventually escaped.⁵³

Robert of Redheugh was the grandson of Jean Scott, old Buccleuch's sister, yet the new lord of Buccleuch and keeper of Liddesdale had little sympathy for his father's Elliot allies, and there is little doubt that the king himself was bent upon eradicating the last remaining centre of independent power in the Borders.

In November 1608, when the 'bold Buccleuch' was still alive, Robert and fourteen other lairds were warded by the Privy Council. He and Walter Scott of Goldielands (one of the more fractious Scotts) were warded at Cupar in Fife. The escheat of Robert's lands was ordered, but old Buccleuch had held on to the order of removal and done nothing about it before he died in 1611. His son, showing less sympathy for Robert, secured revival of the escheat but Robert's brother-in-law, John Murray, the future earl of Annandale, succeeded in having it withdrawn. Almost certainly unwilling to break his alliance with the Murrays, represented by John, the future Earl of Annandale, a member of the King's Bedchamber, Buccleuch gave clear title to Robert.⁵⁴ He was probably seething with frustration, and in 1615 this may have led him to accuse Robert of having forged his charter, by adding three properties to it that were not originally included. Murray again intervened and Buccleuch went as far as going to London to allege theft of the charter. He obtained a new order of escheat. His aim was clearly to evict all Liddesdale Elliots.

An attempt to enforce the order by intruding a settler was defeated by around a hundred defiant Elliots, in an attack on William Scott of Newark, installed by the earl at Foulshiels next to Redheugh.⁵⁵ Unable to draw rent from his tenants, Robert fell into financial difficulty.

By 1624 Robert found himself in prison for debt at Edinburgh, accused also of the theft of cattle in a cross-border raid, along with two other Elliots, but a second more serious charge made against him by one 'Gib Elliot the tutor' was that of an attempt on the life of Buccleuch.

Lack of evidence and a direct accusation by Buccleuch himself shows clearly that there was no physical confrontation or contact between himself and Robert. The King himself, to whom the evidence such as it was must have been disclosed, professed not to know whether such 'attempts' were punishable by law, and it must therefore be assumed that what was in reality being alleged was at the most a conspiracy or threat which may not even have reached the stage of preparation. A retainer in the household of Robert's mother-in-law, the countess of Bothwell, was threatened with torture if he continued to plead ignorance of any so-called 'attempt,' and a manufacturing of uncorroborated evidence alleging the overhearing of such a

⁵² *Calendar of Letters and Papers...*, vol.ii, 297, 298 and no.673.

⁵³ *Calendar of Letters and Papers*, vol.ii, nos.1264, 1266.

⁵⁴ *Tancred's Annals of a Border Club*, Larriston Titles, p.154, cited in *The Elliots*, 72.

⁵⁵ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol.xi, p.347, cited in *The Elliots*, 73.

threat or conspiracy would not have been unusual in such conspiratorial times. ‘Evidently the law was “defective” and more was required than wild talk of a plot against the Earl’s life.’⁵⁶

Robert should therefore be given the benefit of the doubt by historians, and it may be going too far to describe him as ‘murderous,’ even if he had been heard to make an empty threat. The entire unhappy episode points to the need by a frustrated Buccleuch to find a way of eliminating Robert and seizing his lands that would leave Elliot’s supporters and fellow Privy Councillors and allies with no choice but to support him.

Robert’s second wife was Lady Jean Stewart, daughter of the ill-fated 5th Earl of Bothwell, and his mother was Marion Hamilton. In a letter of 7 April, Francis Hamilton, a friend of Annandale, ‘pointed out the effect on others if Robert were put to a shameful death,’ while pleading that the earl ‘to cast an eye likewise upon his friends, and in special upon the Earl of Annandale.’⁵⁷ Buccleuch asked the Privy Council to postpone Robert’s trial. From this there arises the suspicion that members of the council knew, and had known all along, that the evidence would not have withstood any test in open court. To what extent, however, Buccleuch was pressured by a vengeful king, against what had emerged as probably the most obdurate and fearsome of the anti-English Border clans remains a matter of speculation and suspicion. Within a few months of the death of James VI and I in March 1625, Robert, heavily in debt, received a respite for theft and for all other ‘actions.’ On his daughter’s marriage in 1637, he had regained all his Liddesdale lands, plus Blaikhope, Greenhollis and Langhaugh, the very properties which had led to the charge of falsifying his charter in 1613.

By 1673 Robert had died and left behind a ‘heavily encumbered’ estate, with debts that led to sale of most of his lands, by his grandson, Robert Elliot of Larriston. Redheugh was lost and ‘by 1720 all of Liddesdale had passed out of Elliot hands.’⁵⁸ Re-establishment there by Elliots was achieved by the Falnash-Mosspeebles cadet, William *in* Whithaugh, who purchased the holding for his eldest son, who became John *of* Whithaugh. Redheugh also passed back into Elliot hands when it was purchased for his second son Robert of Redheugh, subject to a Charter of Confirmation of 6 July, 1744, issued by the commissioners of Francis, Duke of Buccleuch.

Had there been any charter or other papers in existence before the fire at Stobs Castle in 1712 its loss would have led to the confinement of details of the past history of the Elliot Clan to oral tradition, passed from generation to generation of each of those Border clans with a history of association with the Elliots, through either alliance sealed by marriage, or sheer enmity. The travails of Robert the 17th of Redheugh would have been very much in the minds of Buccleuch and his subordinates and companions when on campaign in the Low Countries, and this makes his claim as to Elliot origins that much more credible. Yet neither he nor his followers, including the teenage runaway, kinsman and future captain, Walter Scott of Satchells, were to know that the story would soon be corroborated by a succession of mapmakers who were to be told that the town in which they had arrived was that of Eliot.

⁵⁶ *Reg.Privy Council*, vol.13, 614, cited in *The Elliots*, 74.

⁵⁷ *The Elliots*, 74.

⁵⁸ *The Elliots*, 75.

APPENDIX 'A'

Maps containing the name Eliot and several of its variants held by the National Library of Scotland.

1. Forest of Elycht, B. Elycht (burn?), Elycht.

Timothy Pont (1560 – 1614), *Glen Isla and Lintrathen; parts of Strathmore near Coupar Angus*, (1583 x 1596), shelfmark Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 28).

(In the next map, Pont opts for the spelling Elioht.)

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

Timothy Pont, *Middle Strathmore*, (1583 x 1596), shelfmark Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 29).

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

Timothy Pont, *Strathardle, Glenshee and Glenericht*, (1583 x 1596), shelfmark Adv.MS.70.2.9 (Pont 27).

4. Forest of Elicht and Kirk of Elicht.

Robert Gordon (1580-1661), *'Glen Yla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shye, out of Mr T.Pon't papers yey ar very imperfyt*, (1636 x 1652), shelfmark Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 43).

5. Kirk of Elit and 'Achter Elit.'

Robert Gordon, *Brae of Angus, (and) The height of Anguss, M.T.P. Height of Anguss*, (1636 x 1652), shelfmark Adv.MS.70.2.10 (Gordon 42).

6. Forest of Elit.

Robert Gordon, Joan Blaeu (1596 x 1673), *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.* (Amsterdam, Blaeu 1654), shelfmark WD3B/34.

7. (The town of) Eliot and to the east of it, Auchtereleot. (Below)

John Adair (ca.1650 - 1722), James Moxon (1671-1700), *The Mapp of Strathern, Stormount, and Cars of Gourie, with the Rivers Tay and Jern/ surveighed and designed by J.Adair; James Moxon sculp*, shelfmark EMS.s.320.

8. (The town of) Eliot.

Herman Moll, d.1732, *The Shire of Angus or Forfar by H.Moll*, (London, Bowles and Bowles, 1745), shelfmark EMS.b.2.1 (23).

9. (The town of) Eliot.

Herman Moll, *The South Part of Perthshire Containing Perth, Strathern, Stormount and Cars of Gourie &c /by H.Moll*, (London, Bowles and Bowles, 1745), shelfmark EMS.b.2.1

Map 7: John Adair : Eliot and Auchtereleot.



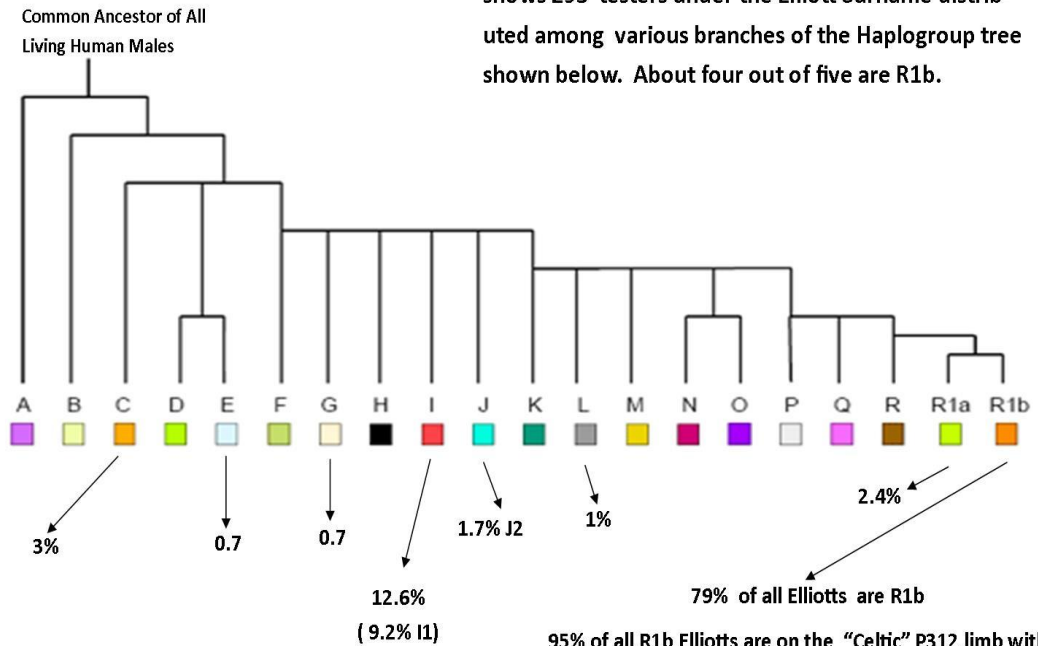
Map 8: Eliot, by Herman Moll. (Tiff image, 1200 dpi.)



Appendix B

Elliott DNA haplogroups.

The Elliott/ Border Reivers DNA Project Currently shows 293 testers under the Elliott Surname distributed among various branches of the Haplogroup tree shown below. About four out of five are R1b.



95% of all R1b Elliotts are on the "Celtic" P312 limb with most in subclade L21 or its descendant clade L193.

R-P312>L21>L193

5% of R1b are on the "Germanic" U106 limb Including the "Daniel Elliot Cluster". R-U106>S12025>A6719

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>CChR</i> | <i>Calendar of Charter Rolls.</i> |
| <i>CDS</i> | <i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> , ed. J. Bain (Five vols, Edinburgh, 1881-88). |
| <i>CPR</i> | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</i> |
| <i>CSP</i> | Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603. |
| <i>NLS</i> | National Library of Scotland. |
| <i>OMT</i> | Oxford Medieval Texts. |
| <i>RMS</i> | <i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , ed. J.M.Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914). |
| <i>RRS</i> | <i>The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum)</i> , M. Livingstone and others eds (8 vols, Edinburgh, 1908-82). |
| W.Malm., <i>GR</i> | William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta regum</i> , William Stubbs (2 vols., RS; 1887-9); Ed. R.A.B.Mynors, R.M.Thomson, and M.Winterbottom (OMT; 1998). |
| PoMS | People of Medieval Scotland Amanda Beam, John Bradley, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Matthew Hammond, Michele Pasin (with others), <i>The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093 – 1314</i> (Glasgow and London, 2012), www.poms.ac.uk . |

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