

**Walter d'Elliot (d'Alyth), of The Brae (forfeited 1306) and of Redheugh,
circa 1314 x 1320**

The early history of the Elliots, a Scoto-Breton Border Clan

Keith Elliot Hunter QPM, BA

INTRODUCTION

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 agone;
In West Teviotdale* these gentlemen did dwell,
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

*Scott of Satchells. Quoted by the Dowager Lady Elliott and Sir Arthur Elliott. *The name often used to include Liddesdale.*

A combination of modern science and the digital revolution now gives today's generation more insight into its ancestry than could hitherto be attained, except by lifetimes – available to professional historians - spent poring through many archives. A great deal of new evidence, now electronically accessible, most of it corroborative, has made it clear, beyond any reasonable doubt that:

- Elliot and its many variant names, which drew comment from the late George MacDonald Fraser in his colourful history of the Border Reivers, *The Steel Bonnets*, are of Breton origin;
- all Elliots and bearers of variant names of Breton origin, first arrived in England as participants in the Norman Conquest of 1066 and they left behind the ancestors of the many Elliots living in Brittany today;
- the claim that the Elliots of St Germans are of Anglo-Norman origin has always been based on nothing more than an unsubstantiated assumption;¹
- DNA sampling has revealed that nearly forty per cent of Elliots (all spellings) tested, are of Celtic-Brittonic origin (as opposed to Celtic-Gaelic);
- the history of Elliot involvement in the wars of Scottish independence, with high casualty rates, demonstrated by their appearance in various sources, points to the likelihood that the occurrence of Germanic and other DNA haplogroups among Elliots, is the result of a number of adoptions born to Elliot mothers, whose men were killed in battle;

¹ Confirmed personally by the earl of St Germans, Peregrine Eliot.

- pronunciation of the name led on both sides of the Channel to two versions: Alliot and Elliot, before their spelling was settled along geographic lines, and according to prevalent local and regional clerical preferences, at a time when there was no standardisation of phonetic spelling and *scriptores* applied a ‘take your pick’ approach to use of the Roman alphabet ;
- the initial spelling choice made by one or more early *scriptores*, was based on the long accepted Elliot variant name Dalliot, or more accurately d’Alliot, which they spelt variously as *Alyth, Alight and Alyght*, where the letter **y** was used not as the vowel **i**, but as a semi-vowel, standing for **io**;
- When successive 16th, 17th and early 18th century cartographers visited the cross border Angus and Perthshire region of Glen Isla and Glen Shee, they were told that the name of a town, whose medieval spelling has been restored to modern maps, its kirk and its forest, were, firstly, Elyeht or Elieht, and lastly, by the time phonetic spelling was becoming more accurate, **ELLIOT**;
- Walter d’Alyth (pronounced d’Elliot – since there is no reason to question what the cartographers were told) was the baron ‘of renown’, of The Brae, which can be seen just to the north of Alyth on larger scale OS maps, who forfeited these lands in 1306, when supporting Robert the Bruce;
- the Brae was given to the Balliol supporter Adam Brunyng, before it was inherited by his son, substitute justiciar, John Brunyng, who came over to Bruce’s side;
- this led to the need for Bruce to make a compromise (as he had to do with other lands) when rewarding his supporters with confiscated lands in the aftermath of his victory at Bannockburn, a challenging one for the Elliots, since Liddesdale was of great strategic importance to Bruce.²
- The name Elliot (spelt as Ellot, but given the prevalent use of French, probably always pronounced as Elliot – as the cartographers found out) was brought to Liddesdale, but the name Elwald, a common name, was given to the chieftain.
- Elwald could never have been a precursor to Ellot, (pronounced as Elliot?) as opposed to the other way round, and a morphological evolution from one to the other was impossible.
- Whatever the explanation for this ‘charter name’ was – a typical Breton attempt to take a native name, a name with which, again typically, the clerks took liberties or even a nickname, like the Flemish mercenary Berowald (Clan Innes) – surviving documents show quite clearly that both names were used contemporaneously, and often interchanged.

1. The name

² In his “Robert Bruce” (Eyre & Spottiswoode) 1965, G W S Barrow used the description ‘prodigals’ for those who came to the support of Bruce late in the day. In some cases lands were restored to them, hence the need for compromises in the land settlement following Bannockburn.

The claims, some bizarre, on several websites about the origin of the name Elliot are based on nothing more than speculation. A formidable amount of research into Elliot antecedents undertaken more than forty years ago by the Dowager Lady Elliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Elliott, 11th baronet, resulted in the publication of a work of considerable scholarship, going beyond family history into the role played by Elliots in the stirring history of the Borders, but the inaccessibility of the sources revealed here meant that the history of the Elliot clan could not be taken back to the era before 1476³. Surprisingly, the name Elliot and its several variants, some phonetically identical, were, and still are, to be found in clusters not only in the Scottish Borders, but also in the counties of the old kingdom of Wessex, and those of the historic Anglo-Welsh marches. Despite the demographic upheavals and scattering of families in more recent times, Elliot is not the only name to be found in clusters in areas and regions of early settlement. We need little reminding that names of Scandinavian origin ending in ‘...son’, still predominate despite demographic changes in the counties of the old Danelaw, as shown by name distribution maps drawing on successive census returns. Signs of earlier settlement of Elliots in Cumberland, with its history of Scandinavian settlements and influence on surnames, can be seen in the appearance of names like Elletson and Alletson.⁴ As will be seen, the main lineages of a substantial Breton mercenary and military affinity were prey to the hit and miss spelling of medieval *scriptores*, divided between those who spelt their name as Elliot and Alliot. The medieval spelling of many names bore no relationship, when applying modern phonetic spelling, to the way in which they were originally pronounced.

For some considerable time there was a tendency to think that spelling made a difference, especially when it was wrongly assumed that the “single T” Eliots of St Germans, represented now by Peregrine Eliot, Earl of St Germans, were of Anglo-Norman origin. They are not. This belief by the earls’ ancestors was never based on more than an unsubstantiated assumption. Family historians in both England and Scotland were for a long time prey to the neglect by earlier historians of the historical implications of the participation of large numbers of non-Norman mercenaries in William the Conqueror’s invasion army of 1066, particularly Flemish and Breton. There was also the assumption that the St Germans name Eliot, ironically spelt as Ellyot in 16th century parish records, was a variant of Alyot, a name unrelated to that of the Border Elliots, when it is now clear that both names were French corruptions of an older Breton tribal name, with the first letter of the name, A or E, being initially a matter of clerical preference, very probably due to the use of a frontal, rather than a back vowel when the name was spoken. Clerical preferences came to determine a choice of A or E, not only for Alliot-Elliot, but also for other variants like Allegoët and Elegoët.

³ The quotation of Scott of Satchells appears p.346: 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, 1995 edition).

⁴ “This surname is derived from the name of an ancestor. ‘the son of Alot’; query, a form of Eliot, **with Eliota** as fern.; 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”. (*A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames, written: 1872-1896 by Charles Wareing Endell Bardsley*). *The feminine first name based on Elliot, Ellota, also cropped up in a charter relating to land at Cassingwray (Fife). This adoption of a Scandinavian patronymic points to a very early arrival of Elliots in Cumberland, rather than later, during the modern era.*

As is quite apparent from a discernible pattern of variation, over time and distance, of the old Breton tribal name Halegouët, shown in the table below(page 6), sets of variants emerged which were identical, save for the first letters Ha..., A.... or E.... , and this pattern was imported into medieval England and Scotland, particularly with the name of the trans-Loire affinity led by men who could be described as Alliot on one occasion, and Elliot on another. To the north of the Loire the spelling was fixed by early *scriptores* and parish priests as Elliot, while Alliot achieved permanence south of the Loire. The same dichotomy was reproduced in post-Conquest England, and later in Scotland, where *Dalliot* , which was in reality the toponym *d'Alliot*, has for a long time been recognised as a variant of *Elliot*.

The confusion of A and E was not confined to Alliotics and Elliots. Anglo-Saxons came to describe themselves as *Engles*, of *Englelond* when the Latin versions were *Angiloi* and *Anglia*. The Douglas name *Archibald* was shown in at least one document as both *Erchembaldus* and *Archembaldus*.⁵ In Scotland Oengus became Angus. The E version in all phonetic spellings of Elliot and of other Breton names like Elegoët (Eligott, Ellicott, Ellacott) finally took root in western England and the Scottish Borders, while the A version, reduced to names like Alliot, Allott and even the surviving Alitt, took hold mainly in Yorkshire, the shire in which the second largest colony of Breton barons and their Brittonic vassals settled.⁶ This was the shire in which the Breton earls of Richmond held sway, and later David I (1124-1153), future king of the Scots, as lord of Hallamshire, in what is now South Yorkshire.

In Old English the pronunciation of A or E with the same frontal vowel of **a** in **about**, **ago**, and **e** in **mallet**, as opposed to the back vowels of **abstain** or **echo**, seems to have been resolved by use of the now disappeared digraph *Æ*, but we now spell Aethelred as Ethelred. No medieval spelling can be described as faulty, since there were no rules governing phonetic spelling, just guesswork and a 'free-for-all' on the part of the literate *scriptores*, bishops, deans, abbots or monks when tasked with drawing up charters. Here are two explanations:

“Contemporary spelling is the heir to thirteen centuries of English writing in the Latin alphabet. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that our orthography has traces of its earlier history both in its general rules and in its anomalies. Whenever we set pen to paper, we participate in a tradition that started with the Anglo-Saxon monks, who had learned it from Irish scribes. The tradition progressed through such influences as the Norman Conquest, the introduction of printing, the urge to reform spelling in various ways (including an impulse to spell words according to their etymological sources,) and the recent view that speech should conform to spelling.”⁷

“...Then the French arrived, with their own ideas. Out went some of the old forms and in came new ones. Cwen became queen; mys became mice. Medieval scribes continue to spell words as they were

⁵ Paper by the Belgian historian Lauran Toorians, available online

http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/rbph_0035-0818_1996_num_74_3_4120

⁶ Michael C E Jones, *The Creation of Modern Brittany (Notes Sur Quelques Familles Bretonnes en Angleterre après la Conquête Normande)* (Hambledon Press 1988) pp 69-93. 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).

⁷ (Thomas Pyle and John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 4th ed., 1993, p.59))

pronounced, but as English had many regional accents, the result was a huge amount of variation. More than sixty spellings of night are known from the middle ages – nite, nyght, nicht, nihte..... Things couldn't carry on like that. As government became more centralised, the need to develop a standard system became urgent. But whose standard? That of widely read authors such as Chaucer? The emerging civil service? The English translation of the Bible? The printers? The modern system emerged out of all of them.Flemish typesetters did not know English well, so spelled some words in the Flemish way (putting an h in gost to make ghost, ghoose for goose..... What is immediately noticeable from a range of texts.. is the extraordinary diversity of Middle English spelling.”⁸

The ancient maps of Scotland, or of various regions of Scotland, held by the National Library of Scotland (NLS) can now be viewed online, and magnified on computer screens. The inescapable conclusion arising from the earliest maps of Angus and Perthshire, whose borders may have varied since Scott of Satchells' claim, is that Alyth, to the immediate south-south east of Glen Shee, is an early charter name which falls into the category of medieval spelling outlined in the foregoing paragraphs. In all NLS 16th, 17th, and early 18th century maps, the kirk, forest and town of what is now shown as Alyth, were spelt just as the locals pronounced them to the map makers: Elieht, Elyeht, and finally, and correctly only by modern standards, **ELIOT**⁹. (Would this news have upset the writer of the Elliot-Eliott-Eliot-Elliott ditty?)

The appearance of Alyth on more recent maps suggests that later cartographers had access to historical records in which clerical, rather than phonetic, continuity had been preserved. The original pronunciation of Alyth points strongly to medieval clerical confusion of the two functions of the letter **y**, as a vowel and semi-vowel, that of **yes** as in **Ally(u)t(h)**. There was also a tendency to represent the **y** semi-vowel by a 'soft' **g**, and for French-speaking *scriptores* to spell **t** as **th** (e.g. *Monthemer*). The name pronounced always as Elliot was sometimes spelt as Elyoth. It now seems beyond doubt that the first scribe to hear the name exercised the A preference of d'Alliot, while its long standing pronunciation led the mapmakers to spell the name as Elieht or Eliot. The efforts of another medieval clerk, given the task of listing the prisoners taken at Dunbar in 1296 and transferred to custody in England, in spelling the name as both **Alight** and **Alyght**, and the survival of **Alitt** in the 1881 census, point definitively now to a non-Gaelic toponymic derivation .

Baron Walter d'Elliot or d'Alyth and his ancestors were of sufficient status to merit their use as witnesses to charters; the inclusion of their sons in the household of the Earl of Atholl and their summons to serve Edward I in France, and to have had a family interest in Perth represented by the burgess William Alyth.

The results of the Elliot DNA project reveal that nearly forty percent of all male Elliots tested, including those of the main lineage, are of Celtic-Brittonic ancestry; a remarkable survival from inevitable dilution of collateral Elliot lineages during nearly a thousand years. Remaining Elliots whose ancestry is evidently Germanic,(Norse, Flemish, Anglo-Saxon etc) are undoubtedly the descendants of distant male adoptees of

⁸ (David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, (Cambridge) 1995, p40 plus an article in *The Guardian*, 23 August 2012.)

⁹ Ca.1636-1652- Gordon 43,” Glen Yla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shye, out of Mr Pont's papers yey are very imperfyt.” (manuscript) showing **Eylycht or Eylieht**; Timothy Pont (1560-1614?) – three maps (1) Glen Isla, parts of Strathmore near Coupar Angus; (2) Middle Strathmore, and (3) Strathardle, Glenshee and Glenerich, the later clearly showing “Water of **Elyeht**”; John Adair (1650-1722) “The Mapp of Strathern, Stormont and Cars of Gourie with the rivers Tay and Jern, surveighed and designed by J Adair; J Moxon sculp. (Today's Alyth shown as **Eliot**); Herman Moll (1654?-1732) The Shire of Angus or Forfar, again showing **Eliot** as Adair had it. All viewable online, ancient maps, National Library of Scotland.

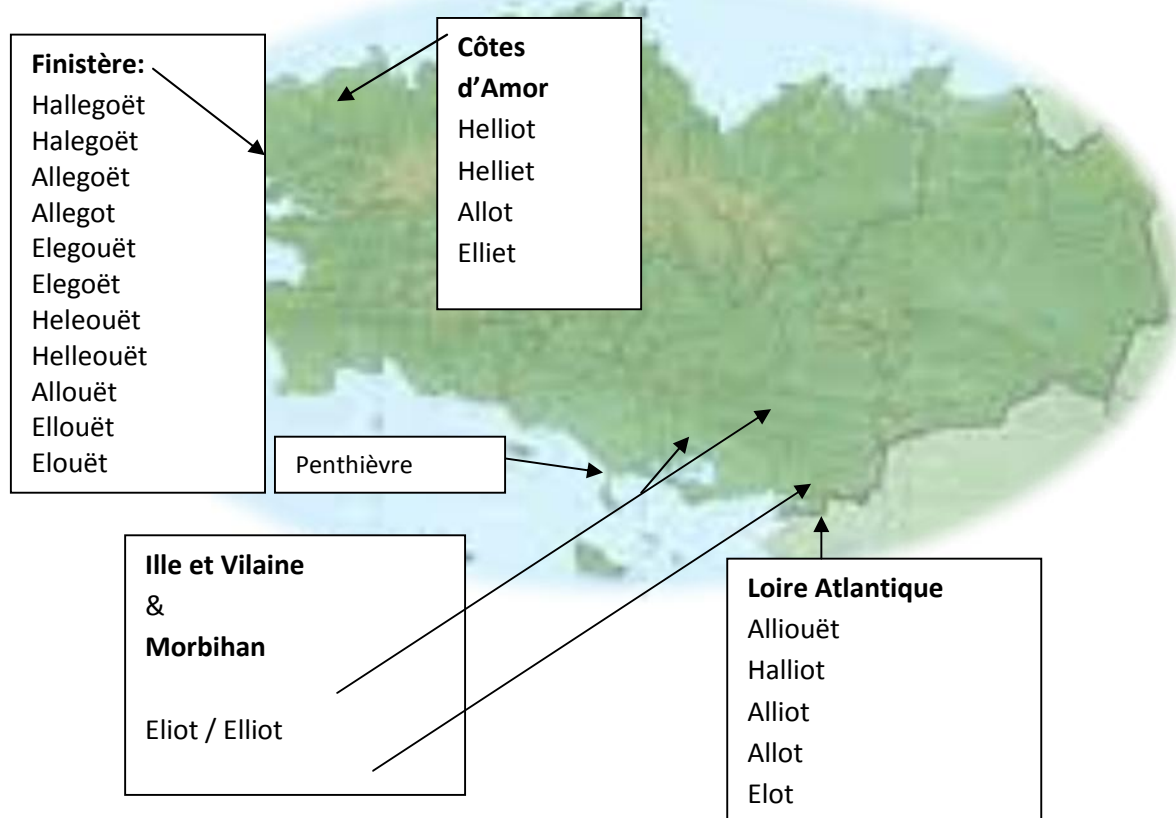
the clan, either illegitimate or born to Elliot mothers widowed in what were bloody and homicidal times. Flemish bloodlines are not surprising, given the immigration of minor Flemish nobles and mercenaries, particularly those targeted and recruited by William I, the Lion (1165-1214). By the 14th century, the Murrays and Douglases, of Flemish origin, for example, would have generated several lesser collateral family branches, headed by lairds and squires of modest status.

2. The Breton origins of the name Elliot

THE VARIANTS OF HALEGOUËT IN 21ST CENTURY BRITTANY

(number of births 1891 to 1991 and geographic clustering– source Geopatronyme)

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



One particular website, *The World of Names*, gives access to a collation of names taken from the 1881 census, including surviving Eliot/Elliot-Alliot variants. Some exist in small numbers, undoubtedly as surviving aberrant spellings, dating back almost certainly to a time of semi-literate priests, although many are still phonetically correct. Notes are also added where names have been found in documents. The place names indicate places where some name clustering is found:

Allietts in Oxfordshire

Allotts: large numbers in Yorkshire, followed by Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Cheshire.

(Adam and Richard Alot appear in a Yorkshire Poll Tax list, 1379)¹⁰

Alliott Yorkshire, Herts, Northants & Lincs.

Allyott

Allit Yorkshire

Alweth , reflects the Breton pronunciation of **Alleouët**, although it is more likely that this is yet another Alyth spelling variant. “ Siward de Alweth, a charter witness, c 1200 (Cambus., p.73), at Alloa.¹¹ The adoption of a Norse first name perhaps indicates a Scoto-Breton-Scandinavian marriage. It was very common to take names from both sides of a marriage.

Ellacott or Ellicott, like Eliot, a Devon name. Henry Ellicott sheriff of Exeter 1578, contributed £25 to the Armada fund. (There are several Ellacotts in Scotland)

Ellett

Elliatt prevalent in Currin, Monaghan

Elleriott Gloucs.

Elletson (and Alletson) North Lincs (Ulverston)¹²

Ellitt Yorkshire, Kent and Surrey. (Note the A-E dichotomy: Allit and Ellitt)

Ellot Lancashire and Cumberland

Found in Ireland:

Eillott Armagh and Antrim; **Eilliotts** Antrim;

Found in England and Northern Ireland

Elligott Middx., Kent, Devon; Limerick (57), Tipperary (26) Kerry, Dublin and Clare.

(Note also the prevalence of **MacEligott** in the Republic of Ireland, bringing to mind the invasion of Ireland mounted by the Anglo-Welsh marcher lords, led by Richard Clare, during the reign of Henry II (1154-1189).

Hellott and Helliott

Halleth Somerset

Holwitt Hampshire

Hellecott Devon

¹⁰ *Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames, op.cit. Many collected from gravestones and monuments!*

¹¹ *The Surnames of Scotland (1946) by George Fraser Black (1866-1948)*

¹² *Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames.*

Difficulty with the name, complicated by the fact that Elliot was far from being the only Halgoët variant brought to England in 1066, is evident here. Note the consistent pattern of *Ellicott and Hellecott, Ellett, Ellitt and Allit*. Here, at last, is an explanation to the puzzle posed by George MacDonald Fraser in his “Steel Bonnets”, when referring to an unusually high number of Elliot name variants.

It was never going to be a surprise to find that the first Scottish d’Elliot / d’Alliot was a military and probably mercenary colonist, given the profound consequences of the extension by David I, formerly earl of Huntingdon and brother in law of Henry I of England, of feudal military tenure to Scotland. David’s project was continued north of the Forth by his grandsons, Malcolm IV and William I. In the past the role of Bretons and Flemings in the Norman Conquest had been overlooked by many historians, and access to French/Breton archives without leaving any chair in Britain, had to await the digital revolution, and a prompt from a Breton acquaintance. Just a click of a ‘mouse’ was all it then needed to uncover the Breton and therefore ancient British origins of the name Elliot and its alternative, Alliot, and the fact that the name was itself one of several variants of a much older name. Eligott has always been accepted as a variant of Elliot, along with Ellacott or Ellicott, and its origin can only have been the Breton version Elegoët, with almost identical pronunciation. (In Breton the final consonant is pronounced.) A search of ‘*états civils*’ confirmed the noble status of some Elliots whose ancestors had either not participated in the Conquest, or had returned to Brittany, as their great *seigneur*, Brien de Penthièvre, had to do after receiving serious wounds in the Breton defeat of the Godwinson invasion force at Barnstaple in 1069.

ELLIOT

1772

de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis- nom cité dans la fiche de **D'ELLIOT**

Résultat de recherche du nom ELLIOT dans la base Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis 1693-

1830 *L'ordre de Saint-Louis, ancêtre de la Légion d'Honneur , est composé majoritairement de chevaliers d'origine noble et de roturiers. Au total plus de 24 000 chevaliers dont chaque fiche comprend le nom, le prénom, le titre, le grade et le service dans l'armée, la date de nomination et le grade dans l'Ordre de Saint-Louis, ainsi que les sources.*¹

ELLIOT

1816

- nom cité dans la fiche d' **ELLIOT Louis Auguste**

ELLIOT

1772

de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis- nom cité dans la fiche de **D'ELLIOT**

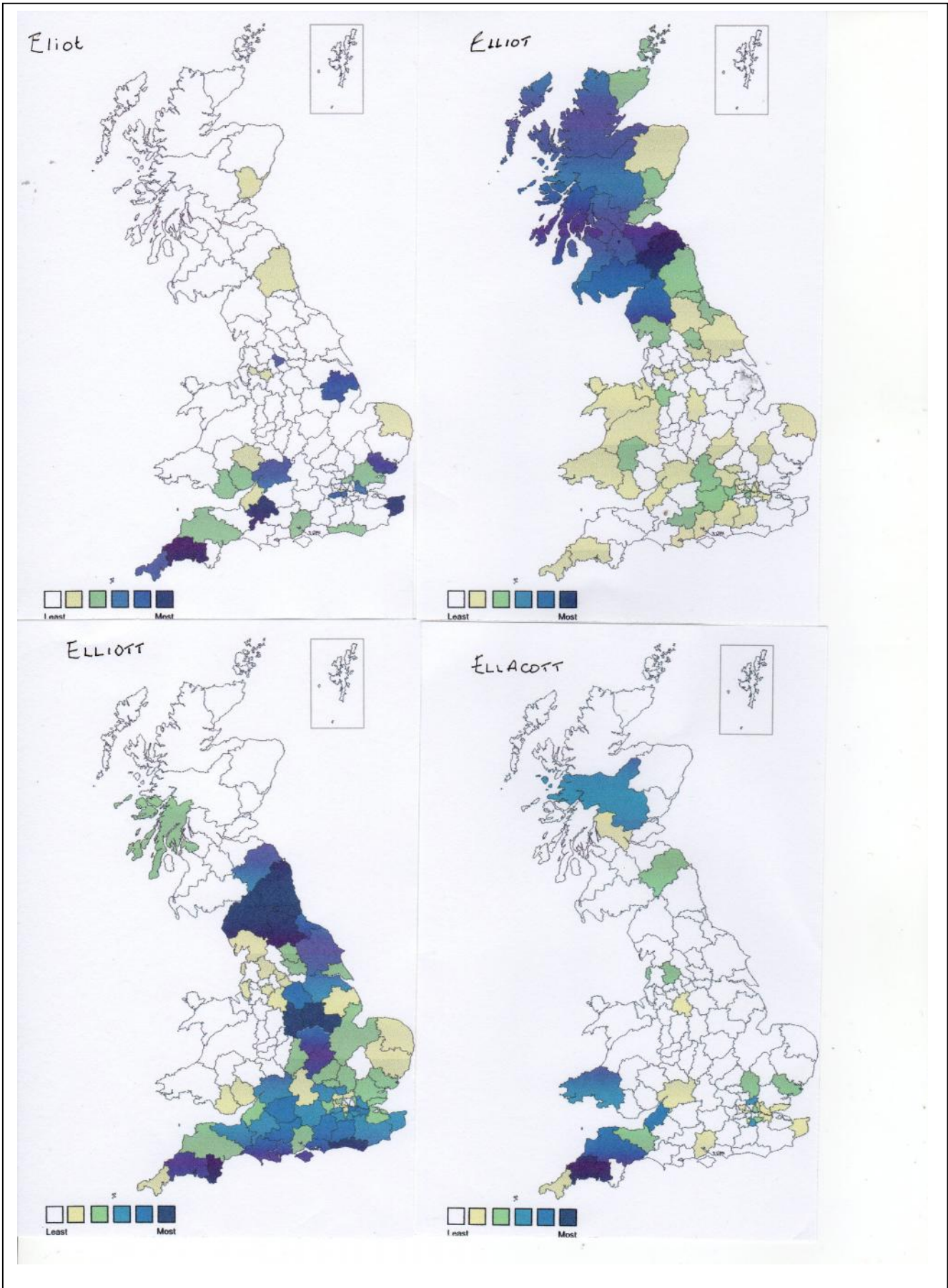
ELLIOT

1772

de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis- nom cité dans la fiche de **D'ELLIOT : Gaspard-Antoine**

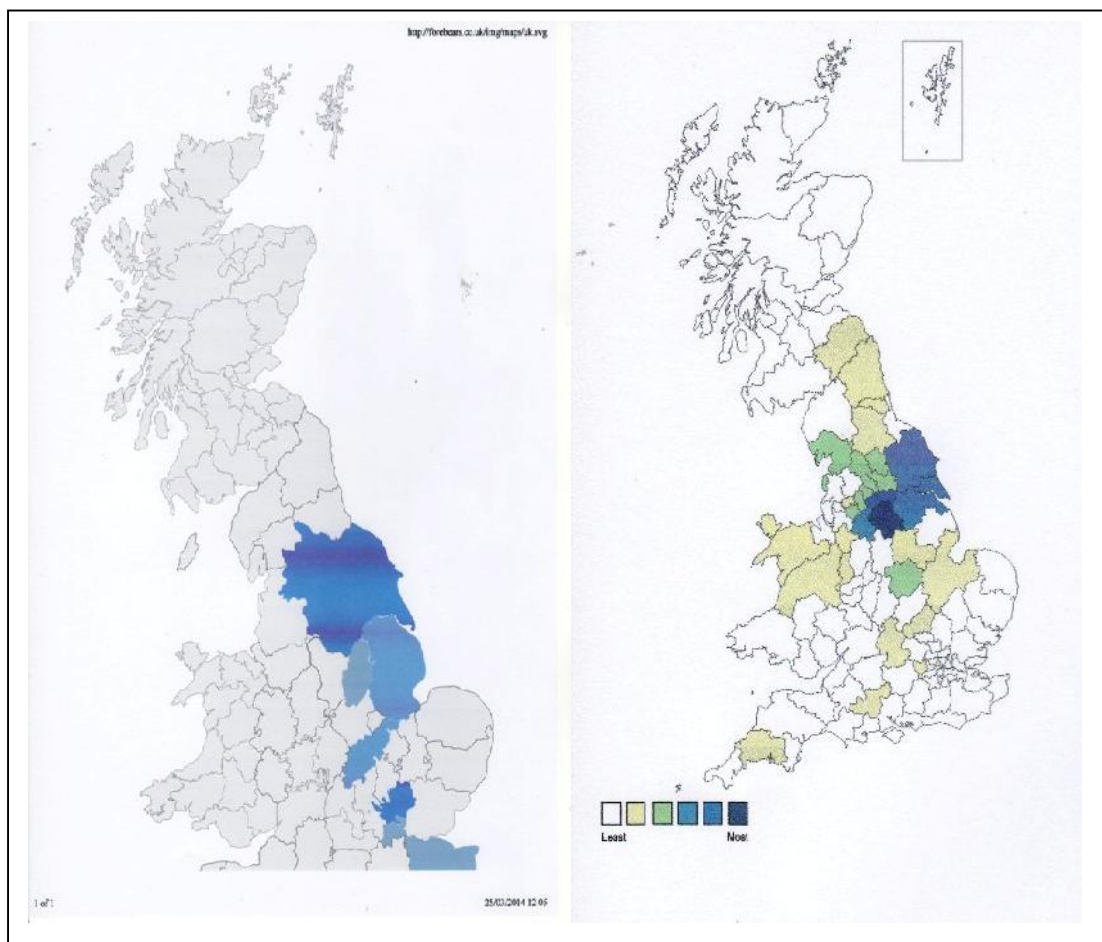
*nom cité dans la fiche de **Granville d'Elliot Gaspard-Antoine***

(Source : Geopatronyme)



Alliots

Allotts



The shading indicates the greatest concentrations, not actual numbers. The largest number of ELLIOTTS in Gt.Britain is found in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. While parish records and successive census returns reveal that initially the double LL and double TT was the old Canonbie parish spelling, the internal migration of Elliots to the south and Eliots to the east and north, especially during and since the Industrial Revolution, as well as emigration, almost certainly would have led to a high rate of spelling changes, with Elliott as the most common variant throughout the northern and midlands industrial zones. Double TT endings of Elliot variant names, like Allott, Allett, Alitt, Ellacott, Elett, all occur in England. The name shift from Eliot to Elliott across the south of England and into the Midlands, could have been as big as the shift south of Elliot to Elliotts. A question awaiting resolution is that of how many American, Canadian, Australian or New Zealand Elliotts, some even members of the Clan Society, or for that matter English Elliotts can trace their ancestry back to Somerset, Devon or Dorset Eliots. In the 16th century parish of St Germans, the name was Ellyot.

2. Pre-Conquest Brittany

The durability and reputation of 9th and 10th century rulers in England and northern Europe, including Brittany, depended on their successes against Viking incursions and settlements. The Wessex kings, starting

with Alfred the Great, had successfully adopted the strategy of the building of a string of fortified burghs, near enough to each other to guarantee rapid mutual aid. This involved a great deal of demographic upheaval and resettlement arising from the readiness for war of society and the lands which it occupied. By the mid 10th century, with his defeat of the combined armies of Olaf, of Viking eastern Ireland and the kings of Strathclyde and Scotland, at Brunaburgh in 937, King Athelstan became *Bretwalda*, ruler of all Britain.

Sir Frank Stenton wrote:

*“There are signs of intercourse between England and Brittany in the years of peace before the invasion (of Brittany) – when, for example, King Edward had been received into the fraternity of the canons of Dol – and many of the expropriated Bretons fled across the Channel. The most important of them was Mathedoi, count of Poher, who had married a daughter of Alan the Great, the last ruler of all Brittany. Alan their son, afterwards known as Alan with the twisted beard, was baptised, if not born, in England. Athelstan, not yet king, stood godfather to him, and ever afterwards protected his interests. In 931, after taking part in a disastrous rising of his people against the Northmen, Alan seems to have returned to England. In 936, with Athelstan’s help, he brought back many of his exiled countrymen to their own land, and soon afterwards established himself in the counties of Vannes and Nantes, which were the hereditary possessions of his family.”*¹³

This taking of the sons of magnates and kings was not unusual. Athelstan also fostered the sons of King Hakon of Norway, and of the French king, Charles the Simple.

Brittany was also a theatre of war against the Vikings, in her case, the Vikings of the Loire. By 939, Alan Barbetorte’s victories had led, it is thought with some Saxon help, to a famous victory over the Viking prince, Rognvaldr, and to his quitting Brittany, to try his luck with those Vikings, mainly Danes, establishing the foothold in the Seine estuary, which would soon develop into the new duchy of Normandy. Hrolfr “the Ganger”, or Rollo, had become the count of Rouen. Barbetorte’s successors would at last establish Brittany as a viable medieval state; one which would take the now dominant descendants of the 7th century British Armorican colonists further south, towards the old boundaries of the former Carolingian empire, where the counts were mainly of Germanic (Frankish) origin. As in England, Brittany’s long struggle had involved demographic upheaval and resettlement, supplying the reason for the development of so many scattered variants of the original Halegouët clan name, borne by the ancestors of the Elliots, Alllots, Elegeots (Elligotts, Ellacotts...) now exposed, most probably through mercenary service, to Norman military culture, and the *francisation* (*‘frenchification’*) of some of their names. The Elliots became vassals in Devon of Judicaël, viscount of the very same Halegouët,¹⁴ whose subsequent variant first name *Juhel* was a typical French corruption and shortening of a Breton name. There were many others, like *Roc’haned* to *Rohan*.

The organisation of Brittany for war, and a final victory, like that of Alan Barbetorte’s foster father, Athelstan, led to the eventual adoption of the system of military feudal tenure – the exploitation of land for the purpose of financing warfare – being extended throughout northern Europe. The Normans were perfecting the cavalry tactics developed by the Franks, in breeding the battle horse for fighting while riding,

¹³ Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Third Ed. Paperback, Oxford 2001) pp 347, 348.

¹⁴ Breton *haleg*, Welsh *helig*, the willow, or in Scotland the saughtree.

instead of dismounting to fight. Future defence could be assured only by the building of scores of castles, a Breton speciality as shown in the Bayeux tapestry, initially stockaded mounds on which were built wooden towers, known as motte and bailey castles, soon replaced by the great stone *donjons* now visited and admired by tourists. Brittany was a warrior society, as was Normandy, with which it was sometimes in conflict, made up of new powerful castellans and hundreds of new knights, many of whom turned to fighting as mercenaries, for pay. . According to Michael C E Jones:

“The eleventh and first half of the twelfth century had thus seen in Brittany the establishment of numerous comital and seigneurial castles with authority far in excess of that which could be exercised from a primitive feudal motte...”¹⁵

During the extension of feudal military tenure to southern, and then eastern central Scotland during most of the 12th century, scores of these motte and bailey castles, of which only a few remnants remain while others were replaced by the stone castles we see today, would be garrisoned by knights of Norman, Breton, Flemish, Picardian and origins.

What set Elliots apart from other Bretons among the thousand involved in the Conquest of 1066, was their use of the Norman fashion of using place name toponyms ('of...') as early surnames. Many Bretons were late in adopting surnames, and were hitherto identified in documents by the tag "Brito". When it came to taking surnames many took native English or Scottish names. This indicates early close association with the Norman duchy, almost certainly as mercenaries, and pro-Norman aspirations of the kind shared by many adventurous young warriors, whether from Aquitaine, Maine, Anjou, Flanders or Picardy, where the Comyns and Balliols had lands.

3. The 'non' Norman Conquest of 1066, and Breton suppression of revolt in the West 1069

In a passage of particular importance to the understanding of Elliot and other Halebouët military affinities' post conquest settlements, initially in England and Wales, Jones refers to those great Breton lords who took lands on which Elliots settled: *“The great aristocratic families of Brittany like those members of the house of Penthièvre endowed in England were ultimately as ancient or more so than those in other neighbouring provinces. Judicaël (de Lohéac, vicomte du Halebouët) of Totnes, holder of the second largest honour in the possession of a Breton family in the Domesday Book, was a scion of the house of Mayenne whose connections with Fougères have already been mentioned.”¹⁶*

Historians have more recently addressed themselves to a past failure on the part of an older generation of scholars, adequately to assess the role of Bretons in the Norman Conquest, and analyse patterns of Breton settlement, in England. The historians Michael C E Jones and Katherine Keats-Rohan¹⁷, the latter describing the Conquest as “non-Norman”, have published the results of their research into Breton involvement in not only the Conquest, but in the later importation and promotion of ‘new men’ or *probi homines*: the Norman and Breton supporters of Henry I (1100-1135), when opposed by his brothers William Rufus and Robert Curthose, the latter defeated by Henry at the Battle of Tinchebrai in 1106. *“Of all the available studies of the Norman Conquest none has been more than tangentially concerned with the fact, acknowledged by all,*

¹⁵ Michael C E Jones, *The Creation of Modern Brittany* (Hambledon Press) 1988, p 31

¹⁶ Ibid. P29

¹⁷ Katherine S.B.Keats-Rohan, *William I and the Breton contingent in the Non-Norman Conquest, 1060-87, published in Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed Marjorie Chibnal (Boydell Press 1991) pp162, 163.

that the regional origin of those who participated in, or benefited from that conquest was not exclusively Norman.”.... “In this discussion feudal class is synonymous with ruling class and refers to any person holding a whole or part of a knight’s fee, or a sergeant, from any other, be he a tenant-in-chief of the king or a sub-tenant of a tenant-in-chief..... “ We are dealing not with a kingdom or a duchy as a recognisable political entity, such as would be termed a state, but with a patrimony, an inheritable fief that the heir was bound to defend as of right.”.....“ At least three of Eudo’s legitimate sons and three of his natural sons occur as English landholders after 1066. His son Count Brien held land in Suffolk, and apparently so in the West Country. There is nothing to indicate that he stayed in England beyond 1069.”

“The question of patrimony was the same for a king or duke as for his greater or lesser vassals. Each landholder sought to protect his patrimony by subinfeudation of his land to his relatives, thus setting up a sort of informal banking system by giving the care of his landed wealth into the hands of those bound to him by family loyalty and family tradition as well as by oaths of fealty. Protected by subinfeudation to relatives, the patrimony was extended and further protected by marriage within the kin-group to which the baron belonged, i.e. a family network that included the relatives of his mother and of his wife..”¹⁸

Among Henry’s incoming Breton supporters was the progenitor of the Stewart dynasty, Walter fitzAlan, son of Alan fitzFlaad, the steward to the military archbishop of Dol. Keats-Rohan has described the tensions which existed during the civil war, between the two groups of noble Breton colonists with divided loyalties, pro-King Stephen (1135-1154) or pro-Matilda, dowager Empress, daughter of Henry I and niece of David I (1124-1153). Matilda gained most of her support from the south-western and marcher earls and barons, including Bretons, while the Breton lord of Richmond, Alain de Penthièvre, found himself aligned with Stephen, who at one stage made the empty gesture of making him earl of Cornwall. A number of south-western barons were therefore allies of David I, who granted lands to the de Berchelai (Berkeley) family of Castle Cary, Somerset.¹⁹ England was awash with foreign mercenaries, mainly Flemish, who were expelled by Henry II (1154-1189) on his assumption of the throne under the terms of the treaty in which Stephen had named this first Plantagenet, son of Matilda and Geoffrey d’Anjou, as his Angevin heir. Whether or not there were Bretons, including Eliots captained by an Eliot, among the *compagnons* of the civil war will never be known, but it is well worth remembering, when considering the undoubted mobility of the Alliot-Elliot affinity, that the ‘family business’ would still have been that of the supply of military services. *“To call them ‘mercenaries’ may perhaps evoke a misleading note of glamour or depravity, but wandering professional soldiers were certainly of importance in the endless warfare of Europe’s rulers.”²⁰* The probable picture is one of passing on to younger sons seeking fame and their own patrimonies, the *metier* of knight and mercenary captain, leading a band of Eliots, including archers and *fantassins* drawn from collateral branches of the affinity which crossed the Channel in 1066.

¹⁸ (All citations from K S B Keats-Rohan 1991, Published *Nottingham Medieval studies* 36 (1992). *The Earldom of Cornwall passed into the hands of William’s half brother, Robert, Count of Mortain*). Published online. *Brian of Penthièvre had been wounded in the battle to defeat the Godwyn-led invasion at Barnstaple. It is believed that he retired to his lands in Brittany, handing over the earldom of Cornwall to the Conqueror’s half-brother, Robert, the Count of Mortain.*

¹⁹ G W S Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, (Edinburgh, 2nd ed.) 1988, p 281.

²⁰ R Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225*, (Oxford) 2000, p 266.

The history of the Eliots of St Germans strongly suggests that the initial settlement of Alliot-Elliots²¹ was located on territory granted to their Breton lord. Sir Frank Stenton wrote:

*"...The lords who came from Brittany were more numerous, and on the whole, more important as individuals. In 1086 Count Alan of Richmond, who was a cadet of the ducal house, was one of the chief landowners in the whole of England. Judhaël of Totnes, whose lands owed to the king the service of seventy knights, was the greatest magnate in South Devon. ... Earlier in the reign the Breton influence had been even stronger. The Royal forces which defeated Harold's sons in 1069 were led by Brian, a brother of the count of Richmond, who appears at court in the same year with an earl's title. There is evidence that he had been created earl of Cornwall."*²²

Stenton observed that there was hardly a county in which could not be found "this Breton element", whose permanence and influence was profound. He designated above all Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, several areas of East Anglia, and Devon and Cornwall.²³ Several of the Lincolnshire fiefs were held by Alain of Richmond. The historian E H Ditmas provides further knowledge of these early Breton settlements:

"The other leader, Brient of Bretagne, was the second son of Eudon, the irrepressible count of Penthièvre whose repeated rebellions against his elder brother, Alain III, duke of Brittany, form a recurring pattern in Breton history during the eleventh century. For his part in the invasion of England Brient seems to have been awarded the lordship of Cornwall, and estates in Suffolk and elsewhere. He died before 1086 and his estates had by then become part of the enormous grants made by King William to Robert of Mortain who is usually reckoned to be the first earl of Cornwall. An interest in Cornwall, however, seems to have been maintained by the lords of Richmond (Yorkshire) Alan Rufus and Alan Niger who were younger brothers of Brient. In 1140, during the anarchy, their nephew and heir, Alan III of Richmond, briefly obtained Cornwall from King Stephen, only to lose it within twelve months to Reginald de Dunstanville.

While it is tempting to assume that the Bretons in Cornwall at the time of the Domesday Survey had been followers of Brient de Bretagne, one has to bear in mind that a number of other Breton lords and their younger sons had taken part in the invasion. These included Morvan, the vicomte de Léon, Robert, baron of Vitré, Raoul, son of the baron of Fougères, sons of the sire de Dinan and of the sire de Chateaugiron. Other recognisable Breton names can be found in the Falaise Roll. Vitré, Fougères, Chateaugiron and Dinan were all baronies of Rennes, the centre of ducal power, but Dinan was on the very border of Penthièvre. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the descendants of Richard fitz Tuold, dapifer to Robert of Mortain who held the earldom of Cornwall, called the administrative centre of their estates Cardinan, i.e. Castle Dinan, from which the family took the name of Dinan or Dinham, suggesting a connection, at least, with Dinan on the Rance in Brittany.

The Breton settlers in Cornwall seem to have preferred the north-eastern coasts of the county, much of which would have reminded them of their homeland. Cornwall at the time was an isolated area, very sparsely

²¹ The chopping around of spellings is deliberate. At one time the St Germans Eliots were Ellyots, and Herman Moll placed the 'single L single T' town of Eliot on his map.

²² F M Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England* (Oxford paperback) 2001, p.629

²³ F M Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, (Oxford, 2nd ed) p 26. Note that the name Allott is almost exclusively a Northern name, with main concentrations in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Whether or not the spelling of this Halgoët variant name can be dated to the work of one particular medieval scribe or magnate's writing office, the part which geography played in the evolution of variants names cannot be denied.

populated, averaging only 2.5 to five people per square mile while the high moorland and parts of the far south-west were almost uninhabited. Bodmin was the only borough and agriculture was mainly pastoral. This implies that a traveller would be largely dependent on the manors for hospitality if he could not reach his destination in a day's journey".²⁴ Other sons of Eudo who settled in England were: **Bodin, who became a monk at St Mary's York²⁵; Ribald fitzEudes, lord Middleham – N Yorkshire (another Breton held the lordship of Bedale); Bardolf, lord of Ravensworth – N Yorkshire; Arnald .**

Jones writes that a very considerable number of Bretons (or more accurately Anglo-Bretons) owing military service in a list drawn up in 1166, the *Cartae Baronum*, were minor lords ("seigneurs") holding fractional knights' fees. Their lands would have consisted of perhaps four or five hundred acres, in contrast to the thousands of acres held by the few Bretons, like Brien or Alain de Penthièvre, of magnate status. It is important to note, however, that it is likely that few Elliots would have shown up in this list, since the clan had probably already established a major foothold in Scotland. The statistics suggest that Scotland became, probably via Cumberland (see below), the kingdom with the highest population of Elliots, leaving behind a scattering of Eliot holdings in England and Wales. Scores of landless knights may have eventually gained modest landholdings, often fractional knights' fees (four men each with a quarter of a knight's fee serving by rota), held directly as tenancies-in-chief of the king, via earlier service as *menies* (household knights) and garrison knights in any one of the scores of motte and bailey castles thrown up in the south and east, to the north of the Forth.

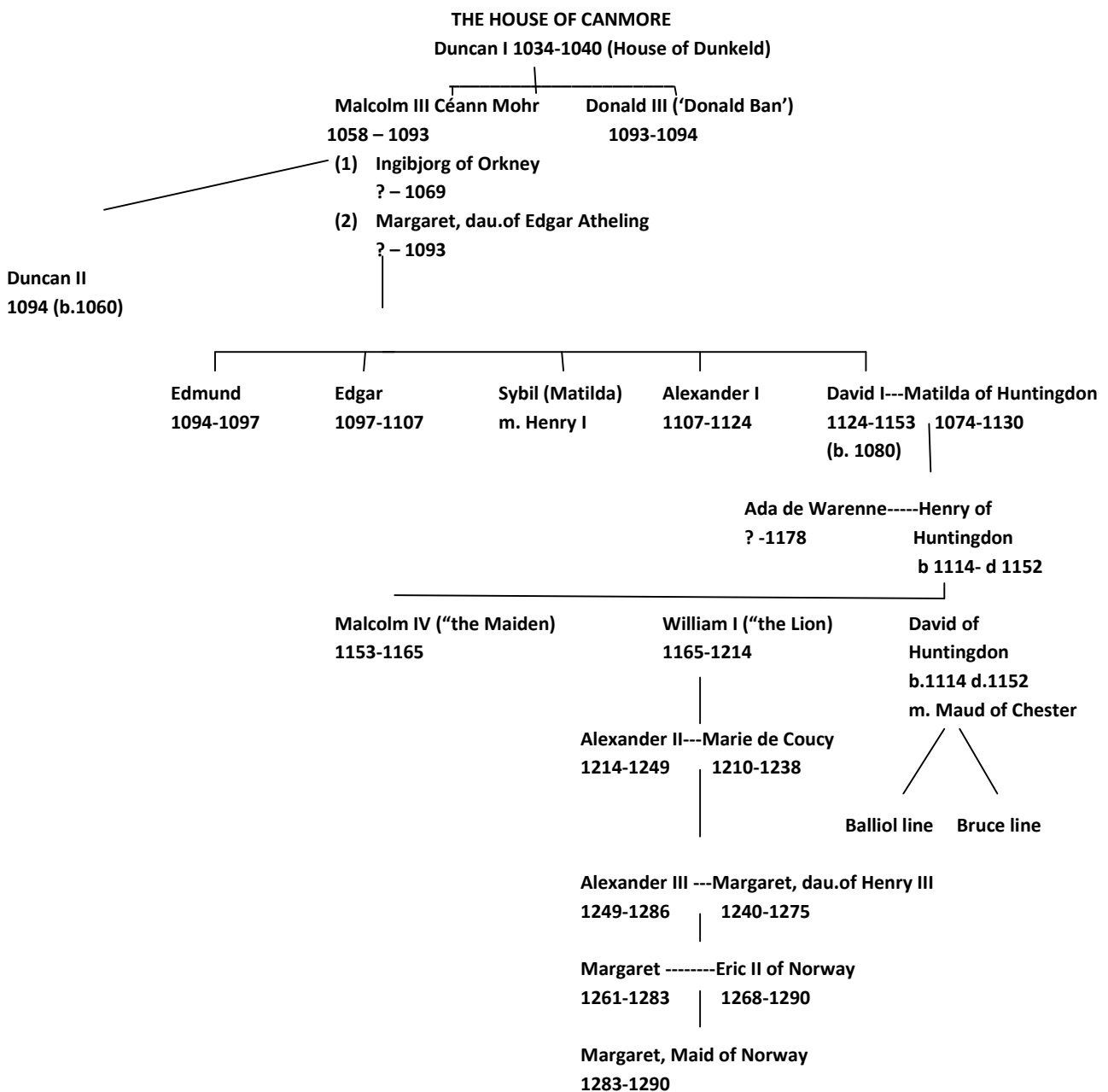
4. The arrival of Elliots in Scotland

Since *Elliot* was along with others, a variant of an old Breton name, any other source of the name can now be firmly rejected: it is uniquely Breton. Its arrival in England was clearly tied up with the Halegouët – Devon, and Penthièvre-Cornwall and Richmond/ Yorkshire lordships. How many Elliots first arrived in Scotland cannot be ascertained, or even guessed. Comparative numbers of Elliots (all spellings) and the distribution of the name today, even taking into account both the early 17th century clearance of many Elliots by James VI, and a post-industrial diaspora, which did not take place in France until well on in the 20th century, suggest that Alliot/Elliots and those bearing other variant names like Allegot/Elegoët (Elligott, Ellacott, Ellicott) left their Breton homelands in numbers in 1066. The extent to which others joined them in the years following the Conquest will never be known. The adoption of the Norman style toponym surname, d'Elliot, and its typical shortening in Norman French, provide a clear indication of Elliot assimilation into Norman military culture, as mercenaries, of long standing. The pattern of distribution of the Halgoët variant names suggests that the Elegoëts, who found themselves fighting alongside their distant Alliot-Elliot cousins at Hastings, and three years later, at Exeter and Barnstaple, had not yet been so assimilated. By Elizabethan times, Eliots and Ellacotts in the West Country, are revealed as members of the gentry and mercantile classes, some with knighthoods, probably of long standing. Long before this, an Alliot-Elliot had achieved baronial status in Scotland. Although a Scottish scribe first heard a name which he thought began with A, the evidence of 16th to 18th century cartographers wrote what they heard first as Elieht or Elyeht, and later as Eliot.

²⁴ **Welsh History Review - Vol. 6, nos. 1-4 1972-73 Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Breton families in Cornwall (E Ditmas) (published online)**

²⁵ The name Bodin reminds us that there was probably a strong Breton presence among monks and ecclesiasts, such as the later Bishop Michael of Glasgow (vide Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots* op.cit p207), and almost certainly on account of his Breton name, Jocelin, also Bishop of Glasgow. Absence of any lay connection with Arbirlot (Aber-ellot) now points to the probability of a religious one, arising from proximity to the Abbey of Arbroath. Was one of its first two abbots, formerly monks of Kelso overseen by Jocelin, an Elliot who compensated for his inability to use a surname?

The sheer size of the Elliot affinity in 15th century Liddesdale was surely not merely a sign of well above average inherited fecundity. When Scott of Satchells spoke of the arrival of twelve great families there circa 1320, he could not have been writing about a clan descended from just one younger Elliot son trying his luck, along with the many other landless younger sons and knights grasping the opportunities which David I (1124-1153) had opened to them during his introduction of feudal military tenure into Scotland. Right through the period from the Conquest in 1066, the settlement by William II and Henry I of what had been a far off separatist and insurrectionist Northern England open to Danish invasion, the civil war and the reign of William I the Lion (1165-1214), Bretons and Flemings were plying their trade as mercenary warriors, in bands led by captains. Scottish kings strapped for cash tended therefore to reward them with lands, many of modest size consisting of only fractional knights' fees. It is therefore more likely that at least one Elliot was a mercenary captain leading a substantial Elliot retinue, implanted by William 'Rufus' (1087-1100) in Cumberland, where he had established a Norman-Breton military colony in 1097.



(Dates of monarchies, from crowning to death. Other dates, birth to death).

Malcolm III's kingdom in 1058 was now extended south of the Forth, the old southern boundary of Alba, to include the former Roman province of Bernicia, the northern part of the former kingdom of Northumbria, which for two centuries had been a beacon of Christianity, learning and good governance, with a European-wide reputation. On the west the old British kingdom of Strathclyde had come under the lordship of the Scottish kings, as far as roughly what is now the northern boundary of the county of Cumberland. Malcolm and his successors had only nominal lordship over the Norse-Gaelic region of Galloway, whose lords would sometimes form alliances with England rather than Scotland. The Galwegians were a constant threat. Malcolm's ambition, passed down to his sons, was to rule and restore the old kingdom of Northumbria, right down to the Tees, and establish overlordship of the southern half of the old kingdom of Strathclyde, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, down to northern Lancashire. He led a number of unsuccessful invasions, before being brought to heel at Abernethy in 1072, by William the Conqueror, when he became 'his man' and gave hostages. Even then Malcolm invaded northern England again in 1079, 1091 and 1093, without success, after which Henry I adopted a policy of 'appeasement by marriage', when marrying Malcolm's daughter Sybil, whose name was changed to the Norman Matilda. In exile in England, her Anglo-Gaelic brothers and, except for Edmund, future kings of the Scots, were virtual Normans, like their hostage step-brother Duncan.

As shown, Malcolm III was married twice, firstly to the daughter of the earl of Orkney, and secondly to the daughter of the excluded successor to Edward the Confessor, Edgar Atheling, the saintly Margaret, who brought with her into the marriage a zeal for religious reform. When, on the death of her husband, the throne passed via Malcolm's brother, Donald to Ingibjorg's son Duncan, against a background of a dangerous anti-Anglo-Norman reaction, she fled to England with her sons. Donald III faced opposition from the Norse-Gaelic nephew Duncan, all too willing to swear fealty to William II (Rufus), a king intent on pacification of his northern borders, especially in his Norman duchy where he spent most of his time. Donald was unseated by an Anglo-Norman invading force in May 1094, but by the end of that year Duncan, who had earlier been a Norman-tutored hostage in England, was dead, the victim of a plot between Donald III and his nephew Edmund. In 1097 Rufus sent a second army north, in support of Margaret's son Edgar. Donald Ban escaped and evaded capture for two years. Blinded, he died in captivity, while Edmund became a Cluniac monk. Donald's defeat was followed by the reigns of Edgar (1097), Alexander (1107), and finally David (1124). Alexander swore fealty to Henry I to whom, as already mentioned, he gave the hand of his sister in marriage, and demonstrated his absorption, in exile, of Norman military and religious culture, by a start in castle building and the founding of an Augustinian priory, by canons from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire.

The death of Alexander I brought to the throne the youngest Canmore brother, David I. Already middle-aged, he had been exiled at the age of 9, and was Henry I's protégé and brother-in-law, signing English charters as 'the Queen's brother.' Henry had secured for him a marriage to the widowed countess of Huntingdon, whose earl he became, with vast holdings and estates scattered across midland England, as well as lord of Hallamshire in South Yorkshire. Following the defeat of his brother, Robert Curthose, at the battle of Tinchebraie in 1106, Henry (1100-1135) rewarded many of his followers, his 'new men', Normans and Bretons, with lands, mainly in the north, in Northumbria and Cumbria, where David, earl of Huntingdon became virtual viceroy from 1113. Almost certainly, Cumbria was an Elliot stepping stone into Scotland.

The ‘family business’ or tradition of Breton knights of modest status who fought at Hastings in 1066, and in the Breton army used by the Conqueror at Exeter and Barnstaple in 1069, was that of fighting for pay, pending the ultimate reward of a *benefice*. Mention has already been made of the relatively small or fractional knights’ fees granted to such men lower down the pecking order, and it is not too speculative to suggest that the pathway to Scotland for a young Elliot and his Breton retinue, or *compagnons* was via Cumberland. A hint has already been provided by the use of *Alletson and Elletson* patronyms, which point to early rather than later settlement there, since those Elliots who crossed the border and settled somewhat later in Cumberland did not use this patronymic. There is evidence that when it came to the more difficult occupation of Cumberland, led by William Rufus the builder of Carlisle Castle, in 1092, he opted for a combined Norman and Breton military force. David, as viceroy of Scotland south of the Forth – a position procured by the exertion of pressure by Henry I on David’s elder brother, king Alexander I – and virtual prince of Cumbria, would have had this Norman and Breton military colony at his disposal long before becoming king in 1124. *“David (future king of the Scots) has been called one of Henry I’s ‘new men’, his dependants and colonisers of the north. It was at Henry’s insistence that David was granted land and power in southern Scotland by 1113. It was there, as Henry’s virtual viceroy in the north, that well before 1124 (when David became king) the characteristic, overlapping layers of Anglo-Norman settlement would mark his reign as King of Scots were already being planted: a mixed group of Anglo-Norman adventurers settled in Northumbria, which had seen the last of its native rebellions a generation before, but in the more difficult western country of Cumbria a much tighter-knit band of knights, drawn mostly from Lower Normandy and Brittany, was deployed; and at Selkirk an outpost of the austere monks of Tiron was established in 1113”*²⁶

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.’”*²⁷

David was the first king to make his own coinage – thanks to his Northumbrian silver mines – and it was in his reign that feudal military tenure was more systematically introduced. He had at his disposal scores of military vassals, some already powerful and others of modest status, eager to become his *probi homines* in Lothian and the south-west.

The historian Geoffrey Barrow noted that *“David was responsible for (the introduction of military feudalism into Scotland) on a wide scale and with lasting effect has long been an unchallenged fact of Scottish history. The most frequently cited illustration is the grant to Robert (de)Brus of Annandale and Annan castle as a fief. It is well known also that Hugh de Morville, who became the king’s hereditary constable, was enfeoffed on the east with Lauderdale, and on the west with Cunningham; and that Walter, son of Alan, (of Dol, Brittany) became hereditary steward, was enfeoffed on the east with lands in Tweeddale, and on the west in Renfrew and the Clyde valley.”*²⁸ Others were William de Somerville, Robert Corbet, William and Walter of Lindsey (Lincolnshire), Robert Avenel with Liddesdale granted to Ranulf de Soules, whose ancestors would hold it until William de Soules was convicted of treason in 1320.

²⁶ Michael Lynch, *Scotland, a New History*, (Edinburgh, paperback 2011) pp 79,80.

²⁷ Robert Bartlett, op.cit. p 267, citing William of Malmesbury.

²⁸ G W S Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, op.cit. p251.

While appearing to make the not unusual mistake of classifying all as 'Norman' Frank Musgrove sheds light on David's northern, particularly Yorkshire connections. David's deliberate policy "*brought Norman officials and Norman landholders into Scotland on a considerable scale: some were brought in directly from Normandy, some from David's Huntingdon estates scattered over the east midlands, but principally they were drawn from Norman families settled in Yorkshire....The 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... of humbler standing.*"²⁹ The picture which must be imagined is of something of a landrush, in which landless knights and other adventurers joined, with a movement by long wagon train and retinues, cooks, armourers, archers, stewards and others riding or on foot. A threat to David by the rebellious earl of Moray in the highlands, was quickly minimized when the earl heard of support given to the king by his Yorkshire-Norman friends, assembled under Walter l'Espece of Helmsley. The historian R L Graeme Ritchie asserted: "*There was a Norman Conquest of Scotland*"³⁰. *Sheriffs or vicomtes, castles, justiciars, burghs, abbeys and cathedrals, above all perhaps the mail-clad, cone-helmeted chivaler or knight, all these and many other phenomena bear witness to an alien settlement which was creative as well as destructive, indeed arguably more creative than destructive.*"³¹ Ritchie qualified the description 'Norman' when observing, "***...it is seldom possible to ascertain their continental home, whether in the Duchy, or in Flanders or in Brittany or elsewhere, and the precise connection which their forebears had with ...Duke William's Breton, Lotharingian, Flemish, Picard, Cenomannian, Angevin, general-French and Norman Conquest.***"³²

Irrespective of their overall numbers, it is almost impossible to underestimate their impact, and David and his successors were astutely careful in ensuring that there was no displacement of the native population, while transforming Gaelic mormaerdoms³³ into earldoms. Any suggestion that the colonists were after all, in the total scheme of things, comparatively small in number, and that their impact may have been exaggerated, is unwarranted. The idea that the introduction of European feudal military tenure into Scotland was not inevitable, but followed the accident of the succession by a French speaking pro-Norman Anglo-Gaelic earl, cannot be sustained. Rulers and modern dictators have always wanted the most powerful weapons available, and these men were vital to the long term strengthening of Scottish kingship. It took until the reign of Alexander III (d.1286) to establish the House of Canmore's total domination in Scotland. When David I came to the throne, the western highlands and islands and Caithness, even Moray, were not under his control, and the men of Galloway, against whom Robert de Brus of Annandale held the western march, posed a constant threat.

This extension of military feudalism, accompanied by reorganization of the church and the introduction of several new monastic foundations, with abbots and bishops undertaking increasingly sophisticated administrative services, was continued north of the Forth by David's successors, his grandsons Malcolm IV (1153-1165) and William I (1165-1214), since David's son, Henry of Huntingdon died before him in 1152. Malcolm and William faced dangers from several directions. Into the north of the Forth were imported names like Freskin de Moravia and his nephew Theobald, Flemish progenitors respectively of the future

²⁹ F Musgrove, *The North of England, a History from Roman Times to the Present*, (Basil Blackwell) 1990, p 61.

³⁰ R.L.Graeme Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*, (Edinburgh) 1954, p xi, cited by Barrow, *ibid* p 280

³¹ Barrow, p 280.

³² Ritchie p 157, cited by Barrow, p 282.

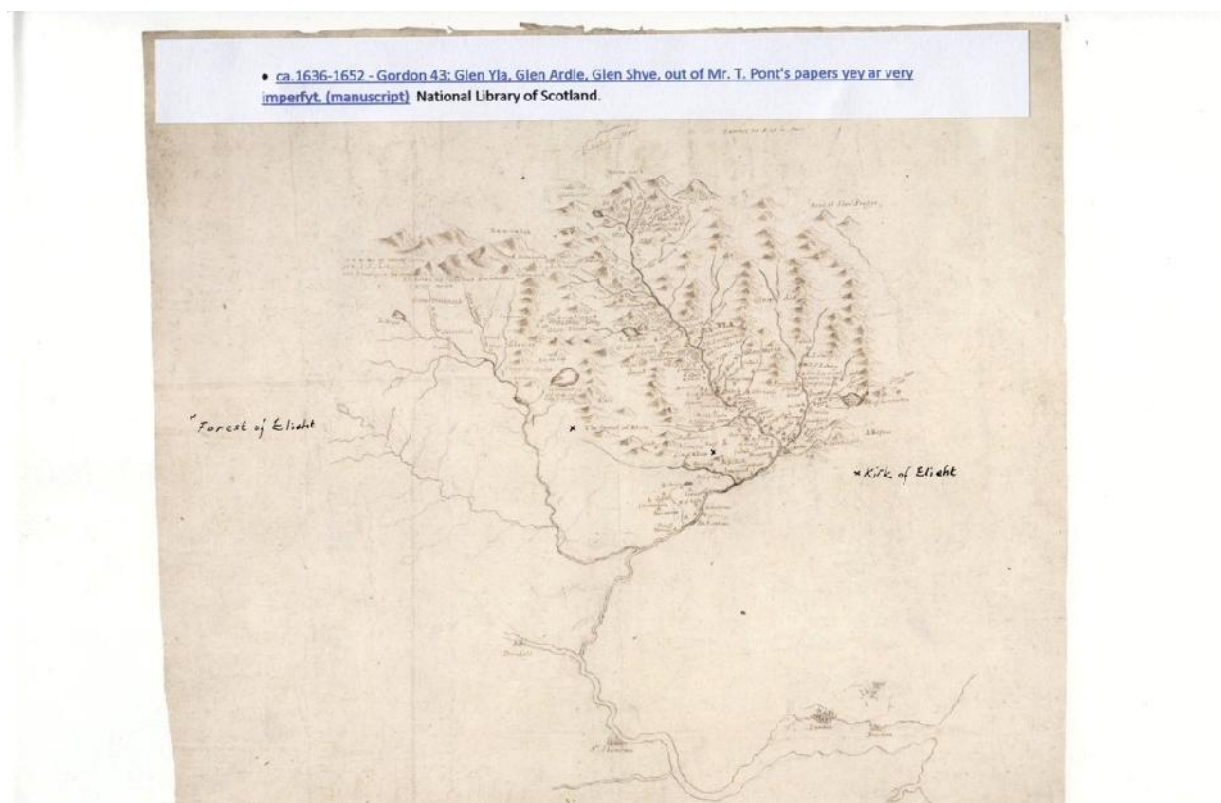
³³ The ancient hereditary mormaerdoms, which posed a threat to Scottish kingship, had their Breton equivalents: the *machtierns*.

powerful Murray and Douglas clans. Some already had lands south of the Forth, others were new men, whose loyalty to the king was guaranteed by their dependence on him alone for the establishment and growth of their patrimonies. Since William I was cash-strapped, mercenaries ended up with lands, and he was known to have sent to England for mercenaries on at least one occasion. Berowald the Fleming was given the lands of Innes, the name of the future clan. Many of William's grants were very modest, consisting of single or fractional knights' or sergeants' fees. The names of many beneficiaries remain unknown, since William made a slow start to the improvement of his administration and the issuing of lay charters. Others have been identified by historians from secondary sources such as writs, brieves and letters, or the appearance of their names as witnesses to charters. The earliest known Elliot was Elias, who appears out of the mists as a witness to a charter of 1182. The existence of some Breton colonists, and even town burgesses, is known from the use of the lack of a surname, other than the tag "Brito" ("the Breton"), or already known antecedents, like the Breton progenitor of the Stewarts, Walter fitzAlan, a branch of whose family came to hold the earldom of Arundel.

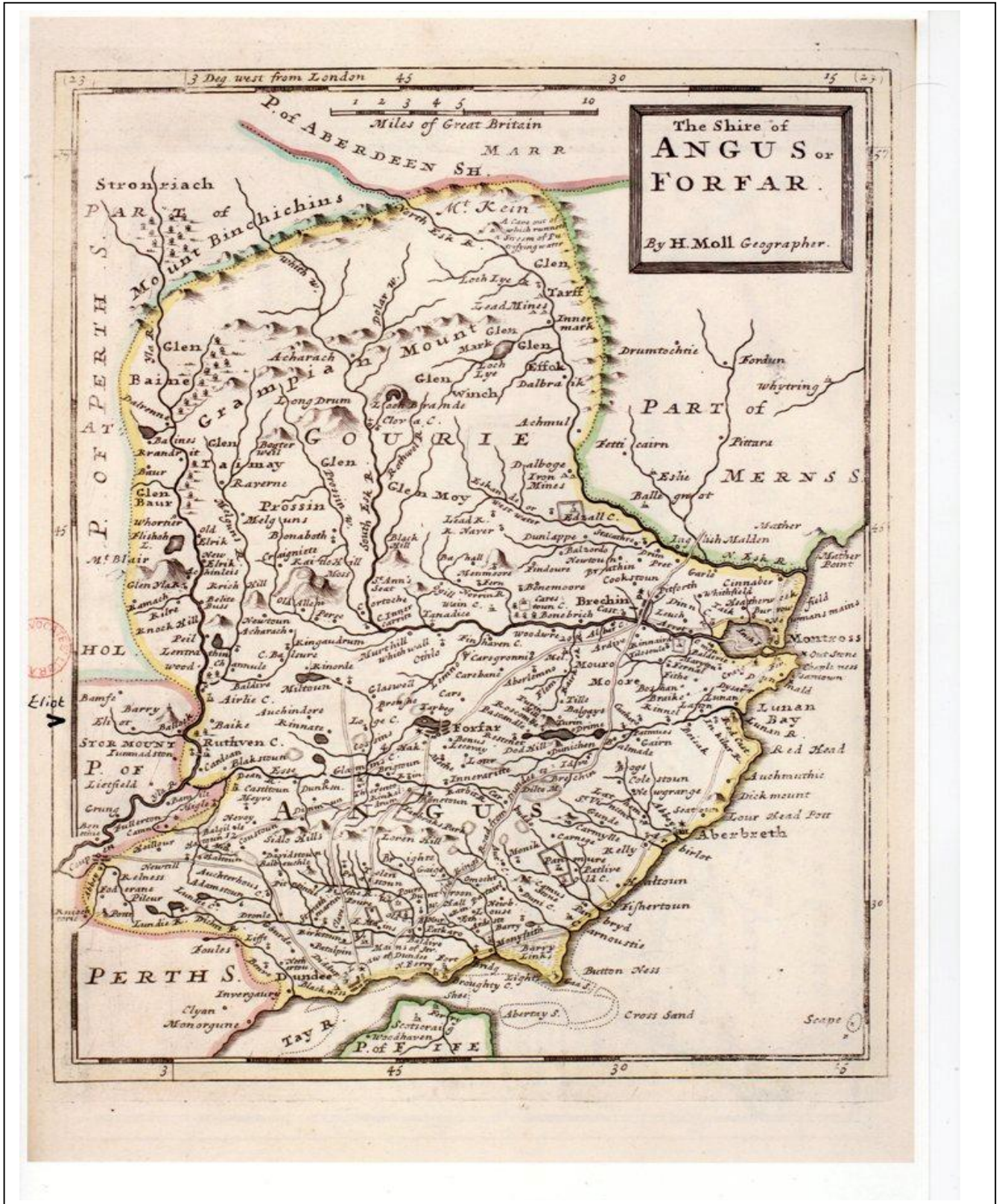
Only a handful of charters survive from the last two decades of the 12th century, after which they came into increasing use. The early survivals bring to light names like Ralph 'Ruffus', Philip de Seton, William de Hay, Walter de Berkeley (his family originating, according to Barrow, from Somerset), Richarch de Montfiquet, Roger de Mortemer, William de Montfort, William de Valognes (the king's chamberlain), William Giffard, Walter de la Kernelle, William Cumin, Richard Revel, William de Ripley and Alexander de Lamberton. In another charter we learn that Hugh "the Breton" had been permitted to exchange lands in the earldom of Huntingdon, for lands in Earl David's Garioch (Aberdeenshire). For some considerable time earldoms would remain in the hands of former Gaelic hereditary mormaers. One earldom which remained in Northumbrian hands was that of Cospatrick, earl of Dunbar. There are no surviving charters for scores of land grants, some of whose existence is confirmed when their continental or adopted Scottish toponymic surnames are revealed in other documents.

5. Elliot barons of The Brae and burgesses of Perth

Map by Robert Gordon (drawn ca.1636-1652) of Glen Yla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shye "out of Mr T Pont's papers yey ar very imperfyt"



Map by Herman Moll (1654-1733) showing Eliot.



All maps may now be viewed and enlarged on the National Library of Scotland website. In addition to Gordon's and Moll's maps, others archived at, and digitized by, the NLS, showing Alyth as Elyeht/ Elicht or Elieht, and later as Eliot are:

Timothy Pont (1560-1614?): Three maps (1) Glen Isla, Lintrathen, parts of Strathmore near Coupar, Angus, showing Eylicht or Eylieht & The Forest of Eylicht/Eylieht (2) Middle Strathmore, now showing Elicht or Elieht, and (3) Strathardle, Glenshee and Glenrich showing Water of Elyeht in which the "e" is distinct.

Robert Edward (1616-1696): 'Angusia Provincia Scotiae', no Alyth, but Ellot.

John Adair (1650-1722): The Mapp of Srathern, Stormont and Cars of Gourie with the rivers Tay and Jern, surveighed and designed by J Adair; James Moxon sculp. Like Moll, has what is now Alyth as Eliot.

As already discussed, this was not a change in the pronunciation of the name, but the restoration of what remained in writing, classified as a misspelling only in retrospect, in charters affecting the Elliots and their successors, following the forfeiture of 1306. The coincidence of what may now be anachronistically labelled misspellings, Alight, Alyght, and to this day the surviving variants Elitt and Alitt, should dispel any idea that these were two separate names, one a familial name and the other a Gaelic toponym, which, if genuine, one would expect to find as a common feature, elsewhere in Scotland. There are no other Alyths. The y of this name was the semi-vowel 'yo/io' of Alyot/Elyot.

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 underlining).³⁴ William d'Alyth, another Breton burges, can now be included (see below).

The first Scoto-Breton Elliot to appear in the sources was **Elias d'Alyth/ d'Elliot** (Hammond writes that the adoption of biblical names was no indicator of ethnicity, Norman, Breton, Flemish or Gaelic), as a witness to a charter:

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 Longforgan; 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

Scottish Episcopal Acta, i, no. 43, Trad. ID SEA, i, no. 43

³⁴ 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; © 2005, p 112

The next surviving charter is witnessed by **Simon, 'persona' d'Alyth / d'Elliot**:

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.

Firm date 1189 X March 1198. Probable date perhaps 1193 × Mar/1198. Dating Notes King William's charter (_RRS_ ii, no. 371)/appointment of Hugh to chancellorship/perhaps after appointment of the royal chaplain Robert as archdeacon of Glasgow × attestation of Bishop Simon's successor. Source for Data Entry Scottish Episcopal Acta, i, no. 32. Trad. ID SEA, i, no. 32

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**

Some fifty or so years later, the appearance of **Adam d'Alyth**, described as a clerk, suggests that a member of the Elliot affinity, like several Douglasses, had entered into the church or monastic orders. This was a frequent step taken by younger sons, like the younger brother of Robert Bruce.

Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, justiciar of Scotia, for May Priory; has given for lighting of St Ethernan[?] of Isle of May, one stone of wax or 40d. annually received at 'Rossyn' (Rossie, FIF?) at fair of St Andrew.

Firm date 1253 X December 1255. Dating Notes: Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan as justiciar of Scotia; × his death. Source for Data Entry St Andrews Liber, 383. Trad. ID. St A. Lib., 383.

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'

The d'Elliot's and the Wars of Independence

Walter and Thomas of Alyth, esquires, taken at the battle of Dunbar, imprisoned at Tombridge and Gloucester respectively, 16 May 1296

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, 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 Alicht, esquires, to Tonbridge Castle.**

Firm date 16 May 1296. Place date (modern) Roxburgh. Related Place [Roxburgh](#). Source for Data Entry CDS, ii, no. 742. Trad. ID CDS, ii, no. 742. Charter type English Royal Administration

(Two spellings – almost certainly by the same clerk.)

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.

Firm date 8 June 1298 . Source for Data Entry Stevenson, Docs., ii, no. 519. Trad. ID Stevenson, Docs., ii, no. 519. Charter type English Royal Administration. Language Latin

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.

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.

Firm date Sunday 21 June 1304; Dating Notes: Sunday before the feast of Nativity of Blessed John the Baptist, 1304. Place date (modern) Inchmartine; Place date (document) Inchemartyn. Source for Data Entry Fraser, Melvilles, no. 12. Trad. ID Melvilles, no. 12. Charter type: Charter. Language: Latin.

(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.

(These are all, including Walter, men of considerable standing).

1297: Walter d'Elliot/d'Alyth's sons, Walter and Thomas, valets in the Earl of Atholl's retinue are to serve Edward I in France. The Earl's guarantee:

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 Inchtire, 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 Winchelsea.

*Firm date Thursday 22 August 1297. Dating Notes Thursday on the octaves of the Virgin, regnal year 25. Place date (modern) Winchelsea. Related Place **Winchelsea**. Source for Data Entry CDS, ii, no. 942. Charter type Letter, Referred to as letter patent.*

It must be presumed, from these letters patent, that the d'Elliot's were members of the earl's household retinue, following the customary inclusion of most barons and knights in the retinues of the great men. In 1306, however, John of Strathbogie, was the first earl to be executed for his role in the attempt to help Bruce's wife and other ladies to seek sanctuary, probably in Norway. His son David became an supporter of Balliol and the Comyns, becoming a turncoat to get back his earldom, then a traitor at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. His earldom was forfeited and given to Sir Neil Campbell. It was this deeply resented drafting of Scottish earls, barons and knights into Edward I's army which led men whose vested interests were established only in Scotland, into the support of Bruce in 1306.

Walter forfeits his barony of the Brae in 1306, following his 'outing' for Bruce.³⁵

(extracts from 131 forfeitures_

<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

Among the few whose names could not be traced in the record, after Bannockburn, was Walter d'Alyth, and it is easy to identify the reason: Walter brought a name with him to a new location, where its pronunciation was more accurately reflected by the spelling Elliot, although given the view that variations in medieval spelling of names seldom affected pronunciation, it is highly probable that Elliot was always pronounced as **Elliot**. The 17th century insertion of the i may very well have been prompted by printed news in the rash of leaflets circulated during that pre-revolutionary period, of Sir John Eliot in the Tower of London, but it is more likely that Elliot was the proper way to spell the name. If the spelling had been at fault, it probably

³⁵ Barrow, Robert Bruce, op cit., Appendix.

went back to the time when the LL of Elliot was pronounced in French, as it most certainly would have been in the 12th and 13th centuries. The adoption of a Norman way of using Elliot as a surname, d'Elliot, points to bilinguality, perhaps in French and Gaelic, followed by French and Middle Scots.

Bruce was most astute and careful in his settlements on forfeited lands, reserving the most important for those who had been with him in a tightly knit band from the beginning, whose military prowess was proven. The Elliots soon followed the custom of naming eldest sons after their benefactor, hence the succession of chieftain Roberts. Since Scott of Satchells is no longer to be doubted in relation to his naming of the town of Elliot, whose lands straddled the modern Perth and Angus county boundary, there can be no reason to doubt his reference to twelve great families, an indicator surely that the first Elliot to be given lands brought into Scotland with him a number of followers, members of Elliot collateral branches perhaps, whose womenfolk may have followed, or who integrated themselves via marriages into what was still a largely Gaelic society. It is highly likely that they had at least two generations of settlement in Cumberland behind them. In the space of two centuries they became, as a para-military family, 'Douglas folk,' second in size in Liddesdale only to the Armstrongs, both clans being placed by MacDonald Fraser among the most predatory of the Border clans.

Their first lord of Liddesdale, to whom they owed fealty, was Sir Robert Bruce, the king's natural son, who was killed in 1330 at the battle of Dupplin Moor, where disaster befell a large Scottish army confronted by the smaller army of the "disinherited." Thereafter the Elliots became the men of whichever member of the disputatious Douglas affinity got his hands on Liddesdale and displayed his inheritance of the formidable military leadership of Bruce's companion, "the Good Sir James". The first 'knight of Liddesdale' was the brave, redoubtable but scheming William Douglas, a second cousin only of the "Good Sir James", and guardian of the young William, Lord of Douglas, who would assassinate him on his return from exile in France, in order to reclaim what he thought belonged to him by right, Liddesdale.

The fact that Liddesdale was of great strategic importance to Bruce leads to the conclusion that Walter d'Eliot was one of the few of his most loyal and trusted wartime companions, and as such a member of a select group. Yet he lost the status of tenant-in-chief and baron in accepting the sub-tenancy. On the one hand it is true that Bruce was not as liberal with tenancies-in-chief as the MacMalcolms, and baronies were now to be granted only in *liberam baronium*. "*Baronies had existed since the 12th century, but under Robert it is clear that only a feudatory who held explicitly 'in free barony' had the rights of jurisdiction which custom ascribed to a true baron: the right to hear all suits among the lord's own tenants (saving appeal to the sheriff's court) and 'pit and gallows', the graphic phrase covering a very full competence in criminal cases where the crime had been committed within the barony or concerned its men and property.*"³⁶

It seems, therefore, that former tenants-in-chief would not have been barons if Bruce's new dispensation had been in force during the 12th, rather than the 14th century. In any event, the strategic importance to Bruce of Liddesdale tends to show that the Elliots were specially selected, and honoured to lead his new spearhead in the Borders. The previous occupants of Liddesdale had been with Galwegians, supporters of Balliol.

³⁶ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p 410

The curious case of “Elwald”

Being now clear that Walter brought with him into Liddesdale a very old name, that of Elliot (spelt initially as Ellot), his acquisition of the charter name *Elwald* is a mystery about which speculation is pointless, since it is clear from original documents and reports, that for whatever reason he was given the name, it existed side by side with *Ellot*. There are a number of possible reasons, but none can be proved. *Wald*, which was later taken to mean *wood* may have been a nickname indicating chieftainship of Elliots. In Old English it had meant ruler or chieftain, as with *Beorwalda*, the Flemish mercenary captain awarded the lands of Innes. Another possibility arises from the liberties which medieval *scriptores* took with names, when their first concern was to find a suitable Latin version for charter purposes, before retranslating it into what they thought was an acceptable translation into the vernacular. Many families fell foul of this tendency. Yet another reason could have been the wish to follow other Bretons, hitherto just called “Brito” (“the Breton”) in dallying with the idea of adopting a native surname. The historian of Brittany, Michael C E Jones has described this tendency among Bretons, who were latecomers to the new custom of acquiring family names.³⁷ Against this idea, however, is the fact that like the Breton William d’Aubigny, lord of Belvoir in Leicestershire, the Elliots had aspired to Norman status, in adopting d’Elliot. Others like the de la Zouche family, descended from the viscounts of Rohan, had done the same thing.

Original and secondary sources demonstrate quite clearly that these two names were both unrelated and interchangeable, with the Elliots themselves in everyday discourse using only their proud old name. In 1518, the Master of Hailes, the young Bothwell’s guardian, had been castigated for not obtaining pledges from the Elliots. The parallel existence of both names is evident here, with Elwand confined to Redheugh only:

“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.”³⁸

In 1561, when Martin Elliot of Braidley took over the wardship of his infant nephew, Robert 16th, he took the name Ellwald, while the lad’s surname reverted to Ellot!

(Textbox p 34)

³⁷ Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany*, p 83.

³⁸ *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 Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Volume 1
 By Scotland. Privy Council, John Hill Burton, David Masson, Peter Hume Brown,
 Henry Paton, Robert Kerr Hannay

1561.

QUEEN MARY.

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

Memorandum, that lettres be direct chargeing thir personis underwritin to compeir befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, the day of December nixt to cum, for thair advyse to be gevin in materis concernyng 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, Martine Elwald of Reideuch, Robert Elliot of Reidheuch, Williame Elliot callit young Williame, David Turnbull of Wauchop, Thomas Hoppringle of Murecleuch, Williame Elliot, 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, Johne Hoppringle of the Bentis, James Ker of Corbet, Andro Ker of Graden.

The wildly inconsistent spelling of Scottish parliamentary drafters, set out in an Act of Parliament of 1585 reproduced in "The Ewes Valley," is a list of those pardoned or given amnesty by James VI. Among them are:

"ninian thome george and will ellatis (plural of ellat) = (*Ninian, Tom, George and Will Elliot*)

"Jon ellot in wodend" (*Woodend*)

"rowe ello of thair" (there)

"hall hob and will ellottis bres (*Hall, Hob and Will Elliot, brothers*)

"willie ellat"

"Jok ellat in bowgranis."³⁹

³⁹ Reproduced in Brenda Morrison and Bruce McCartney's "The Ewes Valley", printed by McCartney of Langholm in 2000.

Appendix

Other Bretons settled in Scotland

An Elliot daughter:

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; Dating Notes; Alexander III charter of Cassingray to Sir Nicholas (_Handlist_, no. 140) × charter of King John (_Handlist_, no. 376; _Erroll Chrs._, no. 17). The attestation of John, archdeacon of St Andrews, suggests that the sequence presented in _Fasti_, p. 394 is possibly mistaken. **The attestation of Ralph de Lascelles may argue for an early date in this range.** Source for Data Entry HMC Fifth Report, App., 'Muniments of Sir J. Bethune, Bart.', 624, no. 5.; Trad. ID HMC 5, no. 5; Calendar number 3/132/1; Charter type Charter; Language Latin; Original (contemporaru) ves.*

Elyoth and Elyot , 15th century Angus

ELYOT: Perhaps from Elliot in the parish of Arbirlot in Angus, in 1254 Eloth. Patrick Elyoth, capellanus sancte crucis de Montross, **1437** (REB., II, 56). John Elyot, tenant of Welton of Balbrogi, **1473** (Cupar-Angus, I, p. 184).⁴⁰

Ralph Breton/Brito 1203 × 1207 witnessed the following charters (Lothian)

3/590/9 (*Holy. Lib.*, no. 41) Gift of teinds of charcoal of Carriden (WLO) and other teinds

3/590/7 (*Holy. Lib.*, no. 44) Renewal of land of Ogilface (WLO)

3/590/8 (*Holy. Lib.*, no. 33) Renewal of church of Bolton (ELO) with half a ploughgate and teinds of mill of Bolton

3/497/5 (*Newb. Reg.*, no. 49) Gift of land in Leith (MLO)

William Breton/Brito – participant with other barons in a perambulation -Fife

Wednesday 22 Oct. 1231	Confirmation of recognition of perambulation between Dunduff (FIF) and lands of Dunfermline Abbey	3/194/1 (<i>Dunf. Reg.</i> , no. 196)
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⁴⁰ *The Surnames of Scotland* (1946) by George Fraser Black (1866-1948)

la Zouche: A noble family of Breton origin (see note below)

Inquisition at Berwick, on Sunday next after St Bartholomew's day, 24th year [26 August 1296], before Robert de Joneby, sheriff of Dumfries, by Sir John of Gelston, Sir Donald son of Cane, knights; Gilbert de Southwick, Ralph de Campania, Adam of Colvend, Walter son of Richard of Twynholm, Thomas de Arbygland, Cuthbert Makgilwinni, Patrick McGilboytin, John de Bondeby, Michael of Kirkdale, and John de Monreith, who find on oath **that Lady Elena de la Zouche** held in capite in the sheriffdom of Dumfries the third part of the villa of Girthon, and of the villa of Senwick worth £34 yearly; the 6th part of Troqueer and Drumflat, worth £4; also in the villa of Kelton, a mark land and one pound of wax in all issues. **Alan de la Zouche** is next heir and 24 years of age and more. She owes 1 ½ knight's service and the third of one half knight. e: Inquisition at Berwick, on Monday next after St Bartholomew's day, 24th year [27 August 1296], by Robert Melville, Thomas Kerr, John Ramsay, Thomas Sibbald, William of Kinloch, Adam Ramsay, Malcolm Ramsay, Roderic de Admulti, William of Abercrombie, Adam de Valognes, Henry of Tarvit, Malcolm of Auchtermuchty, Robert of Orrock, who find on oath **that Elena de la Zouche died seised in demesne in the county of Fife** of the third part of the lands of Dysart FIF and Strathon worth yearly £7 6s. 8d. She held in capite. Also, the free service of Roger de Schazaury, and the third of half a mark of his fixed rent. **Alan de la Zouche** is her next heir and 24 years of age. He has done homage to the king for the **above and his other lands in Scotland**. **Oliver de la Zouche** does the third of a knight's service for the same and for the land of Leuchars. f: Inquisition at Berwick, on Tuesday next after St Bartholomew's day, 24th year [28 August 1296], before Reginald sheriff of Ayr, by Sir Bernard of Keith, knight, Hugh of Blair, Ralph of Eglinton, Robert de Pitcon, Adam of Home, Ralph Faireye, Robert de Boiville, Adam de la More, William Kerr, Walter of Lynn, William de la More, Niall of Dunlop, who find on oath that Lady Elena de la Zouche held in chief in Cunningham in the county of Ayr, the third of the moiety of Irvine by the third of a knight's service worth £6 10s. 4 ½d. and 2s. 2 ½d. **Sir Alan de la Zouche is next heir and 24 years of age. The sheriff and jurors append their seals.**

Firm date 25 August 1296 X 28 August 1296; Probable date 25-28 Aug. 1296; Source for Data Entry CDS, ii, no. 824; Trad. ID CDS, ii, no. 824; Calendar number 4/38/25; Charter type Inquest; Language English.

[According to Michael Jones (translated from French:) "Several of the men of Alain, (the Breton) Earl of Richmond, of modest status, came by such sudden fortune (marriage) to lift themselves into minor baronial ranks. It was still possible as well, for those who arrived later in England, like Alain, younger brother of Eudes, the viscount of Porhoët, in the second half of the 12th century, to found in identical fashion, noble families of long survival (in his case, the de la Zouche family."⁴¹ was Alain de Rohan, member of a powerful Breton family which gained only modest landholdings in England post 1066. Several gained lordships in the Honour of Richmond, such as that of Bedale, first awarded to Alan of Penthièvre, nephew of Conan, Duke of Brittany, by William the Conqueror in 1066. Porhoët, like Penthièvre, is in Morbihan, where the strongest Breton clusters of Elliots and Eliots are found today. Note the Zouche lands in Lothian and north of the Forth. This was a common feature for many baronial families, as Malcolm IV and William I continued their grandfather's "Europeanization" of Scotland.]

Hugh Brett and Pain de Braose. Witnesses:

Description **King David has granted and given in alms lands in Lothian to St Cuthbert and his monks (of Durham Cathedral Priory).**

⁴¹ Michael C E Jones, *Notes sur quelques familles bretonnes, in The Creation of Brittany, a Late Medieval State*, Hambledon Press, 1988, p 78

Firm date 23 April 1126 X 24 March 1127; Dating Notes 1126, in the third year of the king's reign; Place date (modern) Peebles; Place date (document) Peebles; Related Place [Peebles](#); Source for Data Entry Chrs. David I, nos 31, 32; Trad. ID; Chrs. David I, nos 31, 32; Calendar number 1/4/10; Charter type Charter; Language Latin

(Note: the de Braose family acquired lands in Devon when Judicaël de Totnes died without a male heir)

Henry Brito a witness to.....

Description : William of Lamberton has given, granted and by this his present charter established to St Andrews Priory the church of Bourtie (ABD), with lands, teinds, common pasture and all other just pertinents, in perpetual and pure alms.

Firm date 1174 X 20 August 1199; Dating Notes Alexander as sheriff of Stirling × episcopal confirmation by Bishop Matthew of Aberdeen. Source for Data Entry St Andrews Liber, 266-7. Trad. ID St A. Lib., 266-7

Thomas Brito, a witness to...

Hugh of Biggar son of Robert son of Waltheof of Biggar, patron of the church of Strathaven, has given, granted, and by this his present charter established, to Lesmahagow Priory in pure and perpetual alms all the teinds of grain of the land of Richard of Baird lying on the south side of the Avon (LAN), namely Greater Kype and Lesser Kype and Glengavel and Poneil and Lochar, to be as a simple benefice, free and quit from all service, custom, exaction and burden, secular and ecclesiastical.....

Firm date 4 February 1229; Dating Notes 16 kal. Mar., AD 1228; Source for Data Entry - Kelso Liber, i, no. 186. Trad. ID Kel. Lib., no. 186; Calendar number 3/89/2 ; Charter type Charter; Language Latin.

Bernard, son of Brian, lord of Hadden (Roxb.) Bretons?

Bernard son of Brian has given, granted and by this present charter established to Kelso Abbey ten acres of land in the territory of Hadden (ROX) on the western part of the *villa* where he assigned it to them, and in another part of the *villa*, land, by stated bounds which include land of the monks, just as he perambulated them in presence of many, in free and perpetual alms. He gave and granted this land to them for the salvation of his lord, King William, and for the salvation of him and his wife and his ancestors and successors.

Firm date 9 December 1165 X 1178; Dating Notes accession of King William x _Kelso Liber_ ii, no. 388. Source for Data Entry Kelso Liber, i, no. 217; Trad. ID Kel. Lib., no. 217; Calendar number 3/265/2; Charter type Charter; Language Latin.

Comment: *The Name Bernard was popular among Bretons, but not exclusively so, but when it appears alongside a Brian in the same family, this raises suspicions of a Breton origin.*

Brian of Perth, among witnesses

Richard of Kinnaird, nepos of Ralph Ruffus, has given and granted and by this his present charter established to Henry (of Stirling), son of Earl David, brother of the king of Scots, the waterlead which descends from the mill of Kinnaird (PER) through the middle of his land to the march with Henry's land of Pitmiddle (PER), in feu and heritage, rendering annually one pound of cummin on the Assumption of the BVM.

Firm date circa 1200 X 4 December 1214; Dating Notes Grantor and Witnesses × death of King William I. Source for Data Entry NRS, GD 1/346/1. Trad. IDNRS, GD 1/346/1. Calendar number 3/320/1. Charter type Charter; Language Latin. Original (contemporary) yes

Comment: Again, 'Brian' (Brien, Brient) was especially favoured by Bretons. This Brian is included since, as Matthew Hammond has observed, there appears to have been a Breton settlement in Perth.

Joel – Anglicisation of Juhel, the 'francisation' of Judicaël, a unique Breton name.

		<u>Denis, dean of Angus and Forfar (fl.1211×14-1225×39); Henry Bald, burgess of Perth; Henry, son of Geoffrey de Liberatione of Perth; James, son of Ketell of Perth; James, son of Uhtred, grievie of Perth; John of Perth, master, vicar of Perth; John, son of David, burgess of Perth; Richard, nepos of Master John of Perth; Richard, son of Andrew, burgess of Perth; Simon de Camera, grievie of Perth; William of Lynn, burgess of Perth; William, son of Joel, grievie of Perth; William, son of Serlo</u>	
1209	<u>Quitclaim of toft in South Street in Perth (PER)</u>	Pledge	<u>3/646/1 (Scone Lib., no. 97)</u>

Hugh 'Brito' exchanges land in the Huntingdon earldom for lands in the Garioch:

Hugh Brito has received from Earl David, brother of the king of Scotland, in exchange for Conington (Cambs.), the land that was Gillandres Buch's in the Garioch (i.e., Glanderstone, ABD), a half ploughgate of land in Flinder (ABD) and 7 acres of land near to Loenig and Drocion [?], and that land which Abraham the mair and Eyncus (Angus?) held, and he (Hugh) has quitclaimed all his right and claim in Conington, and has sworn to this in the presence of William, king of Scotland, in the hand of David of Lindsey, justiciar of the king of Scots, also that whenever Earl David by counsel of his men require security from him, he will perform it for him in England.

Firm date circa 1208 X 4 December 1214; Dating Notes David of Lindsey as justiciar x death of King William. Source for Data Entry Lindores Cartulary, no. 129

Select bibliography.

Inevitably, since history has often to be read backwards, from later to earlier events and circumstances, in order to bring logic into the establishment of connections between the two, any study of the history of the Elliot clan has to start with **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) 1974. Without their reminder of Scott of Satchell's claim about the Elliots, no delving into digitized old maps of Scotland would have been prompted.

To get an adequate picture of the migration of Bretons to England, Wales and on to Scotland, I found the following to be both useful and essential:

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Frank Musgrove, *The North of England, A History from Roman Times to the Present*, (Basil Blackwell) 1990.

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