

THE STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TOWN OF ELIOT

The early history of a Scots-Breton Border clan, transplanted to the Middle March of Scotland.

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In his book *The Steel Bonnets* the late George MacDonald Fraser described one particular Border kinship, that of the Elliots, as ‘the second family of Liddesdale...although less numerous than the Armstrongs,.(and).. as predatory as any clan on the frontier.’¹ Among the unusually large number of variants of the name, he noted that of Dalliot, which, as shown below, was in reality the French-corrupted Breton toponymic surname d’Aliot, whose E variant, d’Eliot, was merely a matter of medieval scribal preference, probably arising from use of the same initial phoneme, ð. The definitive history and genealogy of the Elliot clan itself, from the late fifteenth century onwards, was compiled and written by the late Dowager Lady Eliot of Stobs and Sir Arthur Eliot, the 11th baronet of Stobs, and published for the first time in 1974.² The social, administrative and political background to the problems of the Middle March during the crucial period of 1573 to 1625, has recently been more comprehensively analysed and covered by Anna Groundwater, whose history of the Borders, including their pacification, is recommended to all those taking more than a passing interest in Border history, and possibly their own Border genealogies.³ The purpose of this essay is, on the contrary, to trace the earlier, medieval history of the Elliots, and bring to the fore long neglected or overlooked evidence which corroborates the assertion by Walter Scott, the first earl of Buccleuch, recounted during his old age by his junior kinsman, Walter Scott of Satchells, that the Elliots were transplanted from a town called Elliot near the foot of Glen Shee to Liddesdale by Robert Bruce.

Until recent times the earlier history of the Elliots was enveloped in a mystery deepened by the destruction of old family archives by fire at Stobs Castle in 1712. Nevertheless, old maps held by the National Library of Scotland, now accessible at the click of a computer mouse, had for a very long time remained unseen and unchecked by family historians, and if seen by other historians, unfortunately misinterpreted. As will be discussed below, the presence of a

¹ G.MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, (London, 1971),59.

² The Dowager Lady Eliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Eliott 11th baronet of Stobs, “*The Elliots, the Story of a Border Clan*,”(Chippenham, 1974) .

³ Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March 1573-1625, Power, Kinship, Allegiance*, (Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2010).

town called Eliot* should have attracted the interest of those historians seeking to establish the existence and identity of certain kings' thanages, and to determine whether or not at some stage any part or whole of a thanage was alienated as a feudal military tenure.⁴ The possibility of the reintegration of lands formerly alienated from royal demesne lands, following the chaos of the wars of independence, seems not to have been entertained, at least in the case of the thanage of Alyth. (* No apology is made for changes in spelling, any of which – Eliot, Eliott, Elliot or Elliott - is phonetically correct).

Further research into the earlier history of the Elliots was prompted by the results of Y-chromosome research, involving over 290 male Elliots, revealing Breton (Celtic-Brythonic) ancestry, and thus corroborating an insistence by a French contact of Breton origin, that the name Elliot was indeed Breton. (DNA results, Appendix A). It would perhaps not be too trite to point out that this could have been confirmed at any time during any chance thumbing through certain Breton *annuaires* or telephone directories. Such findings instantly exposed Elliot forgetfulness in relation to Scottish ancestral complexities, brought about by the so-called 'Davidian Revolution,' and the introduction of feudal military tenure into Scotland in the hands of many immigrants of Norman, Breton, Flemish and Picard origin. The establishment of Elliot Breton origin is a matter of some historical significance, although, in contrast to research into post-Conquest Breton settlement in England, by, for example, Michael Jones and Katharine Keats-Rohan, little research into Breton settlement in Scotland has been undertaken north of the Border. Walter fitzAlan the Steward, a Breton, was one of Henry I's 'new men,' brought to England during the third wave of Breton migration during early 12th century, but Elliots were included in the first wave of Breton migration, during the conquest of 1066. Many would undoubtedly have found themselves under the leadership of Brien, son of Eudo, the Breton count of Penthièvre, during the suppression of revolt at Exeter in 1069 by a largely Breton army, joined afterwards by Somerset levies in the bloody defeat of a West Saxon invading army, led by the sons of Godwin. Others may have served Brien's brother, Alain ar rouz, lord of Richmond. For the time being academic attention also involving Y-chromosome research, seems now to be focussed, on the strength of Flemish ancestry among the Scots of today's generations.⁵

⁴ See Alice Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland*, (Oxford, 2016), 31, citing Alexander Grant, 'Thanes and Thanages [in Scotland], from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries', in *Medieval Scotland: crown, lordship and community: Essays presented to G.W.S. Barrow*, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), 39-81.

⁵ www.flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Oversight of the introduction of feudal military tenure in 12th and 13th century Scotland led for some time to false assumptions about the relationship between all Elliots (Eliots, Eliotts and Eliotts), English, Welsh and Scots. Scots-Breton Elliots were never quite sure about their shared kinship with Anglo-Breton Eliots, especially those represented by the Eliots of the earldom of St Germans in Cornwall, and their famous ancestor, the parliamentary rebel, Sir John Eliot, whose death in the Tower of London in 1632 supposedly led to the reinsertion of the letter *i* into the Scottish *Ellot*, the Border dialect version of the name. It required only a telephone conversation with the late Peregrine Eliot earl of St Germans, now succeeded by his son Albert, to confirm that a long-standing belief in his Norman ancestry, in the total absence of any surviving family document, amounted to no more than an assumption. At the same time, despite being unsure of their own ethnic origins, their distant Scottish Elliot cousins nevertheless felt that they were not of Norman descent, and after all, the St Germans name had only one L and one T! (In sixteenth century St Germans parish records the name was Ellyot.)

The questions which arise from the results of a well administered Elliot DNA project relate therefore to evidence of an earlier Elliot feudal tenure in either Angus or Perthshire; the exclusivity of *Aliot* and *Eliot* as Breton co-variant names, which fit neatly into a pattern of progressive *déformation par francisation* of an old Breton name, from which few such Breton names escaped; the identity of the first member of the Aliot/Eliot Anglo-Breton kinship to settle in Scotland and the fate of his descendants during the Scottish wars of independence. A further discovery of historical significance, in addition to the identification of a Scots-Breton kinship other than that of the (fitz)Alan Stewarts, overturns an assumption that the king's thanage of Alyth in Perthshire had remained intact throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. This view is based on Robert I's reference in a charter of 1319 to his thanage of Alyth, but there is now clear evidence that the thanage was restored to its older boundaries some years after the resettlement of the forfeited Elliots (also known by their charter or chancery name as Alyths) in Liddesdale. Finally, no study of the medieval history of the Scottish branch of a medieval Breton kinship would be complete without reference to the original post-Conquest settlement of Breton mercenaries in England, the first appearance of English Eliots and Elyots in the historical record, and the rise to prominence of a number of Eliots during the aftermath of the Hundred Years War.

Without the benefit of ready access to many primary sources and university libraries, my objective has been to find nevertheless a sufficiency of evidence, relying on secondary

sources, plus those primary sources that have now thankfully been digitised and included in databases such as those of The People of Medieval Scotland,⁶ the National Library of Scotland⁷ and the muster rolls of the Hundred Years War.⁸ Information based on French government databases, such as that relating to the geographic distribution of certain names, is available on French websites, such as that of Geopatronyme. Electronic searches at the latter website lead to the discovery of certain facts that were unlikely to ever have been brought to light by manual searches.

A town called Elliot near to the foot of Glen Shee.

At the age of sixteen Walter Scott of Satchells ran away from home to join the regiment which his Border heidsman and kinsman, Walter, the first earl of Buccleuch, had raised in the Borders and transported to Holland in 1629. In 1688, at a ripe old age, he published his *'True History of several honourable families of the right honourable name of Scot, in the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, and others adjacent, gathered out of ancient chronicles, histories, and traditions of our fathers.'*⁹ In it he recounted what the earl had asserted, namely that:

‘The town of Elliot was their antiquitie,
Which stands in Angus, at the foot of Glenshie;
With brave King Robert Bruce they hither came;
Which is three hundred and eighty years agone;
In West Teviotdale* these gentlemen did dwell, (*An old way of describing Liddesdale)
They were twelve great families, I hear my goodsir tell;
Their chief was a Baron of renown,
Designed Reid-heugh, which is now called Lariston.’¹⁰

The poetic form notwithstanding, corroborative evidence now reveals this to have been a straightforward, unembellished account of the earl’s reminiscences. It is entirely possible that one or more Elliots of Teviotdale (but perhaps not Liddesdale) were serving in Buccleuch’s regiment at the time, and conversation may have turned to the dire straits in which the clan ‘cheife,’ Robert Elliot the seventeenth of Redheugh, and grandson of Janet Scott of

⁶ www.poms.ac.uk/

⁷ www.maps.nls.uk/

⁸ <http://www.medievalsoldier.org/database/>

⁹ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Henry Paton, ‘Scott, Walter, of Satchells (b. 1613, d. in or after 1688)’, rev. Alexander Du Toit, first published 2004, see www.oxforddnb.com/index/101024927/Walter-Scott-of-Satchells, (accessed 14 August, 2016)

¹⁰ Scott, Walter, of Satchells, cited in The Dowager Lady Eliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Eliott, 11th baronet of Stobs, *The Elliots, The Story of a Border Clan* (Chippenham, 1974), 346.

Buccleuch, had barely escaped summary justice during the brutal pacification of the Borders which followed the accession of James VI to the throne of England. Robert was clinging on to his lands in Liddesdale, facing allegedly trumped up charges of theft and plotting to assassinate Buccleuch, who had had for some time retained in his hands an Order of Removal (forfeiture) against the Elliot chieftain. He had, however, only five years earlier, been persuaded by letter from Francis Hamilton, a friend of Robert's former brother-in-law, John Murray of Lochmaben and Earl of Annandale, to secure postponement of Robert's trial.¹¹ Buccleuch served on the Privy Council with Lochmaben, and this perhaps led to the Council's reluctance to have manufactured or shaky evidence tested in open court. Buccleuch's attitude towards the Elliots nevertheless contrasted that of his father 'the Bold Buccleuch,' particularly with the prospect of a grant to him of forfeited Elliot Liddesdale lands in prospect. The eviction of Redheugh would have gone counter to old Border traditions, and the close relationships and obligations between greater and lesser Border lairds so well described by Anna Groundwater. The grant of a respite on all charges against Robert soon followed the death of James VI and I, but 'the long conflict had taken its toll and left him virtually a ruined man.'¹² Married to Lady Jean Stewart, he was dead by 1673. We therefore have here the historical background that makes Buccleuch's claim as to the resettlement of the Elliots so creditworthy. The Elliot clan chieftain Robert the seventeenth of Redheugh was finding himself in precarious and straitened circumstances, so that Buccleuch would have had no reason to invent or embroider what he disclosed to his teenage kinsman and others. The earl was wrong only slightly, when placing Eliot in Angus, bordering lands surrounding what was probably the Eliot baronial caput in Auchtereleot, stretching to the river Isla forming the Perthshire boundary with Angus.

Alyth versus Eliot

Buccleuch's story is well corroborated. A search of the National Library of Scotland map database reveals that the name of Alyth did not appear on any surviving map until the second

¹¹ Robert's first wife was the daughter of John Murray (later Earl of Annandale). His second wife, whom he married sometime after 1618, was Lady Jane Stewart, third daughter of the Earl of Bothwell.

¹² *The Elliots*, 75.

* An old description which included Liddesdale.

half of the eighteenth century. On seven surviving maps the names found, where Alyth appears today, are

- Forest of Elycht, Elycht Burn, the town of Elycht (Timothy Pont, 1583x1596)
- Forest of Elycht, Elycht, and Water of **Elyeht** (with a distinct *e*) (Pont)
- Forest of Elicht, Kirk of Elicht (Robert Gordon, 1636x1652)
- Kirk of Elit, Achter Elit (Gordon 1654)
- Forest of Elit (Gordon and J.Blaeu, 1654)
- **Town of Eliot**, village of **Auchtereleot** (some four miles to the east) (John Adair, before 1722.)
- **Town of Eliot**, two maps by Herman Moll (1745).

Full details and NLS references are shown in Appendix B. Adair was a cartographer employed by the Scottish Privy Council, whilst Moll had a European-wide reputation. Both used triangulation.

The early fourteenth century existence of a thanage of Alyth is confirmed by a charter of Robert I, dated 8 February, 1319, granting lands in his thanage of Alyth to Coupar Abbey.¹³ A right of way granted by Alexander II to Coupar Abbey in September, 1234, reveals the prior designation of a royal forest of Alyth through which it passed.¹⁴ There is no surviving record of the presence or existence of a thane of Alyth, at the time when Elias d'Aliot or d'Eliot, designated as *d'Alyth*, witnessed a charter of 1189 x 1203 by the Bishop of Dunkeld, granting certain lands to Coupar Angus Abbey. He and Thomas Giffard were the only two lay witnesses to it. At some time between 1196 and 1199 William I granted a number of tofts to William Giffard (a surname familiar in the Breton marches), including one at his castle of Alyth, whose type of construction, given the scant remains which exist today, remains a matter of speculation. The word *thane* appears in thirty-three entries between 1200 and 1295 in the PoMS database, reflecting the growing use of lay charters and other surviving records, but there is no record of a 'thane of Alyth.'

The assignation of the Gaelic-derived name *Alyth* (*aileadh* = *slope or brae* ?) to Elias, with no further qualification, signifies almost certainly his status as a lesser baron and tenant-in-chief, infefted with a sizeable alienated portion, probably the thanage minus the king's forest of Alyth, whose forestership in fee he may very well have acquired. Although there is no record of any forester-in-fee, to resort to modern terminology, there must have been a vacancy for one. With forest rangers (Aliot/Eliot

¹³ RRS, v, no.145.

¹⁴ RRS, iii, no.212.

dependants) under his command, his status would have been equivalent to that of a sheriff. The imprisonment in England in 1296 of his descendants, Walter the Aliot/Eliot chieftain and his brother Thomas, taken undoubtedly as surrendered or captured men-at-arms at Dunbar, alongside others with prominent names, indicates that Elias was no ‘minor tenant,’ as may be suggested by those taken by surprise by maps proving the existence of a town called more familiarly, Eliot, and the settlement of Auchtereleot, which was not replaced by the charter name of Alyth until the second half of the eighteenth century. Auchtereleot now appears as Auchter Alyth on Ordnance Survey maps. The disparity between the two names is clearly not a matter of spelling, between a superfluous new written surname and a spoken one one already adopted in the Norman fashion, and jealously maintained.

The familiar usage and preference of the uniquely Breton name Aliot/ Eliot (both alternative spellings) is not too difficult to comprehend, even if it remains a matter of conjecture that Elias was fully aware, as a non-Gaelic speaker, of the name assigned to him in writing only. Except for the Normans and Angevins, and some Bretons who adopted Norman-French practice, the acquisition of hereditary geographic or toponymic surnames was in its infancy in England and Scotland. It is doubtful whether Elias’s guilty or innocent insistence on retention of his proudly vaunted Breton name would have bothered those of his office-holding continental superiors, with their own hereditary continental surnames and naming customs. The expectation that a man already carrying a hereditary surname would abandon it would have been highly unlikely. Locally sourced names were needed, on the other hand, for those yet without surnames, including Bretons given the by-name *Brito*, and Flemings named as *Flandrensis*, the latter including those men who adopted as local toponymic or geographic names such as Murray (de Moravia), Douglas or Innes.

Why did Elias, innocently or stubbornly, persist with his Breton surname, and leave its imprint not just on later maps, but also as a spoken name, one that was still in familiar usage and communicated when seventeenth and early eighteenth century cartographers visited Eliot alias Alyth on survey? The answer is suggested by one historian specialising in the history of Brittany and of successive post Conquest Breton settlements in England:

‘The Bretons are unusual among mediaeval peoples for having a highly developed awareness of their national and cultural distinctness, and this awareness was not confined to the predominantly Celtic Bretons of the west of Brittany. Eleventh-century seigneurs of north-eastern Brittany, not yet part of the Norman adventure but having contact with Normans and holding Norman lands, were apt to give charters referring to themselves as *Haimo, patria Brito, or Riualionius (Rivallon), Britannicus gente*.’¹⁵

¹⁵ K.S.B.Keats-Rohan, *The Bretons and Normans of England 1066-1154, the family, the fief and the feudal monarchy*, Nottingham Medieval Studies 36 (1992), 42-78, at 7.

In no way therefore would Elias and his descendant barons and later lairds, as non-baronial tenants-in-chief, or their cadet tenants and clansmen, have relinquished their uniquely Breton surname. It is highly likely that Elias, probably a younger son, like so many of the landless knights of continental origin infested in Scotland, received his feudal tenure during the late 1170s or 1180s, the period during which many such men responded to opportunities created during several decades (1124 to 1214) by David I and his grandsons. The forfeiture of Elliot lands in 1306 attests to a tenant *in capite* of some rank and standing, with the sort of military reputation shared by most Breton mercenaries and their descendants. Evidence adduced below suggests that more than one generation of the descendants of the Elliot chieftain, a title now justified by DNA evidence of as close a kinship as any which existed in Scotland, served as valets during adolescence in the household of the earls of Atholl. Entitlement to use of the surname *d'Alyth*, by which they were formally known by francophone Scottish scribes and others who could read, the Aliot/Eliots clearly monopolised such power as existed in the locality on which they imprinted their own jealously guarded Breton name, as their distant cousins would eventually do, at Port Eliot in Cornwall.

D'Aliot, spelt as d'Alight and d'Alyght by triumphant English scribes.

There is clear evidence that when, following defeat at the Battle of Dunbar in 1296, an English (Anglo-Norman) clerk asked the prisoners Walter and his brother Thomas for their names, they responded with their Breton name, spelt today as *d'Aliot*, but spelt then as *d'Alight* and *d'Alyght* (see page 16, below). Historians of the English language have an explanation for this:

‘The Old English symbol *Ʒ* was an Irish form; *g* entered English writing from the continent. In late OE *Ʒ* had three values. In Middle English times it acquired a somewhat different form, *ȝ*, called yogh, and was used for two sounds that came to be spelt **as y and gh** later in the period. This symbol, which continued to be written in Scotland long after the English had given it up, has been mistaken for z – the symbol that printers, having no *ȝ* in their fonts, used for it – as in the pronunciation of the names *Kenzie* (compare *Kenny*, with revised spelling to indicate a pronunciation somewhat closer to the historical one) and *Menzies*’.¹⁶

David Crystal adds a further explanation:

‘Following the Norman Conquest, the distinctively Anglo-Saxon symbols gradually disappeared at first because the French scribes preferred more familiar letters, and later

¹⁶ Thomas Pyles, John Algeo, *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (London, 1993), 137.

because Continental printers did not have the sorts to print earlier symbols. Ash was replaced by **a**, thorn and eth by **th**, yogh chiefly by **gh**, and wynn by the new letter **w**.¹⁷

The digraph *gh* thus represented one of the three values of the old letter *yogh*, the palatal phoneme /j/ (of ‘*yield*’) and its allophone *io*, as in *Aliot*. English chancery scribes would have been completely ignorant of any Gaelic alternative and any recent translation of *Alight* or *Alyght*, as *Alyth* is therefore erroneous. As shown in muster rolls, a century later English scribes were writing the name as either Eliot or Elyot. As already mentioned the written A and E of Aliot and Eliot both represented the same phoneme. This can also be seen in the medieval variant *Ulliott* which survives today in small numbers alongside *Alliot* and *Allott* in the north of England, and *Olliott*, which has not survived.

There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the lands alienated to the Aliot/Eliots were sufficiently extensive, and the obligations attached to them sufficiently important, thus refuting their unbroken late twelfth and thirteenth century existence as a thanage, before recovery and recreation as such by Bruce before 1319, almost certainly long after his resettlement of the Elliots in Liddesdale. Bearing in mind the punctiliousness of scribes in their assignment of rank and status when recording names, thanes, usually witnesses, whose names and thanages can be seen, as already mentioned above, in some thirty-three entries in the POMs database, are invariably identified as such, and it is worth repeating that there is no mention of athane of Alyth. The services to be rendered to the king by Elias and his descendant chieftains may not have been any whole or fractional knight service, in the light of what the king’s needs would have been in the absence of athane, and with lands immediately adjacent to the king’s forest, he would have been perhaps the only candidate as a forester-in-fee. A new ‘vacancy’ must also have arisen with what could only have been a recent construction of a castle requiring duties as keeper or castle guard.¹⁸ Aliot/Eliot forestership, as already suggested, may even have been exercised in conjunction with a forest court. During the late twelfth century the Aliot/Eliot *fee* was undoubtedly therefore a lesser barony, although much later, following developments which led to a more precise description of lands held *in liberam baroniam* and the creation of a new class of lords of parliament, future Aliot/Eliot chieftains would, like other tenants *in capite*, have fitted Robert Bartlett’s

¹⁷ David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, (Cambridge, 1995), 258.

¹⁸ Today’s remains consist of a section of wall and traces of ramparts: M.Coventry, *The Castles of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2016, 16.

description of ‘non-baronial tenants-in-chief.’¹⁹ Men such as these became lairds and the ‘familiar squires’ of the greater magnates, as the Elliots much later became to the Red Douglasses. A further clue as to an Aliot/Eliot forest wardenship may perhaps be found in the possible use of an additionally acquired nickname or by-name as a new charter surname in Liddesdale, that of *Elwald*, a shortened marriage of Eliot to *wald*, resembling a well known but formerly elite English name which, as surviving sixteenth century documents show, no self-respecting Scoto-Breton, proud of a frequently recounted ancestry, would have tolerated for long.

The Breton origin of the name Elliot and its co-variant names.

George MacDonald Fraser wrote that ‘a curiosity about the name Elliot is that there are more than seventy ways of spelling it, from Aylewood to Ilwand, and Dalliot (d’Alliot) to Elliot...’²⁰ Like many Gaelic names exposed to English, few Breton names escaped corruption by French, or ‘*déformation par francisation.*’ The Breton *de Rohan* was a French version of *Roc’haned*, whilst *Judicaël*, the Breton lord of the vast honour of Totnes in Devon with its seventy knights’ fees became *Judhel* then *Juhel*. At the prompting of Professor Louis Elegoët of St Derrien in Brittany, from whose surname the English variants Elligott, Ellacott and Ellicott are undoubtedly derived, it became possible to trace the phenomenon of Elliot variants back to Brittany, and discover that the names Elegouët, Elegoët, Elliot and Alliot, and the shorter forms Elliot and Allot, are co-variants of an ancient Breton tribal toponym, that of *Halegouët*, or *Halgoët* (all letters pronounced), a name whose survival is owed to its long pre-revolutionary existence as a *vicomté*. The word *haleg* (Welsh *helig*) translates as the French ‘*saule*,’ English *willow* and Scots *saughtree*, applied not only to an early medieval kindred but also to its extensive medieval forested territory located near to the modern town of Plouzané and the village of Allegot in Finistère. Its progressive corruption was almost certainly a function of time, demographic upheaval during the long struggle against the Viking occupation which ended with the victory of the Breton count Alan Barbetorte in 939, and Celtic expansionism during what the French historian, La Borderie, described as the ‘bretonisation of Haute Bretagne,’ which brought together both Breton and French-speaking populations.²¹ The pattern to which *Halegouët* variants conform is striking. No one variant

¹⁹ R.Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, (Oxford, 2000), 213.

²⁰ George Macdonald-Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets* (London,1995), 58.

²¹ A.de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1899), 28-29, cited in Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany, a Late Medieval State* (London, 1988), 29.

can be discounted without simultaneously striking out its co-variant. They all stand and fall together. In table (1) below, the pattern is set initially by the variants Hallegouët, Allegouët and Ellegouët. As the name became progressively shortened through elision and corruption, the same basic Hal--, Hel--, Al---El--- pattern was retained. The greater the distance from their ancestral Halegouët lands in Finistère, the greater the *déformation*, involving elision of the same letters in each of the H-, A- and E- variants. Identification of all Halegouët variant names, especially those corrupted by French, would have been impossible without the creation of, and access to, an electronic database. Manual search, with the same objective, would have required an interminable effort. Since so few Breton names escaped corruption by French, any contention that the pattern of progressive corruption stopped with the purely Breton variants, confined to Finistère, did not, obviously, make sense, especially when Viking wars and later Celtic southern expansion, as described by de la Borderie, has to be taken into account. For the Breton name and its purely Breton spelling variants to have survived in such small numbers without further corruption was highly unlikely.

Hallegoët >	Allegoët >	Ellegouët
6 All Finistère	32 All Finistère	1 Finistère
Hallegot >	Allegot >	Elegoët
90 All Finistère	90 All Finistère	143 All Finistère
	Alliouët >	Helleouët >
	9 Loire Atlantique	34 Finistère
		Heleouët >
		13 Finistère
Halliot >	Alliot	Helliet
34 Loire Atlantique	2,790 Loire Atl. and Aisne	125, Côtes d'Amor
	Allot	
	1,037 Loire Atl.	
		Eliot
		1,484, Morbihan and Seine Maritime
		Elliot
		211, Morbihan
		Elliet
		3, Côtes d'Amor
		Elot
		14, Loire Atlantique

Table 1 : Progressive ‘*déformation par francisation*’ of Halegouët (Halgoët).

British Elegouët, Aliot/Eliot variants appearing in the census of 1881.²²

Allitt: 567, of which 301 in England, mostly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, areas of heavy Breton settlement, and with 26 in Scotland. The striking closeness of this variant, and that of *Allot[t]* below, to the spelling and pronunciation of the various medieval spellings of *Alyth*, (e.g. *Alitht*, *Alicht*, *Alect*) may have contributed to the ease of use of the surname Aliot or Eliot. Both of these versions were prone to further elision in both Brittany and Scotland.

Ellitt, a medieval survivor recorded in small numbers in Yorkshire.

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

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

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

Alletson: 194, the majority in Lancashire.

Elletson: 535, the majority in Yorkshire and Lancashire.

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

Ellacott: 772, main groups: 174 Devon, 55 Middlesex, 12 Cornwall, 12 Gloucestershire, 10. (Scotland 20). Henry Ellacott was the Elizabethan sheriff of Exeter who in 1578 contributed £25 to the defence of England against the Spanish Armada.²³

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

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

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

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

²² www.forebears.co.uk (accessed 17 November, 2015).

²³ Henry Brougham Guppy, *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* (London, 1890), 153, and at www.archive.org/details/homesoffamilynam00gupprich (accessed 18 February 2016).

Standardised phonetic spelling, governed by conventions rather than hard and fast rules, was not achieved until the time when Adair and Moll were the first cartographers to get the name Eliot 'right' in line with modern phonetic spelling, which allows Eliot to be spelt as Elliot, Eliott or Elliott. The Gaelic version of the Anglo-Breton name *Elegoët/Elligott*, that of *MacElligott*, found in Ireland is curious and intriguing. Following the Breton and Norman defeat of the Godwinson invasion army at Norham (a recently discovered battle site) in North Devon in 1069, William fitzOsbern, who had jointly led the Breton force with the Breton Count Brien, went on to invade and conquer South Wales. Breton settlement occurred not only in the old counties of Wessex, but also in the Welsh marcher counties, especially Gloucestershire. It was from these counties that forces were drawn by the marcher lords, and particularly Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, initially in aid of the deposed king of Leinster, Diarmait MacMurchada. The story of the earl's entanglement in Irish affairs and territorial aggrandisement, and the repossession of his confiscated Norman, Welsh and English lands in return for the surrender of his Irish possessions to Henry II, need no recounting here. It offers, however, perhaps the only feasible explanation for the addition of a Gaelic patronymic to the Breton *Elegoët* in Ireland.

The location of Elias d'Aliot/d'Eliot's family connections are unknown, although the larger groupings of Alliotts and Allotts in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and the connections which David I had, not only as the former earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, but also as lord of Hallamshire, make Yorkshire origins the best guess. David turned for help to Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx Abbey, and a group of Yorkshire knights on at least one occasion, before finding himself in embarrassing confrontation with them at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. The main holdings of the Bruces were in Cleveland, as were those of their vassals, the Johnstones and the Herries. When the geographic dispersal of the name variants shown above is added to the scattering of over fifty Eliot and Elyot men at arms and archers shown in Hundred Years' War muster rolls, it leads to the suspicion that more than just a few Aliot/Eliots were at Hastings in 1066, and that their modest holdings, knights' fees and probably several sergeancies, held lands throughout the honour of Richmond, held by Alan Rufus (Rufus), on estates scattered throughout Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, the East Anglian and southern counties as far as Devon. Michael Jones has noted that a considerable number of Bretons holding lands tied to military service, as only single or fractional knight's fees or

serjeanties.²⁴ Relying on information in the Domesday survey, Keats-Rohan has identified known or identifiable Breton tenancies in chief and [/] sub-tenancies in the following counties:

Lincs., 7/15; Yorks 3/14; Cambs 1/15; Norfolk 5/24; Nthant 5/5; Glocs 3/19; Devon 1/14; Cornwall 1/7.

Elliot chevaliers

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 : Gaspard-Antoine.**

(Source : Geopatronyme)

In response to an earlier presentation of findings relating to the Elliots, one historian attached to the idea of an unalienated thanage of Alyth, has observed that there were never any Elliots in Perthshire, and that they settled only in Liddesdale. The notion of a much earlier and unrecorded intrusion of an Anglo-Breton landless young mercenary knight, perhaps having already undertaken service as a *meynie*, and his Breton retinue into a de Soules lordship to which no military service appears to have been attached, among a tightly knit community of cornage freeholder of mixed Scandinavian, Strathclyde Welsh and Northumbrian origin is surely far-fetched. There is one other source that attests to an Elliot settlement north of the Forth:

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).²⁵

²⁴ Jones, 'Notes sur quelques familles bretonnes,' in *The Creation of Brittany*, (London, 1988), 75.

²⁵ PoMS, no. 12155 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/12155/; accessed 31 October 2016)

Ellota is undoubtedly a feminisation of Ell(i)ot, which also occurs in northern Lancashire:

This surname (Allott) is derived from the name of an ancestor. 'the son of Alot'; query, a form of Eliot, **with Eliota** as fem.; v. Elliot In the Ulverston Registers, Lancashire, the forms are Alletson, Aletson, Elatson, Elattson, Elletson, Eletson, all representing the same patronymic Eliotson; v. Alletson in Index of Registers of St Mary, Ulverston. In any case the surname, with its variants, is of fontal origin.²⁶

Elias's appearance as a witness to a charter of the bishop of Dunkeld has already been noted. During the same period, a charter of the bishop of Dunblane granting the church of Kincardine with its chapels and teinds to Cambuskenneth Abbey, was attested to by several witnesses, including 'Simon, a persona of Alyth.'²⁷

Half a century later Adam, a clerk of Alyth, was one of several witnesses to a charter of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, giving wax for the lighting of St Ethernan's of the Isle of May (1253 x 1255).²⁸

The capture and imprisonment of Walter and Thomas d'Alyth, whose names were spelt by an English clerk as Alight/Alyght, has already been discussed. The company in which they found themselves included:

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 Alight, esquires, to Tonbridge Castle.**²⁹

Whether or not lack of any further mention of Walter means that he gained his release on bail through service, along with his sons (see below) to Edward I in France is unknown. Thomas,

²⁶ [– *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, written: 1872-1896 by Charles Wareing Endell Bardsley]. (NB Yet more confirmation that Elwald and Elliot were two separate, and separately sourced, names.)

²⁷ PoMS, no. 2722 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2722/; accessed 31 October 2016)

²⁸ PoMS, no. 5529 (www/db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5529/; accessed 31 October 2016).

²⁹ PoMS, no. 18596 www/db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18596/; accessed 15 January 2015).

however, either refused or was not given the opportunity. In June 1298 he, together with others still detained in Kenilworth Castle, were named in a claim for expenses by William de Castello, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester. Along with Thomas were Malcolm of Drummond, John of Clogstone, knights, Reginald Cheyne younger, lord of Duffus, Reginald Sinclair, Niall or Nigel of Kirkpatrick listed, as was Thomas, as esquires.³⁰

In the same year, on 28 August a William Alyth, burgess of Perth, together with other burgesses, swore an oath of fealty to Edward I.³¹ Dr Matthew Hammond of Glasgow University noted in relation to Perth:

“It is possible that personal names can expand our understanding of the cultural makeup of the city, and place it within a broader geographical context. For example, Willelmus filius Johel suggests as a patronymic the Breton Judhael, often anglicised as Joel. Breton names were significant across Britain at this time. William son of Ketell gave his daughter the Breton name Wymarc. **These names may suggest Breton cultural contacts not previously recognised in Perth.**” (My bold print).³²

In a letter patent of 22 August 1297, John of Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, guaranteed the service to Edward I in France of a number of knights and valets, including Walter and Thomas d’Alyth. This provides another clue as to the rank and standing of their father, Walter. He was clearly no minor tenant and at this particular point in time he was almost certainly a member of the earl’s following or retinue. Whether or not Walter and Thomas junior had been taken according to tradition into his fostership by Atholl cannot be confirmed.

Signs of an uneasy peace and a return to normal business can be seen in oaths of fealty to Edward I, and in a resumption of some aspects of normal life.

A ragman roll of 14 March, 1304 listing those swearing fealty to Edward I on that date, includes ‘Walterus de Alyght’ : the English way of spelling Aliot. The name has probably

³⁰ PoMS transaction factoid, no. 87651 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/87651/; accessed 15 January 2015).

³¹ PoMS, no. 17568 (<http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/17568/>; accessed 23 January 2015). (Note: It is not at present known whether the name Alyth was translated from Alight or Alyght by the PoMS project team.)

³² Matthew H. Hammond: *A Prosopographical Analysis of Society in East Central Scotland, circa 1100 to 1260, with special reference to ethnicity.* (submitted for the degree of Ph. D. Department of History (Scottish History Area); Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow; April 2005), p 112.

again been wrongly translated as Alyth. Walter is shown as a valet, but this must be a mistake, since Walter junior was an Atholl valet in 1297.

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

‘ all the land with its pertinents which he has in the tenement of Pitmiddle (PER), by reason of the exchange of the barony of Elcho (PER), for £100 paid by the said Sir John in his need.....

Witnesses to this charter were:

Richard Hay, knight, Gilbert, son of Richard Hay, knight, John Cameron of Baledgarno, knight, Robert of Harcarse, sheriff of Perth (d.1309), Peter of Brunton, constable of Perth, Michael Scott, the son (14C), **Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore** (d.1330), **Walter d’Alyth, Thomas, son of Walter of Alyth**, Edmund Hay (of Leys) and Andrew of Monorgan.³³

Dispossession of “the Brae” and compensatory infeftment with the lands of Redheugh in Liddesdale.

The last official entry of *Alyth*, when used as a surname, appears in a list of forfeitures, from which an extract is set out below. His Breton name was, however, to remain the name in local familiar usage, and as has been clearly proven, would still be in use locally three centuries later during visits and surveys by successive mapmakers.

Extract³⁴

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

³³ PoMS, H3/0/0 (www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/7139/; accessed 15 January 2015).

³⁴ Taken from a list ‘based on the roll printed in Palgrave, *Docs.Hist.Scot.*, 301-318, cited by Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, Appendix A, 447.

Durward, Alan
Barclay, Walter of

Fichlie, Abd.
Perthshire

William Montfitchet
Gilbert Peche

Adam Brunyng, a Scot, had recently been rewarded by Edward I for his presence at the capture of William Wallace.³⁵ His son John appears at some stage to have come into Robert's peace and was awarded lands in the north-east, possibly as a substitute justiciar, but later on in Robert's reign.³⁶ With Anglo-Scots occupation of the Perth garrison, and powerful local opposition to Bruce which included earl John of Atholl's son David, Brunyng may have taken saisine of The Brae, before his own dispossession, probably during 1313 when Bruce was finally in a position to seize Perth and its environs and subdue local opposition. At that stage Strathbogie had already entered into Robert's peace, and the king almost certainly had, through the efforts of James Douglas, taken possession of Liddesdale long beforehand. Thus the landless Walter and his clan had almost certainly therefore already been given the lands of Redheugh, adjacent to Hermitage Castle, on land previously occupied by free-holding Lindsay tenants, some or many of whom had probably taken refuge in Inglewood Forest as early as 1307.

Precisely what happened to Walter d'Aliot or d'Eliot and his clansmen following the forfeiture of 1306 is, in the absence of any surviving record, a matter of presumption based on persuasive evidence as to the future behaviour and standing of the Elliot clan. His future history and that of his clan suggests that they escaped execution and fell in with other outlawed and landless Bruce adherents, perhaps following release on bail. Previous adherence to the ill-fated Atholl's following, indicated by his sons' inclusion as valets in the earl's household, would have led in any event to abandonment of the Brae, given the opposition to Bruce of Atholl's son, David of Strathbogie, John Comyn's son-in-law. Other members of the Atholl retinue would also have had to decide whom to follow. David, the son of John of Inchmartin, a tenant of the late earl of Atholl and also a member of his following, had indeed been executed along with the earl. Walter undoubtedly decided to sever his ties to Atholl's heir.

It is as well to pause here and contemplate the strength and standing of the Aliot/Eliots (the choice of spelling not being yet permanent). There is probably nothing mythical about the 'twelve great families' led by the Elliot chieftain, in the early 14th century, as claimed by

³⁵ www.db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/11084/; (accessed 11 August 2016)

³⁶ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 414.

Buccleuch. This would have been about normal in terms of the genetic, generational multiplication of Eliots, now divided into cadet and collateral branches. More than one of these families may have contained three generations: grandfather, son and grandson, and it now seems that the founder, Elias may have been one of a number of men of Breton origin shown preference by William I, in Perth and Perthshire. The current distribution of the name suggests that William Aliot or Eliot, alias Alyth, the burgess, joined in the Elliot exodus, possibly with a sizeable family. The name Eliot is found only here and there in small numbers in the counties north of the Forth, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is highly probable that the Eliot kinship of 1306 consisted of well over a hundred souls. Bruce knew little about the Middle March kinships of the early fourteenth century and needed men in whom he could trust, although James Douglas was, during late 1307, winning over marcher adherents to the Bruce cause, sparking off cross-border raids which, like the English response, are a matter of record. It is highly likely that the Eliots, like other families of middling rank, had served under Wallace. Whilst the parallel advance to prominence of Anglo-Breton Eliots has yet to be outlined (below, page 29), the whole history of this Breton clan discloses a continuous commitment to the profession of arms, whose origins, involving close association with the Normans indicated by their membership of a coterie of Bretons who had already adopted Norman naming customs, clearly pre-dated the Conquest of 1066. They were undoubtedly members of an early eleventh century burgeoning class of Breton *chevaliers* noted by Michael Jones in his *Creation of Brittany*. If later muster rolls in the case of are anything to go by, Aliot/Eliot mercenary services were probably those of the knight, the serjeant and mounted archer.

With the arrival of knighthood as both a rank and a function, a number of Eliots, English and Scots became squires, lairds and gentlemen-at-arms, long after loss of mutual contacts. In the competition for knighthood the English Eliots pipped their Scottish cousins to the post, although the latter were to hold all the prizes for notoriety, ruthlessness and militancy.

Although the astute and wily Bruce deliberately held on to a number of important lordships seized from his Scottish enemies, for use as bait to win their dispossessed lords over to his side, it is logical and clear that the resettlement of a number of dispossessed lesser barons and lairds, like Walter d'Aliot/d'Eliot, would have been a major priority, for both economic and strategic purposes.

During August 1314 a large invasion force led by Edward Bruce and Thomas Randolph crossed the Scottish border at Norham, and began to wreak havoc along a route which took it through Northumbria, Durham and Yorkshire, and on return, through Westmoreland, past Lanercost Priory and back across the border into Liddesdale, in order not to attract the attention of the English garrison at Carlisle.³⁷ Liddesdale was clearly by then both a safe haven and a mustering point for cross-border incursions. Despite a paucity of references to this strategically important territory, from which during three centuries many a raid would be launched, either from Kershopefoot over Bewcastle Waste, or from higher in the dale via the passes into Redesdale, Coquetdale and Tynedale, it would have almost certainly been in Bruce's hands since 1307 or 1308, following its seizure by James Douglas. Military strategy would have always dictated that no action involving either border crossings or expeditions into Galloway could have been undertaken with hostile forces gathered behind Bruce in Liddesdale and garrisoning Hermitage Castle. Lack of more precise references in the historical record to what would eventually become a prize Douglas strategic asset, whose possession would from time to time lead to tensions between Douglas cousins, and even to the assassination of William Douglas by his godson in 1353, was probably due to its inclusion in a territory given the rather nebulous and imprecise description, 'the Forest.' For the time being Liddesdale was, however, at the disposal of Robert Bruce, to whose bastard son, Sir Robert Bruce, its lordship passed, following the treason of William de Soules in 1320. It is obvious that from the time that patriot occupation on behalf of Bruce, probably by James Douglas, of the middle marches and Hermitage Castle, his successors would come to regard it as a vital and essential part of their satrapy. With the death of Sir Robert at the battle of Dupplin Moor in 1330, Archibald Douglas the 'Tyneman' and Guardian of Scotland wasted no time in taking advantage of his guardianship by assuming its lordship. Although the Elliots were to become Douglas 'familiar squires,' and frequent captains of Hermitage Castle, there remains still a sneaking suspicion that the loss of their last Bruce patrician constituted a setback to Elliot ambitions.

Richard Oram describes the Forest as a northern extension of what William Kapelle described as a 'free zone,' frequented by outlaws and brigands, encapsulating the Middle Marches that, with Liddesdale, had been part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, or a 'greater

³⁷ The Chronicles of Lanercost, ed. and translated H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), 210-211, in C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces, Scotland, England, Ireland 1306 – 1328* (Edinburgh, 1997), 74.

Galloway.’³⁸ The connection with Galloway was demonstrated in 1307, when both Galwegians and the men of Liddesdale took refuge, with their cattle, across the border in Inglewood Forest.³⁹ There is no mention in any of the sources of an English garrison at Hermitage, and probably with insufficient forces other than his Wauchopedale tenants, as sitting ducks, and any remaining Liddesdale men, the keeper of Liddesdale and of Hermitage Castle, Sir Simon Lindsay, laird of Wauchope, would have undoubtedly abandoned and not attempted to defend what had become a soft target. Cross-border raiding was soon to follow, as shown by the English reaction as early as September, 1307, when keepers of the peace were appointed to control the English west marches, in reaction to ‘the thievish incursions of Robert Bruce.’⁴⁰

Bruce, however, having achieved a break-out from the south-west, spent most of late 1307 and the whole of 1308 north of the Forth, while Douglas was gathering forces and occupying territory which, despite a report that at what was probably at an early stage extended to Jedburgh, would undoubtedly have soon reached the Middle March. The award of the lands of Redheugh to Walter d’Eliot, in his case undoubtedly in order to meet a particular strategic objective, should be set against a background in which he was not the only dispossessed Bruce loyalist with expectations, notwithstanding Bruce’s policy of holding on to escheated earldoms and major baronies, in the hope of enticing their former holders into his peace.

Sir Simon de Lindsay

‘Sir Simon de Lindsay, *de jure* fourth laird of Wauchope, was a younger son of Sir John, the Chamberlain. In his father’s lifetime, and as early as 1278, he had the lands of Arthuret in Cumberland, as a vassal of Sir John de Wake, lord of Liddell. The great barony of Liddell lay on the English side of the...border, and Sir John de Wake also held from Sir Nicholas de Soulis the lands of Liddesdale and Hermitage on the Scottish side. The freeholders in the barony held by cornage, which in this case meant that those holding by this tenure were required to serve in the van of the English army when invading Scotland and to form the rearguard on its return.

When war broke out ...Sir Simon fought on the English side, and in 1298 King Edward, “having confidence in the loyalty and discretion of his beloved and faithful Sir Simon de Lindsay,” put him in chief command of the district of Eskdale; and on 30th Oct. 1300, as a matter which concerned him in his official capacity, he was notified of the condition of the truce made with the Scots.

About this time, Sir John de Wake being dead and his heir a ward of the English crown, Sir Simon was given the keeping of his barony, with the two fortresses of Hermitage and Liddell. (Hermitage a stone-built fortalice, Liddell Strength a pallisaded earthwork). [*Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society*, Vol II, ed. John Lindsay MA. MD.,(Edinburgh 1920), 178-9.]

References by scholars to the compensation of dispossessed lesser barons and lairds, are scant. Michael Penman has noted that there is only one extant charter which has survived from Robert's parliament of March 1309 held at St. Andrews. Significantly, since it reflected some concern with the situation in the Borders, it marked the award to Adam Marshall of the barony of Manor in Peebleshire, forfeited by Alexander Baddesby.⁴¹ The peripatetic nature of Bruce's campaigns, during what Barrow described as a 'dour and confused struggle,' meant that some resettlement on escheated enemy lands must have been made instantaneously, 'on the hoof,' pending charter confirmation, although a search of the Acts of king Robert I has proved negative. Bruce did not turn his attention completely to the south and to his campaign of devastating cross-border invasions until 1311. As a consummate military strategist and master tactician, it is inconceivable that he would not have first attended to the establishment of a well-guarded and secure line of attack and withdrawal, and only Liddesdale, some distance from the heavily garrisoned eastern march, would have constituted an essential forward base and defensible point of retreat or return. Largely ignorant of the communities into which he was intruding his most loyal followers, it would have been logical to turn to a trusted captain from the north of proven military prowess, perhaps, given Bruce's recruitment of men from the north of the Forth, already familiar with the middle and western marches. The proximity of Redheugh, the Elliot *caput*, to Hermitage Castle is more than significant. The post of keeper hitherto held by Sir Simon Lindsay, now attached to the following of Ingram de Umfraville, and probably in his company at Westminster along with Sir Alexander Abernethy and the McDougalls, during June, 1310, was undoubtedly at Bruce's disposal.⁴²

Border reivers.

The Elliots resurfaced during the mid 15th century, as captains of Hermitage Castle, under Robert, Chief of the Clan and 10th of his name, described as the 'familiar squire' of Archibald Douglas, the 5th earl of Angus. The closeness of the two men may be presumed from the giving as hostages of both of their sons as a guarantee of Angus's treacherous agreement with Henry VII in 1489, before the earl was forced, in 1491, to surrender his lordship of Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle to Patrick Hepburn, 1st earl of Bothwell, in exchange for the barony of Bothwell. By that time Redheugh lands stretched from the source of Hermitage

⁴¹ Michael Penman, *Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots* (London, 2014), 115.

⁴² CDS, iii, no.95 cited by Penman, *Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots*, 121.

Water to the upper reaches of the Liddel. More lands were received as a reward for the part played by Robert the tenth and his clan in the Battle of Arkinholm in Ewesdale on 1 May, 1455, when the Black Douglasses were defeated. The definitive history of the Elliots from that time onwards has been well recounted in a work of considerable scholarship by Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur Eliott in *The Elliots, the Story of a Border Clan*, first published in 1974. Shortly before completing their text, Lady Eliott and Sir Arthur received this information from the Lord Lyon:

‘In the Stoddart MSS of the Blackadder family there is a record of an Elliot of Redheugh, called ‘Chieftain of the South,’ who was killed in battle with three of his sons. According to the Pedigree, this Chief had a daughter Mary, who married Cuthbert Blackadder of that Ilk and who had three sons. The eldest of these, Andrew Blackadder was alive in 1447.’⁴³

This would have been the first fifteenth century appearance of the Elliots in the historical record, and the description ‘chieftain of the south’ raises questions which for the moment cannot be answered, unless this was a territorial role delegated to the Elliot chieftain by their Douglas lords. To the list of essential reading in tandem with *The Elliots*, for those Elliots or others interested in the history of their Border ancestry, may now be added Anna Groundwater’s more recent work, *The Scottish Middle March 1573-1625, Power, Kinship, Allegiance*. One of her aims has been to counter long standing, largely English stereotyping of the Borders as an uncivilised, weakly governed and anarchic frontier society, when in reality ‘civilised’ Middle March inhabitants were being drawn into government. *The Records of the Privy Council of Scotland*

‘...illuminate the way in which James’s government operated, in his absence, demonstrating a network of authority and patronage which stretched from Whitehall to the Scottish regions, connecting the borderers to, and including them in, the highest levels of government. This correspondence allows the voices of Scotsmen to be heard unfiltered by English interpretation or prioritisation.’⁴⁴

Her highly detailed account of the social, administrative and political changes that were taking place during the decades spanning the opening of the seventeenth century are crucial to an understanding of rifts in the Elliot clan, and the failure of the ‘surnames’ of Liddesdale, led by the obdurate and recalcitrant Martin Elliot of Braidley, grandson of that other

⁴³ *The Elliots*, 11.

⁴⁴ Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March 1573-1625, Power, Kinship, Allegiance*.

notorious Martin described below, to sense the way the wind was blowing. Ms Groundwater's observations regarding ties of kinship and lord and tenant loyalties, such as Scott of Branhholme's description of Gilbert Elliott as his 'lovitt friend and servitor,' and her references to the membership and make-up of the Privy Council perhaps sheds even further light than that already cast by Lady Elliott and Sir Arthur on the reasons for Robert the 17th of Redheugh's survival. Buccleuch's heir, the first earl and the man who recounted the intrusion of the Elliots from the north into Liddesdale, would have been conscious, firstly of the gravity of the step which he was free to make, in evicting a laird and chieftain from lands held since the early fourteenth century, initially as a tenant-in-chief, with whom his family had marital connections, and secondly, of the bad feeling which this would arise between himself and Robert's brother-in-law, John Murray of Lochmaben (later earl of Annandale) and the Hamiltons, with their own Elliot family connections. All this in the event of appearance on what Lady Elliott and Sir Arthur describe as poorly supported, trumped-up charges. Whether or not previous connections between Queen Elizabeth and her 'stout Elliots,' led by Martin Elliot during the Scott-Elliott feud had anything to do with James VI's personal animus and vindictiveness against the Liddesdale Elliots is also a moot point. Buccleuch's closer relationship with Teviotdale Eliotts and Gilbert Elliott of Stobs, knighted in 1651, and made baronet of Stobs in 1666, must have weighed heavily with him. This was surely a complicated and highly emotive situation, bringing into play the full range of subtle, personal relationships which exist even today in tribal all clannish societies, before general acceptance of an impersonal rule of law.

Martin Elliot of Braidley (died around 1591)

(Following the imprisonment of Mary I, Queen of Scots) 'These political events had direct repercussions on the Borders and Martin Elliot, whose prestige and power among the clans had steadily grown, found himself in the curious position of leader of rebels on both sides of the frontier. On the one side most Borderers, however violently they may have rejected Bothwell, regarded Mary as their rightful sovereign and opposed the Protestant Confederate Lords who were attached to the interests of England. On the other side many of the families in the North of England, being Catholic, favoured Mary and were in revolt against their own Queen on the grounds of religion. Thus Martin was chosen to represent not only the whole of Liddesdale and Teviotdale, but also the inhabitants of Tynedale and Redesdale. As a consequence both Queen Elizabeth and the Regent Moray were forced to seek Martin's assistance in maintaining peace on the border, however much they may have disapproved of his politics. To this end Martin was sent £100 by Elizabeth to keep the peace and shortly

afterwards in October 1567 he was called to Edinburgh to receive a gift of 300 merks Scottish for an undertaking “to keep and to cause to be kept good order from Berwick to Hermitage Castle.”

The Elliots, pp 40-41.

The undoubtedly political motivation behind the last great cross-border raid into Tynedale of a reputed thousand Borderers from several ‘surnames,’ led by William Elliott (Elliot) of Larriston, would have created even more such animus:

(Thomas) SCROPE TO BURGHELEY (Oct 8, 1593) :Having occasion to write to my “Lord Chamberlin” for his satisfaction, as I did not do so at my late “dispatches” to your lordship as to my proceedings with Maxwell, I accompany his “pacquett” with these few lines “advertising that I am this daye informed of a very grett outrage in a daye foray yesterday, made in Tindale by **William Elliott**, otherwise called **Will I Dally**, and his complices of Lidersdale; who is reported (calling unto him all the men he could make in **Liddersdale, Eusdale, Esedale and, Annondale**) went accompanied with 1000 men on horse and foote, who partinge them selves into foure companies, foraged through Tindale in foure severall places: sweping the goods of the country before them: and having broughte from thence as is saide 500 head of cattell besides shepe and goates.” Carlisle. *Signed Th.Scroope*. I am going to Bolton for very urgent business, and shall be there 7 or 8 days before my return.⁴⁵

The English Ambassador to Scotland in commenting on the raid wrote of a great force ‘gathered from divers Clans not accustomed to ride together and in greater numbers than the power of the individual enterprisers could levy..⁴⁶

Elwald: a puzzling by-name.

In Liddesdale, the Elliot chieftain,⁴⁷ who, in typical medieval fashion, set the tradition of baptising all future chieftains of the clan as Robert, viewed perhaps with some alarm or suspicion as foreign intruder from the north, was for a reason that has forever remained unfathomed, assigned the charter name *Elwald*. The results of Y-chromosome research have brought to an end speculation as to whether in some way *Elwald* had morphed during the

⁴⁵ J Bain (ed.) *Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, Vol 1 [1893] Preserved in HMSO and Cornell University Library, 900.

⁴⁶ *CSP*, Vol.XI, no.170, cited in *The Elliots*, 56.

⁴⁷ This could have been Walter senior, if he had survived, or Walter junior, the former Atholl valet, or his brother Thomas. As already indicated, all future chieftains were Christened as Robert.

space of two centuries into *Ellot* (*Elliot*). This was never morphologically feasible and in any event *Elwald* was simply not a Breton name. If Scottish chancery scribes were still formally recording Walter as of Alyth, then they would have taken the view that he needed a new, Lothian (ex Northumbrian) surname. The combination of the *El* of *Elliot*, and the elite Old English name suffix *wald* (= rule, control, whose verbal form was *wieldan*, *to wield*), is intriguing. The only other explanation is that *Elwald* was an Elliot nickname or by-name, perhaps arising from the Elliot feudal connection to the royal forest of Alyth. Such speculation is, nevertheless, somewhat academic, in the face of the pride, already highlighted, which descendants of Breton colonists took in their ancestry and Breton names. The short form *Ellot* can be seen to have survived as the familiar name in everyday social intercourse, whilst in administrative instruments only, clerks, notaries, wardens and other officials produced various versions of *Elwald*, such as *Elwett* and *Elwand*. Closer inspection of these reveals growing confusion, among officials clearly aware of the familiar surname. By the early 16th century both names, *Elwand* and *Ellot*, started to appear alongside one another in single documents, as in a report of 17th May, 1518, by the young Bothwell's tutor, the Master of Hailes:

'Have gotten pledges for the *Elwandes* of Reidheugh and their band like as I had before and for the *Ellots* of the other gang of Gorrenberry, except so many as win (dwell) in Teviotdale on Mark Ker's lands and are servants to the warden, who say they will remain in Teviotdale and not come to Liddesdale and therefore they will enter no pledges.' ⁴⁸ (My italics.)

Such an interchange of the popular, spoken name *Ellot* (*Elliot*) and the charter name 'Elwald,' spelt bewilderingly sometimes as *Elwand*, points to growing confusion among those like the Master of Hailes charged with submitting a report or making a record, and the confinement of 'Elwald' to documentation. The use of both names persisted until the 1560s as shown in this extract from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland:

'Quenis Grace and Counsale, with certificatioun and he failye, he sall incur the Quenis indignatioun. Memorandum, that lettres be direct charging thir personis underwritten to compeer befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, theday of December nixt to cum, for thair advyse to be gevin in materis concerning the weill of the Bordouris: that is to say, Williame Cranstoun of that Ilk, Knycht, Adame Scot of Alanehauch, Adame Scot of Burnefute, Sym Scot of Fynnik, Archibald ***Elwald*** of Fallinesche (Falnash), Martine ***Elwald***

⁴⁸ *Report to the Privy Council, following their reprimand of him, by the Master of Hailes, dated 17 May 1518, cited by The Dowager Lady Eliott of Stobs and Sir Arthur Eliott 11th baronet of Stobs, cited in The Elliots, 20.*

of Reidheuch, Robert Ellot of Reidheuch, Williame Ellot callit young Williame, David Turnbull of Wauchop, Thomas Hoppringle of Murecleuch, Williame Ellot, callit Archeis Will, Walter Ker of Dolphinstoun, Johne Gledstanis of that Ilk, Richard Rutherford of Edgaristoun, Nichole Rutherford of Hundolie, Knycht, Johne Rutherford of Hunthill, Adame Kirkstoun, John Hoppringle of the Bentis, James Ker of Corbet, Andro Ker of Graden.’⁴⁹ (My italics.)

Standing out from the above record is an apparent disqualification of young Ellots from taking the name of ‘Elwald,’ or refusal by them to remain identified by it. Two documents, however, provide the most plausible explanation for the increasingly active rejection by Elliots themselves of their assigned charter name, that of literacy and the acquisition of writing skills. In 1546 leading Elliots were more or less required to sign their names as *Elwald*, since Patrick Loraine, the notary, was guiding their hands.

‘.....In wytness heyrof we hayf subscrivit thir presents before master Patryk Lorane, notar pwblyk, quhilk is manifest under his sign manwell the xix day of December in the yer of God ane thowsand fyf hunder xlvj yers; before thir wytnes, Jhon Crosar, William Scot, balye of Hawik, Robert Elwald callit Gawynis Robert, William Dowglas and others. (signed...) James Dowglas, Robert Elwald, *with my hand led be Master Patrik Lorane*. Archibald Elwald, *with my hand at the pen led be Master Patrik Lorane, notare*. Sym Elwald, *with my hand at the pen led by Master Patrik Lorane, notare*, in absens of my brother young William. Patricius Lorane, notaries publicus, etc., teste manu propria.’⁵⁰

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

‘.... In witness of the quhilk [the which] things we have subscrivit this present band wyth our hands at the pen, the xxj day of Junij the yeir of God m.ve furty aucht yere, before thir witness, Johnn the Grayme (Graham) and Niniane Nyksone (Nixon) with uther divers..... Robert Elliot, younger *with my hand at the pen*. Arshebald Elliot, *with my hand at the*

⁴⁹ Scotland Privy Council, John Hill Burton, David Masson, Peter Hume Brown, Henry Paton, Robert Kerr Hannay, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, (H.M. General Register House, 1877), vol I, 169.

⁵⁰ The Fernyhirst mss. at Newbattle, vols 1537 to 1607, no.8, cited by Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale and the debatable land*, vol. I, (Edinburgh, 1883, and Clan Armstrong Trust, 1992).

penn. Willame Elwald of Lauerokstanis [Larriston] with my hand at the pen, *led be (by) Sir John Scot*, notar publick, of my command.⁵¹ (My italics.)

This belated attainment of literacy in the leading Elliot families perhaps bears out A.D.M. Barrell's contention that the importance of the Scottish Education Act of 1496 'has been greatly overstressed.'⁵² In the Elliot clan, literacy took a long time to arrive. By the end of the 16th century *Ellot* had overtaken *Elwald* and its variants, in most surviving documents reproduced in the *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*.⁵³ In a report to Lord Burghley dated 2nd August, 1581, the warden of the English west march detailed ten separate cross-border raids by the *Ellotes*. Among the victims were two named as Routledge and Forster, who were themselves inveterate raiders.⁵⁴

Reference has already been made to the introduction by French-speaking colonists of Norman origin brought to Scotland of the novelty of adopting locative or toponymic surnames. Robert Bartlett observed, even in relation to an England which was the first of the two countries to experience Norman habits, that in relation to the period 1075 to 1225, 'hereditary surnames were not common before the fourteenth century.'⁵⁵ Men of lower gentry rank who married heiresses or widows from families of higher rank might, as with the name Percy, change their surnames to that of their wives. Hereditary surnames were still a novelty, prone to liberties taken by scribes whose first task was to find a Latin form more to their liking, before retranslation into the vernacular. Geoffrey thus became Gaudfridus, then on to Gaudfrid. Bretons who had not adopted the Norman fashion of taking surnames were more easily disposed to take English toponymic or locative names. Judicaël de Lohéac became Juhel of Totnes, lord of an extensive honour in Devon. Hervé Brito, the Breton earl of Wiltshire, could have persisted with his father's surname, *de Leon*. Spirewic the Breton became lord of Tattershall. Alain, who could have persisted with his father's name *de Porhoët*, took the name, on marriage, of *de Zouche*. Michael Jones, whose examples these are, has observed:

'Ce qui demande beaucoup plus d'attention, c'est le problème des familles qui s'étaient très vite assimilées, **en adoptant des nouveaux noms**. Ainsi, si l'on n'avait pas eu de preuves convaincantes concernant les origines probables de Eudo, fils de Spirewic, seigneur de Tattershall (Lincs.), les noms de ses successeurs, Hugh, Robert, Philip et Robert, fils de

⁵¹ Fernyhirst mss., nos. 15 and 16.

⁵² A.D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), 204, 205.

⁵³ *Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*, 2 vols ed. J. Bain, (1893) Preserved in H.M. Public Record Office.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of Letters and Papers*, vol. I., 101.

⁵⁵ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, 541.

Walter, auraient pu ne pas nous mettre sur la voie. En outre, comme les familles chevaleresques bretonnes étaient en général plus lentes à adopter l'emploi régulier de noms patronymiques ou géographiques et toponymiques que leurs voisins normands et angevins, l'emploi sans distinction de noms chrétiens communs, souvent sans l'épithète ethnique supplémentaire *Brito*, veut dire que beaucoup de ces familles sont masquées dans nos sources.⁵⁶

Without the appearance of *brito* in several surviving Scottish primary sources, historians might have been less confident in searching out Bretons among the foreign incomers to Scotland. Although he makes no mention of it, Michael Jones would probably agree that in many cases it would not have been a case of 'adopting' new names, but rather that of sometimes 'being assigned' them, whilst not forgetting the power exercised by leading scribes or clerks, some of whom outranked many of the settlers, spiced perhaps, by typical Norman *hauteur* in some of their attitudes towards Bretons. In French, '*bretonner*' came to mean *to pillage*.

Here, therefore, is the background to the fruitless assignation of a local name, *Alyth*, to Anglo-Bretons who already had a heritable surname, which was used and accepted without thought or demur by others. The situation with regard to all surnames was, even during the early fourteenth century, still fluid and incomplete. Of all of the explanations for later assignment to them, in Liddesdale, of the name *Elwald*, irrespective of whether or not it was already a nickname, the most plausible is their loss, in the eyes of chancery scribes, of entitlement to use a name which they had ironically in any event never used, that of *Alyth*. This was a name that had existed only in writing, until a time when local historians and antiquarians probably started to poke around in old archives, before possibly arriving at the wrong conclusion that the *Eliot* which appeared on surviving maps was a mere misspelling of *Alyth*, given the several other versions of that name. Added to this is a possible desire to ease the intrusion of probably bilingual strangers from the north, into a tightly knit Border community, by means of the assignment of a Northumbrian-sounding name, which may or may not have been a nickname or by-name. *Elwald* laid a false trail for all past historians of the Elliot and other Border clans, now fished to death by the discovery of Elliot Breton origins.

⁵⁶ M.Jones, *The Creation of Brittany, a Late Medieval State*, (London, 1988), 83.

By the early nineteenth century there were two Eliot (Elliot) earls, one of St Germans in Cornwall and the other of Minto, in the Borders. Other Eliots (Elliams and Eliotts) from both sides of the border also achieved rank and distinction, in a way which, given a long standing lack of contacts or interrelationships down through the centuries, suggests shared genetic imprints relating to common aspirations, ambitions and abilities. It would be inappropriate not to end this essay without some outline of the history of the Scots-Bretons' Anglo-Breton cousins.

‘Sir William de Aliot.’

A claim as to the origin of the leading Elliot families of south-western England can be found in the Biography of the Royal Navy, in an entry unearthed by the nineteenth century American genealogist, William Harvey Elliot:

‘The biographer of Henry Algernon Eliot, Esq., who was born in 1790, represents him as descended from Sir William de Aliot, a Norman Knight. In vol. 10, p.147 of the Royal Naval Biography, he quotes the words of Hume, as above, and adds:

“Upon this – and here, it would seem, the tradition begins – **Sir WILLIAM DE ALIOT**, then holding a distinguished rank in the invading army, drew his sword, and swore, by the honour of a soldier, that he would maintain, at the hazard of his blood, the right of his Lord to the sovereignty of the country. For this the Conqueror gave him an honourable addition to his coat of arms, viz., a Caton, or, on a field azure, an arm and sword as a crest, with the motto, ‘Par saxa, per ignes, fortiter et recte.’ From this valiant Knight are descended the celebrated Lord Heathfield, the earls of Minto and St. Germans, and Sir William Francis Eliot of Stobs, Baronet.”⁵⁷

This highly embroidered and largely apocryphal story, perhaps based on a long standing, more sketchy oral tradition, may contain a nugget of truth, given the apparent appreciation by Henry Algernon that *Aliot* was an alternative spelling of his name; a matter of mere scribal preference, when both *a* and *e* were identical middle vowels.

⁵⁷ William Harvey Elliot, William.S.Porter, *Genealogy of the Elliots* (New Haven USA, 1854), 12.

The Eliots during and after the Hundred Years' War.

In England the name Eliot remained obscure until appearing in over fifty entries in 15th century muster rolls and 'protection lists' during the Hundred Years War, in which a small number were recorded as men-at-arms whilst the remainder, some holding sergeanties, performed archer service, sometimes with horse and haubergel.⁵⁸ At about the same time their Scottish cousins were also making their mark, under their new charter name of *Elwald*. It was not until the early decades of the sixteenth century that marcher wardens and other officials started to give way to what was almost certainly a persistent familiar usage of the true Breton name, as discussed below (page 30.) During the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, the steady upward social mobility of several Eliots becomes evident, during the so-called 'rise of the gentry.' During the Hundred Years' War, John Elyot, who appears in a list of 'protections,' is named as a parson of Barton Pinkeney in Northamptonshire, while another John Eliot, similarly listed, was a mercer of Norwich. Yet another John Elyot is described as an Esquire and Man-at-Arms, serving at sea, under Robert, Lord Poynings. As in Scotland, the name 'Elyas,' popular in Brittany, appears as an Eliot Christian name, as does the old Breton name *Hamo*, given to Hamo Elyot, a man-at-arms serving under Edmund Langley, Earl of Cambridge.

From *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* of 1831 William Harvey Elliot extracted:

- William Elliot, Master of Rolls, 13 November, 1485 to 26 November 1487.⁵⁹

Based on Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol.ii, a list of numerous Elliots included:

- Hugh Elyot, a merchant of Bristol, who with Thomas Ashurst obtained letters patent, dated at Winchester, 9th December, 1503, authorising them 'not only to discover new countries; but to take out with them any English subjects to inhabit and settle in them.' He discovered (reached the already discovered?) Newfoundland in 1527, and on page 296 he is described as the prime pilot of our nation.' [Elyot's voyage with Robert Thorne is mentioned in other

⁵⁸ Arts and Humanities Research Council, Data base : www.medievalsoldier.org/search.php (accessed 7 July, 2016).

⁵⁹ *Collectanea Topographica*, 5 vols, Vol.II, ed John Gough (London, 1835), 285. Now a digitised online publication, www.babel.hathitrust.org (accessed 14 June, 2016).

sources. The word ‘discovered’ was the choice of John Dee, the Elizabethan mathematician, and it probably meant further exploration.]⁶⁰

- Sir Richard Elyot was appointed by Henry VIII, as a Justice of the King’s Bench (1509), summoned to meet with the Peers in his first parliament, 21 January 1510.
- Sir Thomas Elyot, a learned man in the reign of Henry VIII, author and scholar educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon; appointed by Henry as one of his negotiators at Rome in the affair of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon in 1532, and ambassador to Charles V, in 1536. He died in 1546.⁶¹

The most notorious of the seventeenth century English Eliots was Sir John, of Port Eliot, member of parliament for St.Germans (Cornwall), one of the managers of the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, and of a group of members who refused to accept the prorogation of parliament by Charles I. With Dudley Digges and others, Eliot was committed to the Tower of London, before being sentenced to imprisonment during the King’s pleasure and fined the enormous sum of £2,000. Having rejected an offer of freedom on condition of making his submission, Sir John died in the Tower on 27th November, 1632. According to oral tradition on receipt of the news of Eliot’s death the Scot, Robert Elliot the seventeenth of Redheugh, chief of the Elliots, caused the letter *i* to be inserted into Elliot, hitherto the popular Border version of his name.⁶²

The name Eliot therefore, and its several spelling co-variants, appears to have been distributed largely throughout the counties in which the main Breton settlements occurred, particularly in those counties of eastern and southern England in which the many manors attached to the Breton-held vast honour of Richmond were situated. Such a scattering suggests, in retrospect, a substantial Eliot/Aliot mercenary presence, during and after the Conquest of 1066, followed by further family migrations. The movement of Bretons to England took place in at least three phases, the final one during the aftermath of Henry I’s

⁶⁰ J.A.Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Hakluyt Society, 1962) 135-136, cited by Annabel Peacock, *The Men of Bristol and the Atlantic Discovery Voyages of the Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries*, (M.A dissertation, Bristol University, 2007) 29-36, at: www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources/2007peacock.pdf.. (accessed 10 August,2016)

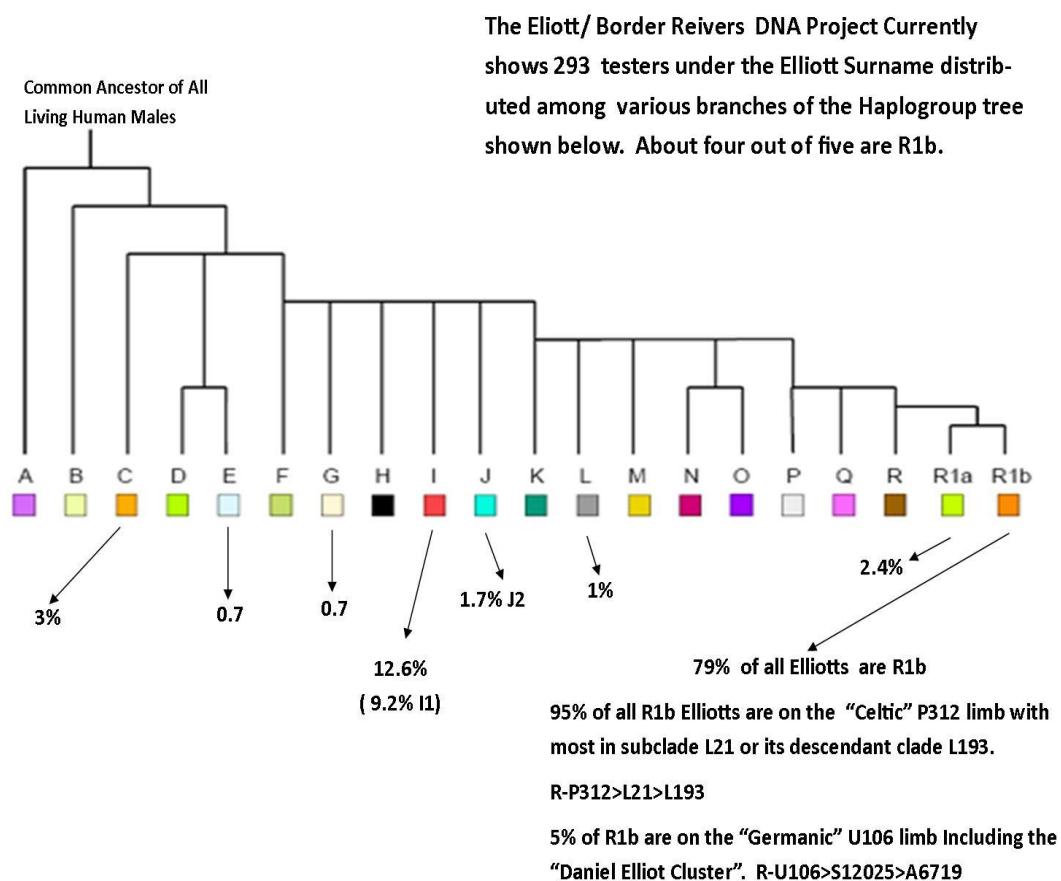
⁶¹ *Genealogy of the Elliots*, 13.

⁶² *Genealogy of the Elliots*, 18,19.

defeat of his brother, Robert Curthose, at the Battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, and the importation of his 'new men,' coming mainly from western Normandy and the Breton marches, who had fought on his side. Among them was the founder of the Stewart dynasty, Walter fitzAlan, son of Alan fitzFlaad, seneschal to the military archbishop of Dol.

Appendix A.

Elliot DNA Project results.*



* Produced by Elliot DNA Project Team member, Robert Elliott.

Appendix B: The maps.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Forest of Elicht and Kirk of Elicht.

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

5. Kirk of Elit and 'Achter Elit.'

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

6. Forest of Elit.

Robert Gordon, Joan Blaeu (1596 x 1673), *Scotiae provinciae mediterraneae inter Taum flumen et Vararis aestuarium: Sunt autem Braid-Allaban, Atholia, Marria Superior, Badenocha, Strath-Spea, Lochabria, cum Chersoneso qui ei ad occasum*

praetenditur; cum singulis earundem partibus/ opera Ro.G. (Amsterdam, Blaeu 1654), shelfmark WD3B/34.

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

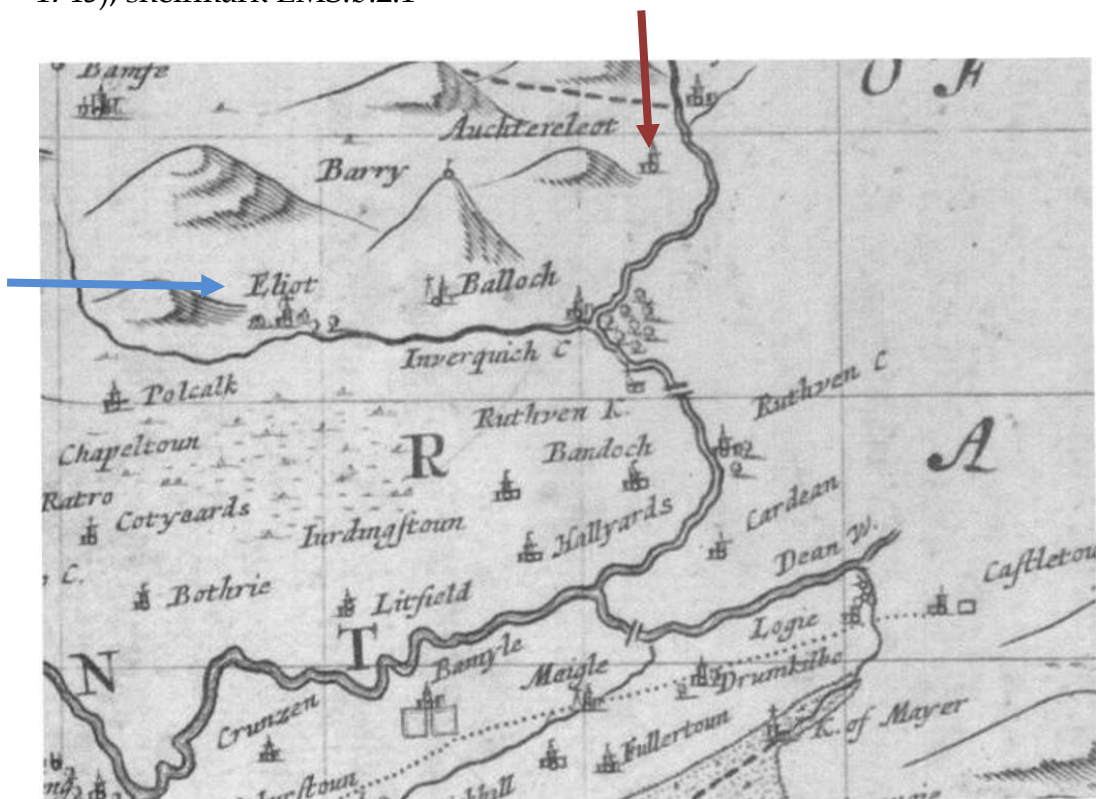
John Adair (ca.1650 - 1722), James Moxon (1671-1700), *The Mapp of Strathern, Stormount, and Cars of Gourie, with the Rivers Tay and Jern/ surveighed and designed by J.Adair; James Moxon sculp, shelfmark EMS.s.320.*

8. (The town of) Eliot.

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

9. (The town of) Eliot.

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



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



Appendix C: the appearance of Alyth in surviving documents 1165 to 1319.*

1. 1165 x 1170: William I issues a charter at *Alith*. (*RRS*, II, no.110)
2. 2, March, 1196 x 1199: William I grants to William Giffard tofts in various places including a 'full toft' at the castle of *Alith*. *RRS*, II, 410.
3. February 1201 x 1 March 1202: William I held a court at *Alith*. *RRS*, II, 430 & *Glasgow Registrum*, no.90.
4. 30 November, 1202 x 1213: William I issues two charters at *Alith*. *RRS*, II, 436, 437.
5. 26 March, 1201 x 1205: William I issues two charters at *Alicht*. *RRS*, II, 455, 456.
6. 24 August, 1203 x 1207: William I issues a charter at *Alith*. *RRS*, II, 465.
7. 6 March, 1208 x 1210: William I issues a charter at *Alect*. *SHR*, vol 86 (2007), 314-18.
8. 5 July, 1209 or 1210: William I issues a charter at *Alicht*. *RRS*, II, 487.
9. 27 February, 1215 x 1249: charter by Alexander II to the burgh of Aberdeen, issued at *Alith*. *RMS*, VI, 1233.
10. 6 September, 1234: grant by Alexander II to Coupar Abbey of a right of way through his forest of *Alyth*. *RRS*, III, 212.
11. 8 February, 1319: Robert I grants to Coupar Abbey lands in his *thanage of Alyth*, *RRS*, v, 145.

* Extracted from a list kindly supplied by David Perry M.A., Alder Archaeology Ltd., Perth.

Abbreviations

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

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PoMS (as shown above) accessed at dates shown in footnotes.

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