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THOMAS KIRKPATRICK 15th LAIRD OF CLOSEBURN

By HAROLD KIRKPATRICK, F.S.A.Scot

Foreword. The following notes, chiefly concerning Thomas Kirkpatrick, who was Laird of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, over a period of about twenty years during the first half of the 17th century, are by no means a biography, as such a work is not practicable in the face of lack of information. Thomas is not the first Kirkpatrick to appear on the scene because of his turbulent character, and such virtues as he may have possessed are "interred with his bones". The relationships between Thomas and his parents and almost all authority are clearly seen, but his life with his wife and children rests in obscurity.

Thomas lived in a lawless and violent period and, in reading what follows, it is necessary to remember the troublous state of Scotland at this time; the warring factions seeking power within the Realm; the scheming and ambitions of James VI towards achieving his main ambition — the English throne; the subsequent attempts to rule the country in absentia by both James and his son, Charles 1; the frequent devastating incursions from across the Border; the upheaval within the Church; the plagues and poverty and the ever present scarcity of cash which is so markedly demonstrated by the events here recorded.

Thomas was a favoured name with the Closeburn family and this may lead to confusion. The chief subject of this paper and his father were both named Thomas and it has therefore been thought desirable, at some points, to designate Thomas senior as No. 14 and his son as Thomas No. 15; these numerals being those adopted by the late General Kirkpatrick in his "Records of the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn".

Thomas Kirkpatrick, who, in due time, was to become the 15th Laird of Closeburn (Dumfriesshire) was born c 1578, the eldest son of Thomas, the 14th Laird (later to be knighted) and Lady Jean Cunningham who was the daughter of William, Earl of Glencairn and widow of Haldane of Gleneagles. Thomas, No. 14, was the son of Roger, the 13th Laird, and Elizabeth Hamilton of Stenhouse. Roger died in 1584. The date of the marriage between Thomas, No. 14, and Jean Cunmingham has not been ascertainable, but on 15 August, 1577 Jean is mentioned as Thomas's future spouse¹. She died some time after 1605, at which time she was in unhappy involvement with her eldest son Thomas³, and before 1614, in which year there is recorded a marriage contract, at Haliewood (Holywood) on 17th December, between Thomas, No. 14 and his second wife, Barbara Stewart³. Barbara was the daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies and Catherine, daughter of Andrew, Lord Herries of Terregles. Sir Alexander, who was the ancestor of the future Earls of Galloway, was killed, together with the Regent Lennox, at Stirling in 1571. At the time of her marriage to Thomas Kirk-. patrick Barbara was the widow of John Kirkpatrick of Alisland and, in view of her father's death in 1571, she must have been at least 43 on re-marriage. Both marriages of Thomas were with widows, probably very necessary additions to his finances by way of tochers.

According to General Kirkpatrick' Thomas and Jean had three sons — Thomas, John and George, and one daughter named Margaret, and "another son, Alexander of Barnmuir" and another daughter, Susanna, "but whether by his

first wife or his second wife is not clear". Although she was at least 43 when she married Thomas, Barbara could have produced issue, but there is no record of her having done so. It has not been possible to say by which wife Susanna was borne, but it is clear that Alexander was the son of Jean as is indicated in 16085 and in 16116, both dates prior to the second marriage.

It is not the purpose of this paper to dwell on details of the lives of Roger, No. 13, or Thomas, No. 14 prior to the majority of Thomas, No. 15, but a few facts will serve to illustrate the latter's background. Roger was still alive when his grandson Thomas was born c 1578, but it is unlikely that the latter was much influenced by the former in the six years remaining to Roger. In 1560 Roger had aligned himself with the Reformation party, unlike his cousin Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, and in 1561 Roger was party to a "pact of mutual defence" with Sir William Grierson of Lag, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar and the Douglases of Drumlanrig. In 1565 he subscribed a bond with the gentlemen of Nithsdale and Annandale "to defend the King and Queen" and "to resist the rebels (the Lords Argyll and Moray)". Two years later Roger's signature appears on the Band of Association (25 July, 1567) in support of the Regent Moray, and in the following year he subscribed to a Band to "defend the Queen's majesty"—this last act being held as the reason for the sacking of Closeburn by the Earl of Sussex and Lord Scrope in 1570³.

Following Roger's death there arose some dubiety and conflict as to the line of succession and an Inquisition was held at Dumfries on 30th March, 1585, conducted by a number of men, most of whom were related to Thomas, No. 14 and who decided that he was the "lawful and nearest heir of the said deceased Thomas Kirkpatrick, his great grandfather" (died 1502). In 1589 Thomas was one of those appointed to try the Lords Errol, Huntly, Crawford and Bothwell. Thomas, with Drumlanrig and Lag is said to have escaped from the Battle of Dryfe Sands in 1593 "by the fleetness of their horses". About 158910 King James made Thomas a "Gentleman of the Privy Chamber" and this was duly noted by the English as follows "Thos Erskine and Closburn are received into the King's Chamber in place of Spynie and Sir James Lindsay".

In 1596, when young Thomas (No. 15) would be about eighteen years of age, King James "grantis and givis license to our trusty and familiar servitour, Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and his eldest son, to depairt and pas furth of our realme to the patries of France, Flanders and utheris beyond seas, and thair in, for the space of five years; meanwhile their lands, stidings, possessions, offices, tenants, servants to remain in our special protection to be unharmit, untroublit, unmolested or unquieted in any sorte be any person or personis for quhat somevir cause. ..." The reasons for this desire to quit Scotland for up to five years are not readily apparent, nor are the grounds for the King's permission. It is true that the Kirkpatricks in general, and Thomas (No. 14) in particular, had been involved in conflict with the Johnstones and others and also with the English, but there was nothing unusual in such strife. Was Thomas escaping from some specific threat and anxious to save himself and his heir? Or was the purpose of exit some sort of mission on behalf of the King? There seems to be no motive now clear to us, and, indeed no evidence that, in fact, the expedition was ever accomplished. The leave of absence would extend to 1601, but on 30

May, 1599 at Kilmahug (Kirkmahoe) there was signed a Marriage Contract between young Thomas (No. 15) and Agnes Charteris¹². Plague had broken out on the Border in 1597 and at the end of 1598 "Dumfries seems to have been in a bad state". In a letter from Henry Leigh to Scrope¹⁴ dated 25 November, 1597, Leigh writes "I found the King... and the lairde of Closburne..." at Newbie, and on 8 March 1598/9 Thomas (No 14) is lodging a complaint¹⁵ and on 7 June, 1599 he is denounced rebel for non-appearance before a Court¹⁶. On 25 September, 1600 Thomas gives surety "subscribed at Cloisburn" for a Thomas Foulis¹⁷. These indications of presence in Scotland at various times during the five year period suggest that, if Thomas and his son left Scotland, they did so for a much shorter period than was permitted to them.

Young Thomas (No. 15) has so far made little impact but the stormy period of his life commenced after his majority and his marriage (c 1599) and also after his father's departure to the English Court with James VI. Thomas's bride was Agnes Charteris, daughter of Sir John Charteris of Amisfield (which is but a few miles from Closeburn) and his wife, Lady Margaret Fleming, who was herself the daughter of the first Earl of Wigtown. Thomas and Agnes had eleven children namely Thomas (who died long before his father) John (who briefly succeeded his father), Robert (who succeeded after John's death), Samuel, Roger, Charles (who was later taken prisoner at Dunbar), Margaret, Jean, Janet, Barbara and Sarah. In 1603 James VI departed to mount his much coveted throne of England and, no doubt, Thomas (No. 14) went with him, perhaps having dreams of acquiring wealth and prestige. In that same year a patent of Denizen within the Kingdom of England, dated at "Winton, 24 November", was granted by James to Thomas, who now, no doubt, thought he was at last "at the centre of things". But his departure and absence from Closeburn at this time seems to have been the commencement of the family troubles, despite the "honours" bestowed upon him by his monarch. It has been stated¹⁹ that Thomas was knighted before 1612; it seems fairly clear that the knighthood was bestowed in 1605, as it is in that year that the title "Sir" first appears on record³⁰.

In 1604, the year after his father's departure south, young Thomas (No. 15) is first recorded as a man of violence making threats etc., against Thomas Grierson of Barjarg²¹. In the following year Thomas, senior, put in a complaint against his eldest son²² to the effect that the latter "taking advantage of his father's absence furth of this realm on the King's business, has behaved himself most unkindly and unnaturally to his mother" (Lady Jean) "intending to possess himself of his father's whole living and to compel his tenants to accept him as their landlord. In January, February, March, April, May and June 1604 he ejected the complainer's tenant Thomas Grier of Barjarg, furth of his lands of Rouchile, set to him in tack, and cruelly assaulted him because he would not renounce his obedience to the pursuer". In May he pursued Thos. Gilchrist, another of the pursuer's servants, "for his slaughter", and in April last, while Jean Cunningham, pursuer's spouse and defender's mother, was drying some corns at the kiln of Closeburntoun he "maist barbarouslie kaist his moder under his feet and birsit her, wounded Hendrie Tait, her servant, and violently reft the corns". "In the month of ——— he reft the horse of a tenant, John Kirkpatrick of Gilkersland, and daily he cuts and destroys the complainer's woods, etc., and intimidates the

tenants". Both father and son appeared before the Lords who "Decern the defender to find caution in £2000 . . . "for the indemnity of the complainer and his tenants and to remain in Edinburgh till he find the said caution under pain if horning". In the light of the foregoing account it is not surprising that on 8th March 1605 Sir William Grierson of Lag had to find surety of 1000 merks for his son "not to harm Thomas Kirkpatrick, apparent of Closeburn", and this is followed in June 1605 by a complaint from Thomas Gilchrist against young Thomas, who "having conceived a deadly hatred against him, and having long sought an opportunity for his slaughter, had, upon — May 1604, come to his house at Lyning and chased him to the Water of Neth. For safety of his life he was forced to enter the water up to his shoulders, but Thomas Kirkpatrick rode into the water on horseback and pursued him with a drawn sword and wounded him in the head and arms. The defender, for not appearing, is to be denounced rebel"24. A few months later, on 1st August 1605, Sir John Charteris of Amisfield (father-in-law to young Thomas) gave security of £1000 for Thomas "not to harm Thos. Gilchrist", and later Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick gave surety of 500 merks that his son will answer before the Privy Council for assault on Thos. Gilchrist²⁵.

Sir John Charteris, no doubt motivated by his natural affection and concern for his daughter, again became surety for her husband in November 1606 and, on the same day a further complaint by Thomas Grierson, younger, was registered against young Thomas for "continued wrongful occupation of the 20s land called the Rouchyle", etc. This last complaint being unheeded by Thomas the Captain of the Guard was ordered to apprehend him and to inventory his goods."

Sir Thomas's troubles were not limited to the actions of his son, for, in 1607 a decree against certain barons for non-payment of taxes included Closeburn who owed £31227.

Presumably the Captain of the Guard apprehended young Thomas, for in June 1608 John Carruthers of Holmendis goes surety for him in the sum of 5000 merks "that on being freed furth his present ward in Edinburgh Castle he will remain in Edinburgh and re-enter ward by 1 July next". On 12 July Sir Robert Douglas of Carshogill found surety for Thomas "not to harm Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn his father", and on 14 July the Lords modified a fine imposed on young Thomas, who was probably back in ward. At any rate the rest of the family were involved in some quarrel with Archibald Maxwell and on 6 October 1608, four of them—Margaret, sister, and Alexander, John and George, brothers, had to find surety not to harm the said Maxwell. Four months later Sir Thomas went surety for Margaret, but not for her brothers.

Meanwhile, in January 1608, James VI sent a letter from Whitehall ordering the election of Sir Thomas as Provost of Dumfries, the Council having previously appointed Lord Maxwell, now, officially, "a rebel" but in the following May Sir Thomas, having withdrawn from the Provostship "by reason of his attendance at Court" the Town Council was ordered to elect another "not an adherent of Lord Maxwell".

Sir Thomas was made one of the King's Commissioners and Justiciaries for the Border in 1609³¹, and in March of that same year young Thomas was summoned to appear as a witness at the trial of Lord Maxwell for treason³⁵, but a few days later Thomas, senior, petitioned for a summons against his son, who had been put to the horn on 17 February for not complying with orders of the previous November. This petition³⁶ seems to have achieved nothing, for, in the following month, at his father's instance, he and John Kirkpatrick (probably his brother) had warrants for apprehension issued against them by the Council—these concerning a reversion for the redemption of the two merkland of Glengaber, which had been given to young Thomas for delivery to his father and which he had failed to do. As Thomas failed to appear before the Council the warrant was issued³⁷.

In the July following a new source of complaint against Thomas arose, this time by the minister of Closeburn, David Rodger, who alleged many acts of insolence and oppression by Thomas against his parents and others and "that he now by force prevents the complainer from uplifting the vicarage dues at the kirk of Closeburn, and that on 24 and 25 May last he came armed to Rodger's house and avowed to have his life, and of striking with a dagger John Kirkpatrick in Gilchrysland, an elder, because the latter would not give him the vicarage dues". The defender was denounced for not appearing. It seems that Thomas was apprehended and in January, 1610, appeared, together with his father, before the Council and, because of several hornings against him, was committed to ward in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, to be detained there "till he obtain himself relaxed from the said hornings". But Thomas was not easily repressed; a few weeks later, on 22 February, his father made complaint that his son "having been released from the Tolbooth by feigning to be sick, he has continued his undutiful behaviour and sends instructions daily to his servants to repeat previous offences"; that young Thomas "is in as good health as ever he was and goes publicly about the streets of Edinburgh". The Lords again committed him to the Tolbooth⁴⁰. There now follows the story concerning the way in which he managed to effect his escape from the Tolbooth. Two days after his father's complaint on 22 February, his mother-in-law, named as Dame Margaret Maxwell, Lady Amisfield, was examined "concerning the form and manner of the escape from the Tolbooth, of her son-in-law, Thomas Kirkpatrick, younger of Closeburn". She said that Thomas sent to her that he was "evil at ease by the unhealthsome air of that house and desyrit her to use her unfluence with Andro Quhyte to bring him down to her chamber". She aimed to reconcile him with his father and "to subscryve ane blank to put the same in the hands of the Earl of Glencairne, his uncle; that she persuaded Andro to bring Thomas to her chamber and promised that Thomas would return with him to the Tolbooth. Andro agreed and brought Thomas to her chamber yesterday night about five o'clock. When Thomas arrived she gave him a posset and he then went into a little inner chamber and escaped without her knowledge." Andro, being examined, "he confessed and confirmed the Lady's story, but he said that when he missed Thomas the Lady said that the drink had upset him and that he had gone to the inner chamber to vomit. After a while the Lady asked Andro what was the danger if Thomas escaped, and he answered that it would cost him his life; whereupon she began to tremble and Andro became suspicious, went into the inner chamber and found that Thomas had gone." The Lords committed Lady Amisfield as prisoner to the Tolbooth, and Andro Whyte, "to be layed in irnis". Three days later Lady Amisfield, having been put into the Tolbooth and afterwards transferred to the Castle, asked the Council to be transported to the town, a request which the Lords refused unless she would either enter young Closeburn or find

caution to satisfy all parties by whom she was warded or arrested. There follows a gap in the records relative to this episode until 27 November when the Lords of Council, having considered the complaint of David Lindsay, jailer of the Tolbooth, regarding "trouble and commotion" raised there last night by Thomas Kirkpatrick, apparent of Closeburn and three others by their "invasion" of the said jailer and his keepers of the Tolbooth, ordain the bailies of Edinburgh to put the four of them in irons and keep them there till they are relieved by the Lords. In that same month Sir Thomas was appointed a Commissioner of the Peace."

By what means young Thomas again secured his freedom is not known, but six months later (May 1611) his father-in-law, Sir John Charteris, is once again surety for him in the sum of 1000 merks, this time "not to harm David Roger, minister at Closeburn"⁴⁵.

At this juncture attention must be drawn to the description (quoted earlier) given to the Lady Amisfield who contrived the escape of Thomas from his jailer. She is recorded as Dame Margaret Maxwell, and Thomas is described as her son-in-law. Now, so far as can be ascertained, Sir John Charteris was only once married and then to Margaret Fleming, daughter of the first Earl of Wigtown, as has been noted earlier in these pages. There being no trace of the death of his original wife or of his remarriage no satisfactory explanation of this apparent discrepancy of names can be offered.

In July 1611 a new surety for Thomas (No. 15) appears in the shape of one Hew Charterhouse, a merchant of Edinburgh (and probably a relative) who agreed to pay a fine of £40 imposed on Thomas for assaulting Thomas Gilchrist. 46

Many references in the Register of the Privy Council have been omitted from this paper because they are monotonous in their character, being, invariably, tales of debts and the failure to settle them. However, there are some which relate to debts within the Closeburn family circle, which are worthy of report. The very serious nature of family finances is illustrated by a complaint, on 8 May, 1612, by Margaret Maxwell, Sir Thomas's daughter and widow of William Maxwell of Cowhill, against her father, that he remained unrelaxed from a horning of 29 October, 1611 for not paying her the annual rent of 300 merks at Whitsunday, 1609 and subsequent dates, and for not paying 1100 merks principal plus expenses. Sir Thomas made no appearance before the Court and a decree against him was issued. Soon after the issue of this decree Sir Thomas was re-appointed a Commissioner of Peace, the qualification for which necessitated that he was "Godlie, wise and verteus . . . of good qualities, moyane and report".

Hornings against prominent personages were not uncommon, and in January, 1613 the Lords ordered Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick and Lord Herries "to appear personally to answer for the various hornings against them, which they have ignored, under pain of being freshly denounced," etc, and the issue of commissions "for their pursuit and for seizing their houses". Despite all this Sir Thomas was again re-appointed Commissioner for Peace in June of that same year, of and also, in that same month George and John Kirkpatrick, sons of Sir Thomas, were the subject of complaint by another minister, namely George Black at Dunscore, who, on 24 June averred that, while he was

delivering his sermon, George and John, sons of Sir Thomas, "apprehending that the general doctrine tuicheit thame" had stood up before the whole congregation and upbraided the complainer with injurious and reproachful speeches saying "Fals lowne and knave, ye are over pert sua to preiche"; that afterwards when Black was having dinner with the elders of the kirk, George Kirkpatrick had come to the house, sword in hand, and attacked him, and only the providence of God, and the help of those present prevailed him from being slain. Later, when Black was standing in the kirkyard, John Kirkpatrick had upbraided him and struck him on the face to the great effusion of blood. Black attended the Court, but the defenders did not. The Lords found the charges proven and ordered the defenders to be charged and enter into ward within the Edinburgh Tolbooth within six days and to remain there, at their own expense, during the pleasure of the Lords⁵¹. Brother Thomas was not involved in this particular ploy; he was probably already in the Tollbooth "a lang tyme prisoner" as mentioned below. In August 1616 there is recorded "a charge for the appearance of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn and his son to appear before the Lords on 13 September next for settlement of the differences between them and extrication of the estate of Closeburn from the debts with which it is burdened. It says that Sir Thomas had infeft his son in his whole estate with reservation of a small portion for his own maintenance; that afterwards the son had been a "lang tyme prisoner" in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for his un-natural, etc behaviour to his father and mother; they were reconciled, but the son had not conformed to the agreement "sua that he al appearance the estait of the leving of Closeburn miserable, shaikin and overthrowne without remeid be providet". In order that there could be no excuse for non-attendance by the parties the Lords ordered that they be free to attend and that the various hornings etc against them be suspended during the hearing⁵².

In the midst of all this family conflict Sir John Charteris died, some time between 21 May, 1611,⁵³ and 18 September, 1616,⁵⁴ at which date Sir John is referred to as "the late". Young Thomas had been repeatedly helped out of trouble by his now deceased father-in-law and he was to find that others of his wife's family were not to be so charitable or soft-hearted.

The estrangement between Sir Thomas and his heir now shows some sign of abatement. On 9 October, 1616, they both appeared before the Privy Council and submitted to the decreet to be pronounced by the arbiters, viz. Thomas, Lord Binning (President), Sir Robert Melvill of Bruntiland, Robert, Earl of Lothian, James King, advocate, and Alexander, Bishop of Caithness, and they ordered the parties to see them immediately after the rising of the Councils. After the appearance of both parties before the Council on 9 October the action of that body on 23 December, 1616 is summarised as follows;—Adam Cunynghame, advocate, procurator for Robert, Earl of Lothian, Thomas, Lord of Binning, Sir Robert Melvill of Bruntiland and James King, advocate, handed in the following decreet;—"The Lords order the same to have the force of an Act of Council"—the substance of which is that "Having conferred at length with both parties, and having heard the overtures and propositions of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn anent the payment of the said debt and the answers and objections made thereto by Thomas, his son, and understanding that the burden of the said house and of the debts of Sir Thomas amount to 28,000 merks, whereof 20,000 is for bands and obligations and 8000 upon wodsett and, as Sir Thomas affirms that there are no other debts owing by him . . . we all in ane voce, with the consent of the parties, ordain that

Thomas Kirkpatrick, younger, concur with Sir Thomas, his father, and give his consent to the alienation of the eighteen pound land of Robertmuir to any person who will give the most for it, the money so obtained to be used to pay Sir Thomas's debts," but if the sum realised on sale is not enough to cover the debts we ordain that Sir Thomas pay the rest from "his awne proper geir", etc. etc. "We, with consent of Sir Thomas order him to renounce in favour of his son, all reservations contained in his son's marriage contract of the ten pound land of Brigburgh and five pound land of Auchencarne except the fishings, which are to be reserved to Sir Thomas during his lifetime". "We also order Sir Thomas to dispone to his son the merkland of Slakis and the forty shilling land of Dressetland; also to redeem from Thomas Grier of Barjarge the twenty shilling land of Roughyle and to enter his son to possession of the same". "We also order Sir Thomas, with his own consent, to dispone unto his said son the personage of Dalgarno" etc, "it to be first redeemed from John Ker, present possessor thereof, to the effect that Sir Thomas may therewith pay the annual rent of the said sum of 8000 merks lying upon the lands of Closeburn". "We also, with the consent of Thomas Kirkpatrick, younger, order him to relieve his father of the duty and stipend due to the minister of Dalgarno" etc, etc. "We also order Sir Thomas to discharge his son of all actions, civil and criminal, that he has against him". "Lastly, we decerne and ordain that both parties do stand and abyde at our decrite and sentence and do observe and keep the same in every point" etc. Signed, 9 October, 1616⁵⁵.

So far as can be seen from records there followed a period of calm, during which, no doubt, the decreet of 23 December was in process of implementation. In the following September (1617) the Lords called a Council meeting for 6 November at which various Border lairds appeared and became responsible for their tenants and servants in accord with the General Band of 160257.

In 1618 Sir Thomas appears as a member of the Conjoint Commission for the Middle Shires to maintain peace on the Border⁵⁸, but his personal troubles were not ended. On 22 April Andro Wilson complains that Sir Thomas remains unrelaxed from a horning of 16 August, 1617 for not fulfilling an obligation of 12 April, 1595. Possibly he was engaged in his duties on the Conjoint Commission; at any rate he failed to appear on 22 April and an order was made for his apprehension⁵⁹, but this did not deter him (if he knew of the order) from appearing in Edinburgh on 16 June to accept his Middle Shires commission from the Lords of Secret Council.

After a year in which no record is seen of any proceedings against either Sir Thomas or his son, another order was made for the former's apprehension following a complaint by a Bryce Semple on 29 June, 1619⁵⁰.

On 2 November, 1619, the Commissioners of the Middle Shires were summoned by the Council to appear in Edinburgh on 14 December to consult and especially to consider the removal of notorious oriminals, and those summoned included the Lairds of Closeburn, Lag and Amisfield⁵¹. No doubt as a result of that meeting, there followed in March, 1620, an "Act for perfecting the Survey, already ordered, of all idle persons, masterless men and vagabonds in the Middle Shires", with orders to the Commissioners to give in the said survey with a roll of the said lawless persons on 15 April next; the men on the roll to appear before Lord Herries, Douglas of Drumlanrig, Sir William Grier of Lag and Sir Thomas

Kirkpatrick of Closeburn⁶². In addition to the various efforts for pacification of the Borders there is some evidence that attempts were being made for other desirable improvements as instanced on 19 April, 1620 when Lord Herries and others; including Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, were charged to attend at once to raising money for the repair of the bridge at Dumfries⁶³.

Young Thomas does not appear in the records of trouble for about three and a half years from December 1616 but he has not been free from fault over that period. In June, 1620, when he would be about 42 years of age, his sister Margaret, widow of William Maxwell of Cowhill, lodges a complaint to the effect that she was infeft by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, knight, her father, in an annual rent of 300 merks yearly from his lands of Closeburn, redeemable on payment to her of 3000 merks as "hir provisioun and bairnis part of geir distinct be hir said father until hir". She had peaceable possession until 1617 when, in terms of a decreet-arbitral between her father and Thomas Kirkpatrick, younger of Closeburn, the latter undertook to relieve his father of the yearly annual rent of 800 merks of which Margaret's was part. Then her brother suggested that she come and abyde in his house until such time as he might be more able to make payment of the rent and principal. She agreed. However, on 24 August last (1619) young Thomas "came under cloud and silence of night to her in his own house within her chamber, she being going to bed, and there put violent hands on her person". He "straik and dang hir on divers pairtis of her body, rashed hir to the ground, set his feet upon hir bellie and face, raive hir hair oute of hir heid, pullit her be the thrappill and almaist raive hir thrappill out of hir craig and hurt and wonndit hir in the craig, face and uther pairtis of hir body. Having fellit hir deid to the ground he threw hir heidlongis over ane heich stair and left hir lyand for deid". Both parties appeared in Court and Thomas was "assoilzie" (i.e. acquited) on "his oath of verity". If one allows for an element of exaggeration on Margaret's part it is difficult to understand the Court's decision. The colourful story told by his sister is in keeping with her brother's history of violence and subterfuge over many years and consistent with his attitude whenever his wishes were thwarted. Here the records of this particular family dispute cease and we do not know how Margaret fared following this unsuccessful plea to the Court. But her father was soon in trouble again when an order for his apprehension was issued because of his failure to appear to answer a further complaint by Bryce Semple who was the assignee in respect of 2000 merks plus expenses originally paid by the Earl of Glencairn as caution for Sir Thomas⁶⁵. To add to his troubles, in December (1620) a Caption Order was issued against Thomas (No. 15) following his non-appearance before the Council to answer a complaint by John Grierson, son of Thomas Grierson, elder, of Barjarg, once more concerning the 20s land of Ruchyle "wrongfully occupied by Thomas Kirkpatrick"66.

Sir Thomas was summoned, on 14 February, 1622, to a meeting of the Commissioners of the Middle Shires to be held on 12 March, to consider checking the increase of theft and, ironically enough, on 10 September, 1623, Thomas Kirkpatrick in Meiklehornie, and William, his son, made a complaint against Robert, Earl of Nithsdale and the other Commissioners for the Middle Shires, for illegal detention in "the pledge chalmer" of Dumfries. The Commissioners

alleged that the Kirkpatricks "are notorious thieves" but, nevertheless, they released them on finding caution to appear before the King's justice later.

A further meeting of the Commissioners, to which Sir Thomas was summoned, was convened on 24 March, 1624, to consider a Letter from the King concerning "the better rule of the Borders". In November, 1625, Sir Thomas was re-appointed to the Middle Shires Commission. but one wonders why, on 27 July of the next year, it became necessary to add his name to the Commission, in just two days before the issue of a "Commission under the Signet" to various nobles including Closeburn, to convocate the lieges in arms, against Christie Irwing, son of the deceased Edward Irwing, sometime of Stabletoun, who, with a number of others, had taken the house of Stabletoun pertaining to Fergus Grahame of Blawatwoode, and fortified it. Irwing failed to appear before the Lords of Council; they denounced him rebel and are to take the house, remove Irwing and restore it to Grahame.

On 20 December, 1627, Sir Thomas was once more named as a Commissioner for the Middle Shires⁷². He was excused from attendance at a proposed meeting of these Commissioners on 12 February, 1628, but was, apparently, in attendance on 7 February when recent disorders were attributed to the "infrequency of meetings and the flight of malefactors from one country to the other to escape justice⁷³. These meetings show that even in his old age Sir Thomas was still fairly active and perhaps at peace with his son at last. No definite date of death has been ascertainable but on 2nd and 4th June, 1629 there is reference to him continuing as a Commissioner of the Middle Shires74. However, on 4th February, 1630, there is a complaint by Robert Charteris of Kelwood, brother to Sir John Charteris of Amisfield (and brother-in-law to Thomas No. 15), that on 5th January last Thomas Kirkpatrick now of Closeburn, was put to the horn for not paying complainer 5530 merks and interest in terms of a contract made thereon, of which horning he takes no heed. Thomas did not heed the summons to the Court and, in his absence, an order was made for the Sheriff to apprehend and imprison him till he pay the debts and also to take his house and inventory his goods within three days under pain of rebellion⁷⁵. So it is clear that, while his son is still at odds with the law and his neighbours, his father, Sir Thomas, 14th Laird passed to peace between June 1629 and 4th February, 1630, being, most probably, nearly eighty years of age and having been Laird for about 46 troubled, and. in the main, unhappy years. Young Thomas, no longer young (he would now be about 51 years of age) succeeds to an impoverished and precarious title and has yet to clear his debts. Within a few months of his succession, the order for his apprehension having been made on 4th February, John Lindsay of Laggan, depute to the Sheriff-Principal (Sir Robert Grier of Lag) reported that after search he found that Thomas Kirkpatrick had left Closeburn and had locked up the office, houses and door and had taken the keys with him so that the Sheriff-depute could have no entry except "to ane laich hall where were certane young children". The Lords ordered letters to be issued against Thomas, in his absence to enter the Castle of Blackness, and commanding the keepers of the tower of Closeburn to render it to the officer and remove themselves hence within six days under pain of being declared traitors and incurring forfeitures76.

Young Thomas's predicament was attracting attention beyond the bounds of Dumfriesshire and Edinburgh. On 15 February, 1631, there is recorded a charge

issued by Charles I "frome our Court at Newmercat" (29 January, 1631) to Thomas Kirkpatrick and Bryce Sempill of Cathcart to appear before the Council anent sums said to be owed by the former to the latter. It is said that Thomas Kirkpatrick's "estait is likely to be ruined if some moderate course be not taken to prevent it". On the same day as this charge is recorded and sixteen days after the date of the letter from Newmercat, there was a supplication by Thomas to the Privy Council at Holyrood (15 February 1631). He tells the Council that he has been heavily troubled by Sempill and Robert Charteris of Kelwood on account of some debts and for removing from his lands which have been apprised by Sempill; he, Thomas, had offered all reasonable satisfaction but can get no agreement. The Lords granted him till 15 March, despite his failure to appear personally (he being "at the horn")78. This period of grace was later extended to 15 April⁷⁹. However, on 15 March the Lords, after hearing Sempill and others had remitted the matter to several of their number to take means for settling matters between them, "which they have now worthily done". It only remains for payment to Sempill, for which Thomas must either sell or wadset part of his estate, and for this purpose the Lords continue till 1st July⁸⁰. On 2 June a further supplication was made to the Lords by Thomas Kirkpatrick, elder of Closeburn, and Thomas his son (now probably about 30 years of age) for further time to repay Charteris, the other creditor, Sempill, having now been repaid. An extension of time was given till 12 November^{s1}. Thomas at last seems to evince signs of accepting responsibility and on 22 November reported that he had now satisfied both Sempill and Charteris, but there remained some other debts for which he pleads further time until next Whitsunday; but the Lords limited the extension to 31 January, 1632⁸². But before the end of the period allowed Thomas was back again to the Lords on 19 January pleading for further help. He repeats that he has paid Bryce Sempill 7000 merks, Robert Charteris 6000 merks and William Douglas 1000 merks etc, but that a John Dalrumpell in Waterside, taking advantage of a horning against him by Andrew Wilson, intends to trouble him and debar him from pursuing actions before the Lords of Session. The Lords showed compassion and gave further protection to Thomas on condition that he pay the debt due to Wilson before Whitsunday next and adding the warning that, if he fails, he will get no further protection⁸³. Thomas now seems to be thoroughly alarmed at his position and on 8 March, two months before the expiration of the extra period of grace, he is back with a complaint to the Lords that, during the period of protection granted by their Lordships, he had satisfied his creditors to over 13,000 merks and for interest due to Whitsunday next; that he is most willing to satisfy his remaining creditors if his protection is extended. Charges to appear before the Lords had been sent to Thomas Grierson of Barjarge, Thos Gilchrist there, Gilbert Mulligane in Overholme, John Dalrumpell of Waterside, James Maxwell of Tinwald, Marke Gledstane, servitour to Lady Hereis and William Kirkpatrick, called of Carse, but none of them appeared. The Lords continued the protection against all hornings and captions at the instance of the defenders until the term of "Lambmesse" next⁸⁴.

The lifelong fires of battle against debt and a headstrong character should by this time have burned low. At least no further appearances before the Lords are recorded and in 1634 Thomas was appointed a Justice for Peace⁸⁵ and eight years later, in July, 1642, he became a Commissioner "for the apprehension

of Jesuits, seminary and Mass priests and such as go on pilgrimages to chapels and wells"se. This seems to be a case of poacher turned gamekeeper and, no doubt, Thomas would find some outlet for his aggressive spirit which was not yet entirely abated. The predilection for strife, so evident throughout his life, was no doubt one of the reasons why, to quote one of Thomas's descendants (Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Hoddam) "he borrowed considerable sums of money, the bonds for repayment of which are dated 1640" and in conjunction with the Earl of Queensberry, Lord Dalziel and others formed the Committee of War of Dumfries and who were "compelled by the Assembly to borrow money to defray the expenses of the deluded clowns trained up to rebellion under the banners of the Covenant" 87.

However, this was the last misguided ploy by Thomas; he died before 1648, aged about seventy, leaving the disastrous results of his actions for his successors to face. His eldest son, Thomas, had died some years previously, and the second son, John, is said to have succeeded before his father's death. But John also died before his father and was, in turn, succeeded by the next son, Robert, 17th Laird of Closeburn[®].

HAROLD KIRKPATRICK.

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· R.K.C.
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<sup>5</sup> R.P.C.S. Vol. VIII, p 675.
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<sup>6</sup> Ibid. Vol. IX. p 680.
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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. Vol. VI, p 664
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<sup>20</sup> R.P.C.S. Vol. XII, pp 147 and 618.
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- 74 Ibid Vol. III, pp 154 and 159.
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- ⁷⁸ Ibid p 145.
- 79 Ibid p 163.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid p 170.
- ⁸¹ Ibid p 221.
- 62 Ibid p 371.
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ABBREVIATIONS

- R.M.S. REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI. Register of the GREAT SEAL OF SCOT-LAND.
- R.P.C.S. Register of the PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.
- R.K.C. Records of the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn by Major-General Charles Kirkpatrick—M.S. at Ewart Library, Dumfries.
- D. & G. Trans. DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY & ANTI-QUARIAN SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS.

GLOSSARY

The meaning of most dialect words and of archaisms used are self evident from the context, but there are some words which, particularly to the non-Scots reader, require explanation. The following list has been limited to the more obscure terms.

- 1. BIRSIT = bruised.
- 2. CRAIG = neck.
- 3. ENTER = surrender.
- 4. HEICH = high.
- 5. HORNING = outlawry or threat of such. It follows that "at the horn" means outlawed and "put to the horn" has similar connotation.
- 6. IN ANE VOCE=in one voice, or unanimously.
- 7. INFEFT = invested with property.
- 8. LAICH = Low.
- 9. MERK.=a silver coin worth about $13^{1}2d$ sterling; a measure of land.
- 10. MASTERLESS MEN. those having no allegiance to employer or clan chief; unemployed.
- 11. MIDDLE SHIRES. = the shires bordering the boundary between England and Scotland.
- 12. MOYANE = means.

- 13. QUHAT SOMEVIR = whatever.
- 14. REFT. = stole.
- 15. STIDINGS=steadings=farm buildings as distinct from the house.
- 16. TACK = lease.
- 17. TUICHEIT THAME=touched them (in the sense that "the cap fits").
- 18. WARD.=prison.
- 19. $WODSET\bar{T} = wadset = mortgage$.

THE LAIRDS OF ARDINCAPLE AND DARLEITH: MACARTHURS AND MACAULAYS

In the traditional history of the Campbells known as 'Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells', edited for the Scottish History Society by Sheriff MacPhail in Highland Papers II, Paul an Sparain, the reputed ancestor of the Campbells whose daughter and heiress Eva is said to have brought the lands of Lochawe to that family, is given a brother named 'Arthur Armdhearg'. "Arthur Armdhearg's fourth son", the account continues, "is reckoned to have been Arthur Andrairan who also had two sons viz. Patrick Drynach from whom the Clan Arthurs of Instrynish on Lochowsyde and Duncan Darleith of whom the McArthurs of Darleith in the Lennox who called themselves Darleiths after the name of their lands which they possessed till very late". The aim of this paper is to investigate the history of these MacArthurs of Darleith, who it will be argued, were by no means always so obscure as they later became. In the course of the investigation it will be necessary to consider also the history of the far better known family of MacAulay of Ardincaple about whose origins there has been some controversy¹.

The author of 'Ane Accompt of the Genealogy of the Campbells' was unknown to Sheriff MacPhail. It seems likely, however, that 'Ane Accompt' is the history of the Campbells referred to in the 'Manuscript History of Craignish' as 'Duncanson's Genealogy', and that it was compiled between 1670 and 1676 by the Earl of Argyll himself and the Rev. Robert Duncanson, later minister of Campbeltown. 'Ane Accompt' represents the 'official' genealogical tradition of the seventeenth century, based ultimately on ancient and conceivably accurate pedigrees but incorporating also some more recent and less credible material. In 'Ane Accompt', as in other 'official' Campbell histories, the Campbells are derived in fine style at once from Norman, from Gaelic and from British ancestors: at once from the family of 'de Bello Campo' (alias 'de Campo Bello'), from Diarmaid O'Duibne the companion of Finn, and from King Arthur of Round Table fame. Elsewhere I have argued that the original tradition was that of British (or Brittonic) descent, although the particular descent from King Arthur is clearly fabulous, and that the ancestors of the Campbells probably came from the district of the Lennox, once part of the British Kingdom of Strathclyde. In claiming such an ancestry and indeed in their early use of the Christian name 'Arthur', the family of Campbell may be compared to the family of Galbraith, prominent in the affairs of the Lennox from the thirteenth century onwards.2

'Ane Accompt' also takes note of the various families reputed to have branched out from the main Campbell stem at various points in history. These include well known branches of the Campbells such as Strachur and Loudoun whose descent from the common stem is not in doubt, as well as earlier and more controversial Campbell cadets such as the MacTavish Campbells, the MacTver Campbells and the Campbells of Craignish. Earlier still 'Ane Accompt' claims as kin families which never bore the Campbell name and whose relationship to the Campbells is not generally accepted — the Drummonds, the MacNaughtons and the MacQuillans. Earliest of all the MacArthurs of Inistrynich on Lochawe and the family of Darleith are derived from the parent stem. It is difficult to conceive of any reason other than ancient and genuine tradition to explain why a seventeenth century Earl of Argyll should have claimed as kin the obscure and impoverished Lennox family of Darleith. Hence this investigation

The lands of Darleith are situated in the parish of Bonhill, Dumbartonshire, near the modern towns of Dumbarton and Helensburgh. According to the account of Dumbartonshire preserved in MacFarlane's Geographical Collections "To the northert of Keppoch is the tour of Darleith which belonged antiently to propriatours of the same surname but about 1670 acquired by John Zuill whose grandchild is Thomas Zuill of Darleith Chief of that name." The date 1670 accords well with the statement in 'Ane Accompt' that the family of Darleith had possessed their lands "till very late".

· Although the family of Darleith was never prominent in national or indeed in local affairs enough references to members of the family survive to make it clear that the Christian name 'Arthur' was one of their favoured names and, accordingly, there seems to be no reason to doubt the statement that the family used the name 'MacArthur' as well as that of 'Darleith'. The following references, although by no means exhaustive, probably embrace the principal bearers of the name of Darleith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1670 the estate of Darleith was sold by John Darleith whose father Arthur had resigned Darleith in his favour in 1663.4 In 1600 Arthur Darleith of that Ilk appears as surety for Aulay MacAulay of Ardincaple. In 1598 John Darleith, the son of Arthur, contracted marriage with Janet Crawford of Crawfordland. In 1566/7 Arthur Darleith, son and heir of John Darleith, was granted a precept of Clare Constat by Henry, King of Scots. This Arthur was presumably at that time head of the family. Earlier in the sixteenth century, in 1532, an Arthur Darleith appears on record, and he is probably to be identified with the Arthur Darleith who was granted a precept of Clare Constat in 1519 as the heir of his father John.7

Also in 1519 John Darleith of that Ilk figures in a legal dispute with the widow of a Malcolm Darleith.⁸ This Malcolm is presumably he who appears in 1496 as witness to a charter by Matthew, Earl of Lennox, as 'Malcolm Ardingahyll de Darleyth'.⁹ The name Ardincaple comes from the lands of Ardincaple, situated on the east side of the Gare Loch in the parish of Rhu between the present towns of Rhu and Helensburgh. The names 'Ardincaple' and 'Darleith' are again associated in 1490 in the person of John 'Ardyncapil de Darleth', while in 1473 John Arnicapil de Darleith', perhaps the same, sits on the Inquest which retonred John, Lord Darnley, later Earl of Lennox, heir to his great grandfather Duncan, Earl of Lennox.¹⁰ In 1489/90 another Arthur Darleith appears on re-

cord, and in 1473 an Arthur Ardincaple, conceivably the same man under a different disguise.¹¹

In the fifty years or so before 1473 records relating to the Lennox are not so plentiful, a consequence no doubt of the execution in 1425 of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, together with his son-in-law Murdoch, Duke of Albany, lately Regent of Scotland, and two of his grandsons. Throughout this period there was no Earl of Lennox. There is, however, a reference in 1429/30 to Arthur 'Morison', Lord of Darleith. This Arthur must surely be identified with the Arthur, son of Maurice, who appears as party to a remarkable deed dated 1406, a deed which provides the clue to the association of the names of Ardincaple and Darleith. The text of this deed, encapsulated in a Notarial Instrument of 1415, although printed in Sir William Fraser's 'The Lennox' and E. R. Welles' 'Ardincaple Castle and its Lairds', is sufficiently interesting to reprint in full, not only for the light it sheds on the families of Ardincaple and Darleith but also as an early specimen of Scots and as an early Bond of Manrent. Darleith but also as an early specimen

"Be it kenyt til al men be thir letteris, me Arthore of Ardenagappil, the son and the aire of Morice of Ardenagappil fermly, lelely and faithabilly to be oblist til my nobil lord and michti, schir Duncane Erle of the Lewynaxe, that I sal be lele and trew til my said lord in vorde, cunseil and deid for al the tyme of my life, and lelely and trewly, eftir my cunnyng, serue my said lord and be til him at his biddying and calling, mak homage and seruice, and of speciale duelling and retenewe, witht all my micht and pouer in cunsale, red, supponele and help agaynis al dedlik, the kyngis allegiance anerly outtane, for his confirmacion of the landis of Darleith til me made and giffin, and for foure mark of fee that my said lord has grantit me zeire be zeire for al the terme of the said Morice my faderis life, and for thre mark til my selfe zeire be zeire for al my lifetyme fra my said faderis dessess: And to the mare sikernes and the fulfilling of al thir poyntis but fraude or gile, as is befor virtyne, I, said Arthore, the hali evangell touchsit, gafe bodily atht. In vitnes of the quhilk thing, for I said Arthore had na sele of myne awne, the sele of ane nobil mane and a michti, Wmfray of Culqwone lord of Luse, witht instance I hafe procurit to be toset to thir presentis letteris, at Inchmoryne, the v day of Aueryl, the zeire of oure Lord mocccco and vjo."

It is clear from this document that the lands of Darleith were in the hands of the family of Ardincaple by the begining of the fifteenth century at latest and it seems reasonable to infer further that the later family of MacArthur of Darleith were descendants of the Maurice and Arthur of Ardincaple of 1406. This indeed is the inference made by David Murray in his unpublished manuscript 'The MacAulays of Ardencaple and the Western Lennox', a manuscript which forms the basis of much of Welles' account of Ardincaple and its lairds. Murray and Welles, however, assume that the lairds of Darleith were a junior branch of the house of Ardincaple and that the later MacAulays of Ardincaple represented the senior line. Both these assumptions are highly questionable. As against the first, that the lairds of Darleith were a junior branch of the house of Ardincaple, Arthur of Darleith of the 1406 Bond is described not only as the son, but also as the heir of Maurice of Ardincaple, and the presumption must therefore be that the later lairds of Darleith represented the earlier family of Ardincaple.

Of Darleith itself little seems to be known before 1406. In the record of an Inquest held in 1260 one Thomas son of Somerled appears as holding the lands, but there seems to be no reason to connect either Thomas or Somerled, both of whom also appear in the Cartulary of Lennox, with the later families of Darleith or Ardincaple. ¹⁵

On the other hand, the family of Ardincaple appear on record on several occasions before 1406 and these notices show them to have been of considerable importance, comparable to such other Lennox families as the Colquhouns, the MacFarlanes, the Buchanans and the Galbraiths. An Arthur of Ardincaple, perhaps he of 1406, witnesses an undated Charter by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, to Murdoch, son of Malcolm 'formerly Lord of Leckie'. Some time prior to 1364 John of Ardincaple witnesses a charter by Donald, Earl of Lennox, in favour of Arthur Campbell of Strachur; another witness to the same charter is an Arthur, son of Maurice, who could also be of the family of Ardincaple but who could equally be a Galbraith, the names 'Arthur' and 'Maurice being common to both families.17 A charter by Malcolm, Earl of Lennox (k.1333) in favour of Patrick Galbraith is witnessed by Arthur of Ardincaple.18 The earliest member of the Ardincaple family on record is another Maurice who appears in the Ragman Roll in 1296, and whose name also appears in 1294, coupled with that of several members of the house of Lennox, and others, including Sir Donald Campbell, Arthur Galbraith, Malcolm Drummond and John of Luss, in an inhibition issued by Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, in connection with the longstanding dispute between the Abbey of Paisley and the house of Lennox over lands belonging to the church of Kilpatrick.¹⁹ The lands of Ardincaple are mentioned in a charter dated 1351 in which Donald, Earl of Lennox, confirms to his kinsman and son-in-law Walter de Faslane lands granted by Donald's ancestor Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, to Walter's ancestor 'Avileth', that is 'Amhalgaidh', the son of Amhalgaidh, and nephew of Maoldomhnaich, Earl of Lennox.20 Despite this grant there is room to doubt, as Murray and Welles do, whether the family of de Faslane were in fact the feudal superiors of Ardincaple.21 Rather it seems more likely that the family who styled themselves 'de Ardincaple', and whose representative in 1406 was Maurice, were tenants in chief of the Earldom.

The record evidence then strongly suggests that the obscure seventeenth century lairds of Darleith, claimed as kin to the Campbells by the Earl of Argyll himself, descended from and probably represented the medieval family of Ardincaple, first recorded in the thirteenth century and already at that period landowners of some importance.

In view of the claim in 'Ane Accompt' that the family of Drummond, like that of Darleith, were kin to the Campbells it is interesting and perhaps significant that Maurice of Ardincaple, the first of his family for whom record evidence survives, appears in 1294 in the company of one Malcolm Drummond and one Donald Campbell. Given the Campbell claim to a British ancestry the appearance in the same company of an Arthur Galbraith, whose surname and whose Christian name both have British connotations, together with the constant recurrence of the Christian name 'Arthur' in the family of Ardincaple-Darleith are again suggestive.

There remains to be explained, however, the awkward fact that the later lairds of Ardincaple, whose surname was MacAulay, are normally assumed to be

male line descendants of the earlier family. As to the origins of these MacAulays — who are quite separate from the MacAulays of Lewis — there are two main theories current, the first being that they descend from Amhalgaidh, above mentioned, brother of Maoldomhnaich, Earl of Lennox in the mid-thirteenth century, and the second that they were kin to the MacGregors. These theories and the assumption of family continuity at Ardincaple must now be examined.

The earliest undoubted ancestor of the MacAulays of Ardincaple is Alexander Ardincaple of that Ilk (fl. 1473-1511). Alexander's son John, who was killed at Flodden in 1513, is the first laird of Ardincaple apparently referred to as 'MacAulay', and this on only one occasion.22 John's successor Aulay, whose exact relationship to his two predecessors is not known although it is clear that he was not the son of John, appears on record on some occasions as 'of Ardincaple' and on others as 'MacAulay'. Aulay's own descendants, many of whom also bear the Christian name 'Aulay', are usually recorded as 'MacAulay'. According to Nisbet the name 'MacAulay' was adopted by a laird of Ardincaple named Alexander in the reign of James V (1513-42) "to humour a patronymical designation as being more agreeable to the head of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that Ilk."23 The account of Ardincaple in MacFarlane's Geographical Collections places the adoption of the name slightly earlier, "Lower upon the firth of Clyde is Ardincaple antiently possessed by a family of the same surname, but about the reign of King James the Third [1460-88] from Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk the name of McAulay came to be the surname of this ancient family whose successour is Archbald McAulay of Ardincaple".24 If the reference to John of Ardincaple as 'MacAulay' is accepted the earlier date is the more probable one; it seems likely that Alexander of Ardincaple (fl. 1473-1511) had an ancestor, perhaps his father named Aulay, who may or may not have been laird of Ardincaple. But there seems to be no positive evidence whatsoever to connect the MacAulay lairds of Ardincaple, who first appear on record in 1473 in the person of Alexander, with the earlier family of Ardincaple, the last of whom to appear, apparently still in possession of the lands of Ardincaple, are Maurice and Arthur of the 1406 Bond. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the earlier family were termed 'Mac-Aulay': the Christian name 'Aulay' was as unknown among them as was the name 'Arthur' in the later family.25

Neverthless, the theory that the lairds of Ardincaple, early or late, descended from Amhalgaidh, brother of Earl Maoldomhnaich, rests on nothing stronger than the tacit assumption that only one patrilineal family possessed the lands of Ardincaple from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, coupled with the similarity in name between the later lairds' surname of MacAulay and the thirteenth century members of the Lennox family named Amhalgaidh. It is only surprising that such a tenuous theory should have attracted so many distinguished adherents from Buchanan of Auchmar to Alexander Macbain. Dr David Murray was on the whole in favour of this theory and E. R. Welles decidedly so. Sir William Fraser and W. F. Skene were, however, more sceptical. In 'The Highlanders of Scotland', Skene wrote "The Macaulays, of Ardincaple, have for a long period been considered as deriving their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and it has generally been assumed without investigation, that their ancestor was Aulay, son of Aulay, who appears in Ragman Roll, and whose father, Aulay, was the brother of Maldowan, earl of

Lennox. Plausible as this derivation may appear, yet there are no circumstances which render it impossible, and establish the derivation of the clan to have been very different."²⁷

Skene's reasons were cavalierly dismissed by Machain in his edition of Skene's Highlanders but for all that they still hold good. In the first place, Skene pointed out that the descendants of Amhalgaidh were the well known family of de Faslane, who later became Earls of Lennox and whose line terminated with the execution of Earl Duncan in 1425, and that there was nothing to suggest that this family was related to the medieval lords of Ardincaple. To this objection, however, two riders must be added. One, as already mentioned, it may be that the family of de Faslane were the feudal superiors of the lands of Ardincaple. Secondly, Skene's account of the de Faslane family in 'The Highlanders of Scotland' should be supplemented in the light of his own later 'Celtic Scotland' and Balfour's Paul's 'Scots Peerage'."

This extra information, however, does not detract from Skene's original reasoning. In addition it seems clear that the family of MacAulay derived their surname from a fifteenth century 'Aulay' and not from a thirteenth century character. Further, it is well nigh inconceivable that the descent of the family of MacAulay from the Celtic Earls of Lennox, if genuine, should not have been commented on by the great eighteenth century antiquary and genealogist Walter MacFarlane of MacFarlane, who was himself an undoubted descendant in the male line of Gilchrist, brother of Maoldomhnaich, Earl of Lennox.

The second reason put forward by Skene was as follows: "Secondly, there exists a Bond of Friendship entered into between Macgregor of Glenstray and Macaulay of Ardincaple, upon the 27th May, 1591, in which latter owns his being a cadet of the house of the former, and promises to pay him the 'Calp' "—'Calp' being a payment made in the Highlands on death in cash or in kind to the man recognised by the deceased as his chief or lord." The Bond reads as follows:

"Be it kend till all men be thir present letters, us, Alexander Macgregor of Glenstray, on the ane pairt; and Awlay Macawlay of Ardingapill on the uther pairt, understanding our selfs and our name to be Macalppins of awld, and to be our just and trew surname, quherof we ar all cumin, and the said Alexander to be the eldest brother, and his predecessors, for the quhilk caws I, the said Alexander, takand the burdin upon me, for my surname and frynds, to fortifie, mentyne, and assist the said Awlay Macawlay his kyn and frynds in all their honest actionis aganis quhatsumevir persoune or persounes, the King's Majestie being only except: And skylyk I, the said Awlay Macaulay of Ardingapill, takand the burdin on me for my kin frynds to fortifie, assist, and partak, with the said Alexander, and his frynds, as cumin of his house, to the utermaist of our poweris againis quhatsumevir persoune or persounes, in his honest actiounes, the King's Majestic being only except; and farther, quhen or quhat tyme it sall happin the said Alexander to hayff ane rvychte or honest caws requesit to hayff the advyss of his kinsmen and speciall frynds cumin of his hous, I the said Awlay, as brenche of his hous, sall be redde to cum quher it sall hapin him to hayf to do, to gyff counsall and assistance efter my power: and skylyk, I, the said Alexander, binds and oblisses me, quhen it sall happin the said Awlay to hayff to do, quherin it is requesit to hayff the counsall and assistance of the said Alexander and his frynds, that he sal be redde to assist the said Awlay, and cum to him quher it sall happin him to hayf to do, as cuming of his hous: Provydin always, albeit the said Alexander and his predicessors be the eldest brother, the said Awlay Macawlay, to hayff his awin liberte of the name of Macawlayis as chyff, and to upelift his calpe as his predicessors did of befoir, and I, the said Awlay, grantis me to gyff to the said Alexander ane calpe at the deceiss of me, in syng and takin as cuming of his hous, he doyng therfor as becumis as to the prencipall of his hous; and we, the saids pairties binds and oblisses us, everie ane of us to utheris, be the fayth and treuthis in our bodies, and under the payne of perjure and defamatioun. At Ardingapill, the xxvij day of May, the zeir of God I^m v° four scoir alewin zeirs, befoir thir witnesses, Duncan Campbell of Ardentenny, Alexander MacGregor of Ballamaenoch, Duncan Tosach of Pittenne, Mathow MacAwlay of Stuk, Awlay Macawlay in Durlyne, Alexander Macawlay, sone to the said Awlay, Duncan Bryne Macrob with utheris.

AWLAY MACAWLAY of Ardingapill. AL. McGREGOIR of Glenstrae.

Duncane Tosach of Pittene, witnes. Mathow Macawlay of Stuk, witnes. Alex. Macawlay, witnes.

This Bond, therefore, and for that matter the actings that followed it, provides clear evidence which should not be lightly dismissed that the sixteenth century MacAulays of Ardincaple believed themselves to be a junior branch of the MacGregor stock. A strong and widely believed tradition of kinship is the best reason for explaining why MacAulay in 1591 should have entered into a Bond with the MacGregors, a family already under severe royal displeasure, alliance with whom was more likely to be a political hability than an advantage. No convincing arguments have ever been put forward to discount the kinship claimed in the Bond and Skene was surely right to take it at face value. In further support of the tradition of kinship there is the fact that one of the earliest MacGregor families on record was based at Ardinconall in Dumbartonshire, well outside usual MacGregor territory but only a mile or two from Ardincaple, John MacGregor 'de Ardinconwalle' witnessing a Colquhoun charter as early as 1429/30°. It is, of course, easier to accept the kinship of the MacAulays and the MacGregors, as it is easier to reject the claimed Lennox descent, if it is accepted that two separate patrilineal families possessed Ardincaple in turn.

The conclusions reached in this paper then are as follows. Two distinct families possessed the lands of Ardincaple between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The second of these families, the MacAulays, came into possession of the lands by means unknown in the fifteenth century. The MacAulays claimed kinship with the MacGregors and this seems not improbable. The earlier family, already on the lands of Ardincaple in 1294, were the ancestors in the male line of the MacArthurs or Darleiths who possessed Darleith until 1670. The family of Darleith, latterly quite obscure, were claimed as kin by the Campbells, and although this claim may never be fully substantiated it may have a genuine basis. At all events, the Christian name 'Arthur', uncommon in

Medieval Scotland, was used by the earlier Ardincaple family and by the Campbells from at least the reign of Robert Bruce, and on the first occasion on which one of the family of Ardincaple is mentioned, in 1294, he is already in company with a Campbell.

W. D. H. SELLAR, M.A., LL.B.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1J. R. N. MacPhail (ed.) "Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells'. Scottish History Society: Highland Papers II (Edinburgh, 1916) 69-111 at p. 80.

²H. Campbell (ed.) 'The Manuscript History of Craignish'. Scottish History Society: Miscellany IV (Edinburgh, 1926) 175-299 at p. 191; W. D. H. Sellar 'The Earliest Campbells — Norman, Briton or Gael?'. Scottish Studies, Vol. 17 (1973) 109-125.

Sir A. Mitchell (ed.) Scottish History Society: MacFarlane's Geographical Collections II (Edinburgh, 1907) 198.

John Irving, Dumbartonshire (Dumbarton, 1917-24) III, 418. Irving's account of the Darleith Family seems to be two generations short.

5Reg. Privy Council vi, 665.

W. Fraser, The Lennox (Edinburgh, 1874) II, 272.

7W. Fraser, The Chiefs of Colquhoun (Edinburgh, 1869) II, 336; Joseph Irving, Book of Dumbartonshire (Edinburgh, 1879) II, 210.

Fraser, Colquhoun II, 186.

Fraser, Colquboun II, 309.

¹⁰Fraser, Lennox II, 140, 96.

"Fraser, Lennox, II, 132, 100.

¹²Fraser, Colquhoun II, 287.

¹³Fraser, Lennox II 61; E. R. Welles, Ardincaple Castle and its Lairds (Glasgow, 1930) 22; also Hist. MSS. Comm. III, 388.

¹⁴Copies of David Murray's MS. 'The MacAulays of Ardencaple and the Western Lennox' are lodged in Glasgow University Library and in Dumbarton Public Library.

¹⁵Cal. Docs. Scot. IV 385; G. W. S. Barrow 'The Scottish Justiciar in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'. 1971 Juridical Review 97-148 at p. 132.

¹⁶Lennox Cartularium (Maitland Club, 1833) 77.

¹⁷J. R. N. MacPhail (ed,) 'Writs of and relating to the Campbells of Strachur', Scottish History Society: Highland Papers IV (Edinburgh, 1934) 16. This reference escaped the notice of both Murray and Welles. Murray and Welles includes a Duncan of Ardincaple about this date (Welles, 19) but the reference to him is late and not entirely reliable.

¹⁸Lennox Cartularium, 32.

¹⁹Cal. Docs. Scot II 202; Paisley Registrum (Maitland Club, 1832) 203*. Lord Cooper's Select Scottish Cases of the Thirteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1944) Nos. 22-7 contains an account of this protracted litigation.

²⁰Lennox Cartularium, 93.

²¹Murray MS., 54-58; Welles, 6-8.

²³Exch. Rolls xiii, 663. The references in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts for 1507 sometimes taken to refer to MacAulay (Welles, 34) are not convincing

A. Nisbet, A. System of Héraldry, new edition (Edinburgh, 1816) Remarks on the Ragman Roll 35.

²⁴Sir A. Mitchell (ed.), Scottish History Society: MacFarlane's Geographical Collections II (Edinhurgh, 1907) 199.

- 25Welles at p. 25 following Joseph Irving, asserts that there was a Duncan de Ardincaple in the mid-fifteenth century but the authority for this statement has not been traced nor is there any indication of the relationship of this Duncan, if he existed, to the Arthur of 1406 or the Alexander of 1473.
- 26W. Buchanan, 'Genealogy and Present State of Ancient Scottish Surnames' (1723) in Miscellanea Scotica IV (Edinburgh, 1820) 119; A. Macbain (ed.), Skene's Highlanders of Scotland (Stirling, 1902) 419; Murray MS. 36-9; E. R. Welles, Appendix I; Fraser, Lennox II, 112; Skene's Highlanders 345-6.
- ²⁷In this passage Skene uses the form 'Aulay' for 'Amhalgaidh' and 'Maldowan' for 'Maoldom-hnaich'.
- 28Skene's Highlanders, 345-6; W. F. Skene, Celtic Scotland III (Edinburgh, 1880) 476; Scots Peerage V, 329-30

²⁹The text of the Bond is printed by Fraser in Chiefs of Colquhoun II, 112-3. ³⁰Fraser, Colquhoun II, 287.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to thank Dr John Bannerman of the Department of Scottish History, Edinburgh University, for his advice on many points relating to this paper.

"CHANCE" IN THE SEARCH FOR FAMILY AND FOREBEARS

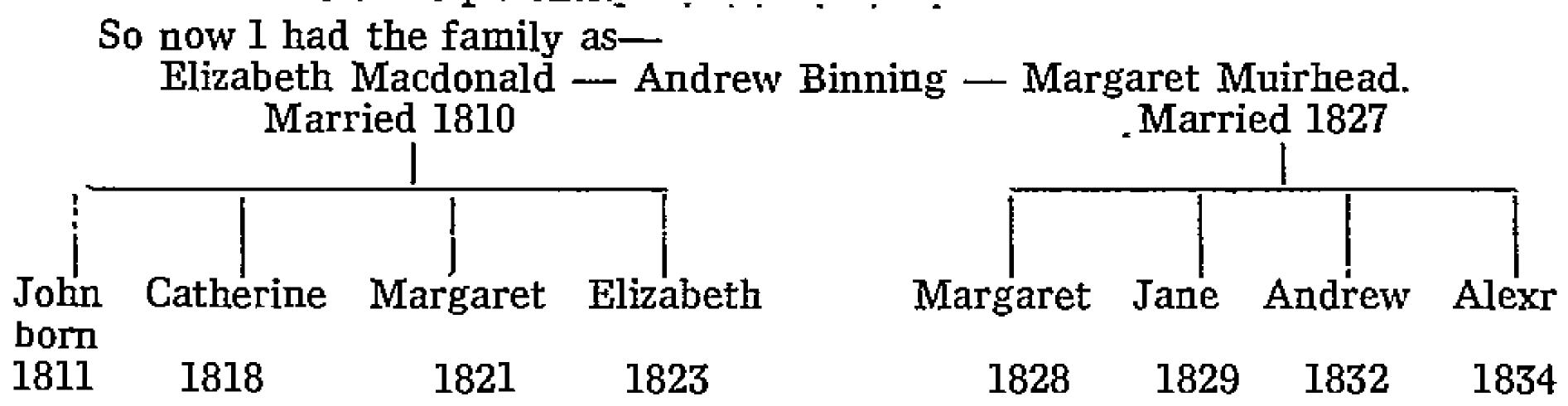
About 1947, a friend sent me a cutting from one of the Ross-shire papers recording the death of Sir James Murdoch in Sydney, Australia. He was stated to have married an Isabella Binning, "daughter of Alexander Binning of Dingwall". My friend added a question — "To this an uncle of marriage"? My answer was "No, I know of no connection with this man".

In 1952 I began doing Genealogy with Miss Woodford, and as a beginning, I was helped to find what I could about my own family. I had a watch-chain with a locket holding my grandfathers' photo, a lock of his hair, and round the rim of the photo, the date of his death—18 April 1874. I looked up the entry of his death, and from this got his age and the names of his parents, Andrew Binning and Elizabeth Macdonald. The Census for 1871 in Dingwall gave me his age and the parish of his birth—St Ninian's. He was born on 9 Nov 1811, and his parents were married there in 1810. So far was easily followed, but no further entries were found in St Ninian's, and the search was left as I had other things to do.

One day I was searching the index of births for Falkirk parish, when I noticed the birth of an Elizabeth Binning, and on checking this found it was a daughter of Andrew Binning and Elizabeth Macdonald, born 1823, and there were two other daughters born in 1821 and 1818.

Then, later on, searching the parish of Culross for a client. I noticed the birth of a child to a William Binning and Margaret Muirhead at Keir. Now, I had a book on Forestry with the name "Andrew Binning, Keir" on the fly-leaf,

and I wondered, "Could this William be a brother of Andrew". The next entry I found a few pages further on was the birth of a daughter to "Andrew Binning, forester at Keir and Margaret Muirhead" and there were two sons, Andrew and Alexander to the same parents.



and there the matter lay, until one day I switched on the Radio, and found that the programme was an interview with Miss Greta Lauder, niece of Sir Harry Lauder. Within one minute of switching on, the interviewer asked Miss Lauder if she ever made any friends while she was travelling with her uncle. "Oh yes", replied Miss Lauder, "Sir James Murdoch in Sydney was a great friend of my uncle's, and his daughter Mrs Peggy Gant is a great friend of mine". Here was an opportunity to find out something of the Ishabella Binning who married Sir James Murdoch, so I wrote to Miss Lauder, asking if she would give me the address of Mrs Gant, as I thought that her grandfather Alexander Binning might be a half-brother of my grandfather John. She sent me the address and wished me well.

I now wrote to Mrs Gant, giving her no information, but asking for any information she might have about the Binning side of her family, as I thought there might be a possible connection between her family and mine. She replied that she did not know much about her mother's family, but she did know that her mother, on her last visit to Scotland, had met Binning cousins in Keppoch, and a Mr Aims (sic) in Glasgow. Well the tenants in Keppoch were my Uncle James and Aunts Cissie and Nora, and Mr Aim had married a cousin of my father's. I wrote immediately confirming the relationship, and Mrs Gant sent me extracts of letters she had, asking if I could identify the writers. One of them was from "Johnnie Binning" to his Uncle Alexander, saying that he would soon be leaving school and going home to help his father in the bank, and mentioning his sisters Cissie and Nora. This Johnnie is my father, who was at the High School in Edinburgh from 1855 to 1860.

When Mrs Gant was in Edinburgh a year later, she came to see me, and brought some photographs for me to see, and the second one she produced was of my grandparents.

All this happened in the early sixties, and in 1965 I was looking in Longforgan parish when a friend came in, and I stood up to speak to her. My eyes strayed to the open book on the table, and there was the entry of the baptism of a James, son of Andrew Binning and Ehzabeth Macdonald in 1816—in the gap of the first family of my great-grandfather.

So much for "Chance". The gap is narrowing, but where was my great grandfather between 1811 and 1816? I haven't found out!!

E. WINIFRED BINNING.

QUERIES

DODS or DODDS: John Dodds, born in Dalkeith about 1832, married Lucy Harold Norton. He emigrated to New Zealand, sailing on the ship Blundell which arrived from Gravesend on 4th May 1848 at Port Chalmers, Otago, on 21st September 1848. He was probably a carpenter (another tradition that he sailed on the Bernicia, arriving on 12th December 1848, seems to be without foundation). His son, John Dodds, a printer, was born in Port Chalmers on 9th December 1862.

Dr. John Boger of 15 Carnarvon Road, Roseville, N.S.W., 2069, would be grateful for any information about his ancestor, especially about the date of birth and parents of John Dodds.

LILLIE, LILLY, LILLEY, ETC.: Mentioned first in Peebles in 1296, and progressively through the years in the border country, some of them moving into Northumberland in the 17th and 18th centuries. I am particularly interested in the family of my gt. gt. grandfather John Lilly or Lilley or Lillie (according to the census enumerator); he was born, according to the 1841 census, at Chatten in Northumberland, in 1791, the son of Robert Lillie or Lilly a tailor of Alnwick, and was baptised in the Presbyterian Church there, but I have reason to believe that his family were in the Whittingham area for some years. He married around 1818 Ann Hunter, daughter of Robert Hunter, presumably of Eidon, and widow of James English of Felkington.

GEGGIE, GEGGY, GAIGIE, GAGIE, ETC.: My gt. gt. gt. gt. grandfather George Gaigie was married, at Newton-by-the-Sea in Northumberland, in 1746. He was probably a cabinet maker, or carpenter, as that trade was carried out in his family for the next 150 years at least. A family named Gagie lived at Coldstream in Scotland, and in the Carham area of Northumberland, for the previous century, and some were cabinet makers. Any information on the family of Geggie or Lillie would be welcomed, particularly about my ancesters. — H. J. LILLIE, 202 Biart Place, Rugby, England, CV21 3RF.

JOHN CRAWFORD, 1796-1875, muslin manufacturer of Paisley, married Janet Graham Munro, said to be a descendant of GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE. John Crawford may have been descended from the ORRS OF KAIM, through a daughter of William Orr and Margaret Robieson. Information sought on both connections.—D. G. Jamieson, 43 Drivers Road, Dunedin, New Zealand.

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