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The Ancient Earls of Carrick: An Unpublished Letter of Andrew B. W. MacEwen on the Carrick Pedigree¹

Andrew B. W. MacEwen (12 January 1939 – 29 June 2015) was a bookseller in Stockton Springs, Maine, and a distinguished genealogist with a particular interest in medieval Scotland.² He wrote extensively, not least in contributing to *West Highland Notes & Queries*; a provisional and certainly incomplete bibliography is appended to this note. MacEwen also corresponded with many well-known Scottish medievalists on his subject, including G. W. S. Barrow, A. A. M. Duncan, A. L. Murray and D. E. R. Watt. Amongst his correspondents was the author and editor of the present note. Its topic, the pedigree of the ancient earls of Carrick, has led to a number of contributions in this journal over the years. The letter was however framed as a response to an article by the present writer published in 2004, the main focus of which was the family of Kennedy of Dunure in Carrick.³

The article showed that the Kennedys first came to prominence as members of the entourage of Duncan, earl of Carrick, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; in the fourteenth century the Kennedys took over as the leading kindred in Carrick. Earl Duncan was the son of Gilbert of Galloway (d. 1185) and grandson of Fergus king of Galloway c.1130–1160. He accepted control of Carrick, previously seen as part of ‘greater’ Galloway, as some sort of settlement with his cousin Roland. The latter was the eldest son of Gilbert’s brother Uhtred, who had been slaughtered by his brother in 1174 after the two had shared rule over Galloway from 1160. Roland enjoyed the support of King William I (1165–1214) and ruled an undivided if ‘lesser’ Galloway until his death in 1200, when he was succeeded by Alan of Galloway.

These few words provide sufficient background to aid comprehension of what follows. The main point of MacEwen’s arguments is that Niall, who succeeded Duncan as earl of Carrick c. 1250, was not the latter’s eldest son (as commonly thought), but rather his grandson, whose father was Duncan’s son Nicholas. Further, and again contrary to previous suggestions, the last-named was never known as Colin. There was accordingly no basis there for any possible link of the Carricks to the Campbells of Argyll.

In this the analysis of the Carrick descent in the *Scots Peerage* (also found in the more recent *People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1371* website), which had been followed in my article on the Kennedys, is convincingly rejected. There are numerous other points, mostly derived from documentary sources, but also informed occasionally by inspired speculation, based in particular on naming practices. Examples of the latter are the theories that (1) Earl Duncan’s mother was Affrica daughter of Duncan I earl of Fife (based on the probability that the coincidence of

the earls' first names was not accidental) and (2) the mother of King Robert I's close companion Thomas Randolph earl of Moray was a daughter of the first marriage of Earl Neil's daughter, Marjorie, with Sir Adam of Kilconquhar. This would explain how Randolph could be the great king's *nepos* without, however, having any claim to the Crown through that relationship after Robert's death in 1329. Moreover Randolph's mother was very likely named Isabella, after her documented grandmother's name.

The story of the Carricks has been of interest to readers of *WHN&Q* largely as a result of the apparent marriage of Righnach, a daughter of the earl, to the progenitor of the MacLeans;⁴ it is hoped that this justifies the publication here of a fuller analysis of the Carricks themselves, if only to provide better context for the ongoing discussions about Righnach.

The text of the letter is as MacEwen (type-)wrote it, with some omitted sections indicated by way of ellipsis. The footnotes are the editor's work, and he accepts full responsibility for all errors, both of commission and omission. A pedigree chart in accordance with MacEwen's proposals is likewise the editor's responsibility.

25 September 2004

Dear Dr MacQueen

...

I have been studying the Carrick pedigree for many years. I always knew that something was wrong with it, but I could never put my finger on what it was. Finally, in 2000 I realized a generation was missing. A rundown of my findings may be helpful!

First, you can accept the "interesting suggestion" (p. 77, n. 52)⁵ as fact. I had come to this conclusion years ago myself. The witnesses to Duncan's earliest charters (Earl Duncan II of Fife and his son and heir Malcolm) and his later benefactions to North Berwick (founded by Earl Duncan I) make this abundantly clear.⁶ But which Earl Duncan was his grandfather? It could not have been Earl Duncan II, married 1160 x 1162, since Duncan of Carrick was born about 1170. Ergo, it was Earl Duncan I, and I have not the slightest doubt that Duncan's mother was Affrica of Fife, the repudiated wife of Earl Harald Maddadson. She married him about 1160, had four children, Henry, Hakon, Helen, and Margaret, and was put aside about 1168 – at just the right time to marry Gilbert of Galloway. (We know that Affrica was still alive in the 1190s.)⁷

Duncan of Carrick married Avelina Stewart in 1200.⁸ Her sister Elizabeth married shortly afterwards Earl Maldouen of Lennox.⁹ (Their son and heir Malcolm witnesses as early as 1225.)¹⁰ Avelina and Elizabeth were sisters, not daughters, of Walter fitz Alan II. (See my recent article on Cristina, Countess of Dunbar.)¹¹ I see you accept (p. 71) the oft repeated statement that Fergus married "Elizabeth," an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. I am not yet prepared to: some proof would be nice!¹²

On p. 76 you refer to the “famous grant made sometime between 1250 and 1256 by Earl Duncan’s successor, Earl Neil, in which he provided that his nephew Lachlan and his heirs after him,” etc.¹³ Roland (Lachlan) was not Neil’s nephew: I see no reason at all to doubt SP’s placing of Roland as son and heir of Earl Duncan’s second son, Sir John of Carrick.¹⁴ By the way, do you have any evidence to show that Roland should be translated as Lachlan?¹⁵ According to the standard pedigree, Neil and Roland were cousins german. But this is not the case. Neil was Earl Duncan’s grandson, not son. Born about 1230, he was the son and heir of Nicholas, Earl Duncan’s predeceasing son and heir, by, it appears, a daughter of Niall Ruadh O’Neill.¹⁶ The usual picture of an elderly Neil succeeding Duncan in 1250 is pure fiction! He was probably still under age and unmarried. The Durward party undoubtedly provided him with a wife in 1250 or 1251, namely, Isabella, of unknown family.¹⁷ I strongly suspect she was a Dunbar, sister of Earl Patrick III and daughter of Earl Patrick II and his wife Euphemia de Brus. If so, she was already the widow of Roger fitz John of Warkworth (d. 1249) and would later marry a third husband, Simon Baard.¹⁸ Neil’s supposed wife, Margaret, daughter of Walter fitz Alan II, never existed. Symson’s statement is merely a misplacing of Duncan’s marriage to Avelina Stewart.¹⁹ I cannot account for Symson’s mistake, but I could not name a single marriage of cousins german in Scotland before the Reformation. The closest would be of first cousins once removed (e.g. the Maid of Galloway).²⁰ Symson’s statements certainly contain some truth, but they are all wrongly placed.

It was Douglas in 1764 who first gave 1256 as the year of Earl Neil’s death,²¹ but he gave no reference, and I have never been able to find one. Crawford had assigned Duncan’s obit to Earl Neil,²² and Douglas may have changed 1250 to 1256, since he showed that Earl Neil was alive in 1255.²³ In fact, all we know is that he was alive in 1255 and dead by 1260. Judging by the birth of his four daughters, from 1251 or 1252 on, he may have died in late 1259 or early in 1260, just before the ‘Extent’ was taken.²⁴ His widow Isabella survived him.²⁵ The eldest daughter Marjory was probably born in 1252 and married early in 1266: Adam appears as earl on 2 July 1266.²⁶ Their only child, Isabella of Carrick (named for Marjory’s mother) was born about 1268 and married to Thomas Randolph filius (seen only in December 1292) about 1284.²⁷ Their son, the future earl of Moray, was born about 1285.²⁸ I am beginning to wonder whether this Isabella might have remarried Gratney, Earl of Mar (since her husband must have died young). If so, Thomas, Earl of Moray, and Donald, Earl of Mar, were uterine brothers.

You refer to Sir Roger de Skelbrooke (pp. 73 & 75 & n. 32). He had certainly been in Gilbert’s following: he granted “*pro anima Gilberti filij Fergus domini mei & uxoris eius*” (unfortunately not named!).²⁹ He also granted to North Berwick, though only Bishop Jocelin’s confirmation, datable 1194 x 1196, has survived: “*Ecclesiam de Kirkebride de Larges cum dimidii carucate terre 7 cum una salina 7 cum duabus acris ad Croftum,*” etc, etc”.³⁰

I suppose you know of Malcolm Beg (ancestor of the Drummonds) and his brother Roderick Beg ‘of Carrick,’ who gave testimony in 1233.³¹ A few years ago I discovered that their father was a certain Gillescop, who lived in Kilpatrick in the Lennox.³² It then became clear that the ‘Roderic MacGillescop’ who married Sir Roger’s daughter Cristina was no other than Roderick Beg of Carrick! Prof. Barrow dates this charter to about 1200: the first witness is “*eodem Duncano*” (*domini nostri Duncani*)” and the second “*Willelmo vicecomite de novo Castello super Ar.*” “*Et quia sigillum proprium non habuimus Dominus noster Dunecanus rogatu nostro sigillum suum pro nobis huic carte nostre apposuit.*”³³ Of course there was a Lennox–Carrick connection after 1200 through the marriages of the two earls to two Stewart sisters. I don’t know whether Roderick Beg had issue.

You may want to know of another discovery of mine. Uchtred had certainly two and probably three daughters, viz., Cristina, Eva, and Dervorgilla.

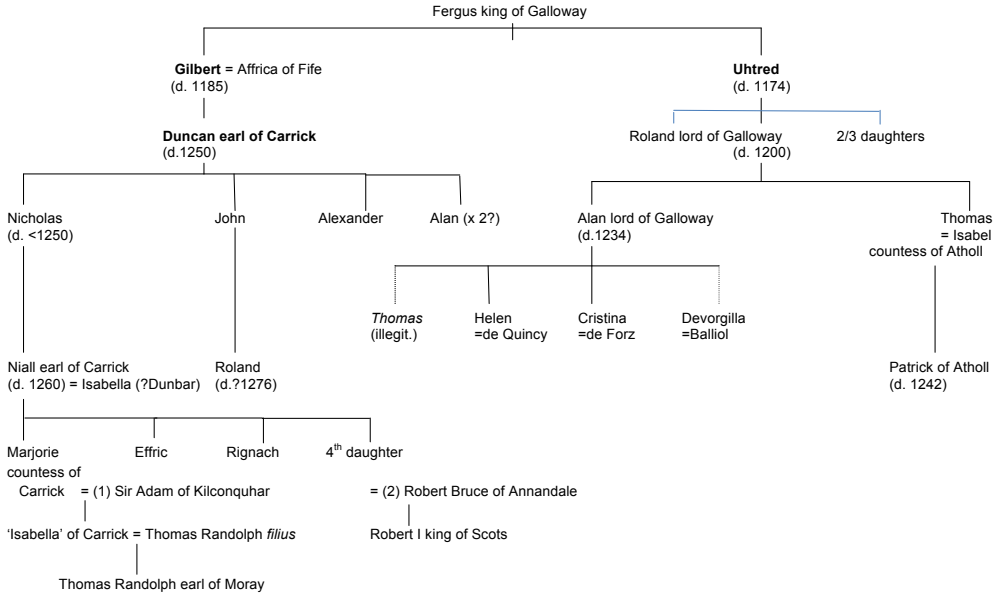
1. Cristina, the childless wife of William de Morville the Constable. She was alive in June 1200 but died later in the reign of William I.³⁴ That there was a double marriage between the Galloway and Morville families has been unsuspected.
2. Eva, d. 7 June 1217. She married (1) Walter de Berkeley, who got Urr with her (and had issue);³⁵ (2) as his last wife Robert de Quincy (living in August 1201 and later), without issue.³⁶
3. Dervorgilla (almost certainly), married Lawrence of Abernethy.³⁷ Their younger son Hugh was styled cousin by Alan of Galloway.³⁸ N.B. Thus Hugh was uncle of the famous Sir Hugh (who was son and heir of Patrick, the son and heir of Lawrence).³⁹ SP conflates the careers of these Hughs!⁴⁰

I should have pointed out above that Robert de Brus V the Competitor had at least one daughter Isabella, wife of Sir John fitz Marmaduke. Note also that Countess Marjory had two daughters named Isabella (mother of Thomas, Earl of Moray), named for Marjory’s own mother, and Isabella de Brus (Queen of Norway), named for Robert de Brus’s mother Isabella de Clare.⁴¹

If you see my Christina article, the unnamed daughter who was to be the subject of the succeeding article was married about 1205 to Ferquhard, afterwards created earl of Ross. I suspect his mother was Helen or Margaret, one of Affrica’s daughters by Earl Harald Maddadson (and [that he was] one of the grandsons of the earl offered as hostages to William I). Ferquhard may also have been a great-grandson of Malcolm MacHeth. Earl Harald Maddadson’s son Henry “had Ross” after his father’s death. Farquhar may have stepped into his uncle’s shoes.⁴²

Your note (n. 61, pp. 78–79) needlessly complicates the interpretation of the ‘Extent.’⁴³ The other third was of course the widow’s [*terce*].⁴⁴ We should expect Earl Neil to be survived by his wife, since he was no more than thirty when he died (probably in 1260). I have never been able to determine what portion was given to Marjory’s three sisters. Two of them may have been Effrick of Carrick, supposed to have married Sir Gillescop Cambell (but more probably his son Sir Colin),⁴⁵ and

The Carrick and associated pedigrees



Rignach, married to Malcolm, ancestor of the MacLeans.⁴⁶ (MacRath mac Nell, a Maclean ancestor, was on the inquest which took the ‘Extent.’)⁴⁷ If it was, as I think, Sir Colin who married Effrick, then their grandson, Angus Og of Islay, was nearly related to Robert I. (Sir Colin’s daughter, name not preserved, was the last wife of Angus Mor of Islay.)⁴⁸

I long wondered whether the name Rignach was ‘real’ or a textual corruption (“Rignach, daughter of Gamail, lord of Carrick”).⁴⁹ I found recently that she was a 6th century Irish saint, a sister of the famed Saint Finnian of Clonard.⁵⁰ Perhaps the name derived from the O’Neill marriage. I have no clue who the fourth daughter may have been!

I don’t think I can add a thing to your excellent discussion of the Kennedys. But perhaps some of the above may prove of interest. I do not recall ever seeing Marion equated with Muriel (p. 92), Marion (Mariota) being a diminutive of Mary.

In the pedigree (p. 72) you list a second son Colin of Earl Duncan. There was no such son. David Sellar theorized that Nicholas was a Latin form of Colin, but he cited no examples.⁵¹ Nicholas as a given name had enjoyed a resurgence after the translation to Bari in the late 11th century,⁵² and it is far from uncommon in Scotland in the 13th century.⁵³ (The abbot of Kilwinning in 1200 was named Nicholas.)⁵⁴ On the other hand, Colin is regularly Latinized as Colinus (e.g., Sir Colin, Alan

Durward's brother).⁵⁵ Earl Duncan's sons were Nicholas, Sir John, Alan (after Alan fitz Walter the Steward), and Alexander.⁵⁶ I can't say whether there were two Alans without reviewing all the charters: perhaps there were.⁵⁷ But there was no Colin.

...

Well, I can't think of anything else now. . . .

With best wishes

Yours truly

Andrew B W MacEwen

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Hector L. MacQueen

Notes

- 1 Andrew MacEwen’s letter is reproduced by kind permission of his executors Dana MacEwen and Richard Elliott. I am grateful to Adrian Benjamin Burke for putting me in touch with them. I am also indebted to Alex Maxwell Findlater and Ronnie Black for much appreciated support, guidance and encouragement in the production of this piece.
- 2 For a fine appreciation see A. B. Burke, ‘A tribute to Andrew B W MacEwen’, *Foundations* 7 (2015), 2 (fuller version accessible online at <https://fmg.ac/publications/journal/55-fnd-7/399-fnd7-08a>).
- 3 H. L. MacQueen, ‘Survival and success: the Kennedys of Dunure’, in *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland c.1200–1500*, eds S. Boardman and A. Ross (Dublin, 2004), 67–94.
- 4 For references, see further below, notes 44–8.
- 5 “that Duncan’s mother was a sister or daughter of Duncan II earl of Fife, whence the earl of Carrick’s name and the otherwise slightly puzzling patronage which he bestowed upon the North Berwick nunnery, which was founded by Earl Duncan I of Fife *c.*1150” (MacQueen, ‘Survival and success’, 77 note 52, referencing R. D. Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), 89–90).
- 6 For the charters of Duncan of Carrick witnessed by the earls of Fife, see *Melrose Liber*, i, nos. 29, 30, and 32; *North Berwick Chrs*, nos. 15 and 28 (to the latter of which the other sons of Earl Duncan II of Fife are witnesses along with their brother Earl Malcolm); *RRS*, iii, nos. 46, 47. See also *Melrose Liber*, i, nos. 184, 185; and note R. Ó Maolalaigh, ‘Gaelic personal names and name elements in Scottish charters, 1093–1286’, in *Personal*

- Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, ed. M. Hammond (Woodbridge, 2019), 41–99, 57.
- 7 For Affrica see *Orkneyinga Saga: The History of the Earls of Orkney*, trans. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards (Penguin Books, 1981), ch. 105; *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, 500–1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson (London, 1908), 318; B. E. Crawford, *The Northern Earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470* (Edinburgh, 2013), 246, 257.
 - 8 *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, 325.
 - 9 *Paisley Registrum*, 158–9.
 - 10 *Paisley Registrum*, 158–9.
 - 11 A. B. W. MacEwen, ‘Seven Scottish countesses: a miscellany. III. Christina de Brus, Countess of Dunbar’, *The Genealogist* 17 (Fall 2003), 223–33. See also the People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1371 [PoMS] website, PoMS, no. 5989 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/5989/> accessed 9 April 2021).
 - 12 G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4th edn (Edinburgh, 2005), 430–1 note 28, has the following: “Roger Howden calls Uhtred son of Fergus of Galloway a cousin of King Henry II (*Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., i, 80), a relationship which is best explained on the supposition that Fergus married a bastard daughter of Henry I. The suggestion in *Scots Peerage*, s.v. ‘Galloway’ [vol 4, 136], that Gilbert, Uhtred’s brother, had a different mother is contradicted by *Cal. Docs Scot.*, i, no. 480, where King John calls Duncan of Carrick his cousin.”
 - 13 MacQueen, ‘Survival and success’, 76. The grant can be found within a royal confirmation in favour of John Kennedy of Dunure in 1372 which also includes the 1276 royal confirmation in favour of Roland: *RMS*, i, nos. 508 and 509; *RRS*, iv, no. 97.
 - 14 *Scots Peerage*, ii, 423–4.
 - 15 Roland son of Uhtred lord of Galloway appears at least once (albeit early in his career) as Lachlan: *Holyrood Liber*, no. 24. See further, however, T. O. Clancy and M. Hammond, ‘The romance of names: literary personal names in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland’, in *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, 166–86, at 176–8.
 - 16 This theory was accepted in Barrow, *Bruce*, 34 (“Neil, earl of Carrick – his name, unique among the Scots nobility, was evidently taken from his maternal grandfather Niall Ruadh Ó Neill, king of Cenél Eoghainn”) and 430 note 26 (“Thanks to the generosity of Mr Andrew B. W. MacEwen, genealogist, of Stockport Springs, Maine, I am able to base my suppositions regarding the Carrick ancestry of Robert I on his valuable hypothesis, namely, that Earl Duncan of Carrick’s son and heir Nicholas (*North Berwick Carte*, no. 15), who evidently died in his father’s lifetime, married a daughter of Niall Ruadh, brother and briefly successor of Aedh II Ó Neill king of Cenél Eoghainn (Tyrone). They had a son, Earl Neil (Niall), who died, leaving four daughters, in the earlier part of the year 1260. Thus it would have been natural for Robert I’s eldest brother to have been fostered with his second cousin once removed, Domhnall Ó Neill, Niall Ruadh’s grandson, who succeeded to Tyrone in 1283 (see n. 31 below, and E. Curtis, *A History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513* (new edn, 1938, repr. 1968), p. 401). The fullest account of the Ó Neill Kings of Tir Eoghainn in this period is that of Katharine Simms, ‘The O Hanlons, the Ó Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth-century Armagh’, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 9, no. 1 (1978), 70–94.”) The theory is however rejected in Alex Maxwell Findlater, ‘Sir Adam de Kilconquhar, earl of Carrick’, *Foundations* 13 (2021), 93–104, on the basis that there is no evidence of

any relationship between Earl Duncan and Niall Ruadh, the former's Irish activities and lands being outside the Ó Neill territories. Maxwell Findlater suggests that Earl Neil's wife was a daughter of the chief of the nascent MacDonald clan, basing this especially on evidence of patronage of the MacDonald foundation of Saddell abbey (see for this much later royal confirmations at *RMS*, ii, nos. 3170 and 3208). Further supporting evidence is that the McDonells of Duniveg and the Glens were later given the lands in Ulster originally granted to Earl Duncan by Henry III of England. R. Ó Maolalaigh, 'Gaelic personal names', 50, notes that the Gaelic form *Niall* occurs only once in PoMS, albeit in a Carrick context and as a patronymic: see I. A. Milne, 'An extent of Carrick in 1260', *SHR*, xxxiv (1955), 46–9, 48 ('Macrath mac Nell'). Nigel is also a very rare name in early medieval Scotland, based on the number of men of the name recorded in PoMS in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Earl Neil is always named in Latinised form as *Nigellus* in surviving sources, and Maxwell Findlater tentatively proposes that he was so named as a result of his mother being a Moubray, a family in which the name Nigel was especially prominent.

- 17 For Isabella as Earl Neil's countess see *RMS*, ii, no. 3170(4).
- 18 See E. Hamilton, *Mighty Subjects: The Dunbar Earls in Scotland c.1072–1289* (Edinburgh, 2010), 177 (citing *CDS*, i, nos. 1969, 1971, and accepting the identifications made in A. B. W. MacEwen, 'A clarification of the Dunbar pedigree', *The Genealogist* 9(2) (1988), 232, and 'Additions and Corrections to *The Genealogist*', *The Genealogist* 22(1) (2008), 28-9); also genealogical tables 2 and 3. For Isabel wife of Simon Baard see *CDS*, i, no. 2302.
- 19 *A genealogical and historical account of the illustrious name of Stewart, from the first original, to the accession to the imperial crown of Scotland. Being the long expected work of that great Antiquary David Symson M. A. Historiographer Royal for Scotland* (2nd edition (Edinburgh, 1726) 44. Followed in *Scots Peerage*, ii, 426.
- 20 Margaret Douglas, daughter of the fifth earl of Douglas (d. 1439) and sister of the sixth earl (ex. 1440) was successively married to her cousins the eighth and ninth earls of Douglas, both sons of the seventh earl, brother of the fourth earl and Margaret's great-uncle. Both her marriages required papal dispensations as within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, as well as other grounds in the case of the ninth earl. See A. R. Borthwick and H. L. MacQueen, *Law, Lordship and Tenure: The Fall of the Black Douglases*, forthcoming, chapter 1, text accompanying notes 61–3 and 106–7.
- 21 *The peerage of Scotland, containing an historical and geneological account of the nobility of that kingdom, from their Origin to the present Generation: collected from the public records, and ancient chartularies of this nation, the Charters, and other Writings of the nobility, and the Works of our best Historians. Illustrated with copper-plates. By Robert Douglas, Esq.* (Edinburgh, 1764), 126.
- 22 *The peerage of Scotland: containing an historical and geneological account of the nobility of that Kingdom. Collected from the Publick Records of the Nation, the Charters and other Writings of the Nobility, and from the most approved Histories. By George Crawford, Esq.* (Edinburgh, 1716), 70.
- 23 Douglas, *Peerage*, 126.
- 24 See Milne, 'Extent of Carrick in 1260', 48–9. See also additional notes by A. McKerrall and J. Fergusson in the same volume, 189–92. For the four daughters see *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290–1296: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, eds E. L. G. Stones and G. G. Simpson (2 vols, Oxford, 1978), ii, 177–8.

- 25 To have her terce of the Carrick earldom and to marry Simon Baard.
- 26 PoMS, no. 3427 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3427/>; accessed 13 April 2021).
- 27 The basis for this conclusion is that Thomas Randolph earl of Moray is frequently described as *nepos* of Robert I yet had no claim in the royal line of succession. I have not found any evidence that Randolph's mother was an Isabella.
- 28 This is an approximation based on the marriageable age of Isabella of Carrick.
- 29 *Melrose Liber*, i, no. 31.
- 30 *North Berwick Chrs*, no. 2.
- 31 *Paisley Registrum*, 166–8.
- 32 This may be a reference to the Gillescop whose son Ewarnerdo witnessed an undated charter of Alwin earl of Lennox granting lands in Lennox to the church of Kilpatrick (*Paisley Registrum*, 157). A Gillascop steward of Carrick appears twice as a witness to charters of Earl Duncan (*North Berwick Chrs*, nos. 13 and 14).
- 33 *Melrose Liber*, i, no. 36.
- 34 PoMS, no. 8529 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8529/>; accessed 13 April 2021).
- 35 K. J. Stringer, 'Walter of Berkeley', *ODNB*, v, 392; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/articleHL/49371>]; PoMS, no. 6 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/6/>; accessed 13 April 2021).
- 36 *Melrose Liber*, i, no. 49.
- 37 *Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, 398, notes that Lawrence and his wife 'Devorguile' are recorded as visitors to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Durham early in the thirteenth century.
- 38 *RRS*, iii, no. 189.
- 39 See *RRS*, iv, no. 2.
- 40 *Scots Peerage*, vol. 7, 399–401; note also PoMS, no. 2063 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2063/>; accessed 13 April 2021).
- 41 For Isabella de Clare see PoMS, no. 8059 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/8059/>; accessed 13 April 2021).
- 42 See further MacEwen's articles: 'Children of Sir Farquhar, Earl of Ross', *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 15 (October 2010), 8–11; 'Random thoughts on Sir Farquhar, Earl of Ross', *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 17 (November 2011), 15–21.
- 43 "Note too that it is implicit in the 1260 extent of 'two parts' of the earldom (cf. Milne, 'Extent of Carrick', 48–9) that there was another part, most probably the third part, or terce, which would be enjoyed by Earl Neil's widow under the rules of the common law. Alternatively there may have been a partition of the earldom lands amongst the earl's surviving daughters if they were regarded as legitimate under canon law" (MacQueen, 'Survival and success', 78–9, note 61).
- 44 The last word is an insertion by the present writer. It is clear that this is what ABWM meant to say. Terce was the third of a deceased's land which would go to his widow for her lifetime.
- 45 For Gillescop and Colin see W. D. H. Sellar, 'The earliest Campbells – Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies* 17 (1973), 109–25, 110–11 (but note further criticisms below, text accompanying notes 49–55); PoMS, no. 2128 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/2128/>; accessed 19 April 2021 (Gillescop); PoMS, no. 12520 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/12520/>; accessed 19 April 2021 (Colin)); 'Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells', in *Highland Papers* II, ed. J. R. N. Macphail (Scottish History Society, 1916), 84.
- 46 The progenitor of the Clan Maclean is generally taken as Gilla Muire mac Gill'Eoin,

- documented in 1296, see PoMS, no. 19004 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/19004/>; accessed 19 April 2021. But see further A. B. W. MacEwen, ‘Early Macleans’, *WHN&Q*, no. 17 (March 1982), 21–22; and N. Maclean-Bristol, ‘The first Macleans’, *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 24 (January 2014), 23–4.
- 47 See N. Maclean-Bristol, ‘An extent of Carrick in 1260’, *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 2 (2001), 15.
- 48 For Angus Mór see PoMS, no. 3428 (<https://www.poms.ac.uk/record/person/3428/>; accessed 19 April 2021).
- 49 See further N. Maclean-Bristol ‘The daughters of Neil earl of Carrick’, *WHN&Q*, series 2, no. 17 (August 1997), 25–27 (letter from A. B. W. MacEwen); A. Campbell of Airds, ‘Comment’, *WHN&Q*, series 2, no. 18 (August 1997), 22–23; N. Maclean-Bristol, ‘Gamhal, steward of Carrick’, *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 23 (August 2015), 31; N. Maclean-Bristol ‘The daughter of Gamhal, mormaer of Carrick’: *WHN&Q*, series 4, no. 5 (October 2013), 25–7; R. Black, ‘The daughter of Gamhal, mormaer of Carrick’, *WHN&Q*, series 3, no. 23 (October 2013), 35; and R. Black, ‘Gamal, steward of Carrick’, *WHN&Q*, series 5, no. 1 (March 2021), 1–4.
- 50 See e.g. T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘Early Irish saints’ cults and their constituencies’, *Ériu*, 54 (2004), 79–102, 94.
- 51 Sellar, ‘Earliest Campbells’, 111, 116, suggesting that Colin was an abbreviated form of Nicholas and applying this to the eldest son of Duncan earl of Carrick in order to propose his daughter Efferic’s marriage to Gillespie Campbell in the mid-thirteenth century. See however above text accompanying note 43; but note also Ó Maolalaigh, ‘Gaelic personal names’, 52 (suggestive of secondary sources from which Sellar may have derived his theory).
- 52 St Nicholas was a fourth-century Christian bishop of Greek descent whose relics were buried in his church of Myra (modern-day Demre) in Turkey but then seized by sailors from Bari in Apulia in Italy in 1087 in order to protect them from the invading Turks and the Greek orthodox church, which had been declared schismatic by the Pope in 1054. The cult of Nicholas grew in western Europe in subsequent centuries, encouraged by the rise of the Crusading movement.
- 53 The PoMS database contains 268 entries for men named Nicholas.
- 54 This seems to be an error. ‘Nigello’ is given as abbot of Kilwinning on 6 December 1201 (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, no. 93) and in 1210 (*Paisley Registrum*, 230). In another document he appears as ‘N abbas of Kilwinning’ (*Glasgow Registrum*, i, no. 98). PoMS, following *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Scottish Record Society, 2001), 127, gives him as Nigellus (or Niall).
- 55 *St A. Lib.*, 363–4. The PoMS database contains 25 entries for men named Colin.
- 56 Nicholas (*North Berwick Chrs* no. 15); John (*North Berwick Chrs* no. 1); Alexander (*North Berwick Chrs* nos. 13, 14).
- 57 This uncertainty is because Alan son of Duncan earl of Carrick is also designated ‘persona de Kirchemanen et Straiton’ (*North Berwick Chrs* no. 14), while there is also an Alan, knight of Earl Duncan, amongst the witnesses to the earl’s charters (*North Berwick Chrs* nos. 13, 14; *Melrose Lib.*, no. 189). An ‘Alan the dean’ appears in a charter concerning lands in Carrick, 1189x1250 (*North Berwick Chrs*, no. 1), while a ‘Master Alan’ also appears as a witness to charters by the earl (*North Berwick Chrs*, nos. 13, 14).