



### MacAulay ('son of Aulay') and Ardincaple

by Richard McAuley (2015)

Although its spelling has often varied in the historical record, *Arncapil*, *Arnkapel*, *Airdendgapill*, *Ardincapill*, *Ardincaple*, and *Ardencaple*, among others, yet, even its Gaelicized form of 'Ard-na-gCapull' does not invariably agree with its earliest form found on record, when the name had appeared as 'Ard-nan-Each' in a *circa* 1217 poem by the Irish bard Muireadhach O'Dalaigh, in which was offered to Amhlaobh (Aulay), one of the sons of Alywn II Earl of Lennox.

Though many writers have suggested how the name *Ardincaple* means 'promontory of the mare', or 'cape of the horses', even 'height of the horses', we learn from the renown nineteenth century Gaelic linguist Edward Dwelly, how, grammatically speaking, the name *Ardincaple* is a 'noun-noun' phrase, such that the order of the nouns is reversed when transliterated into English, such that the name *Ardincaple* simply referred to the common Breton place-name of 'horse-hill', like that place on Great Cumbrae Island near the site of the 1263 Battle of Largs.

Historian and former Lord Lyon King of Arms David Sellars, in his 1974 article "The Lairds of Ardincaple and Darleith: MacArthurs and MacAulays" (published in *Scottish Genealogist*), had wholly ignored the possibility that there was any other place in Great Britain named *Ardincaple* and pronounced that the name *Ardincaple* was unique in the whole of Scotland to that one place lying on the east shore of the Gareloch. Yet, in the historical record we are informed that there were indeed other places having this same name, and three such places are situated quite close by, less than sixty miles from the Gareloch, including *Ardincaple* (with its ruinous castle of the same name) lying on the northwest end of Seil Island in Lorne (just south of Oban), granted by King Robert I to Dugal Campbell of Lochow in 1312, and from that family the estate passed into the possession of the Macdougalls of Ardincaple.

So too, there is also an *Ardincapill* in Cowal recorded by Scotland's first cartographer, the Rev. Timothy Pont, *circa* 1583-96; and another *Ardincaple* lying upon the moor above Lochwinnoch (Loch Semple) in Renfrewshire, which was anciently held by the High Steward of Scotland Alan fitz Walter, *circa* 1177-1204, and gifted by him to the monastery of Paisley. There was even an *Ardincaple* in Wales. With so many places known by the name *Ardincaple* and so many lying in such close proximity, exactly how earlier writers could possibly have identified which of those appearing in the historical record by the name 'de Ardincaple' were from which *Ardincaple*?

This is indeed the chief problem in dealing with the old family of Ardincaple, whose names were extracted from the historical record, and when there is more than one place by the same name, no one can really know just from which place they came? That this fact was wholly overlooked by a multitude of distinguished writers and historians, including James Dennistoun (1803-1855) in his (1826) *Some Dumbartonshire Families* MSS; Dr. David Murray (1842-1928) in his 1896 lecture, entitled: *The Western Lennox and the Macaulays* MSS; the Rt. Rev. Edward R. Welles II (1907-1991) in his (1930) *Ardincaple Castle and Its Lairds*; and too, former Lord Lyon David Sellar in his article (1974) *The Lairds of Ardincaple and Darleith*); each of these esteemed authors simply assumed that the name *Ardincaple* referred only to that one place situated on the east shore of the Gareloch, and went further to postulate that all of those appearing in the historical record by this same surname '*de Ardincaple*' must have originated from only this one place, and therefore must have been descended from its earliest progenitors.

However, James Dennistoun never claimed that his enumeration of the names he extracted from the historical record bearing the surname *Ardincaple* were either the lairds of Ardincaple or even belonged to the same family. Rather that attribution was offered by Dr. David Murray, and E. R. Welles simply embellished upon Murray's framework. Indeed, some of those who are attributed with being the earliest family members may have even been Macdougalls of Lorne, just as in the 'Rolls of the Clannis' (1594) claimed by Welles to have placed the MacAulays as among of the forty-two Highland clans enumerated refers not to the MacAulays but the Macdougalls. But as to when the Macdougalls acquired *Ardincaple* in Lorne, Lord Archibald Campbell (1885) says that the estate came into their possession by a union between the second son of Macdougall of Raray to the daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas sometime before 1513. Colin Campbell, first laird of Ardkinglas (fl. 1428) was son of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow by Lady Margaret Drummond, sister to Annabel, the queen consort of King Robert III.

In addressing the family styled *de Ardincaple*, Murray firmly concludes: "Whatever may have been the origin of the Macaulays, the name does not occur in the records of the Lennox until a comparatively late date." He then intimates how "the early members bore not a family name, but the territorial designation of *de Ardincaple*," adding: "the family of *de Ardincaple* was one of the principal vassals of the Earls of Lennox", thus dismissing any other possibility of their origin. Yet what of the 'Johanne de Ardenagapill' who was a contemporary to Arthore de Ardenagappill (1406), and appears in a 1392 charter of Campbell of Strachur, who even appears together with '*Arthurio Mauricii*' (Arthur son of Maurice)? Was this John de Ardenagapill perhaps the father of Maurice of Darleith, or was he another son or maybe a brother? Were not all these men vassals of the Earls of Lennox? Indeed, not only do we find Arthur Campbell of Strachur was a kinsman to Duncan Earl of Lennox, but as it has also been discovered this same earl, was, in fact, a great-grandson of Allan mac Ruaidhri, lord of Garmoran, the chief of the Clan Ranald.

In paraphrasing Murray, Edward R. Welles observed: "the origin of the Lairds of Ardincaple is uncertain," before he accepts Murray's viewpoint that "for several hundred years they had no family name, but took their surname from their lands and were designated as '*de Ardincaple*'." As for the later family, the MacAulays, that designation (says Welles) "was not adopted until the middle of the sixteenth century by Alexander, son of Aulay *de Ardincaple*." Being mindful that Welles wrote his book in less than six months should say as much about his familiarity with the subject, and what Welles could not find readily accessible in print "locally" he simply ignored.

In 1931 Dr. Murray's daughter, Silvia, accused Welles of plagiarizing her father's manuscript, and in many parts of Welles' book it does indeed match word for word to Murray's own words.

Yet when we look deeper into the history of the Lennox, we find earlier writers gave much the same account for the family's origin. Welles was probably most influenced by Murray, first; and Fraser, second. Sir William Fraser in his (1869) *The Chiefs of Colquhoun*, writes: "For nearly five centuries the lands of Ardincaple were the property of a family who at first, and for four or five generations, took from the lands the surname of Ardincaple; but afterwards they adopted the surname of Macaulay; and they are known in the history of the Highlands as the Clan Macaulay. They retained the surname of Ardincaple till the reign of King James the Fifth, when Alexander of Ardincaple called himself Macaulay of Ardincaple, from an ancestor of the name Aulay,— a patronymical designation more suitable for the chief of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that ilk."

Though for some, the idea that the MacAulays of Ardincaple had derived their surname from an ancestor of the name Aulay, might harken back to Amhlaobh (Aulay) in the thirteenth century, although the name *Amhlaobh* (Aulay) is certainly quite ancient, the Aulay from which they took their surname was not that Amhlaobh (Aulay) but another Aulay who lived in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Like Fraser most writers cite as their source for this attribution from Alexander Nisbet (1816) *A System of Heraldry: Some Historical and Critical Remarks on the Ragman Rolls*;, who wrote: "Alexander de Ardincaple, who lived in the reign of James V, son of Aulay de Ardincaple, was first to assume the name of M'Aulay, to humour a patronymical designation, as being more agreeable to the head of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that ilk." Note: King James V reigned from 1513 to 1542. But the surname of M'Aulay already was in use long before even then.

A half century earlier, Thomas Pennant (1774) *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides: 1772*, had remarked: "Ardin-capel, was antiently possessed by a family of the same name; but in the time of James III it was changed to that of Mac-Aulay, from the word Aulay happening to be the Christian name of the owner." What did Pennant know that Nisbet did not? Pennant's source was Walter Macfarlane of Arrochar (1705-1767), who, in his *Geographical Collections* (1751) had presented a similar account, that: "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, from Aulay Ardincaple of that ilk, the name MacAulay came to be the surname of this antient family whose successour is Archibald MacAulay of Ardincaple." The latter was laird of Ardincaple from 1681 to 1705; while King James III reigned from 1460 to 1488.

Proof of such an assertion is contained in a notorial instrument from the Duntreath muniments narrating that in a full court convened by frater Henry de Livingston, knight and preceptor of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, and where appeared Malcolm de Levenax, Gylbert Napar, Duncan M'Kynnar, Matthew Maxwale, Donald Patonsoun, *Duncan M'Aulay*, Donald de Spytale, Donald de Levenax, Donald Thomson, John Thormondson, Maurice Blare, John Ewinson, Robert Buchanane, John M'Moriche, John Borowman, and Malcolm M'Cleriche, and found that the hospital of Letter ought to have of old custom in the pasture of the town of Letter, twelve summa of cattle, a mare, and a goose and her brood, and ought still to have the same. This

done at a full temple-court held on the temple-tenement next to Buchanan Castle by frater Henry de Livingston at 11 a.m. on 27 July 1461.

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum Cunctis pateat euidenter quod Anno ad Incarnacione dominij millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo mensis uero Julij die vicesima septima Indiccione nona Pontificatus Sanctissimj in Christo patris ac domini nostril dominij Pij diuina prouidencia papa secundi anno tercio // Jn Venerabilis et religiosi viri fratris henrici de leuyngston militis preceptorisque ordinis beati Johannis Jerosolimitanj infra regnum Scocie vbilibet constitute mejque motarij publici et testium subscriptorum presencia compertum est in plena curia per prefatum fratrem henricum preceptorem tenta per inquisitionem in dicta curia factam per istos subscriptos viros videlicet Malcolmum de levenax gylbertum napa[r] Duncanum mc'Kynar / matheum maxwale / Donaldum Patonsoun / *duncanum mc'aulay* / Donaldum de Spytale / Donaldum de Levenax. Donaldum Thomsoun. Johannem Thormondsoun / Moricium blar' / Johannem Ewinsoun / Robertum buchanane / Johannem memoriche / Johannem borowrman. et malcolmum mccleriche quod hospitale de lettir debet de Jure habere et antiqua consuetudine in pastura terrarum ville de lettir duodecim summas bestiarum necnon equam suam et aucam cum suis sequelis [et quod?] dictum hospitale dictas duodecim summas cum dictis equas sua auca et suis sequelis de Jure tenetur habere eciam ex antiqua et approbata consuetudine [----] deposuerunt et deliberaerunt Super quibus quidem omnibus et singulis p[re]missis Thomas [de B]uchanane supradicti hospitalis possessor a me notario publico sibi fieri [scriptum] publicum siue publica instrumentum uel instrumenta / Acta fuerunt hec in plana curia templaria super solum cuiusdam tenementi templarij prope castrum [de] Buchanane situati per prefatum henricum preceptorem tenta hora quasi vndecima ante meridiem sub anno die mense Indiccione et pontificatu supradictis // presentibus ibidem Viris Willelmo Cunynhame de Glengernach. Wal[tero] Stewart de Albany / Alexandro Cunynghame de Drumcastile Johanne blar' de fynwyk Gawano de lewyngston [scutifero (?)] et magistro Johanne [me]ff[en] (?) notorio publico cum multis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis

Et (ego) Willelmus de Akinhede presbyter magister in artibus Sanctiandree diocesis publicus auctoritate Imperiali notarius supradicte inquisitionis deposicionj et deliberacionj omnibusque aliis et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agerentur dicerentur et fierent vna cum prenominitis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi sciui et audiui ac in notam recepi . Indeque presens publicum Instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum confeci et in hanc publicam formam redegi / Signoque et subscripcione meis solitis et consuetis roborauit rogatus specialiter et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium et singulorum premissorum.

[*The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (1983) ed. Ian B. Cowan, P.H.R. Mackay, and Alan Macquarrie; note the above instrument is in the Duntreath Muniments (formerly SRO, GD 97/3/12), now preserved in St John's Gate, Clerkenwell (Ref. K32/13)].

That one of the earliest confirmed members of the family styled “MacAulay of Ardincaple” was indeed surnamed *mc'aulay* in a Latin document rather than the customary form it had appeared as ‘*filio Awley*’ (*filio* = ‘son of’), it is as David Sellar has pointed out, how in nearly every case the eponym of a Highland clan can be shown to have actually existed, there can be little doubt in this instance that Duncan’s father was named *Aulay*. Exactly who this Aulay may have been or

when he had lived, there are very few documents that survive from the period between 1425 and 1459 following the execution of Duncan Earl of Lennox because the earldom was not forfeited, but was held in 'non-entry' (i.e. taxes were not collected by the Crown). But we can glean some information about Aulay's son Duncan from still other sources in the Lennox.

Indeed among the cartularies of the family styled Dennistoun of Colgrain is found the infeftment of Robert Denzelstoun of Colgrain in the lands of Ross, 28 Nov 1482, on a precept issued by the Preceptor of Torphichen upon the resignation of Duncan McAulay of the Spittal of Ross (today known as Ross Priory on Loch Lomond). The Spittal of Ross lay just east of Inchmurrin, the seat of Duncan Earl of Lennox and afterwards the residence of his widowed daughter, the Duchess of Albany—who may have been the Hospitaller's uncle and the Duchess, his first cousin). About the middle of the fourteenth century, King David II confirmed an infeftment granted by Malcolm Fleming Earl of Wigton, to his brother-in-law Sir John Danzielstoun (brother to Joanna or Janeta wife of Sir Adam Mure knight of Rowallan, and mother of Elizabeth Mure, the first wife of King Robert II) of the lands of Kilmaronock together with the isle of Inchcalliache. In 1404 the barony of Kilmaronock passed from the Dennistouns to the family of Cunninghame by marriage of Sir William Cunninghame of Kilmaurs to Margaret Dennistoun, who, with her sister Elizabeth, wife of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, shared between them the large estates of their father, Sir Robert Dennistoun of that Ilk (son of Sir John Danzielstoun first mentioned). The Spittal of Ross was included in the barony of Kilmaronock.

But how did Macfarlane know about this Duncan Mc'Aulay? As it turns out, Macfarlane's very source was the Rev. Timothy Pont (1565-1614), in who's "Noates" (held in Sir Robert Sibbald's Collection) to his surveys, and Sibbald's *Topographical Notices of Scotland* (Adv.MS.34.2.8) contain a large quantity of information written by Robert Gordon of Straloch, had included this very attribution though now lost but transcribed by Macfarlane, circa 1748-49, and included in his *Geographical Collections* (1751). Now Sibbald (1641-1722) had acquired the notes and maps of Pont from James Gordon of Rothiemay (who died 1685), son of Robert Gordon of Straloch (1580-1661), the very two men who had corrected Pont's maps at the request of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit (1585-1670), he being the man who saved Pont's survey from oblivion and oversaw revisions to the maps on to their eventual publication in the *Atlas Novus* by Blaeu in 1654. Sadly, many of Pont's original manuscript maps as well as some of notes were destroyed when Blaeu's premises in Amsterdam burned in 1672, destroying even the copper printing plates for Blaeu's great atlas. The textual content of the surviving Pont notes are believed to be principally Pont's own notes with some minor corrections made by Scot and Gordon, circa 1644.

What this means is the attribution of when the surname of *MacAulay* first came into use, that is, "about the reign of King James III" was recorded for posterity by Rev. Timothy Pont, fl. 1584-1596, and was most likely supplied to him by the sixth laird of Ardincaple (1584-1617), Aulay McAulay, soon to be knighted by King James I, and a great-grandson of *Alexander* (Mackawlay) *de Ardincaple eodem*, who was the son of Duncan mc'aulay (fl. 1440-1482). At the latest, if this information may have been revised by Gordon in 1644, so could have come from Sir Walter McAulay, the laird of Ardincaple from 1623 to 1668. Sir Walter was son of Alexander McAulay (died 1623), who had succeeded Sir Aulay McAulay, knight of Ardincaple in 1618.

A contemporary to Macfarlane, George Crawford (c1685-1748), who was author of the *History of Renfrewshire* (1710) and *MSS. Baye* (1716) provides one of the earliest views of the family of Ardincaple in the early fifteenth century, as well as the earliest use of the name of MacAulay by the family known as 'Ardincaple of that ilk' (*eodem* = 'of that ilk' or 'of the same name'). So apart from the wild theories offered by later writers, there are extant records dating from as early as the late fourteenth and fifteenth century providing sufficient evidence that the name of '*mac Aulay*' was then in use by this same family, the earliest now known dating from 1461 (in the second year of the reign of King James III), when is found a Duncan *mc'aulay*, alias 'Duncan de Ardincapill of that ilk', of whom Crawford in *MSS. Baye* indentified as the father of Alexander de Ardincapill of that ilk (fl. 1473-d1513), and grandfather of Aulay Makawlay of Ardincaple (fl. 1510-1536).

[To be continued]

## Second Part

According to James Dennistoun's MSS (1828), in *Dumbartonshire Families*, "Memoir of the MacAulays of Ardincaple," reports how: "The Duncan de Ardincaple of that ilk asserted by Crawford, may well be the same Duncan Mc aulay of the Spittal of Ross." John Irving (1875) *The Book of Dumbartonshire* (pp294-95), provides yet a similar view with certain exceptions, in his genealogy of M'Aulay of Ardincaple, saying: "The surname of this family was originally Ardincaple of that ilk, the name signifying in the Gaelic "the promontory of the mare," and corresponding exactly with the situation of their lands. A Celtic derivation may be claimed for this family, founded on the agreement entered into between the chief of the Clangregor and Ardincaple in 1591, where they describe themselves as originally descended from the same stock— "M'Alpins of Auld;" but the theory most in harmony with the annals of the house fixes their descent from a younger son of the second Alwyn, Earl of Lennox. The first of the name of which there is any notice, is Maurice de Ardincaple, who swore fealty to Edward I., and is mentioned in a charge by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1294. There appears to have been living about the same time, Arthur de Ardincaple, who witnesses a charter by Maldouin, Earl of Lennox, to Patrick Galbraith, but the exact date of which is not ascertained. Arthur de Ardincaple, a successor of the above, witnesses a charter granted by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, in the early part of the fifteenth century. There can be little doubt that all of these were connected with the main stem of the family, but the exact relationship there is now no means of determining."

Keeping in mind, the genealogical chart appended to this article was developed for this only this essay, and only addresses the McAulays of Ardincaple. It does not identify any of the members of the earlier family of 'de Ardincaple' prior to the beginning of the fifteenth century. This writer shares the view with David Sellars how the earlier family styled 'de Ardincaple' refers instead to the family latterly styled 'de Darlieth,' lineally descended from Maurice de Ardinagappill, first of Darleith, whose son and successor, Arthur, entered into a bond of manrent with Duncan Earl of Lennox in 1406. Possibly two other earlier members of this line may include the: 'Maurice de Arncapil' of *circa* 1294, who signed the Ragman Roll in 1296; and 'Arthur de Arncapil' who witnessed a charter by the Earl of Lennox, *circa* 1320.

Though the earlier family styled 'de Ardincaple' is thought to have represented the earliest proprietors of the Lennox estate known by that name, while that may have been true before the year 1351, the name of the estate associated with them after 1351 was instead the five pound lands of Darlieth, lying in the parish of Bonhill, and under the immediate feudal superiority of the lord of Luss. The lands of Darlieth were not included among the lands granted by Maldouen Earl of Lennox to his brother Aulay (a charter confirmed in the year 1225), perhaps because the lands of Darlieth were then possessed by another vassal, named Somerled, whose son Isaac was the earl's chaplain, and a contemporary to the elder Aulay (1238). Although it is most likely this Somerled (or *Samuel* as the name was Anglicized) may have been named for the twelfth century warrior King of the Isles who died in 1164, the Lennox cartularies note that he left two sons: Isaac (already mentioned); and Thomas, who was living in 1273. But as to which son may have inherited the lands of Darleith, or not, to explain how Maurice de Ardenagapill came to acquire his patrimony of Darleith still remains to be determined. But Walter's grant of 1351 extended only as far south as the lands of Keppoch, which only adjoined Darleith on the west.

The grant of 1351 made to Walter de Fosselane by his father-in-law Donald Earl of Lennox is unusual because it was not a charter of confirmation of the lands previously held by Walter's father, Alan de Fasselane, but inferred that it was a grant containing many of the same lands as had been confirmed by one of the Earl's predecessors named Malcolm to an '*Avileth dominus de Faslane*' or 'Aulay lord of Faslane.' In the charter, the Earl did not distinguish whether this Malcolm was his father or grandfather, just as it does not distinguish whether '*Avileth dominus de Faslane*' was Walter's father, his grandfather, or was, in fact, any kin to Walter. In no other charter is Walter's father ever acknowledged as 'lord of Faslane' and until his own elevation as 'Earl of Lennox' (1364), Walter had never appeared in any source as '*dominus*' (or a *lord*).

Though time has not preserved the resignation of Ardincaple and other lands granted to Walter, a transcription of the resignation of Keppoch (which borders with Darlieth) in 1353 intimates how its proprietress Christina, daughter of Colin MacGillecrist, and her son, Alexander, entered into a resignation in favour of Walter de Fosselane and his heirs, relinquishing all claim to their rights to the quarter land of Keppoch. This resignation was obtained through an induced payment of six cows and a chalder of oatmeal in the form of compensation, the former proprietors therein then resigned their rights to the lands, but which by the terms of agreement were rigidly enforced by stiff penalties should they default and break their word and stipulated there would be no change in its outcome, as Walter would still possess the land. It seems clear from this example Walter likely obtained similar resignations from the proprietors of all of the lands as was included in his grant of 1351, including the lands of Ardincaple.

While to us today this may come as a shock to learn that a feudal superior would have preferred to alienate the tenants upon his lands than to accept money rents from them, especially from his own kinmen, if indeed Christina's grandfather was Gillecrist, brother to Earl Maldouen? Much the same suspicion seems to have occurred with the lands of Ardincaple, in that as can be latterly observed in the 1406 bond of manrent between the Earl of Lennox and Arthur de Ardnagapill, the son and heir of Maurice, sometime lord of Darleith, Arthur laments of not having his own seal with which to seal the bond, but begged the mighty Humphrey Colquhoun Lord of Luss to act as his '*toset*' ('suzerain' or feudal chief). Indeed, when we find him again mentioned in 1427 when he was appointed as a sheriff depute under the Lord of Luss, then in 1429 in the head court

of the Lord of Luss, Arthur<sup>2</sup> is not only then designed ‘*domino de Darleith*’ in his own right, he is also therein joined by two sons: ‘*Willelmo Arthuri*’ (William son of Arthur), but also a second son, ‘*Arthuro Bege*’ (Arthur the younger). His son William is afterwards met again in 1478 when he was recorded as ‘*Willelmo Darleith filio Arthuri*’ domino de Darleith.

Fn2: Sir William Fraser (1869) *The Chiefs of the Colquhouns*, tends to transliterate surnames as appear like ‘*Arthuro Mauricii*’ into their modern form of ‘*Morison*’ rather than as was intended by the scribe as ‘Morice’s-son’ (hence the use of the Latin suffix “-ii” meaning “-son”). Some other writers have interpreted ‘*filio Arthuri*’ as the surname MacArthur, alleging how this family had formed one of the early cadet branches of the Campbells of Argyll.

Borrowing a quote from John Riddell’s “Observations of the Representation of the Ruskey and Lennox Families and other points in Mr. Napier’s Memoirs of Merchiston,” in his (1835) *Tracts, Legal and Historical*, which that author borrowed from John Philip Wood’s edition of Douglas’s *Peerage of Scotland*, he quotes: “our genealogist are rather odd logicians; this is akin to a remark that prefaces elsewhere the Campbell pedigree ‘of the antiquity of this noble house— the best proof is the *difficulty* that occurs in ascertaining its origin’.” Although Dr. Murray and Reverend Welles had posit that the family of Darleith was a junior branch of the senior line represented by the family afterwards designed *MacAulay of Ardincaple*, whom had earlier designed themselves similar to the family of Darleith, ‘Ardincaple of that Ilk’ (*Ardincapill eodem*), these two families were actually unrelated except by later marriages.

In the above derivation of this “second” family who adopted the surname of ‘de Ardincaple,’ but who latterly changed their surname to use the personal surname of *mac Aulay*, were, in fact, not descended, either lineally or collaterally, from the earlier family of ‘de Ardincaple.’ They instead represent a different line of proprietors of that same estate, who only latterly came to possess the estate after 1351, and were latterly held forfeit of those lands by King James I in 1425.

In a charter by Duncan Earl of Lennox in 1405, he refers an earlier agreement executed between Sir Robert Danzelston (who died 1399) and ‘Walter Awlasoun’ the earl’s late father, it had been presumed that the earl’s brothers, Alexander, Walter, and Alan, had also each received a share of their father’s lands. Duncan is presumed to have inherited his father’s lands of Faslane, and even though there is little to document it, it would also appear that his youngest brother, Alan (Aulay) inherited the lands of Ardincaple among his fief and was thus the progenitor of the second family of ‘de Ardincaple’ who ‘about the reign of King James the third, from *Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk*, the name ‘*mc Aulay*’ came to be the surname of this antient family.’

The main reason why Skene and others was skeptical and refused to support such a descent for the MacAulays of Ardincaple from the Celtic Earls of Lennox was because the last earl of that line, Duncan (executed 1425), was thought to have left no sons. But he did have three brothers: Walter, fl. 1395-1408; Alexander, fl. 1385-1423; and Allan (or Aulay), fl. 1385-1421. Of these, various claims have been made over the centuries, for example, by the family of MacWalter of Auchenvannel (in Glen Fruin) as the descendants of the Walter de Levenax; while the Lennox family of County Surrey in England laid claimed (in 1766) as descended from Alexander de Levenax; but oddly enough, no one has ever made claim as descended from Allan de Levenax.



The last mention of Allan (or Aulay) de Levenax was as a notarial witness in 1421, in a charter by the Earl in recognizing his youngest lawful son Donald, in a grant of the lands of Balcorragh — while the earliest note of the ancestor of the MacAulays, styled “Duncan mc’ aulay” (or son of Aulay) appears in 1440, just about 21 years later, and was in association with two of the earl’s sons: Malcolm de Levenax, and again the very same Donald de Levenax. The charter was also witnessed by one of the earl’s grandsons, Walter Stewart of Albany. Apparently the very same “Duncan mc aulay” (or ‘son of Aulay’) was the proprietor of the Spittal of Ross in 1482, and he was the father of Alexander McAulay of Gartmore, and great-grandfather of Walter McAulay of Ardincaple (fl. 1548-d1583) who held Ardincaple directly from Henry King of Scots (1565).

Not only do we find Duncan ‘mc Aulay’ in close association with the earl’s sons and grandson, we find that William Buchanan of Auchmar (1698-1781) also mentions another contemporary, a Fionese MacAulay, identifying her as proprietress of the chapel-land of Croft-Ewer, in the ville of Drumakill, yet another of the properties held by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem thought by some to having been originally gifted by the Earls of Lennox in the thirteenth century to the old Knights Templars upon whose suppression fell into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers.

So too among the cartularies of the poet and historian George Buchanan (1506-1582), himself a grandson of the progenitor of the family of Drumakill, Thomas Buchanan, the same proprietor of the hospital of Letter as noted above, is found a charter of confirmation by King James III, dated at Edinburgh on 20 September 1466, and identified that Fynnoyse (Fionese) as being a daughter of Malcolm Makaulay, and heiress of Croft-Ewer, lying within the toun (‘villa’) of Dromkyll, which she resigned her land in favor of the same Thomas Buchanan noted in the temple court in 1461. This charter identifies Thomas Buchanan as son of the late Sir Walter Buchanan Knight of that Ilk [...*Thome de buchana filio quondam dno Walteri de buchana milite de eod*] by Isabella Stewart, the daughter of Murdoch Duke of Albany and Isabella de Levenax, eldest daughter of Duncan Earl of Lennox.

At about the same time, we learn from the *The Exchequer Rolls* for the years 1502-07 of one of the rentals of crown lands, of the rental of the lands of Blairgarry, lying on Loch Venachar, in Strathgartney (part of Perthshire), by a Robert Stewart with the consent of his mother Elizabeth Ardingapill, whom held a tack of Blairgarry from Sir William Edmonston of Duntreath. Though there is but little provided with which to identify her, William Buchanan of Auchmar supplies the very origin of the Stewart family of Blairgarie, namely:

“George Buchanan 3rd in Auchmar, married in his brother’s lifetime Janet Stewart, daughter to Andrew Stewart, who had a beneficial tack of the lands of Blairgarie, and some other lands, from the Earl of Murray, in Strathgartney, and in the Parish of Callander; he was also the Earl’s Baillie in these parts. That family is now represented by Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaroe in Balquhider parish; and is, with the families of Ardvorlich and Glenbuckie, lineally descended of James Beg, or little James, son to James Stewart, youngest son to Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, James Beg was married to Annabella Buchanan, daughter to Patrick Laird of Buchanan, as testifies a charter, in his and the said Annabella’s favour, of the lands of Baldorrans in Stirlingshire, in the reign of King James II. I find also this James witness in a charter, by Isobel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, of a testament of land in Drymen, in the year 1443, being designed in that charter the duchess's nephew. James’ successor

was Walter Stewart of Baldorrans, as is clear by charter, in his favour, by Janet Boquhuanan, of a wadset-right the said Janet had upon a part of the lands of Straithyre, of date in the year 1528.”

Although Auchmar does not here identify ‘Patrick Laird of Buchanan’ as Patrick Buchanan of that Ilk, elder brother to Thomas Buchanan of Drummakill, who was also a grandson of Duncan Earl of Lennox, Patrick’s daughter and his son-in-law, James Beag Stewart, were both the great-grandchildren of the said Earl. In another crown rental agreement in 1502 identifies Elizabeth Ardingapill as wife of Patrick Stewart of Ardkinkockane, a younger son of James Beag Stewart, first of Baldorran. Baldorran is the estate in which today surrounds the large village of Milton of Campsie, in eastern Dumbartonshire, situated just about ten miles north of Glasgow. Sir William Edmonston of Culloden and Duntreath was the husband of Matilda Stewart, a sister to Isabella, wife of Sir Walter Buchanan of that Ilk, so Matilda was an aunt to James Beag Stewart. While this does not necessarily identify which Ardincaple family she may have belonged, we know the MacAulays of Ardincaple were very closely related to the Stewarts of Albany, and it has been long held they were descended from the Earls of Lennox.

The basis for such an assertion is found in a charter from the Drumhead Writs, relating to Robert Buchanan, son and heir of William Buchanan, identified in Guthrie Smith (1896) *Strathendrick and Its Inhabitants from Early Times*, as possibly a brother or son of Robert Buchanan, second of Drummakill (son of Thomas Buchanan, first of Drummakill). This Robert Buchtquhannane, son and heir of William Buchtquhannane, had a charter from Alexander Makcawlaye of Ardencapill (the son of Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk), ‘whereby for the singular love and favour he bore to “*delectum consanguineum meum*” (or ‘my blood kinsman’), [Alexander] granted unto him “my lands of Blarehannachra Ardardan,” with garden and third part of the fishing... extending to a five merk land of old extent, to be held of the granter and his heirs in feu farm for a yearly payment of 12 merks Scots, with 13d Scots of augmentation.’ This instrument was sealed and subscribed at Dumbaron, 10 September 1552, before these witnesses— Alexander Makkynne of Knokdain, John Symond, and Patrik Porterfield, notary. A subsequent deed shows the division of the common between John Wood of Gelistoun, Patrik Makawlay of Ballimanoch, and Robert Buchquhanan of Blayhannochran, “equal portioners” of the common 12 merk land of Ardardan Makawley. The lands of Ardardan Makawley are situated on the shore of the Clyde, just south of Keppoch, and was among the lands granted by Maldouen Earl of Lennox to his brother Aulay *circa* 1225.

Robert Buchanan of Blarehannachra is said to have married Janet Denzelstoun, by whom he had five sons, from whom descended the Buchanans of Middle Tulliechewan, and the Buchanans of Drumhead. Although this Janet Denzelstoun is not mentioned in the family genealogy published by James Dennistoun (1906) *Some Account of the Family of Dennistoun*, Jonet or Janet may be an unrecorded daughter of Robert Danzelstoun (Dennistoun) of Colgrain, the very same Robert Danzelstoun infert in the lands of Ross in 1482 upon the resignation of Duncan M’Aulay. As it may be observed that many such marriages and alliances were often made between interrelated families, it should not come as much of a surprise to learn that this same Robert’s son, Charles Danzelstoun, held a four year tack of Blairhennachra from Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk in 1529. This Charles Danzelstoun’s mother was none other than Elizabeth Napier, the daughter of John Napier of Merchistoun by Elizabeth Menteith, she being the same Elizabeth Menteith of whom

Alexander's grandfather of the same name had served on her inquest in 1473 when she was served as one of the co-heirs of her grandfather, Duncan Earl of Lennox.

Charles' elder brother, Patrick Danzelstoun of Colgrain, was succeeded by his son, also named Robert, who married Marion, the daughter of Sir William Edmonstoun of Duntreath, another of the families descended from Duncan Earl of Lennox, and by whom Robert and Marion had a daughter Elizabeth, who married Matthew Mackawlay, the son of Bartholomew Mackawlay of Ardoch-Campbell. This Bartholomew was the son of John Mackawlay of Portnellan-Haliday, afterwards of Ardoch-Campbell (also known as Ardoch-Mackaulay), 1557, who was another of the brothers to Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk. Robert Mackawlay, brother to Alexander, had prior to 1552 held the same lands of Blairhennachra. His wife was Jonet Buchanan, and had left a son, Thomas, who left an heiress to the lands of Blairhennachra. So it's curious that we find many of the same forenames being used by the Mackawlays as appear in the previous generations among the Buchanan and Danzelstoun families, as well as the Stewarts of Albany and Earls of Lennox.

That this charter recognized that Robert Buchanan (a great-great-grandson of Isabella Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox), having shared a common ancestry with Alexander Makawlay of Ardincaple suggest this relation was prior to the generation of Alexander's parents (i.e. Aulay Mackawlay and Katherine Cunninghame), so while such a collineal descent could equally have occurred on Aulay's maternal side, while we do not yet know the identities of Aulay's mother or that of his grandmother (spouse of Duncan Ardincaple of that Ilk), with which might positively prove how Aulay Mackawlay of Ardincaple was related to Duncan Earl of Lennox, we do know from this charter that Aulay was collineally descended from not only the Stewarts of Albany and the Buchanans, it also strongly hints that his great-grandfather, the father of Duncan 'mc Aulay' was indeed the suspected Allan (Aulay) de Levenax. But this fact further serves to distinguish their origin from the other earlier family of Ardincaple, who devolved into the lords of Darleith, and establishes the family known as MacAulay of Ardincaple as a separate family, who was by some manner descended directly from the lord of Ardincaple, Walter de Fosselane.

This descent may be exhibited, viz:—

- I. Aulay de Levenax, alias Aulay Ardincaple of that Ilk (fl. 1395-1425), the father of—
- II. Duncan (*mc' Aulay*) de Ardincaple of that Ilk, of the Spittal of Ross, fl. 1440-1482;
- III. Alexander (*Mackawlay*) de Ardincaple, served on the inquest of Elizabeth Menteith in 1473, and that of Robert Fleming to the lands of Barmary about 1493. He also appears as witness to an instrument raised by Haldane of Gleneagles, relating to the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, 1477. Sasined of Gartmore in Menteith, 1479; he or his son, Aulay, is recorded as the first 'Lard of Ardincaple', 1497.
- IV. John (*Makawlay*) de Ardincaple who is mentioned in 1512, in a charter formerly in the possession of Colquhoun of Camstradden. Sasined of Gartmore and Doune, 1512; he is thought to have fallen in the battle of Flodden, 1513 but he may be the John Makawlay reportedly killed at Doune 1536.
- V. Aulay (*Makaulay*) de Ardincaple. As Aulay Ardangable, he first appears in 1510 as a witness in a dispute between the King's Falconer, John Knox (same 'Jok of Knox' who is mentioned in 1497 with the 'Lard of Ardincaple'), and Sir Ralph Kitchins, before the

bishop of Glasgow. Aulay was sasined of Gartmore and Doune on the resignation of his brother, John in 1518; afterwards sasined of Faslane in 1518, and of Ardincaple 1525, held of the Earl of Lennox.

- VI. Alexander M'Aulay of Ardincaple (died 1552), son of Aulay by first wife Katherine Cunninghame. Alexander married Grisella Sempill, domine de Ardincaple, mentioned in the testament of Janet Watson in 1547.
- VII. Walter M'Aulay (died 1583), son of Aulay by second wife Elizabeth Knox, infeft with Ardincaple and Ardardan-M'Aulay on 5th May 1566, held directly from Henry King of Scots; in the sale of Gartmore in 1554, it is revealed that Alexander McAulay, sasined of Gartmore in 1479, was Walter's '*gudschir*' (grandfather).
- VIII. Sir Aulay M'Aulay, Knight of Ardincaple, succeeded his father 1584, knighted by King James VI & I in 1603, served as resident agent for the Duke of Lennox's land grant in County Donegal on the Ulster Plantation in Ireland; died February 1617. Left a tailzie or list of successors, 1614.
- IX. Alexander M'Aulay, formerly of Durling in Glenfruin, one of the grantees of lands in County Donegal on the Ulster Plantation, 1608; between 1611 and 1618, erected a new castle on his lands in Ireland, and planted ten families there from his lands in Scotland, including possibly a son, John M'Awley. Succeeded his first cousin Sir Aulay on 22 April 1618 and died 1623. Left a tailzie or list of successors, 1622.
- X. Sir Walter M'Aulay of Ardincaple, succeeded 1623 and died February 1668; Sir Walter served as Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, and Vice-Admiral of the Western Seas, 1625, and under the Covenanters, was appointed Constable of Dumbarton Castle, 1635. He later represented Dumbartonshire as MP at Westminster in 1655. Walter not only acquired many other properties in the Lennox, but he further purchased tenements in Dumbarton, Glasgow, as well as Edinburgh, all on money he borrowed during his many years as laird, and he accumulated many debts which were left unpaid at his death for his son and successors to pay. Among some of the debts he had inherited included payments owed from the marriage contract of Margaret Crawford, relict of James Galbraith of Culcreuch, to (Sir) Aulay McAulay in 1593 that Walter's father had inherited with the estate upon becoming laird of Ardincaple in 1618.
- XI. Sir Aulay M'Aulay of Ardincaple, succeeded 01 May 1668 and died June 1675; Sir Aulay McAulay represented Dumbartonshire as MP at Westminster from 1656-1661. During the seven years Sir Aulay served as laird of Ardincaple, he managed to pay off almost all of his father debts. His brother-in-law Robert Hamilton of Barns (died 1677) also took some of his father-in-law's debts as a means of clearing his own debts, but he later concealed these debts from creditors after Aulay's death, emerging in 1680 as his former in-law's principal creditor. Hamilton disputed the succession of Aulay's son and heir, Archibald, because he was a son of Aulay's second marriage. Although Aulay's son-in-law, James Smolett of Stainflett (later of Bonhill) also took on some of the debts as a means of clearing his debts to the estate, he did not dispute Archibald's succession even though his wife, Jane, was Aulay's only child of his first marriage, and by right of primogeniture could have succeeded to the estate. In opposing Hamilton, Archibald was represented by his two uncles: Major Alexander McAulay (spouse of Alice Stewart of Layde, Cushendall, County Antrim), and advocate James Smollett of Stainflett.

The debts incurred by the estate were not due to feasting and gambling, but were borne out of debts incurred by the estate due to Aulay or his father Walter having served as a cautioner or suretor for their various neighbors: Colquhoun of Luss, Bontine of Ardoch, Napier of Kilmahew, Mungo Lindsay of Bonhill, Aulay McAulay of Durland, Walter McAulay of Stuck (brother of Aulay of Ardincaple), some of whom had died about the same time, and were insolvent, causing their neighbors's estates to flounder. Aulay was also owed money, like David Boswell of Auchinleck on a bond to the deceased Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock which was assigned to the deceased Aulay McAuley. Still another involved a debt owed by William Macfarlane of Drumfad concerning a bond for 3,000 merks assigned to him by the deceased Robert Colquhoun of Baldernock, of whom Sir John Colquhoun of Luss and Aulay McAulay of Ardincaple, and others had served as cautioners, to Robert Watson, minister of Cardross.

With the Adjudication of 1680, tabulating all of the debts owed to the creditors, Aulay's son and heir, Archibald was finally allowed to succeed to his father's estates but was compelled to pay annual rents on his lands to these same creditors, including his cousin, Claude Hamilton of Barns, from 1681 until the year 1705, when he was succeeded by his own son, Aulay, who was the last M'Aulay laird of Ardincaple.

- XII. Archibald M'Aulay of Ardincaple, succeeded as heir of his father 1684 and died 1729;
- XIII. Aulay M'Aulay, last laird of Ardincaple, succeeded 1705 and died 1745. He together with his father, along with a consensus of their nearest kinsman and trustees, agreed to sell off the lands of Ardincaple to Colonel John Campbell, younger of Mamore (future IV Duke of Argyll), in May 1718, reserving certain conditions of reversion. But as of Campbell's final payment on 29 March 1736, being the balance of his purchase of the estate of Ardincaple, the ancient patrimony of the MacAulays of Ardincaple finally left their possession. Contrary to the story told by Welles and others, Aulay, did not seek refuge at Faslane or Laggarie, but from March 1742 to February 1745 being in poor health and destitute (and supported only by a quarterly stipend gifted from his kin and friends), Aulay was in the keeping of others, namely his wife, Bethus, and their son, John McAulay in the Miln (mill) of Ardincaple.<sup>1</sup> Receipts of these payments were discovered in the Barns Muniments (TD 589).

(fn<sup>1</sup>) The Miln of Ardincaple stood just northwest of the intersection of Glenoran Road and Rhu Higher Road, on the west bank of the Glenoran Burn where it coverges with a burn coming down the west march of the middle third of Ardincaple, where today can still be seen the remnants of one of the old weirs for the old mill pond located upon the north side of Rhu Higher Road. The first Ordnance Survey of 1860 shows the remnants of the formal Baroque garden formerly associated with the old Miln of Ardincaple (on Wester Ardincaple) the site of the old miln itself, then in ruins, just south of Westerton. A facsimile of this survey was included in Welles' book, page 160.