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**The Lindsay Earls of Crawford:
The Heads of the Lindsay Family in Late
Medieval Scottish Politics, 1380-1453**

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the careers of the first four Lindsay earls of Crawford, 1380-1453. Each of these four Scottish earls played an important role in Scottish politics, though they have not been closely examined since A. W. C. Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, published in 1849. This is despite the fact that these men figured in some of the major events in late medieval Scotland. David 1st earl of Crawford can be linked to the murder of David Stewart duke of Rothesay in 1401-2. David 3rd earl of Crawford (d. 1446) was a marriage ally of William 6th earl of Douglas who was judicially murdered in 1440 by William Crichton and James Douglas earl of Avondale in 1440. Evidence suggests this marriage alliance was a factor in the decision to commit the murder. Alexander 4th earl of Crawford (d. 1453) was involved in the famous Douglas-Crawford-Ross tripartite bond which cost William 8th earl of Douglas his life. All of the first four earls were involved, in different ways, in the disputes to determine the succession of the earldom of Mar during their careers.

Although the barony of Crawford was in Lanarkshire, the earls' main sphere of influence was south of the Mounth, where they held lands stretching from Urie near present-day Stonehaven to Megginch near Perth. Glen Esk, their largest holding, was in Forfarshire, which was where they exerted the most influence. They also maintained a degree of influence in Aberdeenshire, where they were the hereditary sheriffs. A few factors explain their ability to maintain this sphere of influence. The first was an ability to call out a significant armed band of men, something which the first, third and fourth earls of Crawford are all recorded to have done. Most also had an income from annuities from various burghs including Aberdeen, Dundee, and Montrose totaling about £200, and they can be demonstrated to have owned a house in Dundee and maintained connections with burgesses there. This may suggest they were involved in trade. David Lindsay, 1st earl of Crawford (d. 1407), who used all of the above means to propel himself to the top ranks of Scottish politics, also promoted himself through active engagement with the culture of chivalry and crusade. This earned him much praise from the contemporary chronicler, Andrew Wyntoun. There are hints that the third and fourth earl may have maintained this interest as well.

Statement of Original Authorship

Hereby I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, the work is my own and it has not been submitted for any degree or professional qualification, except as specified on the title page.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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The Scottish History Subject Area's class library was of great use to me throughout my studies, and I hope that, despite any possible organisational changes for the Subject Area and School, that this class library will remain a resource available to those studying Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh.

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While the support of all these people and institutions have helped improve my thesis, any mistakes which remain are, of course, entirely mine.

List of Abbreviations¹

1. Print and Online Sources:

<i>Abdn. Counc. Aberdeen,</i>	<i>Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of (Spalding Club, 1844-48).</i>
<i>Abdn. Guild Recs. Gemmell</i>	<i>Aberdeen Guild Court Records, 1437-1468</i> , ed. E. (Edinburgh, 2005).
<i>Aberdeen-Banff Coll. Banff</i>	<i>Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and (Spalding Club, 1843).</i>
<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations Shires of 1847-69).</i>	<i>Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Aberdeen and Banff.</i> (Spalding Club,
<i>Aberdeen Registrum Maitland</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis.</i> (Spalding and Clubs, 1845).
<i>Acts of Lords Auditors Complaints</i> , ed. T.	<i>The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839).</i>
<i>APS Thomson and C.</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , edd. T. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
<i>Arbroath Liber 1848-1856).</i>	<i>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc.</i> (Bannatyne Club,
<i>ASH McNeil and H. L.</i>	<i>Atlas of Scottish History to 1707</i> , edd. P. G. B. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996).
<i>Chron. Auchinleck McGladdery, James II.</i>	<i>The 'Auchinleck Chronicle'</i> , printed in C. (Edinburgh, 1990).
<i>Bamff Chrs. (Oxford, 1915).</i>	<i>Bamff Charters 1232-1703</i> , ed. J. H. Ramsay
<i>Brechin Registrum 1856).</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis</i> (Bannatyne Club,
<i>Buchanan, History Aikman</i>	G. Buchanan, <i>The History of Scotland</i> , translated J. (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1827-29).
<i>Caithness Recs. Johnston and others 1909-28).</i>	<i>Caithness and Sutherland Records</i> , edd. A. W. (Viking Society, London,

¹ This list of abbreviated titles is based on the list printed in 'List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560', *Scottish Historical Review*, Supplement (October 1963): vi-xxix.

CDS Bain	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> , ed. J. (Edinburgh, 1881-8).
<i>Chron. Anonimalle</i> Galbraith	<i>The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333-1381</i> , ed. V. H. (Manchester, 1927).
<i>Chron. Boece</i> (1977) Bellenden,	Boethius, Hector, <i>Chronicle of Scotland</i> , translated (Amsterdam, 1977).
<i>Chron. Bower</i> (Watt) R. Watt	W. Bower, <i>Scotichronicon</i> , translated and ed. D. E. (Aberdeen, 1989-1998).
<i>Chron. Extracta</i> 1842).	<i>Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie</i> (Abbotsford Club, 1842).
<i>Chron. Lanercost</i> (Maxwell) H. Maxwell	<i>The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346</i> , translated by (Glasgow, 1913).
<i>Chron. Pluscarden</i> (Edinburgh, 1877-80).	<i>Liber Pluscardensis</i> , ed. ed. F. J. H. Skene
<i>Chron. St Albans</i> Galbraith	<i>The St. Albans Chronicle, 1406-1420</i> , ed. V. H. (Oxford, 1937).
<i>Chron. Wyntoun</i> (Laing) <i>Scotland</i> , ed. D.	Andrew of Wyntoun, <i>The Orygynale Cronykil of Laing</i> (Edinburgh, 1872-79).
CPL <i>Great Britain</i> and others (London,	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , edd. W. H. Bliss 1893-).
CPLS <i>Benedict XIII</i> <i>of Avignon</i> , 1976).	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII 1394-1419</i> , ed. F. McGurk (Edinburgh,
CPLS <i>Clement VII</i> <i>of Avignon</i> , 1976).	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII 1378-1394</i> , ed. C. Burns (Edinburgh,
CSSR, 1423-1428 1423-1428, ed. A. I.	<i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome</i> , Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1956).
CSSR, 1433-1447 1433-1447, edd. A. I. (Glasgow, 1983).	<i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome</i> , Dunlop and D. MacLauchlin
ER others	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , edd. J. Stuart and (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
<i>Foedera</i> (O) 1704-35).	<i>Foedera</i> , . . . (etc.), Original edition (London,

Fraser, <i>Buccleuch</i> 1878).	W. Fraser, <i>The Scotts of Buccleuch</i> (Edinburgh,
Fraser, <i>Colquhoun</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country</i> (Edinburgh, 1869).
Fraser, <i>Douglas</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Douglas Book</i> (Edinburgh, 1885).
Fraser, <i>Eglinton</i> <i>Eglinton</i>	W. Fraser, <i>Memorials of the Montgomeries Earls of</i> (Edinburgh, 1859).
Fraser, <i>Elphinstone</i> 1897).	W. Fraser, <i>The Elphinstone Family Book</i> (Edinburgh,
Fraser, <i>Grandtully</i> 1868).	W. Fraser, <i>The Red Book of Grandtully</i> (Edinburgh,
Fraser, <i>Keir</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Stirlings of Keir</i> (Edinburgh, 1858).
Fraser, <i>Melville</i> <i>Leslies</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Melvilles Earls of Melville and the</i> <i>Earls of Leven</i> (Edinburgh, 1890).
Fraser, <i>Pollock</i> (Edinburgh,	W. Fraser, <i>Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollock</i> 1863).
Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> <i>Southesk, and</i>	W. Fraser, <i>History of the Carnegies, Earls of</i> <i>of their Kindred</i> (Edinburgh, 1867).
Fraser, <i>Sutherland</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Sutherland Book</i> (Edinburgh, 1892).
Fraser, <i>Wemyss</i> <i>Wemyss</i>	W. Fraser, <i>Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of</i> (Edinburgh, 1888).
Froissart (Brereton), Brereton <i>Chronicles</i>	Jean Froissart, <i>Chronicles</i> , translated and ed. G. (London, 1978).
Froissart (Johnes), <i>Chronicles</i> <i>Spain and</i> Thomas Johnes (London,	Froissart, John [Jean], <i>Chronicles of England, France,</i> <i>the Adjoining Countries...</i> , translated. 1849).
Froissart, <i>Oeuvres</i> de	Froissart, Jean. <i>Oeuvres de Froissart...</i> , ed. Kervyn Lettenhove, (Bruxelles, 1867-77).
HMC <i>Manuscripts</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical</i> (London, 1870-).
<i>Inchaffray Liber</i>	<i>Liber Insule Missarum</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1847).
<i>Isles Acta</i> Munro and R.	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493</i> , edd. J. W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1986).

Laing, <i>Seals</i> , ii <i>Ancient Scottish</i>	H. Laing, <i>Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Seals</i> (Edinburgh, 1866).
<i>Lennox Cartularium</i> 1833).	<i>Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax</i> (Maitland Club, 1833).
Lesley, <i>History King James I in Club</i> , 1830).	J. Lesley, <i>The History of Scotland from the Death of the Year 1436 to the Year 1561</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1830).
<i>Maitland Misc.</i> 1833-47).	<i>Miscellany of the Maitland Club</i> (Maitland Club, 1833-47).
<i>Melrose Liber</i> 1837.	<i>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros</i> (Bannatyne Club), 1837.
Menzies, <i>Menzies Menzies</i> (Glasgow,	D. P. Menzies, <i>The "Red and White" Book of</i> 1894).
<i>Moray Registrum Registrum</i> , 1837).	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis</i> (Moray 1837).
<i>Morton Registrum</i> 1853).	<i>Registrum Honoris de Morton</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1853).
<i>Paisley Registrum</i> 1832).	<i>Registrum Monasterii de Passalet</i> (Maitland Club, 1832).
<i>Panmure Registrum</i> 1847).	<i>Registrum de Panmure</i> , ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1847).
<i>Prot. Bk. Simon Publici et Scribae Club</i> , 1875).	<i>Liber Protocollorum M. Cuthberti Simonis Notarii Capituli Glasguensis 1499-1513</i> (Grampian Club, 1875).
Robertson, <i>Index Records of</i> 1798).	<i>An Index, drawn up about the year 1629, of many Charters</i> , ed. W. Robertson (Edinburgh, 1798).
<i>Rot. Scot. Capitulari</i> Macpherson and others	<i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Westmonasteriensi Asservati</i> , edd. D. (1814-19).
RMS Thomson and	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , edd. J. M. others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
RPS	<i>Records of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> (Online: http://www.rps.ac.uk)

RRS others	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow and (Edinburgh, 1960-)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>St Andrews Copiale</i> (Oxford, 1999).	<i>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree</i> , ed. J. H. Baxter
<i>Scone Liber</i> Clubs, 1843).	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i> (Bannatyne and Maitland
<i>Scots Peerage</i> (Edinburgh, 1904-14).	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul
<i>Scottish Graduates</i> <i>Graduates to</i>	D. E. R. Watt, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish</i> <i>A. D. 1410</i> (Oxford, 1977).
<i>Spalding Misc.</i> 1841-52).	<i>Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> (Spalding Club,
<i>Yester Writs</i> 1166-1503, edd. C. C. 1930).	<i>Calendar of Writs Preserved at Yester House</i> H. Harvey and J. Macleod (SRS,

2. Archives

NAS	National Archives of Scotland (Manuscripts)
NLS	National Library of Scotland (Manuscripts)

Introduction

The first four Lindsay earls of Crawford, whose careers span the years 1380 to 1453, were among Scotland's political, and in some cases, cultural elite. Their battles, jousts, seaborne exploits, and political activities feature in major contemporary chronicles and records. Nevertheless, the Lindsays remain largely unstudied. Indeed, an historian of medieval Scotland might assume the Scottish knight described by Andrew Wyntoun as 'Honest, abill, and avenant... Wyth knychtis, sqwyeris, and other men / Off his awne retnew... / welle arayid and dayntely' and by Walter Bower as '*Valens miles et in omni probitate bellica quamplurimum comendatus*' (A valiant knight and in all honesty commended in every skill of war') would be a highly examined figure, rather than the often overlooked David Lindsay 1st earl of Crawford.² Although rarely appreciated in modern secondary literature, David was one of the premier knights of his day. He figured heavily in Scottish politics and government, participated in the coups d'état within Scotland between 1384 and 1401-2,³ held the offices of Admiral of Scotland, Chamberlain north of the Forth, and almost certainly the sheriffship of Aberdeen.⁴ In 1402 he led a Franco-Scottish fleet that spent months raiding English shipping. He was also arguably the greatest Scottish exponent of chivalry in his day, celebrated in Scotland and noted in England for his prowess in jousting and tournament. Crusade was also one of his chivalric pursuits. He and his brother joined Philip de Mézières' Order of the Passion, and they were its only two Scottish members.

During his lifetime, David's influence was felt in Scotland from Aberdeenshire to Dumfries and in a European context it was felt in northern England, London, the shores off of Flanders, Amiens, Paris, and Corunna. He rose to such prominence by building on his power base south of the Mounth. His most important lordship was Glen Esk in Forfarshire, though he held other lordships in Forfarshire, Kincardineshire, and Perthshire, most inherited from his father Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk (d. 1382) and his cousin James Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1396). These lands put David in a strategic position to defend the Angus lowlands from Highland raiders passing through the various glens. Also, by way of royal grants and inheritance from his father and cousin, David was yearly in receipt of about £210 in annuities by the end of his career. Thus, he had the estates, military experience and resources, central and local offices, and cash in hand to maintain a powerful sphere of influence.

² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 47.

³ All dates given are new style, with the year changing on 1 January.

⁴ *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 112; *ER*, iii, 647-8.

Starting his career as a moderately important, primarily Forfarshire landholder, he reached the heights of Scottish politics through the patronage of kings and guardians who appreciated his lands' strategic position, and he duly rewarded his changing benefactors with service – as long as they remained relevant in politics. Indeed, he was quick to associate with the victors of the various upheavals in central politics during his career, such as when Robert earl of Fife acquired the guardianship of Scotland from John earl of Carrick in 1388, shifting his allegiance from the latter to the former. Still, though, he never entertained fiercely autonomous pretensions as his contemporary, Alexander earl of Buchan did.⁵ His son Alexander, grandson David, and great grandson Alexander inherited David's military, territorial, and financial resources, which led them, increasingly, to guard their own local interests. This preservation of powerful local interests in itself kept them highly relevant in Scottish central politics. Indeed, many of the pivotal moments in Scottish politics involved the Lindsay family and their local interests, including the capture and death of David duke of Rothesay in 1401-2, the Black Dinner where William 6th earl of Douglas was murdered in 1440, and James II's murder of William 8th earl of Douglas in 1452, a response to the notorious tripartite Douglas-Crawford-Ross bond. Less dramatic, but still significant, the Crawford earls frequently supported the successive heads of the Erskine family's decades-long pursuit of the earldom of Mar. Tensions over Crawford support of this claim in central and local politics underlay the battles of Arbroath and Brechin at which the third and fourth earls fought in 1446 and 1452.

Contemporary chroniclers generally found the Lindsays to be figures of note, even in the years before David 1st earl of Crawford's career. The English Lanercost chronicler noted the first earl's great-grandfather, Alexander Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1309) raiding Galloway with Edward Bruce and James Douglas.⁶ His son, David Lindsay of Crawford (d. c.1355), featured in an anonymous chronicle written c.1390 for captaining Edinburgh castle and for being on good terms with William Douglas, his uncle.⁷ Last, James Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1396) and his family figured prominently in the famous chronicler, Jean Froissart's accounts of cross-border raiding and battles in Scotland in the 1380s.⁸

⁵ Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), 83-9, 175-6.

⁶ *Chron. Lanercost* (Maxwell), 188.

⁷ This chronicle survives in Wyntoun's text, written c.1420. Bower, writing twenty years later followed it as well. *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 271; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), ii, 478-80.

⁸ See below, 'Chapter I'.

David Lindsay 1st earl of Crawford and lord of Glen Esk (d. 1407) received much attention from Andrew Wyntoun, who lauded him as a pillar of Scottish chivalry. Wyntoun celebrated David's successful tourneying against John Welles in London in 1390, and later noted his participation in the battle of Glasclune in 1392 in which he fought against Highland raiders.⁹ Written in vernacular verse, Wyntoun probably expected these sorts of exploits would be of interest to a secular audience. Bower's references to David are more brief, perhaps because his Latin chronicle was directed at a clerical audience. Throughout, his text indicates only a lukewarm interest in chivalric culture.¹⁰ Bower knew of David's jousting, and attributed a judicial fight at Perth between two as yet not securely identified Highland clans in 1396 to David Lindsay and Thomas earl of Moray's arrangement.¹¹ Excluding a brief, and probably inaccurate mention in the Cambridge and Coupar Angus manuscripts of Bower,¹² no record of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford exists in chronicles. This lack of chronicle evidence is not fully explained. In contrast, his son, David 3rd earl and Alexander 4th earl figure prominently in the so-called *Auchinleck Chronicle*. Besides the raid and battles in which they took part, the chronicler noted the fourth earl's participation in the Douglas-Crawford-Ross tripartite bond in 1452, the earl's forfeiture, and his death, stating that during his career the fourth earl, 'held all Angus in his bandoun and was richt Inobedient to the king'.¹³ Thus, the first four earls of Crawford, and their families received a fair measure of attention from their contemporaries and near contemporaries in Scotland, who felt they were important and powerful men. Knowledge of the Lindsays' participation in the wars of independence, as well as David Lindsay's joust against Welles and some of his other deeds also survived into the early modern era, appearing in the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis*, Boece and Pitscottie.¹⁴

Despite the Crawford earls' involvement in top level Scottish politics, twentieth century historians have generally ignored them. The only exceptions to this are Boardman's *The Early Stewart Kings; Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406*, and Coleman Parsons' article, 'A "Father of Scottish Courtesy" and Malory', appearing in *Speculum* in 1945.¹⁵ Boardman's work highlights

⁹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 47-50, 58-60.

¹⁰ e. g., *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 10-3.

¹¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 8, 10, 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 242, 242 n b.

¹³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162-3, 165-6, 173

¹⁴ *Chron. Boece* (1977), fo. ccxxxvii; *Chron. Extracta*, 203-4, Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 107.

¹⁵ Coleman Parsons, 'A "Father of Scottish Courtesy" and Malory', *Speculum* xx (1945): 51-64.

David 1st earl of Crawford and his father, Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk's participation in high-level Scottish politics. Parsons' article is highly eclectic, but makes the important point of showing Wyntoun's Arthurian sources in his description of David Lindsay of Glen Esk's activities in the 1392 battle of Glasclune. Besides this, the only other significant secondary source is Alexander Lindsay 25th earl of Crawford's 1849 *Lives of the Lindsays, or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*. It is a meticulously cited work of very wide scope, but with the methodological problems one expects in any mid-nineteenth century history including uncritical use of chronicles, such as when the author took Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's description of Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's submission to James II at face value, not questioning why one of the earl's relatives might wish to portray him in a favourable light.¹⁶

Much of this lack of attention to the Lindsays in modern literature may be related to sources. First, no primary source draws attention to the Lindsays, making them an obvious object of study the way John Barbour's *The Bruce* draws attention to James Douglas, detailing his career from its origins in the wars of independence to his death in Spain.¹⁷ Furthermore, no work on the Lindsays exists comparable to William Fraser's *The Douglas Book*, or his works on other Scottish families, in which large amounts of records are collected. Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres* includes some medieval material in an Appendix, but this is only the haziest of starting points.¹⁸ Similarly, the National Library of Scotland houses the vast Crawford Collection, which contains essential, but still not comprehensive, medieval holdings.¹⁹ Fortunately, upon searching, there are plenty more pieces of evidence of the Lindsays' activities in the Register of the Great Seal, Parliamentary records, Exchequer records, English safe conducts and diplomatic records, various lay

¹⁶ Alexander W. C. Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres* (London, 1849), 140-3.

¹⁷ John Barbour, *The Bruce*, A. A. M. Duncan, trans. & ed. (Edinburgh, 1997), 46-773.

¹⁸ Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, i, 410-89.

¹⁹ NLS Acc. 9769. This collection contains original documents, such as NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/31, as well as copies of charters, stamped and notarised, such as B/29/1, and other copies that bear no official stamp, such as B/33. Potentially complicating matters regarding these transcript records, George, 22nd Earl of Crawford died without offspring and unmarried in 1808, and his successor, James Lindsay earl of Balcarres, claimed the earldom by right of descent from David Lindsay of Edzell 9th earl of Crawford, and became the twenty-fourth earl of Crawford, which he pursued in a legal case between 1845 and 1848. He then pursued the duchy of Montrose in 1852 without success, which David 5th earl of Crawford (d. 1495) briefly held. See *SP*, ii, 511, iii, 22-3, 43-4. The dated transcripts date across this period, and beyond the Montrose case. See NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/26, B/29/1, B/28, B/34. If these peerage cases gave rise to forgery, it is not apparent, as the people, places and dates of the transcripts correspond and fit with the other evidence existing on the first four earls of Crawford, 1380-1453.

and ecclesiastical chartularies, Papal records, and in the National Archives of Scotland to form a good picture. There is also useful mention of the Lindsays in the chronicles previously discussed.

Each of these types of source presents its own problems. While records evidence can often be assumed to be accurate regarding place, date, and people involved, it only provides the briefest of snapshots. Documents' witness lists must be treated carefully, and it should not be assumed all present were close associates unless further evidence suggests this was so. Furthermore, sometimes records evidence can in fact be misleading or inaccurate. Roland Tanner has argued forcefully, for example, how the extraordinary circumstances of Robert I's reign resulted in that monarch's promulgation of several important acts of Parliament that bore the seals of men who probably did not support him, for the purpose of demonstrating widespread support that actually did not exist.²⁰ Indeed, exceptional circumstances during the scope of this thesis produced dubious acts of General Council and Parliament, including an act of Parliament exonerating James II of his killing of William 8th earl of Douglas in 1452.²¹

Exchequer records can help establish part of a magnate's income, show when payment was disrupted, indicate participation in government (such as service as justiciar or auditor of accounts), and indicate approximate dates of death. Safe conducts also present concerns, as the issuing of a safe conduct does not mean it was used. Thus, they must be correlated with other evidence to confirm travel abroad. Chronicles can prove most useful and most challenging, as one must always question the chronicler's intentions. Wyntoun and Bower both had very positive attitudes towards David Lindsay 1st earl of Crawford, even though he was involved in piracy, coups, and at least partially responsible for David duke of Rothesay's death. Likewise, the Auchinleck chronicler heavily stressed Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's disobedience to the crown, despite the fact he had occasionally served James II, even at crucial points during the king's conflict with the earls of Douglas.

Although the Lindsays have been studied little, late medieval Scottish politics have been vigorously studied and debated. Recent studies of Scottish kings have been prolific, such as *The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland* series treating the Stewart kings from

²⁰ Roland J. Tanner, 'Cowing the Community? Coercion and Falsification in Robert Bruce's Parliaments, 1309-1318' in *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560*, Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner, eds. (Edinburgh, 2004), 50-73.

²¹ *RPS*, 1452/6/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009. For an exoneration of Robert duke of Albany and Archibald 4th earl of Douglas for any part they played in David duke of Rothesay's death, issued in 1402, see *RPS*, 1402/5/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

Robert II to James V. There has also been much debate since the 1970s, over how effectively the Scottish government functioned, and how it related to its magnates. These themes have been expressed in articles such as J. Wormald, 'Taming the Magnates?', J. Wormald, 'The Exercise of Power', and A. Grant's 'Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Britain' and chapters in Grant's book, *Independence and Nationhood*. These historians, whose school of thought is called the 'New Orthodoxy' asserted Scotland was more peaceful than previously held, that there was not a strong belief in a right to resist royal authority, and that magnates were more willing to cooperate with the crown than previously thought. Michael Brown has argued against this school of thought in his articles 'Scotland Tamed?' and "'I have thus slain a tyrant": *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scots* and the right to resist in early fifteenth-century Scotland', asserting these previous authors do not properly account for violence in Scottish politics.²² Stephen Boardman also argued against the 'New Orthodoxy' in his doctoral thesis, 'Politics and the Feud in Late Medieval Scotland'. In it he demonstrated the way feud influenced national and court politics, also arguing that bonds of manrent were not necessarily a mark of a stable society, but were means of expanding territory, of 'pursuing and controlling feud', of acquiring allies, and of neutralising opponents.²³

There have also been notable monographs on late medieval Scottish magnate families, several of which can be seen, at least partially, to respond, to the 'heroes' and 'villains' aspect of Scottish history. In 1997, Alan Young examined the Comyn family in his monograph, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212-1314*. In 1998, Michael Brown's book, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* was published. In 2006 Stephen Boardman examined the Campbell family in his eponymous *The Campbells, 1250-1513*. Two years later, Amanda Beam's book, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210-1364* was published. While monographs on kings have generally intended, unsurprisingly, to examine Scottish politics from the royal perspective and provide more

²² Jenny Brown [Wormald], 'The Exercise of Power' in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, Jenny Brown [Wormald], ed. (London, 1977), 33-65; Michael Brown, 'Scotland Tamed? Kings and Magnates in Late Medieval Scotland: a review of recent work', in *The Innes Review* xlv (1994), 120-46; Michael Brown, "'I have thus slain a tyrant": *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scots* and the right to resist in early fifteenth-century Scotland', in *Innes Review* xlvii (1996), 24-44; Alexander Grant, 'The Nobility', 'The Machinery of Government', and 'Kings and Magnates' in *Independence and Nationhood* (Edinburgh 1984), 120-99; Alexander Grant, 'Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Britain' in *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, R. Mason, ed. (Edinburgh, 1987), 34-59; Roger Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland', in *JHR* lxvi (1987): 125-51; Jenny Wormald, 'Taming the Magntes' in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, Keith Stringer, ed. (Edinburgh, 1985), 270-9.

²³ Stephen I. Boardman, 'Politics and the Feud in Late Medieval Scotland' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1989), 429, 434.

rounded views of the king being examined, the magnatial studies have intended to show Scottish politics from the angle of magnates, and have often been partially concerned with sympathetically explaining their subjects' political activities.

This interest in sympathetically examining nobles must partly reflect the English medievalist K. B. McFarlane's interests, who suggested English medieval history was too king-biased and dismissive of the nobility as an inhibitor of strong royal authority.²⁴ Another factor may be the role of 'heroes' and 'villains' in Scottish history. James Douglas was lauded in Barbour's *The Bruce*, and the Balliol, Comyn, Campbell, and later heads of the Douglas family have acquired sinister reputations due to their cooperation with England or resistance to the Scottish crown, all views that needed revision. Young corrected the strong Bruce bias found in works stretching from Barbour to the present day, arguing that the Comyn family was politically very significant in Scotland between 1212 and 1314. In Young's interpretation, this was 'The Comyn Century'.²⁵ At the same time though, Young has faced some criticism, notably for his ardent assertion of the Scottish government's maturity, despite the infighting (in which the Comyns participated), occurring both after Alexander III's death and during his minority.²⁶ Norman MacDougall particularly took issue with Young's claim that the Comyns continued to be useful and loyal members of the political class from 1286, asserting that the guardianship created that year in April was not indicative of a mature government, but was rather

a provisional government, consisting of supporters of the two main contenders for the throne... hastily cobbled together... [and] almost immediately challenged by civil war.²⁷

Brown's *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* explores the Douglas family's participation in the politics and society of Scotland in narrative and discursive chapters, asserting that their role in warlordship in the borders of Scotland combined with their territorial power gave them a predominant position in Scotland.²⁸ It is a very solid work, but has been criticised for over-eager speculation at a few points, such as in his unsupported claim that Archibald 3rd earl of Douglas grew up

²⁴ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 2-6.

²⁵ Alan Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212-1314* (East Linton, 1997), 1-11, 209-10.

²⁶ Benjamin Hudson, review of *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212-1314*, by Alan Young, *Speculum* lxxiv (January 1999), 265; Young, *The Comyns*, 90-6.

²⁷ Norman MacDougall, review of *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212-1314*, by Alan Young, *English Historical Review* cxiv (June 1999), 688-9.

²⁸ Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton, 1998), 1-6, 332.

in France.²⁹ Boardman, in *The Campbells, 1250-1513*, approached the Campbell family in Scotland via political narrative, asserting any ‘opportunism, ruthlessness and aggression’ apparent in their activities were qualities successful magnates usually exhibited in late medieval Scotland.³⁰ Beam’s study of the Balliol family stresses its members’ multifarious estates in England, Scotland and France, and notes their interests and great importance in England, which only really became a problem when John Balliol II became king of Scots, dividing his interests as a Scottish king and English subject.³¹ She also observed how Scottish nobles, at the commencement of the wars of independence, often changed their political associations, a feature this thesis will show remained important in Scottish politics in the following century.³²

Late medieval Scots magnates have been studied both collectively and as individuals in articles and book chapters. Alexander Grant made several important points in his study of landholding and its relation to service in Scotland between 1314 and 1475, in which he forcefully rejected the assertion that homage clauses in charters were meaningless, instead claiming that some men still held land in exchange for service in 1475.³³ Letters of retinue, for example, which generally tied a man to a lord through cash payment had been used in the fourteenth century to bind men together, later began to decrease in use, perhaps because the falling value of Scottish currency would have decreased their value. As a result, bonds of manrent, which promised ‘good lordship’ were more frequently used.³⁴ Barbara Crawford’s article on William Sinclair earl of Orkney charted the progress of what Crawford perceived as ‘the grasping clutches of a land-hungry crown’ to acquire the Orkney earldom during the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁵ The crown successfully exploited marriage connections to Denmark and Norway, as well as legal loopholes, against attempts by the Sinclairs to purchase land in Orkney outside crown control. She observed the Sinclair position in the north ultimately collapsed after the death of the earl at Flodden in 1513, when the cadet families fell into conflict with each other over the earl’s lands.³⁶ David

²⁹ Darlene M. Hall, review of *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Scotland, 1300-1455*, by Michael Brown, *Albion*, xxxi (Winter, 1999), 706.

³⁰ Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), 6.

³¹ Amanda Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008), 1-8.

³² *Ibid.*, 268.

³³ Alexander Grant, ‘Service and Tenure in Late Medieval Scotland, 1314-1475’ in *Concept and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages*, Anne Curry and Elizabeth Matthew, eds. (Woodbridge, 2000), 177-9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 166-70

³⁵ Barbara E. Crawford, ‘William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival’ in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, Keith J. Stringer, ed. (Edinburgh, 1985), 232.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 232-49.

Ditchburn's article, 'The Pirate, the Policeman and the Pantomime Star: Aberdeen's Alternative Economy in the Early Fifteenth Century' addressed Alexander Stewart earl of Mar's connections to Aberdeen burgh and burgesses, the earl's involvement in piracy, and how earl and burgess could benefit each other.³⁷ Grant examined Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan's career in 'The Wolf of Badenoch', rating his career a 'failure', and suggesting he had little grasp of how to run a lordship.³⁸ Boardman's 'Lordship in the North-East: The Badenoch Stewarts I, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch' contested this, describing the various clashes and more cooperative moments between Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan and central government, and the difficulties Lowland political elites had with his style of lordship. Boardman also observed the similarities of Gaelic Scots lordship and lordship in Ireland, both of which were resurgent in the second half of the fourteenth century, and involved raiding and the maintenance of bands of warriors.³⁹ In a linked article, Michael Brown examined the career of Buchan's son, Alexander Stewart earl of Mar, concluding that Mar became the premier focus of leadership north of the Tay.⁴⁰ Aonghas MacCoinnich has examined the emergence of the MacKenzie (Clann Coinnich) family in the later half of the fifteenth century, from what he admits are few close contemporary sources. In it he observed that they had a close link to the MacDonald lords of the Isles, and that this may have informed some of their sixteenth and seventeenth century family histories, which stress the family's loyalty to the crown, probably calculated to play down the connection to the MacDonalds, who at the time, were seen as highly rebellious.⁴¹

Prior to these published works, late medieval Scottish magnates have been subjects of Ph. D. theses. In 1973, Michael Garhart Kelley completed his thesis, 'The Douglas Earls of Angus: A Study in the Social and Political Bases of Power of a Scottish Family from 1389 until 1557', examining the policies and landholding practices

³⁷ David Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman and the Pantomime Star: Aberdeen's Alternative Economy in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Northern Scotland* xii (1992): 19-34.

³⁸ Alexander Grant, 'The Wolf of Badenoch', in *Moray: Province and People*, W. D. H. Sellar, ed. (Edinburgh, 1993), 142-161.

³⁹ Stephen Boardman, 'Lordship in the North-East: The Badenoch Stewarts I, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch', in *Northern Scotland* xvi (1996): 1-29.

⁴⁰ Michael Brown, 'Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland: The Badenoch Stewarts II, Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', in *Northern Scotland* xvi (1996): 31-53.

⁴¹ Aonghas MacCoinnich, "'Kingis rabellis" to "Cuidich 'n Righ"? Clann Choinnich: the emergence of a kindred, c.1475-c.1514' in *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500*, Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross eds. (Dublin, 2003), 175-99.

of the earls of Angus in intense detail.⁴² Charles Kelham's thesis, 'Bases of Magnatial Power in Later Fifteenth-Century Scotland' examined, via case studies, the affinities of David 5th earl of Crawford, James 1st earl of Morton, and Alexander duke of Albany, asserting that magnates tended to have a small 'core' of principal advisors with many extraneous associations, which ultimately gave the three magnates examined strong power bases. Also, he observed most men who were in magnates' affinities were described as the magnates' kinsmen. He asserted lesser lords ultimately chose a magnate who was useful to them, and that it was not the other way around; magnates had men serving them because they were already strong.⁴³

Naturally, studies of magnatial lordship have been made outside of Scottish history. Scotland's neighbour to the south is an obvious point of comparison. Due to the difference between the English and Scottish governments' goals, administrative development, size, and financial resources, it has recently been questioned by Michael Brown whether English and Scottish lordships bear comparison.⁴⁴ Despite these differences, Scottish historians can probably benefit from looking south of the Tweed. Chris Given-Wilson has observed the highly politicised nature of the acquisition of earldoms in fourteenth century England, as most earls never actually inherited their earldoms.⁴⁵ There were certainly similar developments in Scotland with the creations of the earldoms of Moray (1312), Wigtown (1341), Douglas (1358), and Crawford (1398), as well as the creations of earldoms such as Errol in James II's reign.⁴⁶ Despite the somewhat more fragmented lordships of England, Given-Wilson noted magnates could be strong and maintain local authority in the face of kings; similarly he observed nobles' local interests driving their participation in national politics.⁴⁷ Again, these are themes at the very least relevant to the earls of Crawford. Anthony Tuck's assertion, that by Edward I's reign English magnates desired influence over the king more than they desired a monopoly of influence in a particular region is a theme historians of late

⁴² Michael Garhart Kelley, 'The Douglas Earls of Angus: A Study in the Social and Political Bases of Power of a Scottish Family from 1389 until 1557', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973).

⁴³ Charles Kelham, 'Bases of Magnatial Power in Later Fifteenth-Century Scotland', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1986), 348-52, 359.

⁴⁴ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 5.

⁴⁵ Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), 53-4

⁴⁶ G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm* (Edinburgh, 2005), 360; Brown, *Black Douglases*, 49; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12; Michael Penman, *David II, 1329-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004), 82-3.

⁴⁷ Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 166-73, 178-9.

medieval Scotland might observe in their own field;⁴⁸ while it is undeniable Scotland was highly regionalised, the various guardianships in the last years of the fourteenth century, and struggles of James II's minority between 1437 and 1449 certainly suggest magnates maintained great interest in dominating central politics. Indeed, the first and fourth earls of Crawford spent much time around the royal court, surely attempting to influence royal government.

Examination of lordship in Ireland, especially in the work of Robin Frame, is also relevant for Scottish historians since Ireland (like Scotland) was highly regionalised. Much like Scotland, Ireland was incompletely settled by Anglo-Norman lords starting in the twelfth century, with some of its institutions being English imports. The survival of Gaelic lords and institutions, combined with the hilly and boggy nature of Ireland meant that it remained regionalised and that Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish lords who based their power on their military strength, frequently came into contact, both to compete and cooperate.⁴⁹ Furthermore, West Highland and Gaelic Irish soldiers often interacted in Ireland, and carried similar weapons and wore similar armour.⁵⁰ The regional nature of Ireland, combined with the conflict between Anglo-Irish lords (English lords born in Ireland, nominally loyal to the English crown) and Gaelic-Irish lords created patterns of lordship which would not be unfamiliar to late medieval Scottish historians. The de Burgh earls of Ulster, who were major regional magnates and generally beyond the control of the crown, were able to maintain their lordship through maintenance of powerful military retinues, in a way similar to the earls of Douglas. When the de Burgh line failed to produce male offspring their whole region fell into disarray, not unlike the northeast of Scotland in 1435 after the death of Alexander earl of Mar.⁵¹ Similarly, much as Alexander earl of Mar's father, Alexander earl of Buchan (d. 1405) prospered through 'going native' and adopting a Highland style of lordship and employing Highland warriors to enforce his position in northeastern Scotland, so the Irish earls of Desmond were just one Anglo-Irish kindred who maintained their position by courting and employing Gaelic lords.⁵² Indeed, the earls of

⁴⁸ Anthony Tuck, *Crown and Nobility, 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1985), 9.

⁴⁹ Robin Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450* (London, 1998), 191-5.

⁵⁰ David H. Caldwell, 'Having the right kit: West Highlanders fighting in Ireland' in *The World of the Gallonglass: Kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200-1600*, Seán Duffy, ed. (Dublin, 2007), 151-68.

⁵¹ Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, 195-6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 198-9.

Crawford themselves would have their own various competitive and cooperative meetings with Highland lords.

Next, there has been a great deal of scholarship on lordship in Scotland in the period preceding the late middle ages, and it is worthwhile to examine it, not only because some of the questions historians ask of the period up to the early fourteenth century can pertain to lordship in late medieval Scotland, but also because it demonstrates some of the processes which produced the noble and political cultures of late medieval Scotland. Indeed, much like the late medieval period, Scotland between c. 1100 and 1290 was a place dominated by regional magnates and thin on administration, in comparison to England.⁵³ Although the extent and extension of royal power are common themes throughout the sweep of medieval history in Scotland, a unique theme to the examination of Scotland prior to the turn of the fourteenth century is a vigorous debate over the extent in Scotland of 'feudalism', the system in which a vassal or knight held a fief, typically land, in exchange for his pledge of service to a lord. One of the ways feudal customs were extended into Scotland was through royal grants to nobles, usually of Anglo-French backgrounds. There has naturally been much discussion of how much Anglo-French culture impacted upon Gaelic culture, and how effectively the Gaelic Scots resisted these new influences. This is partly because kings of Scots can be shown to have just as readily formed relationships with and granted offices to the native Gaelic lords in Scotland as they did with Anglo-French lords. By the late middle ages in Scotland the terms 'native' and 'non-native' are obsolete, since Gaelic and Anglo-French families had lived, intermarried, and reproduced in Scotland for generations, but still, the interplay between those lords in the Highlands speaking Gaelic, and those lords in the Lowlands who spoke English or French and identified more with mainstream English and Continental European culture was and is still a pertinent issue.

The extent of feudalism in Scotland, and the power of the crown are inextricably linked subjects. These are issues treated in Keith Stringer's monograph on Earl David of Huntingdon (d. 1219), a major landholder in England and Scotland and the younger brother of William I king of Scots (d. 1214). In his assessment of Earl David's career, Stringer saw Earl David as a major force of change within Scotland, bringing feudal practices to the places he held land, and at the same time, through the same process, extending royal power to those areas. Still, David was a major English

⁵³ Keith J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon, 1152-1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 9.

landholder, and pursued his interests in England whenever possible. Regardless, Stringer stressed David's role in Scotland with the examples of Garioch, Inverurie, and Dundee. He suggested that William I created Garioch in Aberdeenshire, granting it to Earl David, who worked to feudalise the region, partly as a way of resisting the MacWilliam family who were based around Moray and had been vigorous rebels since the reign of David I. The MacWilliams descended from an illegitimate great-grandson of Malcolm III king of Scots' (d. 1093) first wife, Ingebjorg. It was through this connection they pursued their claim to the throne of Scotland.⁵⁴ From Inverurie castle and burgh in Garioch, Earl David was able to project his, and vicariously the king's power into the region.⁵⁵ In Stringer's estimation,

[a]n ancient authority over the land and people was being absorbed into a pattern of strong aristocratic *dominium*; as far as was possible and desirable, the assertion of power was being taken one stage further to a more direct form of land ownership.⁵⁶

Stringer claimed David's feudalising influence was felt elsewhere, in Dundee and even on the west coast, in Lennox. He noted the earl's foundation of the burgh of Dundee on the north bank of the Tay as a major factor in the increase of trade and urbanisation in Tayside.⁵⁷ At the same time though, Stringer thought Dundee contrasted with Inverurie; while the burgh of Inverurie existed to support the motte and bailey castle, at Dundee, the castle was just an appanage of a burgh founded as a major port for commerce.⁵⁸ Regarding Lennox, which David only held briefly in the 1170s, Stringer argued that its possession by David 'helped to prepare the way for the gradual inclusion of the western Highlands and Isles within the wider administrative framework of the *regnum Scotie*'.⁵⁹ For Stringer, the foundation of burghs, the building of castles, and the introduction of charter lordship were all powerful features that brought great change to the way Scotland was ruled.

Ruth Blakely took a similar view towards the career of the Bruce lords of Annandale, whose receipt of Annandale, she argued, was a clear move by David I of Scotland to extend his power into Southeastern Scotland. In her opinion, the Bruce family was brought to Scotland to feudalise and control Annandale. She pointed out

⁵⁴ G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), 51, 180; A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292* (Edinburgh, 2002), 6; Stringer, *Earl David*, 30-5, 58-68.

⁵⁵ Stringer, *Earl David*, 68-74.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 74-6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-8.

that Robert Bruce I (d. 1142), the first Bruce lord in Scotland, had previous experience tying autonomous regions to central authority, as he had been settled in Cleveland in Yorkshire which Henry I had granted him, which had previously been outside of close crown control. Throughout this time in Cleveland, Robert Bruce I had maintained connections with David, heir to the throne of Scotland. This suggests David may have chosen to grant Robert Annandale because he knew of Robert's experience at Cleveland in Yorkshire, expecting the same service in Annandale. It may be no surprise only Anglo-French lords witnessed this grant of Annandale.⁶⁰

Neither Stringer nor Blakely claimed that the over-awing force of Anglo-French-imposed feudalisation with which they characterised the careers of Earl David and Robert Bruce I applied to every part of Scotland. Indeed, other authors have offered counter-examples, centering around Gaelic lords and lordships, suggesting the extension of feudalism was far from complete or inevitable. For example, Richard Oram, in his study of the Lordship of Galloway, which was ruled by lords of Gaelic background, made an important observation about mottes, which are usually considered a mark of feudalisation. He stated that although there are many mottes (man-made hills, at the top of which a wooden castle was constructed) scattered throughout Galloway, none of them actually have a bailey, which was an enclosed outer area used for garrisoning troops. Instead, he asserted these mottes are best seen as a statement of authority, rather than a projection of power. Furthermore, there is plenty of evidence that native lords were building and occupying mottes, even into the thirteenth century, when they were becoming obsolete. Therefore, there was little reason to interpret mottes, at least in Galloway, as symbols of foreign colonisation and domination.⁶¹ This use of mottes by native lords is something Oram also noted in his study of the Gaelic earls and earldom of Mar between 1150 and 1300. Here, he asserted the presence of mottes is an indication the earls of Mar were willing and able to participate in feudal culture.⁶²

Stephen Driscoll, on the other hand, has provided a slightly different interpretation of mottes and motte and bailey castles in Scotland in an article on the mechanisms of state power in early and high medieval Scotland, in which he analyses

⁶⁰ Ruth M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100-1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), 9, 23-4.

⁶¹ Richard Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), 218-31.

⁶² Richard Oram, 'Continuity, adaptation and integration: the earls and earldom of Mar, c.1150-c.1300' in *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500*, Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross, eds. (Dublin, 2003), 58-60.

power-centres, which he defined as ‘arena[s] where social relations are negotiated’.⁶³ Although his interpretation is generally in line with Stringer, that mottes were ways to project power militarily, he argued that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many royal and even comital centres were not actually militarised, and contain no evidence of mottes.⁶⁴ Also, he observed that seats of thanages, administrative units under the control of a thane appointed by the king, were generally devoid of any motte or military architecture, asserting that rule was more ceremonial than martial.⁶⁵ Instead, he claimed that where motte and bailey castles do occur, along with feudal lordship, that these were expedients implemented where militarised lordship was particularly desirable, and that there was no concerted effort to bring ‘Normanisation on an English Model’ to all parts of Scotland.⁶⁶ Perhaps his strongest argument in favour of this is that motte and bailey castles seem to occur most frequently where there thanages did *not* exist.⁶⁷

There is other literature that suggests, as Driscoll did, that the appearance of feudal customs such as mottes in Gaelic lordships was the result of Gaelic lords aiding and cooperating with the crown. Indeed, Oram claimed the introduction of feudal features into Galloway was the result of the lords of Galloway beginning to move more in Anglo-French circles, and engaging with feudal culture. He also asserted most of the lords of Galloway’s tenants probably remained Gaelic, with Anglo-French lords settling on the peripheries of the lordship.⁶⁸ At the same time, R. Andrew McDonald argued, similarly, that although Scotland was ‘Normanized’, this was accomplished through ‘infiltration’, and that the ‘Normanization’ was accomplished ‘by adoption rather than conquest’.⁶⁹ He observed that the Gaelic Easter Ross lord, Ferchar Maccintsacairt, was serving Alexander II of Scotland by 1215, and helping the king put down the MacWilliam and MacHeth rebellions in Moray. Ferchar engaged quite closely with the Anglo-French culture, accepting knighthood and founding a Premonstratensian house

⁶³ Stephen T. Driscoll, ‘Formalising the mechanisms of state power: early Scottish lordship from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries’ in *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Sally Foster et. al. eds. (Glasgow, 1998), 34.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 43-7.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 37-46.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 52.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 39-40

⁶⁸ Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 191-213.

⁶⁹ R. Andrew McDonald, ‘Old and New in the far North: Ferchar Maccintsacairt and the early earls of Ross, c.1200-1274’ in *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500*, Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross, eds. (Dublin, 2003), 23.

at Fearn, suggesting he was also in touch with the current ecclesiastical trends in the Anglo-French world.⁷⁰

The best way, perhaps, to marry these rather contrasting views of the introduction of feudal practices to Scotland can be found in an essay written by Alexander Grant in 2007. He built on Driscoll's analysis, arguing that Scotland was really a patchwork of old and new customs, and that although authors like Rees Davies, A. A. M. Duncan, and Geoffrey Barrow have argued strongly in favour of the relentless power of feudalisation, this is not the best model for Scotland, where native features remained fairly strong.⁷¹ Grant argued, instead, that what remained of the old kingdom of *Alba* that was not under Gaelic regional magnates was under royal control, and that the crown created sheriffs to run these lands, next settling Anglo-French incomers there.⁷² For Grant, Clydesdale is an excellent example of the crown inserting feudal and Anglo-French governmental measures into places not dominated by a native Gaelic magnate, as Clydesdale was lacking a major Gaelic lord, and ripe for Malcolm IV's and William I's policies of Anglo-French settlement. Although Grant claimed some native power figures probably remained significant in Clydesdale politics after the Anglo-French settlement, they nevertheless had an 'inferior' status, demonstrated by the fact that native lords could owe merchet to their superiors (the right of disposing of the marriage of a daughter) as well as be owed it by their tenants, whereas Anglo-French lords were only ever owed merchet.⁷³ Grant closed though, tempering this observation with his statement that at the same time there was racial integration taking place, and that conflict between native and newcomer should not be over-stressed.⁷⁴

This naturally leads into deeper discussion of the relationships between native Gaelic lords and Anglo-French lords, including discussion of their retinues, how they related with the crown, and how they related with each other – all issues relevant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Perhaps one of the most vigorous defences of the strength and continuity of Gaelic lordship in Scotland can be found in the work of Cynthia Neville, particularly her 2005 book, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365*. She argued that when assessing Gaelic lords' reaction to the advance of feudalism and royal authority, the rebellions of the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 38-9, 41.

⁷¹ Alexander Grant, 'Lordship and Society in Twelfth-century Clydesdale' in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*, Huw Pryce and John Watts, eds. (Oxford, 2007), 98-100.

⁷² Grant, 'Lordship and Society', 98-100. '*Alba*' was Scotland south and east of the Great Glen.

⁷³ Ibid., 121-2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 122-4.

lords of Galloway and MacWilliam kindreds represents only one, extreme end of a continuum; at the other end, one finds the earls of Fife, who willingly adopted feudal customs in exchange for a close connection to the crown. Between these points one finds most other Gaelic lords.⁷⁵ As a corollary to this, she also asserted that the picture of the native lord slowly adapting to the unceasing pressure of the advance of feudalism is a fallacy, claiming instead that Gaelic lords passively resisted feudalism, adapting it to their own customs, while actively attempting to preserve Gaelic culture. For Gaelic lords, the advance of feudal practices and Anglo-French lords was probably unsettling, as they introduced new ways of holding land, new languages, new customs, concern with written documentation, and new ways of determining wealth.⁷⁶ For Neville, Anglo-French culture's celebration of 'customs, practices, values, social ties, and political relationships that were alien to the indigenous hierarchy' was bound to cause 'tension'.⁷⁷ The result was that when the native Gaelic systems engaged with the practices of the Anglo-French lords, they produced a new style of 'hybrid' lordship described accurately as neither 'European' nor 'native'.⁷⁸

One way of examining this give-and-take between Gaelic and Anglo-French lords is through examining their retinues and settlement patterns. Keith Stringer and Grant Simpson have examined the retinues of the major Anglo-Scottish landholders, Earl David of Huntingdon and Roger Quincy earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland, while Cynthia Neville has treated the retinues of the earls of Strathearn and Lennox in a book and an article. One of the most systematic, if also very arbitrary ways historians have examined magnatial retinues is the 'inner circle'/'outer circle' analysis. The goal of this analysis is to determine who the earls' closest councillors were by identifying them with the 'inner circle'. In this form of analysis, the names of all the witnesses to the magnate's charters are correlated with the number of times they witnessed. They are next ranked from most frequent to most infrequent, and then this master list is divided into two lists at an arbitrary point, creating an 'inner circle' list and

⁷⁵ Cynthia J. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox, c.1140-1365* (Dublin, 2005), 3, 10.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 10.

an ‘outer circle’ list.⁷⁹ Stringer and Simpson both divided the ‘inner circle’ from the ‘outer circle at six instances of witnessing and five instances of witnessing, respectively. Neville drew the line between ten and eight as there was no witness who witnessed exactly nine of Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn’s surviving charters.⁸⁰ This is perhaps not the most useful way to analyse these men’s retinues, if only because it is a given that some of the charters and other documents they issued are lost. Grant Simpson himself admitted one of this method’s flaws is that if one figure was highly significant over a short space of time, the ‘inner circle’/‘outer circle’ analysis will not reflect this.⁸¹ Stringer’s discussion of Richard Lindsay and David Lindsay’s place within Earl David of Huntingdon’s retinue is perhaps the best example of how arbitrary this method is. Although Stringer distinguished Richard as a member of the earl’s inner circle because he witnessed six charters, he stated that David Lindsay’s witnessing of five charters was ‘sufficient to place him in [Earl David of Huntingdon’s] outer circle’.⁸² It would take only the text of one lost charter witnessed by David Lindsay to change Stringer’s interpretation of David Lindsay’s place within Earl David of Huntingdon’s retinue.⁸³ Given that the two most frequent witness to Earl David’s charters witnessed twenty-two and twelve surviving charters, respectively,⁸⁴ one wonders if it would not have been best simply to state that both David Lindsay and Richard Lindsay appear to have been of middling importance to Earl David.

Fortunately, this is only one of the ways historians have examined twelfth and thirteenth century lords’ retinues. One of the most striking features about the retinues of Scottish lords was how racially exclusive they could be, particularly the retinues of Anglo-French lords such as Roger Quincy and Earl David of Huntingdon. Gaelic lords, like the earls of Strathearn and Lennox both tended to keep Gaelic retinues, though this slowly changed as the decades progressed.⁸⁵ Earl David of Huntingdon

⁷⁹ Cynthia Neville, ‘A Celtic Enclave in Norman Scotland: Earl Gilbert and the Earldom of Strathearn, 1171-1223’ in *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c.1050-c.1650* (East Linton, 2000), 87; Grant G. Simpson, ‘The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland’ in *Essays on the Nobility of Scotland*, K. J. Stringer, ed. (Edinburgh, 1985), 108-9; Stringer, *Earl David*, 156-7. It should be noted that Cynthia Neville eschewed this form of analysis when she returned to the earls of Strathearn and Lennox in her 2005 monograph, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox*, c. 1140-1365.

⁸⁰ The Gaelic name, ‘Gille Brigte’, has sometimes been rendered in English as ‘Gilbert’, but for consistency ‘Gille Brigte’ will be used in this thesis.

⁸¹ Simpson, ‘The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy’, 107.

⁸² Stringer, *Earl David*, 160.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁸⁵ Neville, *Native Lordship*, 72-8.

appears to have employed men with Anglo-French names, and also appears to have kept the company primarily of Englishmen.⁸⁶ According to Stringer, the predominance of Englishmen on David's council resulted not from David's preference for England, but rather was a policy on David's part to solidify his position in England, where he was politically weaker than in Scotland.⁸⁷ He also appears not to have had many kinsmen in his retinue, nor were major landholders frequent witnesses to his charters, perhaps because they had too many issues of their own to which to attend to be hangers-on of Earl David.⁸⁸ Last, Stringer observed that while landless knights did make up part of David's retinue, they did not prosper there; generally the earl made grants of land to men who already had it, probably paying his landless knights with *fiefs-rentes*, which were essentially annuities.⁸⁹

Grant Simpson, in his analysis of Roger Quincy earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland, a major cross-border landholder like Earl David of Huntingdon, came to several similar conclusions. He found that Roger's major tenants were only part of his outer circle, and that he had a core of landless knights who apparently accompanied him when he was in England or in Scotland, and were bound to him personally, who may have been paid with *fiefs-rentes*.⁹⁰ Also, like Earl David, Earl Roger's most frequent charter witnesses were primarily English, even if his outer-circle was more international in makeup. At the same time, though, Saher of St Andrews, far and away the most frequent witness to Roger's surviving charters, was a landholder in England and Scotland.⁹¹ Last, a glance at Simpson's table of Earl Roger's witnesses to surviving charters suggests that if there were many Gaelic lords amongst them, they had been given, or assumed Anglo-French names.⁹²

Although the retinues of these twelfth and thirteenth century Anglo-French magnates were apparently devoid of nobles of Gaelic stock, these Highlander lords could not claim there was no place for themselves in Scottish politics. Neville's work on the earls of Strathearn and Lennox shows some trends which contrast with the above analyses. First, she observed that Gille Brigte earl of Strathearn's (d. 1223) chief tenants tended to be his close blood relatives, whom he sometimes granted lands which he had

⁸⁶ Stringer, *Earl David*, 162-3.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 161-2, 174.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 166-7, 172-3.

⁹⁰ Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy', 120-2

⁹¹ Ibid., 116, 122-3.

⁹² Ibid., 108-9.

received outside of his earldom, such as Glencarnie, and that he was careful not to let Anglo-French incomers acquire much land within his earldom.⁹³ Similarly, his most frequent witnesses were of Gaelic background.⁹⁴ Earl Gille Brigte's policy of entrusting his family members with lands seems to have been very useful not only for him, but for his and his relatives' successors, as the case of the earls of Strathearn and lords of Glencarnie suggests. After Alexander II's death and Alexander III's succession as a minor in the middle of the thirteenth century, both Malise II Earl of Strathearn and Gille Brigte lord of Glencarnie worked together with Henry III of England and Alan Durward to depose Walter Comyn earl of Menteith from his premier position in the minority government of Scotland. Durward subsequently granted the lord of Glencarnie lands as reward for his cooperation.⁹⁵ Later, Gille Brigte lord of Glencarnie III and Malise III earl of Strathearn can even be found cooperating during the early years of the wars of independence.⁹⁶ These differences between Earl Gille Brigte's practices and Anglo-French practices did not result from ignorance or alienation, though, as Earl Gille Brigte (d. 1223) had been in Valognes in France with Henry II and William I of Scotland for a stretch of time beginning in 1174, and was a frequent charter witness to William I early in his career.⁹⁷ This all suggests the relationship and interaction between Gaelic and Anglo-French lords is best described as complex.

Focusing on the settlement of land reveals a similar trends. Until the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it appears that the earls of Strathearn and Lennox's main landholders were Gaelic, and that, like the Gaelic landholders, any incoming Anglo-French landholders may have held their lands informally, without a charter, which indicates these Anglo-French lords were adapting to Gaelic practices.⁹⁸ Furthermore, when marrying off daughters, it was not uncommon for Gille Brigte earl of Strathearn to grant as tocher, lands on the easternmost edges of his earldom, to minimise the impact on his over-all territory, as when his daughter, Ethne, married Sir David Hay.⁹⁹ Until 'well into' the thirteenth century, the earls of Strathearn had a clear policy of only infefting newcomers and sons-in-law on the eastern edges of their

⁹³ Neville, *Native Lordship*, 41, 46-7.

⁹⁴ Neville, 'A Celtic Enclave', 86-7.

⁹⁵ Alasdair Ross, 'The lords and lordship of Glencarnie' in *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c. 1200-1500*, Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross, eds. (Dublin, 2003), 165-6.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Cynthia J. Neville, 'The Earls of Strathearn from the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century, with an edition of their written acts' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1983), vol. 1, 58-9.

⁹⁸ Neville, *Native Lordship*, 43.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 49.

territory, keeping control of their central lands, or disposing them to Gaelic lords.¹⁰⁰ This was not a settlement pattern unique to Strathearn, as Oram noticed an almost identical practice used by the lords of Galloway, in which they settled Anglo-French incomers on their peripheral zones.¹⁰¹

From the middle of the thirteenth century, Neville asserted a combination of intermarriage between Anglo-French and Gaelic landholders, and land-grants to Anglo-French beneficiaries closer to the core of Gaelic earldoms brought the Anglo-French and Gaelic landholders together, and what resulted was a degree of hybridisation and mixing between the styles of lordship. At the same time, the 'inner circle' of the Gaelic earls appears to have disappeared as attested by witness lists, and instead they seem to have sought out the most powerful Anglo-French lords available to serve as witnesses, even though these men were not apparently closely attached to the Gaelic earls. During this period, earls and their chief supporters began to warm more to the idea of knighthood, whereas earlier they seem to have been indifferent to it. Further evidence of the hybridisation of lordship, though, is attested by the fact that both Anglo-French as well as Gaelic customs were mentioned side-by-side on charters.¹⁰²

In contrast to the views that focus on the push and pull between Gaelic and Anglo-French incomers, Matthew Hammond rejected the 'Norman vs. Native' model, stating that some institutions from each grouping of people were convenient to use politically, and thus were exploited. It was not so much the competition between Gaelic lords and Anglo-French lords which ought to be the focus, but rather, general competition for political supremacy, stripped of racial overtones.¹⁰³ It was this competition, often among second-tier families struggling for earldoms or major offices one needs to understand, to understand the politics of Scotland in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Hammond argued that kings were generally interested in having powerful friends, regardless of their background.¹⁰⁵ To help illustrate these features, Hammond used the example of the Durward family, who were a second tier noble family, probably of native stock, and whose members rose to the top rank of Scottish politics, largely through service to the crown. Initially they served as the Doorwards, or

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 53.

¹⁰¹ Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 191-213, especially 211-2.

¹⁰² Neville, *Native Lordship*, 72-8.

¹⁰³ Matthew H. Hammond, 'Hostarii Regis Scotie: the Durward family in the thirteenth century' in *The exercise of power in medieval Scotland, c1200-1500*, Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross, eds. (Dublin, 2003), 118-9.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Ushers to the king, but later acquired the office of justiciar, the lordship of Urquhart and a marriage alliance to an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II.¹⁰⁶ The Durwards ultimately failed to remain in the top tier of Scottish politics partially because they were unable to secure hereditary possession of an earldom, and because the Comyn family co-opted the Durwards' allies through marriage alliances.¹⁰⁷

Even Cynthia Neville, who wished to stress in her work the survival of Gaelic culture in the earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox conceded that by the middle two quarters of the fourteenth century the earls of Strathearn and Lennox were engaged with the government of Scotland and wider European culture, despite having maintained much of their kin-based style of lordship. Indeed, there were several mechanisms causing this change. These included marriage alliances between Gaelic and Anglo-French families, acquisition of lands outside of their original domains either by marriage or royal grant, royal grants of offices, and most powerfully, the imposition of feudal inheritance customs when their last male possessors had died without producing a male heir.

Marriage, land acquisition, and service in royal offices are all fairly inseparable as methods of tying Gaelic lords to the crown, and will be treated together. The lords of Galloway serve as one example of this process. Roland lord of Galloway (d. 1200) was not the first lord of Galloway to have had an Anglo-French wife; his father, Uhtred (d. 1174) had been married to Gunnilda, daughter of Waltheof of Allerdale, and Fergus, the first lord of Galloway on record had been married to an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Oram felt that because Roland had married into the Morville family and acquired significant estates outside Galloway, his outlook changed, and he looked more to the east, rather than to the Irish Sea world, which had been the orientation of the lordship during Fergus' time. He noted that when Roland died, he was in England, pursuing his right to Morville estates.¹⁰⁹ The career and outlook of Roland's son, Alan, followed a similar, if exaggerated pattern. Alan acquired the office of constable of Scotland, giving him a prominent military role, which may have helped tie him more closely to the crown.¹¹⁰ Stringer agreed with this assessment, noting that

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 121-2.

¹⁰⁷ Hammond, 'The Durward Family', 124-6, 134-5; Young, *The Comyns*, 14-5.

¹⁰⁸ Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 67, 108, 268.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 100-8.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 135.

Alan maintained many connections with the Anglo-French, that many of his charter witnesses were Anglo-French, and that this naturally linked him to the wider Anglo-French world.¹¹¹

Oram also noted several similar features taking place during William earl of Mar's (d. 1281) career, which linked the earl of Mar more closely to the crown and wider European aristocratic culture.¹¹² Earl William took as his first wife a daughter of the Anglo-French lord, William Comyn earl of Buchan. His second wife, although a daughter of the Gaelic earl of Strathearn, brought him lands in Northumberland.¹¹³ Oram placed special significance on the Strathearn marriage, stating that it set 'the seal on the transformation of the Mars from Gaelic provincial earls into fully-fledged members of the international aristocracy of north-western Europe'.¹¹⁴ He felt that although William's strength emanated from Mar, he and his heirs had a view that looked further afield.¹¹⁵ In Oram's assessment,

[.]andholding outwith this traditional heartland, and marriage into the wider political elite, began to erode the ancient associations of the earls with their province and to produce a nobility which was more surely 'Scottish' in its ambitions and activities.¹¹⁶

At the same time though, these forces were not overwhelming, and it might be best to assume that how much a Gaelic lord engaged with the wider world may have been, to some degree, a combination of personal choice, combined with individual circumstances. Neville's examination of Earl Gille Brigte of Strathearn (d. 1223) certainly suggests this. On the one hand, she pointed out that Gille Brigte was married to an Anglo-French woman, Maud d'Aubigny, and that he served as justiciar of Scotland North of the Forth, and founded the reformed Augustinian priory of Inchaffray, though he seems to have withdrawn from politics after his son died in 1198 and took a Gaelic woman, Iseulte of Kinbuck as his second wife.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, Neville made an analysis of his career before his apparent retirement, observing that Earl Gille Brigte's

¹¹¹ Keith J. Stringer, 'Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: Alan son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland' in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community*, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds. (Edinburgh, 1993), 97-101.

¹¹² *APS*, i, 423; *CDS*, ii, 201; Oram, 'Continuity, adaptation and integration', 61; *SP*, v, 576. Note: All references to the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland [CDS]* are to entry numbers.

¹¹³ Oram, 'Continuity, adaptation and integration', 61, 63-5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Neville, 'A Celtic Enclave', 79; Neville, 'Earls of Strathearn', i, 63-4; Neville, *Native Lordship*, 23, 41, 48.

appointment to the very senior office of justiciar of Scotia at various times in the last two decades of the twelfth century makes it clear that the lord of Strathearn was neither impervious to royal pressure to assume a position of responsibility in the government, nor reluctant to partake of the prestige and opportunity for advancement that access to the royal court promised.¹¹⁸

This is both jarring in the respect that it suggests that high office came with significant drawbacks, but hard to deny at the same time, since the justiciarship required Earl Gille Brigte to work within royal administration and acknowledge royal superiority in a very clear way. A century and a half later, possession of this office would be seen purely as boon.

The most effective mechanism for change in Gaelic lordship, though, was based partially on luck, combined with the extension of feudal customs to succession when a Gaelic lord produced only heiresses. Galloway provides a very striking example of this process, which occurred after Alan lord of Galloway's death in 1234. Following Alan's death, Alexander II split the lordship into three parts inherited by Alan's three heiresses.¹¹⁹ A rebellion in Galloway followed this division, which Stringer argued occurred not because the imposition of royal control offended the Galwegians, but rather because the lordship was not to fall to a single leader, which would have probably occurred had Gaelic succession customs been applied.¹²⁰ In Oram's interpretation though, before Alan died, he, and his lordship had been fully incorporated into the wider Anglo-Scottish world, and its breakup after his death merely had sprung the 'trap' that had essentially been laid by the

process of steady, creeping domination and assimilation that, if anything, had accelerated towards a conclusion during the illusory independence of his reign as lord of Galloway.¹²¹

This division of land was not so much a new beginning, but rather the end of the process.¹²²

Galloway was not the only lordship and kindred to face succession problems. As Hammond detailed above, part of the reason Alan Durward's faction disintegrated was due to the fact that his only legitimate offspring were daughters, who were married off. As a result, his illegitimate descendants who can be detected as late as the

¹¹⁸ Neville, *Native Lordship*, 41.

¹¹⁹ Stringer, 'Periphery and Core', 82.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 101-2.

¹²¹ Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 264-7.

¹²² Ibid.

fourteenth century maintained very little power and influence.¹²³ Last, the earldom of Caithness stands out as another non-Anglo-French lordship where the king used a succession crisis to intrude his allies by splitting the earldom and marrying its heiresses to his allies, one of whom was married to the earl of Angus who was of Gaelic stock, but loyal to the king.¹²⁴

The matter of Caithness raises the issue of cross-border landholding on the island of Great Britain, as it was not uncommon for lords in Scotland to hold lands for which they owed allegiance to a monarch other than the King of Scots. In most circumstances, this was land in England, though the earls of Caithness stood out as owing allegiance to the Kings of Norway for their other earldom of Orkney.¹²⁵ This particular pattern in the furthest north regions of Scotland stood out because the kings of Scotland found it unacceptable, whereas they appear to have been fairly tolerant of lords paying homage to the King of England for lands there. At the same time though, Caithness posed problems for the kings of Scots as it, and its earl, were more closely tied to Norway by sea travel, and geographically divided from the rest of mainland Scotland by mountains.¹²⁶ Thus, kings of Scots were eager to bring the earls of Caithness more firmly under their control, though they had mixed results.¹²⁷ The introduction of a bishop to Caithness in the twelfth century, appointed by the Scottish king, threatened the sphere of influence not only of the earl of Orkney and Caithness, but also of the bishop of Orkney who was often close to the earl. The bishops' attempts to impose new tiends (tithes) resulted in violent backlashes, one of which saw one Scottish bishop of Caithness, Adam, burned to death in circumstances which the *bondi* (free farmers) of Caithness, and the earls of Orkney and Caithness, were both equally implicated in various sources. After these events, the bishop's seat was moved south, from Thurso to Dornoch, further from the influence of Orkney and closer to the sphere of influence of Gilbert of Moray, who was friendly to the Scottish crown.¹²⁸ William I, Alexander II, and Alexander III used several methods to control Caithness which included levying heavy fines, taking hostages for good behavior, and exploiting succession crises, first by exploiting Norse succession rules by dividing the earldom and

¹²³ Hammond, 'The Durward Family', 136-7.

¹²⁴ Barbara E. Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness and the kingdom of Scotland, 1150-1266', in *Northern Scotland* ii (1974-75): 107-115.

¹²⁵ Crawford, 'The earldom of Caithness', 97.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 97-8.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 97-104.

granting it to rival claimants, and later by imposing feudal succession rules as in Galloway, by marrying heiresses to royal allies. These methods were fairly successful, as the earl and *bondi* of Caithness offered no support to Håkon IV of Norway when he invaded Scotland in 1263.¹²⁹

Lords who possessed lands in Scotland and England are the most typical type of cross-border landholders in twelfth and thirteenth century Scotland, and have received much attention from historians. Although Anglo-Scottish landholding did not engender conflict the way Scoto-Norwegian landholding did, it came to a spectacularly violent conclusion with the wars of independence. Stringer believed that cross-border landholding, especially that of Earl David of Huntingdon was a force for peace between Scotland and England. He asserted that because a powerful class of men held lands in both kingdoms, they had a stake in promoting peace between their respective kings, which only failed when the Canmore line of kings failed at the end of the thirteenth century.¹³⁰ Earl David of Huntingdon though, stands out in contrast to the early Bruce lords of Annandale. Despite his close connections to Henry II and John I of England, when conflicts between the realms did arise, David sided with the kings of Scots.¹³¹ The heads of the Bruce family, on the other hand, sided with England during conflicts until the career of William Bruce (fl. c.1194-c.1212). Nevertheless, it is still telling that the chronicler Ailred of Rievaulx recorded that before the battle of the Standard in 1138, Robert Bruce I begged David I of Scotland not to go to battle.¹³²

In 1286, a magnate was still able to hold land from kings of Scotland and England, both of whose claims to the throne were clear. Merely a few decades later, this was impossible, at least from the Scottish perspective. These decades, and the next few as well, were a turbulent period for Scotland, in which the nature of lordship, kingship, and foreign policy saw profound changes, largely resulting from Robert Bruce VII's crowning as Robert I King of Scots in 1306, and the pronouncement of his Parliament held at Cambuskenneth in 1314 in which Robert I forfeited any lords who lived or had died outwith his allegiance, leaving major English and Scottish lords, called 'the disinherited', to seek aid and succour from the English king in pursuit of their

¹²⁹ Ibid., 105-15.

¹³⁰ Stringer, *Earl David*, 8, 36-8, 53-5.

¹³¹ Ibid., 19-29, 36, 51-3.

¹³² Blakely, *The Brus Family*, 21, 28-9, 67, 69.

Scottish lands.¹³³ This left gaps Robert I had to fill with his supporters.¹³⁴ Because of the threats Robert I faced from England, and the precariousness of his authority in Scotland, his kingship was highly militarised, and this militarisation flowed down to his nobility, particularly those who had proved most loyal and militarily useful, like Thomas Randolph and James Douglas.¹³⁵ One of his main instruments for imposing his kingship in Scotland was physical violence, or the threat of it, so it is unsurprising his lords used military force to justify and uphold their lordships.¹³⁶ Notably, once the Comyn family had been forcibly dispossessed, Robert broke up their earldom of Buchan, and created the earldom of Moray, which he granted to Thomas Randolph in regality, and this was designed to serve as a major focus of Bruce support in the north of Scotland.¹³⁷ While he did retain most native earldoms, he still did redistribute land to magnates and the lower aristocracy such that it changed the face of lordship in Scotland.¹³⁸

Further complicating matters from the end of this period was Edward Balliol, who served as a focus for the efforts of the disinherited. Edward Balliol claimed the throne of Scotland between 1332 and 1356 with Edward III's support as heir of John Balliol King of Scots, who abdicated the throne in 1296.¹³⁹ Thus, one of the problems marring much of the historiography of the wars of independence is encapsulated in words like 'loyal', 'disloyal', and 'treacherous' in regards to historians' perceptions of the activities of the lords who chose to support Robert Bruce VII as Robert I King of Scots, and those who chose, temporarily or otherwise, to support Edward I and II of England, or other claimants to the Scottish throne.¹⁴⁰ Alasdair Ross has rejected such terms as used above in his examination of the Strathbogie earls of Atholl between c. 1290 and c.1355.¹⁴¹ In his estimation, one of the main reasons men switched sides between these dates had nothing to do with the some rarefied quality of loyalty, and

¹³³ Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004), 209; *RPS*, 1314/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 221-2.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 197-231.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 222-4.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 223-4.

¹³⁹ Beam, *Balliol Dynasty*, xvii, 223, 259; Brown, *Wars of Scotland*, 175.

¹⁴⁰ Alasdair Ross, 'Men for All Seasons? The Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c.1335. Part 1: Earl John (1266x1270-1306) and David III (c.1290-1326)' in *Northern Scotland* xx (2000): 1-2.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

much to do with the goal of keeping the family estates together.¹⁴² Ross argued that David Strathbogie III earl of Atholl (d. 1326) exhibited this exact sort of behavior. After briefly serving Robert I, in 1307 David Strathbogie III appears to have successfully changed his loyalty to Edward I and Edward II to reacquire his earldom of Atholl, which Edward I had granted to another recipient while David was in Robert I's allegiance.¹⁴³ In 1312 though, Robert I had established himself as king and defeated his Scottish opponents, and possibly made it clear in late 1313 that any lords outwith his allegiance would be forfeited at a later Parliament (which eventually did happen in November 1314).¹⁴⁴ It is unsurprising then, that David Strathbogie III switched his allegiance back to Bruce, to keep his title and earldom of Atholl in Scotland, and gained the office of constable of Scotland in the process.¹⁴⁵ If the chronicle sources can be trusted, he apparently left the Bruce cause for England on the night following the first day of fighting at Bannockburn, on 23 June 1314, either over an affair Edward Bruce was having with his sister Isabella or, perhaps more likely, because he had been denied a leadership role in the battle the previous day.¹⁴⁶

Also, in the context of his English service, David carefully deployed his support for his own political advantage. An example of this is how he was able to reacquire one of his English possessions, the lordship of Chilham. After his return to English allegiance in 1314, David had supported Thomas earl of Lancaster who was preeminent in English politics, but as Edward II reasserted his power, David maintained connections with both camps. In 1321 though, when the lord of Chilham gave his support to Lancaster, David gave his exclusive support to Edward II who in turn granted David Chilham. David's changing of his loyalties, throughout his life was fairly successful, and not the activity of a 'traitor', but rather, someone whose

primary concern throughout his life was to preserve, or regain, different parts of his patrimony in Scotland and England in the face of varying pressures from competing royal dynasties.¹⁴⁷

Much like the years above, the period between 1332 and 1341, the activity of lords has often been cast in the light of loyalty and disloyalty to the Bruce cause, when

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 10-3.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 15-6.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 16-7.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 18-20.

this is not necessarily the best way to examine it.¹⁴⁸ David Strathbogie IV earl of Atholl, David III's heir, demonstrated the ability to change sides in the conflict between Edward III and Edward Balliol, on the one hand, and the Bruce cause on the other at different points throughout his career, his last switch earning him the office of guardian of Scotland for Edward III and Edward Balliol.¹⁴⁹ This behavior still appears to have been a function of David's opportunism, and it is possible that when he was killed in 1335, besieging Kildrummy castle, he was preparing to use his status as the heir of the Comyn family as an attempt to claim the throne of Scotland.¹⁵⁰ What made David such a powerful figure, and such a desirable ally for the pro-Bruce and pro-Balliol factions, was the combination of his extensive lands, particularly the Comyn lands he was able to re-acquire, as well as his military retinue.¹⁵¹

Several features of David Strathbogie IV earl of Atholl's career are in line with observations Brendan Smith made about lordship in an article on Lordship in the British Isles between c.1320 and c.1360, notably the ability of men from the second tier of politics in the British Isles to rise to the first rank, like Robert I, his brother Edward, Roger Mortimer, and Lysagh O'More.¹⁵² These sharp rises in power amongst people regarded by many of their contemporaries not to be entitled to kingship, or other high offices appears to have caused much consternation amongst chroniclers, who attacked men who seem to have ridden Fortune's wheel to success.¹⁵³ One of the ways men were able to rise so quickly in England and Ireland was through the creation of new earldoms, though many of these same men, fortunate in their earldom or other high offices, faced violent deaths.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, Roger Mortimer and Edward Bruce fit this pattern. David IV earl of Atholl's rise to the position of guardian of Scotland, and his subsequent death in battle are not out of line with this trend, either.

David II King of Scots though, did not take part in the fashion of frequently raising men to the rank of earl, as he only created two earldoms, that of Wigtown in 1341 and Douglas in 1358. The creation of the earldom of Douglas especially stood out, as severed 'the link between title and provincial landholding' which had been a

¹⁴⁸ Alasdair Ross, 'Men for All Seasons? The Strathbogie Earls of Atholl and the Wars of Independence, c.1290-c.1335. Part 2: Earl David IV (1307-1335)' in *Northern Scotland* xxi (2001): 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-12.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁵² Brendan Smith, 'Lordship in the British Isles, c.1320-c.1360: The Ebb Tide of the English Empire?' in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*, Huw Pryce and John Watts, eds. (Oxford, 2007), 153-8.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 154-5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 158-9.

feature of Scottish magnatial lordship since the time of the creation of the native earldoms.¹⁵⁵ This was an indication that some Scottish lords preferred to have the power they had built up in their locality underlined, rather than assume a native, provincial earldom somewhere else, as witnessed by William 1st earl of Douglas' decision to receive a grant of Liddesdale rather than the earldom of Atholl.¹⁵⁶ It was a style of lordship probably made possible by the increased importance of militarised lordship. Indeed, this process of creating small, non-provincial earldoms took place again, in 1398, in slightly different circumstances, when Sir David Lindsay of Glen Esk, a man with powerful military retinue, was raised to the rank of earl.

Returning to the Lindsay earls of Crawford, whose style of lordship grew out of this process, it is clear from sources like Wyntoun and the *Auchinleck Chronicle* these men's contemporaries thought them highly significant, though recent historians have dismissed their impact on late medieval Scotland, Boardman's *Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* excepted. This dismissive attitude is most extreme in Dunlop's discussion of William 6th earl of Douglas' murder in 1440. Most authors, rightly, have seen the influence of William's uncle in this murder, who inherited the earldom as James 7th earl of Douglas. At the time, though, David 3rd earl of Crawford was one of the few adult earls in Scotland, and his daughter was married to William 6th earl of Douglas. Dunlop presented his marriage as merely an 'ugly coincidence' despite the fact William's murder is also obviously an attack against David 3rd earl of Crawford, who surely hoped this marriage alliance would strengthen his position in the politics of James II's minority (1437-1449), and perhaps undermine William's uncle James.¹⁵⁷

In this thesis, I plan to correct views that underplay the significance of the first four Lindsay earls of Crawford, and I will instead show all were vital participants in Scottish politics, and that the first earl was himself a figure of international significance. Wherever their record occurs in Scottish history, their interests need accounting. Such an examination reveals several important points about their style of lordship. All of the first four earls of Crawford were men of the highest importance in Forfarshire, and all maintained interests in Aberdeenshire. Their interests and goals there frequently had national implications, and study of these goals and interests helps illuminate the wider picture of Scottish politics in this period from 1380 to 1453. Their activities confirm

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 159.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 159-60.

¹⁵⁷ Annie Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy Bishop of St. Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950), 34.

the importance of warlordship as a way magnates maintained political relevance, a feature of Scottish lordship that developed during the wars of independence. They also had close connections to the burgh and burgesses of Dundee and occasionally other burghs, and clearly saw Forfarshire burghs as within their sphere of influence. Besides warlordship as a key feature in Scottish lordship, their careers, and the people with which they interacted conform with several features, old and new, about Scottish lordship. First, provincial lordship was losing ground, and earldoms generally were confirmed on men who were already powerful. These earldoms needed not be provincial, though men acquiring them often had a wide area over which they could exert their influence, as the earls of Crawford could influence Forfarshire politics. Second, although the earls of Crawford did not pursue offices, they interacted with families like the Crichtons and Livingstons who leapt from the middle to the top rank of politics through officeholding, much as the Durwards did in the thirteenth century. Just as they were eager to interact and cooperate – or compete – with these sorts of families, they seem to have been equally eager to alternatively cooperate and compete with Gaelic kindreds, suggesting no permanent theme of Lowland-Highland conflict.

Last, the first and fourth earls, who had more successful careers than the second and third earls, demonstrate a point of continuity with the events of the wars of independence. This was the need of magnates to shift their political associations to remain relevant. Although these shifts, now, were not between kings, but rather between polarities within Scotland, the desire to remain relevant in Scottish politics, to secure patronage, and to keep family estates together, were still the factors motivating these shifts. Indeed, kings and magnates generally maintained short- to medium-term goals, and this required magnates to use all their resources to shift from one ascendant group to another to remain relevant. Politics were as brutally practical as they were deeply personal in late medieval Scotland.

Chapter I: Sir David Lindsay of Glen Esk, 1st earl of Crawford, 1380-1407

Sir David Lindsay 1st earl of Crawford is the most widely attested of the first four earls of Crawford, and also the most international, appearing in Scottish, English, French, and Burgundian sources. He received frequent safe conducts through England, occasionally specifying onward travel to France, and was involved in truce negotiations in both countries. At the turn of the fifteenth century, letters issuing from the court of Burgundy complained of his piracy.¹ Later, he commanded a marauding Franco-Scottish fleet that sailed as far south as Corunna in Galicia, where his men apparently had an altercation with Jean de Béthencourt's army, about to depart to christianise the Canary islands.²

David was also highly important in Scottish politics despite several challenges at the beginning of his career, including the collapse of his father's affinity, and his cousin James Lindsay's murder of one of Robert II's favourites. These events cast both David and James from royal favour. David entered national politics by 1390, and maintained links with the royal court, and Robert earl of Fife, later duke of Albany. David had a masterful ability to shift and adjust his associations to benefit his own position. The politics of Robert II and III's reigns, when David's career took place, were characterised initially by competition between the king and some of his magnates, and later, between different factions of the king's magnates for political supremacy. As the fortunes of Robert Stewart duke of Albany and earl of Fife, David Stewart duke of Rothesay and earl of Carrick, and John earl of Carrick, later Robert III, fluctuated in this great game, David Lindsay managed to win their favour and good grace at key moments.

David's landholdings, especially after he inherited the estates of his first cousin, James Lindsay of Crawford in 1396 were significant, but not overly vast. While he was among the first rank of Scottish nobles when he died in February/March 1407, his territorial possessions probably never exceeded the Douglas or MacDonald patrimonies.³ David also appears to have inherited from his father, Alexander Lindsay lord of Glen Esk an interest in chivalry and crusade that he used to his political advantage. Within Scotland, David heavily patronised St George at the parish church of Dundee, perhaps to the point his family felt no need to found a collegiate church, and

¹ *St Andrews Copiale*, 223-8.

² Pierre Bontier and Jean le Verrier, *The Canarian*, Richard Henry Major, trans. & ed. (London, 1872), 3-7.

³ *ASH*, 206.

was also the first Scot on record to have patronised St George.⁴ He was, undoubtedly, the premier exponent of chivalry in its more refined forms in Scotland. Within living memory of David, Wyntoun celebrated him for tourneying in England, as Bower later did later. Also, during his career Crawford was frequently involved in arbitrating disputes, including the thirty vs. thirty clan fight at Perth in 1396, for which Bower also celebrated him. Crawford maintained an affinity steeped in Western European chivalric culture, with which other magnates wanted to associate, probably to exhibit their own chivalric credentials. This may have increased David's level of political influence because those in power would be interested in associating with him.

1. Origins and Family Background, c. 1355-1382

David Lindsay began his political career on 31 August 1380, in his father's castle of Finavon, where he witnessed a grant his father had made to Alexander Strachan of Carmyllie, and his wife, Christiana daughter of David 'de Anandia', of lands in Alexander's barony of 'Onele', probably Kincardine O'Neill, in Aberdeenshire.⁵ Lindsay of Glen Esk and his nephew, James Lindsay of Crawford (head of the Lindsay family, d. 1396), had connections to the northeast, as did the Strachans, who had held lands in Forfarshire, Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire since David II's reign.⁶ The Lindsays also associated with the Keiths, who had superiority of the Kincardineshire barony of Strachan, and James Lindsay was married into the Keith family.⁷ Concurrent with this charter, Donald Strachan died, and John Lindsay, either Alexander's illegitimate son or brother, received the ward of Donald's daughter and heiress.⁸

The witnesses to Alexander's grant at Finavon castle were Patrick Leuchars, bishop of Brechin, and Stephen 'de Cellario', archdeacon, who succeeded Patrick in the summer of 1383.⁹ Their presence might suggest Alexander had some influence in ecclesiastical spheres in Forfarshire. Simon Kettins rector of the church of Errol's attendance probably indicates Alexander's ecclesiastical interests in Aberdeenshire, as Simon was a canon of Aberdeen cathedral, who later became dean of that church.¹⁰

⁴ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12-5; *RMS*, i, 877-80. All references to the *RMS* refer to charter numbers, unless otherwise specified.

⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4.

⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, i, 618; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 488-9; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 166; *RMS*, i, 222, app. ii 1075, 1129, 1290.

⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 404; *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 121-4; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 62; *RMS*, i, 213.

⁸ *ER*, iii, 649-50.

⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4; *CPLS Clement VII*, 89, 94-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24, 40, 52-3.

This grant's secular witnesses, Walter Ogilvy, Walter Auchterlonie, David Lindsay, and John Lindsay also illustrate a similar pattern. Walter Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar's presence indicates Alexander's links to Forfarshire administration. The Ogilvy family had had connections to the sheriff's office since c.1330, and had generally been active in politics in and around Forfarshire since the mid-thirteenth century, well before the Lindsays arrived there.¹¹ Similarly, evidence from the 1390s to 1406 links the family of William Auchterlonie to Forfarshire and its environs, as they were connected by marriage to the Maules of Panmure, and maintained connections to the Lindsays, Grahams and Ogilvies.¹² While few Lindsay-Strachan contacts exist in surviving documentation from 1380-1407, they and their connections were part of David Lindsay's affinity throughout his career.¹³ The grant's other witnesses were David Lindsay himself and John Lindsay, Alexander's brother and possible recipient of the ward of the late Donald Strachan's daughter; David had probably come of age recently, and joined his father's council for this grant.¹⁴

On 31 October 1380, King Robert II confirmed the above grant at Glen Prosen with witnesses including the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, John earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Fife, and William 1st earl of Douglas and Mar, as well as Alexander and James Lindsay.¹⁵ It may have been with Alexander's influence around the summer or early autumn of 1380 that Robert II decided to award Alexander's heir, David, with a one-off £20 grant from the Dundee customs, paid by 7 March 1381.¹⁶ Both Alexander and James Lindsay had been in close contact with the king since mid-May in Edinburgh, and several northern burghs including Dundee.¹⁷ Generally, both had played a major role in Robert II's council, alongside secular witnesses John earl of Carrick and Robert earl of Fife, and William earl of Douglas and Mar, who had all been regular witnesses to Great Seal charters. Carrick was Robert II's son and heir, Fife was Robert II's second son, and Douglas was the greatest Scottish marcher lord, and certainly the most powerful, non-royal Scottish magnate.

¹¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 318n-319n; *Arbroath Liber*, i, 190, 339, ii, 21-2; *ER*, i, 588-90; Fraser, *Douglas*, ii, 587; NAS GD16/13/1; *RMS*, i, app. i 2; *Ibid*, ii, 3717.

¹² *RMS*, i, 819, 927, app. ii 1712.

¹³ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 404; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 179-80; *RMS*, i, 633, 891.

¹⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 492-3.

¹⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4.

¹⁶ *ER*, iii, 47.

¹⁷ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 111-2; *CPL*, iv, 247-8; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 479-80; NAS GD12/5, 39; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 178-9; *RMS*, ii, 631, 646

Prior to the issuing of these two charters, Scots border lords had been in the process of reclaiming the many Scottish border lordships that had been in English possession since the reign of David II, beginning with George Dunbar earl of March's attack on Berwick in 1377.¹⁸ While traditional thought has suggested this was independent marcher lord activity, more recent scholarship suggests this activity had Robert II's support.¹⁹ Around the same time Robert II brought Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk to his council on a much more regular basis, alongside his nephew, James Lindsay of Crawford.²⁰ This was a distinct change in policy. Although Robert II had favoured both James and Alexander with offices as well as land and monetary grants in the first thirteen months of his reign, thereafter Alexander had faded from the scene, even though James frequently remained on the royal council.²¹

The early connections between Robert II and the Lindsays were no doubt a result of the role they played in David II's government. From the time Alexander became active, around 1357, he was one of David II's agents around Forfarshire, due to his connections to the area.²² Alexander Lindsay had been a part of David II's council in November 1370, and witnessed one of his charters on 26 January 1371, just a month before David died.²³ John Stewart earl of Angus' wife, Margaret Abernethy, was Alexander's aunt, and he was in favour with John's successor, Thomas earl of Angus, who granted him the small barony of Ethiebeaton in Angus.²⁴ Besides this, Alexander became a major territorial lord in his own right c.1357 when he married John Stirling of Glen Esk's daughter, Katherine Stirling. By this marriage he acquired several northeastern lands including the large barony of Glen Esk.²⁵ Although Alexander Lindsay probably opposed Robert II's succession, along with his half-brothers, the Leslie, and William earl of Douglas, it appears Robert II effectively wooed them with offers of marriage alliances that these lords accepted.²⁶ Katherine Stirling predeceased

¹⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 108-12.

¹⁹ Alastair J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000), 45-8.

²⁰ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 111-2; *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 233, 316, 389-90; *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 66-7, iv, 113-4, 376; *Caithness Recs.*, i, 167-8; *CPL*, iv, 247-8; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vi, 64-7; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 28, 362-3; Fraser, *Melville*, iii, 13; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 479-80; Menzies, *Menzies*, 91; NAS GD12/5, GD45/16/2320, 2321, 3041, GD112/1/4, GD124/1/18, 1124; NLS Ch. 1361; RMS, i, 631, 646, 656, 660-1, 664-56, 672, 690, 778.

²¹ See 'Appendix B'.

²² Penman, *David II*, 208-9; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 815.

²³ Penman, *David II*, 411-2; RRS, vi, no. 478.

²⁴ *CPL*, ii, 241, 283; RMS, i, app. ii 1311.

²⁵ *ASH*, 203, NAS RH2/6/4 f. 53r, 54r; RMS, i, app. i 135, app. ii 1311.

²⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 45-9.

Alexander, and some time after David II's death, Alexander subsequently married Marjory Stewart, daughter of John Stewart of Railston, who was the new king's half-brother.²⁷ Furthermore, in 1375, Alexander's son, David, married Robert II's daughter, Elizabeth.²⁸ It was obvious Robert II wanted to court the support of the Lindsays of Glen Esk.

Alexander Lindsay was the third son of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford (d. c. 1355) and Mary Abernethy. Sir David's (d. c.1355) eldest son, also named David, fell at Neville's Cross in 1346.²⁹ David's second son, James Lindsay of Crawford, who died c. 1358, was only head of the family for a short space of time. A late chronicle tradition asserts David II executed him for the murder of Roger Kirkpatrick c.1358.³⁰ James (d. c.1358) had produced a son, also named James. Thus, the head of the family, from c. 1358, was Sir James Lindsay of Crawford, grandson of Sir David (d. c.1355).³¹ Since James the elder had only been married to Robert II's half sister Egidia Stewart since 1346, this made James the younger a minor at his succession; he appears to have been one of three children, and probably did not turn twenty-one until around January 1370, when he appears in records.³² As a result of his parentage, when James (d. 1396) appeared in Robert II's charters, he was almost invariably styled *karissimo nepoti nostro*, 'our dearest nephew', a style used less frequently than the somewhat more common, if still usually accurate, *dilecto consanguineo nostro*, often applied to Robert II's 'beloved kinsman/cousin', Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk.³³

Although there is little intersection between James (d. 1396) and David Lindsay's (d. 1407) appearances in records or chronicles, James' activities, especially his role in the murder of one of the king's favourites in 1382 apparently disposed Robert II negatively towards David when he succeeded to his father's lordship, rich in lands and fees, as David was initially distant from Robert's court. This contrasts starkly with James' and

²⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 47, 66 n34; *SP*, iii, 14: The editor of *The Scots Peerage* asserted he had seen a transcript of the original charter of the marriage.

²⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 47-8; NAS RH2/6/4, f. 103r., 104r.

²⁹ *Chron. Bower.*, vii, 260-1.

³⁰ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 308-9; *Chron. Wyntoun* ii, 500-1; *ER*, i, 599-61; *RMS*, i, app. i 136. Wyntoun and Bower disagree on the dating of this event, though Wyntoun misdates the *Jacquerie* in France to 1357, and immediately follows it with the description of this murder. See Froissart (Brereton), *Chronicles*, 151-5, for the *Jacquerie*.

³¹ *RMS*, i, 309. See also, 'Appendix D: Family Trees'.

³² *ER*, ii, 315-6; *RMS*, i, 417; *SP*, i, 14, iii, 11. After the marriage, Egidia was invariably recorded as 'Egidia de Lindsay'.

³³ e. g., *RMS*, i, 648, 631, 665, 672, 690. To clarify, from this point on, mention of James Lindsay refers to Sir James Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1396), unless otherwise stated.

Alexander's regular presence at court up to 1382. During the first dozen years of James' career, his interests were varied, indicated by the the places he was actually recorded, the lands and offices he held, the people with whom he associated, and the lands he was granted. His interests stretched from Aberdeen, south through Perthshire and Forfarshire, south again, to Lanarkshire where Crawford lies, east to Roxburghshire, and west to Dumfries-shire. His southern connections (especially to the Black Douglasses) and northern connections brought him to violence in the 1380s, particularly in 1382 and 1388, respectively. His interests in the south were especially strong by 1382. The Lanarkshire barony of Crawford (also called Crawford-Lindsay) is just south of the barony of Douglas, and had been a Lindsay possession as early as c.1185 x c.1190.³⁴ In 1377, Robert II confirmed James' possession of Kirkmichael in Dumfries-shire, the original grant dating from Robert I's reign.³⁵ In August 1373, 'Nova Foresta' in Galloway, passed to James Lindsay by Walter Leslie's resignation, and then by James Lindsay's resignation to John Maxwell in June 1376.³⁶ Furthermore, James' possession of the office of sheriff of Lanark indicates his ability to exercise justice there. He also witnessed at least one grant by Robert Maxwell alongside several other men associated with the southwest, and granted John Maxwell the lands of the as-yet unidentified 'Haukschawys', Glengonnar (Crawford parish, Lanarkshire), and Fingland (Eskdale parish, Dumfriesshire) some time before 19 September 1371.³⁷ The connection to the Maxwells was surely because Isabella Lindsay, whom the *Scots Peerage* asserts was James Lindsay's sister, was married to John Maxwell.³⁸ Robert II referred to her as 'dearest niece' ('*carissime nepti*') and James as 'dearest nephew' ('*carissimi nepotis*') in a 1376 charter dealing with transfer of lands from James to John Maxwell. This surely indicates they were siblings, even if no record is extant clearly describing James and Isabella as brother and sister.³⁹

Besides these mostly southwestern interests, James had developed interests in the middle march, given his occasional associations with the Swintons, and his possession of land in Roxburghshire, which he granted to William Lindsay of the Byres

³⁴ RRS, ii, no. 257.

³⁵ RMS, i, 590.

³⁶ RMS, i, 446, 576.

³⁷ Fraser, *Pollok*, i, 129-30; RMS, i, 451. Although the charter records these lands were in Peeblesshire, this may be a scribal error, as the lands described above are in James' sphere of influence.

³⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 273-4; Fraser, *Pollok*, i, 132-4; NAS GD198/6; RMS, i, 451, 576, 608; *SP*, iii, 11.

³⁹ RMS, i, 576.

in May 1380.⁴⁰ Most tellingly, he associated with William earl of Douglas during the 1370s and 1380s, often at court witnessing royal charters, and sometimes in Douglas' retinue.⁴¹ In December 1380 both James and Douglas received a joint safe conduct to travel to England with forty men.⁴² This association with the Douglasses was to remain an important factor in his career.

While James had developed these clear interests in the south by 1382, he had also inherited and further developed distinct interests north of the Forth, primarily in Perthshire but also in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire. His grandfather, Sir David Lindsay of Crawford (d. c.1355) had possessed a land called 'Carny', next to his other land of Pitfour (St Madoes parish) in Perthshire, and was the recipient of a fee from Dundee dating from Robert I's reign.⁴³ Most of all, though, David's marriage to Mary Abernethy, and his son Alexander's marriage, apparently during David's lifetime, to the heiress of Glen Esk indicates James Lindsay of Crawford maintained significant connections around the Tay.⁴⁴ He witnessed one of David, earl of Strathearn's charters in 1372 and, in 1375, Robert II granted James Lindsay the land of Aberbothrie and the unidentified castle of 'Invercuiche' in the thanage of Alyth in Perthshire.⁴⁵ Most tellingly, as Appendix B shows, Perth was a major haunt of James Lindsay and Robert II. It is no surprise James had a house in Perth by 1387.⁴⁶ Last, his life fee from the customs of Aberdeen starting in 1373, and his pursuit of the lordship and later the earldom of Buchan recorded in Parliament in 1385 underline his continuing northern interests.⁴⁷ Although James' successors all maintained Crawford and Kirkmichael, and although Alexander 4th earl of Crawford apparently revived Lindsay of Crawford interest in the southeast, James Lindsay's combination of associations, marriage alliances, offices and residences probably represent Lindsay influence at its widest, if not its strongest, point through to 1453.

James had a roughly twelve year minority ending in January 1370. During James' youth, Alexander Lindsay was the most active member of his family. This had

⁴⁰ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 493-4; NAS GD12/1, 3, 39; RMS, i, 636. William Lindsay of the Byres was Alexander Lindsay's brother, making him James' uncle.

⁴¹ *Aberdeen Registorum*, i, 114; Fraser, *Colquhoun*, ii (1869), 279; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 397-8; Fraser, *Pollok*, i, 132-3; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 493-4; Menzies, *Menzies*, 91; NAS GD3/1/10/22, GD12/1, 3, GD18/3, GD39/1/8; RMS, i, 563, 628.

⁴² *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 40.

⁴³ ER, i, 56; RMS, i, 190.

⁴⁴ RMS, i, 190, app. i 135.

⁴⁵ NAS GD198/6; RMS, i, 610, 705.

⁴⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 273-4.

⁴⁷ ER, ii, 407-8, 532-3. 565-7; RPS, 1385/4/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

probably worked well for David II, who was vehemently opposed to Robert Stewart's succession as Robert II, and could have found James' parental links to the Stewarts objectionable. Unsurprisingly, for the short period between January 1370 and Robert II's accession, and in contrast to his uncle Alexander, James took little part in government, though James' youth was probably the main factor keeping him from court. James' youth aside, David II did show James favour when he insisted James be paid his hereditary fee from the customs of Dundee.⁴⁸ Royal attitudes changed, after Robert II acceded to the throne. From 1373, it was not only James' status as head of the Lindsays, but his position as the king's nephew that brought him into Robert II's council. During the 1370s, James Lindsay of Crawford and Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk became regular royal councillors.⁴⁹

By the beginning of 1382, Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk, a successful 'second son', had firmly established himself as the head of the latest of the many Lindsay cadet families.⁵⁰ An active crusader, Alexander received a safe conduct through England on 4 December 1381, along with Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir John Abernethy, Sir John Edmonston and Sir John Towers.⁵¹ Presumably, these men had acquired this safe conduct to cover the first leg of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It was on this pilgrimage, according to Bower, that Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk died at Candia on Crete.⁵² He was last recorded alive on 5 March 1382, and news of his death reached Scotland by 10 February 1383.⁵³ Under normal circumstances, this could have provided for a smooth succession, especially since David had apparently reached his majority.

Unfortunately, David Lindsay's succession to the Glen Esk inheritance came at what was surely an awkward point, because Alexander Lindsay's long-term ally in the northeast and half-brother, Walter Leslie, who had been sharing power with Lindsay of Glen Esk, had also died in February 1382. The political balance in northeast Scotland

⁴⁸ James: *ER*, ii, 315-6; *RMS*, i, 309; Alexander: *RPS*, 1370/10/1 Date accessed: 14 May 2009; *RRS*, vi, nos. 315, 475, 478, 598.

⁴⁹ See 'Appendix B'.

⁵⁰ Lindsay of the Byres: *RMS*, i, 248; Lindsay of Dunrod: *ER*, i, 581-2; Lindsay of Thurston: *CDS*, ii, 508; *Chron. Anonimale*, 27; NAS GD124/1/1119, *RMS*, i, 427; Lindsay of Wauchopedale: *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 40-2; *RRS*, v, no. 198.

⁵¹ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 40.

⁵² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 388. 'Eodem anno [1382] obiit dominus Alexander Lindesey peregrinus Jerosolomitans in insula de Candey'. The *Chron. Extracta* (p. 194) uses almost the same words as Bower: 'Eodem anno [1382] obiit dominus Alexander Lindsay peregrinus Jerosolomitans, apud insulam de Candey'. As with Bower, this is in the same section dealing with James Lindsay of Crawford's killing of John Lyon of Glamis, which *Chron. Extracta* records in significantly more, if perhaps less accurate, detail.

⁵³ *ER*, iii, 72-3, 101-2.

collapsed.⁵⁴ Moreover, it was this same year Robert II's recent charter witness, sheriff of Lanark, Exchequer auditor and multiple donee, James Lindsay, killed Robert II's chamberlain, John Lyon of Glamis.⁵⁵

Walter Leslie's death had precipitated negative events for both his son Alexander Leslie's general interests and James Lindsay's interests in the northeast. Walter Leslie's widow was William earl of Ross' heiress, Euphemia, with whom Walter had produced an heir, Alexander Leslie.⁵⁶ Following Walter's death, Alexander Stewart, who had been Robert II's lieutenant north of Moray since 1372, and active in Badenoch since David II's reign, married Euphemia Ross.⁵⁷ The terms of Euphemia and Alexander Stewart's marriage were heavily detrimental to the interests of James Lindsay, but especially Alexander Leslie. Euphemia Ross resigned the barony of Kingedward to Robert II, and any offspring she produced with Alexander Stewart would inherit the lands of Skye, Lewis, Dingwall, Glendowachy, Deskford, and her lands in Sutherland, Galloway, Caithness, Atholl, and any other lands she held.⁵⁸ Only if they failed to produce any children would these lands go to her son Alexander Leslie.⁵⁹ Since Alexander Stewart and Euphemia were both in their thirties at this point, the chances they would produce children were low, but since Alexander had a life-grant of Ross, this effectively kept Alexander Leslie from any lands of significance for the foreseeable future.⁶⁰ Also, as a part of this arrangement, Alexander Stewart had been created earl of Buchan, probably in return for Euphemia's resignation of Kingedward (a part of Buchan) to Robert II, which just preceded Alexander's comital creation.⁶¹ The earldom of Buchan eventually became a claim of James Lindsay.⁶²

The other major problem David Lindsay of Glen Esk faced in 1382 was his powerful nephew James' fall from favour resulting from his murder of John Lyon of Glamis. The most recent discussion of the murder is primarily based on Bower, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, or derivative sources. The *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* was printed in the nineteenth century from two manuscripts in the National Library of

⁵⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 76-7.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 388-9; *ER* ii, 532-3, 565-7, 604-5, iii, 30-1, 62, 649; *Chron. Extracta*, 194; Fraser, *Eglinton*, 16; *RMS*, i, 414, 527, 690, 806.

⁵⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 77-8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 72-4, 77.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 77-8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 79, 81; *RPS*, 1385/4/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

Scotland, one dating from the sixteenth century, and the other an eighteenth century copy; the text of these appears to date from the sixteenth century.⁶³ As its title suggests it appears to be extracts from chronicles, and at places it does seem to draw from Bower. Nevertheless, its compiler/author did not refrain from editing at least some of his passages.⁶⁴ It suggests James killed John Lyon because John had been insufficiently grateful to James for securing him a post in Robert II's government, and for keeping him safe from Robert II after John had fornicated with Robert's daughter.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, several problems with the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, and even the Exchequer source reporting John Lyon's death immediately bring into question these sources' accuracy. First, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* refers to '*Jacobum Lindesay, patrem domini David comitis Craufurde*' (James Lindsay, father of lord David earl of Crawford) although James was definitely not David's father.⁶⁶ This sentence surely indicates this section of the chronicle was from a source composed long after the event. This is not only because of the inaccurate genealogical information, but also because James' name contained no '*de*', when contemporary record sources as well as chroniclers Wyntoun and Bower invariably refer to him as James '*de*' Lindsay.⁶⁷ Although it would take an exhaustive study to conclusively prove '*de*' was generally an integral part of the record of the Latin form of names of the middle and upper Scottish nobility through at least the mid-fifteenth century, a cursory examination of Scottish Parliamentary, Great Seal and Exchequer records suggests this. Beyond Bower and the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, the only chronicle recording James' murder of John Lyon is the *Liber Pluscardensis*, which states James Lindsay 'wrongly killed' John Lyon at night, in his bed '*nudus*'.⁶⁸ This version in fact echos Bower's (but not Wyntoun's earlier) account of the elder James Lindsay's (d. 1358) murder of Roger Kirkpatrick in 1358, for which David II allegedly executed him.⁶⁹ Thus, all the chronicle sources recording this murder appear to be late, and most corrupted.

⁶³ *Chron. Extracta*, x-xv. The original copy is NLS Adv. Ms. 35.6.13.

⁶⁴ *Chron. Extracta*, iv, 180, 196; NLS Adv. Ms. 35.6.13, f. 212r, 233v.

⁶⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 79; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1978), 189.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Extracta*, 194.

⁶⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 388; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 62.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Pluscarden*, i, 319-20.

⁶⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 308-9; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), ii, 500-1. The Latin texts of Bower, *Chron. Extracta* and *Chron. Pluscarden* share similar wording regarding James Lindsay's (d. 1396) murder of John Lyon in 1382. In contrast to this, the Latin text of the *Liber Pluscardensis* describing James Lindsay's (d. 1396) murder of John Lyon bears no similarity to Bower's Latin text describing James Lindsay's (d. 1358) murder of Roger Kirkpatrick, although both sources allege the victims were in bed.

Contemporary record sources are also problematic. Robert earl of Fife (the latest chamberlain of Scotland, following Lyon) noted on 18 February 1383 at Perth that

‘It must be remembered, that since the lord John Lyon, kt., chamberlain, lately come by death (*nuper morte preventus*), as it were, sudden and unexpected, on the fourth day, namely, of the presaid month of November, he did not ordain nor dispose in certain, as he ought to have done, of his account returned from the time of the Exchequer last held[.]’⁷⁰

This is distinctly different than the chronicle sources’ accounts of how John died. On the one hand, Bower asserted John was ‘*occisus est... per Jacobum de Lyndesey*’, (‘was killed... by James Lindsay’) and the derivative *Liber Pluscardensis* asserted he was ‘*occisus est... per Jacobum de Lindesay, male*’, (‘was wrongly killed... by James Lindsay’) and most interestingly, and probably inaccurately, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* asserts John ‘*per Jacobum Lindesay... decapitatur*’ (was decapitated by James Lindsay’) perhaps suggesting the author saw the death as an execution.⁷¹ In contrast, the Exchequer Rolls state John Lyon had ‘*nuper morte preventus quasi subito et inopinato*’ (lately come by death, as it were, sudden and unexpected’.⁷²

Since the scribe recording the Exchequer troubled himself to describe John’s death in this awkward and elaborate way, it suggests John was probably murdered, since his death’s suddenness and unexpectedness warranted more than the typical *quondam* before John’s name, which is used in almost every other situation to indicate a person’s decease. Likewise, the ambiguous language used suggests this was a sensitive subject. The Exchequer evidence, combined with the admittedly garbled chronicle tradition strongly suggests James was indeed the architect of Lyon’s death. Furthermore, in 1383, James went to England ‘for several pilgrimages’ including St Thomas’ shrine at Canterbury, perhaps as a religious penalty for Lyon’s murder.⁷³

During the year of the murder James Lindsay was initially in favour with the king. On 1 January 1382, Robert II granted James lands in Lanarkshire.⁷⁴ He was a charter witness in February at Perth and Methven and he was an Exchequer auditor under John Lyon at Perth in February and March.⁷⁵ Then, on 8 June, Robert II ordered

⁷⁰ ER, iii, 657.

⁷¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 308; *Chron. Extracta*, 194; *Chron. Pluscarden*, 319-20.

⁷² ER, iii, 657.

⁷³ Eleanor C. Lodge & Robert Somerville, eds., *John of Gaunt’s Register, 1379-83*, vol. 2 (London, 1937), 1164.

⁷⁴ RMS, i, 696.

⁷⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 84-5; ER, iii, 3, 62, 82-3; NAS GD45/16/534.

James Lindsay's Aberdeenshire lands of Formartine, which James held from the heir to the throne, John earl of Carrick, to be distrained to pay the second teinds due to the church of Aberdeen, which had apparently gone unpaid at Carrick's wish.⁷⁶ James' last appearance before the murder was on 23 October, in a charter bearing no location, in which Robert II made a grant in favour of William of Menteith, son and heir of Marjory of Stirling, and Elizabeth his wife.⁷⁷ According to the Exchequer, John Lyon died two weeks later.

In the short term, there is hardly a gap in James' appearance in royal records following Lyon's death, and he definitely does not appear to have been punished, a fact Nicholson seized upon to emphasise Robert II's weakness.⁷⁸ In June 1383, he was at Rothesay castle, where Robert II made a grant in favour of Walter Fasselane of Lennox.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, James did drop out of participation in central government until after the battle of Otterburn. Unsurprisingly he was not recorded as an Exchequer auditor until Robert III's reign, and then just twice; the only payments he received through the end of Robert II's reign were his annual fees from Dundee and a single payment recorded for service as sheriff of Lanark before 1388.⁸⁰ Generally speaking, James' presence at court was patchy for the next several years. Disfavour with James appears to have stretched to other members of his family, who were also absent from court.

2. New Settlements and Their New Problems: David and James Lindsay, 1382-1388

It was under these circumstances that David Lindsay of Glen Esk acceded to his father's estates. The combination of Alexander's departure and death, Walter Leslie's death, Alexander Stewart's resulting scramble for power and territory in the north, and James Lindsay's fall from grace meant there was little reason for Robert II to pay much attention to David, or keep him at court, as David was young and definitely without established influence. Evidence of his early career is murky, but what exists suggests he was under pressure. Although he had received his £20 gift at the king's order, the Exchequer recorded a payment of £105 for the renting of David's land of

⁷⁶ RPS, 1382/6/2, 1382/6/3. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁷⁷ Fraser, *Keir*, 200-1.

⁷⁸ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 189.

⁷⁹ *Lennox Cartularium*, 4-6.

⁸⁰ ER, iii, 97, 114, 135, 147-8, 174-5, 206, 219, 226-7, 273, 657-9, 785-7.

Strathnairn to Alexander Stewart of Badenoch which Robert II had ordered.⁸¹ This renting of Strathnairn is probably indicative of Alexander Stewart's expansionist policies in the north of Scotland. In 1383, David began receiving some of the fees that were part of his inheritance, as well as £20 from Aberdeen because his lands were not in his hands by the feast of St Martin, and £20 from Dundee from the mandate of the king, by the mandate of the late John Lyon chamberlain.⁸²

David soon had an opportunity for advancement in 1384, when Robert II apparently lost control of diplomacy and war with England, largely resulting from his son and heir John earl of Carrick's rise in influence south of the Forth.⁸³ The end of a fourteen-year Anglo-Scottish truce in February naturally helped exacerbate this situation.⁸⁴ That the English and French had arranged a new truce lasting until October 1384, open to the Scots, apparently did not matter to Carrick's warlike associates such as Douglas and James Lindsay who were involved in raid and counter-raid in the first half of the year.⁸⁵ This was further complicated by Alexander earl of Buchan's unrestrained activities in the north, threatening men with links to Carrick like James Lindsay, John Dunbar earl of Moray, and James 2nd earl of Douglas, who had interests in the north as well as the south.⁸⁶ Robert II's loss of control probably prompted the General Council at Holyrood to give John earl of Carrick the power to execute justice in the kingdom in November 1384.⁸⁷

It was also in 1384-5, that the interests and activities of David Lindsay become clear. He and his family were involved in Anglo-Scottish warfare, and those in command of patronage in Scotland willingly dispensed it to him. In April, responding to a raid on South Queensferry made as part of John of Gaunt's attacks on Lothian, Alexander Lindsay, Thomas Erskine of Dun, and William Cunningham of Kilmaurs led companies of men that, according to Wyntoun and Bower, literally drove the English into the sea.⁸⁸ Although it has been suggested the Alexander Lindsay in question was a son of William Lindsay of the Byres, (due to Lindsay of the Byres' connections to Lothian, where this raid happened), this is probably incorrect.⁸⁹ In fact, he was

⁸¹ *ER*, iii, 66-7.

⁸² *ER* iii, 97, 101-2, 105.

⁸³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 120-123; Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 84.

⁸⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 118.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 118-9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 124-5; *RPS*, 1384/11/1, 1384/11/4. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁸⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 118-9; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii 398-403; *Chron. Wyntoun*, (Laing), iii, 20-2.

⁸⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 118-9.

probably Alexander Lindsay (eventually) of Baltrody (Now Pitroddie, in Alyth parish, Perthshire), David Lindsay of Glen Esk's younger full brother, who was mentioned in an entail that year, and definitely of age when he received payment of a fee between 31 March 1386 and 13 May 1387.⁹⁰ Thomas Erskine of Dun's presence further strengthens this argument, since Erskine was also a Forfarshire landowner. Furthermore, on 1 July Robert II granted David Lindsay the superiority of Cambo, (near Crail) in Fife, timed just after major raiding in Northumbria, again, involving Thomas Erskine of Dun.⁹¹ Given Lindsay's connection to the Erskines, it is tempting to speculate David participated in this raid. While Robert II's witnesses usually included men like Robert Erskine and James earl of Douglas, the witness on this charter included not only James earl of Douglas but also Archibald Douglas; both Douglasses had been involved in attacks on England that summer.⁹² James earl of Douglas also had a hostile policy towards England, and Robert Erskine surely had connections to Thomas Erskine of Dun.⁹³ Whether or not the grant of Cambo's superiority was reward for David's participation in these July raids, it surely indicates his favour with the most warlike men in Scotland, and men who were able, in four months, to completely undermine Robert II's power.

Carrick's new administration took clear steps to promote David Lindsay, and surely drew up Robert II's mandate, made in Edinburgh in the fourteenth year of his reign,⁹⁴ perhaps granted in January,⁹⁵ authorising his '*dilectum filium*' ('beloved son') Sir David Lindsay to make an arrangement with his '*dilecto filio*' John Dunbar earl of Moray regarding possession of the lands of Strathnairn.⁹⁶ This reversed the policy recorded in 1382 of the renting of the lands to Alexander earl of Buchan, and was probably calculated to challenge Buchan.⁹⁷ Admittedly, Robert II had probably based his original policy on the theory that Alexander Stewart was the only person strong enough to bring some semblance of order to the north, and possession of Strathnairn increased his

⁹⁰ Ibid., 119; *ER*, iii, 157-8; NAS RH2/6/4, f. 98r-99r; *RMS*, i, 762-3. Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk received a dispensation to marry Marjory on 2 March 1371, probably indicating Katherine Stirling, his first wife, had been dead for at least fourteen years, making Alexander's minimum age about fourteen.

⁹¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 120-1; *Chron. Westminster*, 86-7; NLS Adv. Ms. 36.6.24, f. 125v; *RMS*, i, 761. Alexander Lindsay had received Cambo in 1374, but not its superiority (Ibid., 617).

⁹² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 394-7; *Chron. Winton* (Laing), iii, 18-9. NLS Adv. Ms. 36.6.24, f. 125v, which records this charter, is a late copy, but claims to be copied from the original.

⁹³ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 82-3; NLS Adv. Ms. 36.6.24, f. 125v.

⁹⁴ 22 February 1384 to 21 February 1385.

⁹⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132.

⁹⁶ *RMS*, i, 764.

⁹⁷ *ER*, iii, 66-7.

territorial influence.⁹⁸ This 1384-5 arbitration was the first of a number of arbitrations in which Sir David was involved in his career, and not the only one involving the earl of Moray. This shift in policy probably reflects Carrick's influence, later confirmed in winter.⁹⁹ This resulted in David's possession of Strathnairn.¹⁰⁰ Probably soon afterwards, Moray requested and received transfer of his £100 annuity from Aberdeen to be paid from Elgin and Forres, territorially more logical places for him to receive the fees than Aberdeen, and this was done on 6 January 1385.¹⁰¹ Since David received fees from Aberdeen, this may have been designed to keep Lindsay of Glen Esk and Dunbar earl of Moray interests separate. By the beginning of 1385, Carrick's attention to the Lindsay affinity was beginning to pay off for David and, at the same time, he established a prebend at the church of Brechin also in early 1385.¹⁰²

In the space between David's grant to Brechin and the aftermath of the battle of Otterburn in 1388, David remained an important figure. Although he was officially only head of a cadet branch of his family, he was rich in lands, mostly clustered in Forfarshire.¹⁰³ His status, at this point, is indicated by the fact he (and the earl of Moray) needed to be placated, probably as a way for the northern lords disaffected with Buchan's activities to present a united front at the General Council held in April 1385.¹⁰⁴ Moray himself figured in the General Council, requesting Carrick command Buchan to seize Finlay Lawson and two sons of Harold Foulson who had killed his men and gone unpunished.¹⁰⁵ The implication that if these men had not done these killings at Buchan's bidding, Buchan was willing to let harm done to Moray's affinity go unpunished.¹⁰⁶ Also at this council, David earl of Strathearn, very likely David Lindsay's brother-in-law, attempted to recover his lands of Urquhart, which would have complimented David Lindsay's recovery of Strathnairn, with Carrick's help.¹⁰⁷

Then Carrick, having achieved control of day-to-day justice in Scotland in November 1384 and having eliminated any bickering between Lindsay of Glen Esk and Moray, attempted to deny Buchan his comital title in April 1385. To accomplish this he

⁹⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 131.

⁹⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132.

¹⁰⁰ NAS GD52/1044.

¹⁰¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132, *RMS*, i, 766-7.

¹⁰² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132; *Brechin Registrum*, i, 21, ii, 8-10.

¹⁰³ *ASH*, 15, 203, 216; *RMS*, i, 403, 489, 617, 617, app. ii 1313, 1463, 1535, 1603, 1611, 1633; *RPS*, 1378/2. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 133.

¹⁰⁵ *RPS*, 1385/4/9. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 133; Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch', 149-50.

¹⁰⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132-3; *RPS*, 1385/4/8. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

promoted James Lindsay's (presently unclear) claim to the lordship of Buchan, which Alexander earl of Buchan possessed, the case for which was established to be heard on 12 June following. Buchan's presence at Council was demanded, but was not required.¹⁰⁸ While this particular General Council refrained from referring to James' claim as to the title of *comes*, clearly Carrick had big plans for James. Had Carrick successfully denied Buchan to Alexander Stewart and granted it to James Lindsay, he would have thrust James, a powerful lord, probably experienced in border conflict, closely linked to the earl of Douglas, and with developed interests and family in Aberdeenshire, into Alexander Stewart's sphere of influence. Whether or not Carrick felt James actually had a right to Buchan, James himself used the title 'lord of Buchan' in 1389 and 1394.¹⁰⁹ In April 1395, very near the end of his life, a plenary absolution was issued for 'Sir James de Lindsay earl of Buchan and Margaret [Keith] his wife', which may suggest the lordship and earldom were the same, or that James had become especially ambitious in his old age.¹¹⁰

Unfortunately for James Lindsay, as for Carrick, just as this attempt to deny Buchan to Alexander Stewart came to nothing, so did all other complaints and motions against Alexander Stewart's activities in the north.¹¹¹ Notably, Carrick and the disaffected party whom he supported, did not appear to challenge Stewart's lieutenancy in the north.¹¹² Admittedly, David earl of Strathearn's death sometime after the council and before March 1390 could have knocked some force out of an otherwise effective-appearing arrangement.¹¹³ Although this council spelled little wide-ranging good for James or David Lindsay, the preliminaries served to link David to John Dunbar earl of Moray and his son Thomas, men with whom David maintained links for the next few years, eventually allowing them jointly to influence northern affairs.

From 1385 until the battle of Otterburn in 1388, only trace evidence of David's activities exists, and this is primarily found in the Exchequer Rolls. He continued receiving his £40 from Aberdeen, £5 from Crail, and his £6 13s. 4d. from Forfar he had inherited from his father.¹¹⁴ Starting in the account for 30 March 1386 through 11 May 1387, he received payments from Robert II which may well have been repayment of

¹⁰⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132; Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch', 149-50; *RPS*, 1385/4/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Fraser, *Eglinton*, ii, 17; *Spalding Misc*, v, 250-2.

¹¹⁰ *ER*, iii, 361-2; NAS RH2/6/4, f. 154r.

¹¹¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 132-4.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 133.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *ER*, iii, 56, 58, 72-3, 101-2, 105, 125-8, 141-3, 147-8, 155-6, 184-5, 197-8.

loans, described as ‘*pro debito regis, per quoddam obligatorium regis sibi traditum*’ (‘for the debt of the king, through a certain obligation of the king delivered to him’).¹¹⁵ The amount of the first payment went unrecorded, though it was probably around £40, as that was the payment to him, described again as for the king’s debt, for the term to 11 June 1388.¹¹⁶ Also, for March 1386 to May 1387 Robert II ordered him paid £66 13s. 4d. from Aberdeen for another obligation and granted him an unqualified £26 13s. 4d. from St Andrews.¹¹⁷ David’s only recorded activity at this time was witnessing a notarial instrument datable to 1386-7 drawn up at Longforgan, about ten kilometers west of Dundee, involving a dispute between Thomas Hay and Patrick Gray, lord of Longforgan.¹¹⁸ Present also as witnesses were Thomas Hay constable of Scotland, Alan Erskine, John Rollok, and William Chalmers.¹¹⁹

James Lindsay, in contrast, only occurs in Exchequer records, though he did receive a payment for the debt of the king, from the time that he was sheriff of Lanark.¹²⁰ He maintained connections to lands north of the Forth, and was presumably highly regarded in Aberdeenshire, despite his earlier loss of Formartine. An arbitration was concluded at his townhouse (*hospicium*) in Perth on 1 April 1387.¹²¹ The details of the case are insignificant, but present with him were witnesses William Lindsay of the Byres, Gilbert Graham, George Lesley, John Maxwell, William Newbigging, Robert Livingston, and John Logtoun, cleric of St Andrews diocese.¹²²

James Lindsay’s involvement with James 2nd earl of Douglas’ raiding in northern England probably caused his absence from royal records.¹²³ Unsurprisingly, he was instead frequently in the company of James earl of Douglas in Scottish records outwith royal charters. Froissart even observed the nearness of James Lindsay to Douglas, specifically asserting it more than once.¹²⁴ Froissart stated English raiders had targeted Douglas and Lindsay of Crawford lands in April 1384, which probably happened when John of Gaunt led a raid reaching Edinburgh that year.¹²⁵ According to Froissart, they

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 144-5.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 175-6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 147, 154-5.

¹¹⁸ *Yester Writs*, 31-2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ ER, iii, 685-7.

¹²¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 273-4.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Alexander Grant, ‘The Otterburn War from the Scottish Point of View’ in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, Anthony Goodman and Anthony Tuck, eds. (London, 1992), 38-9, 42-8.

¹²⁴ Fraser, *Pollok*, i, 133-4; See below for Froissart.

¹²⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 119; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 396-7; Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 18.

marched through Berwick and Roxburgh.¹²⁶ While it is correct most of Lindsay's lands were in the southwest,¹²⁷ or north of the Forth, he also had interests in Roxburghshire, where he had granted his uncle, William Lindsay of the Byres, Chamberlain Newton in 1384.¹²⁸

Furthermore, Froissart also recorded that when a party of French knights, seeking more feats of arms, came to Scotland on the heels of this Roxburghshire raid, Douglas, Moray, Mar, Sutherland, and Orkney, '*sires de Verss?*' (probably an Erskine),¹²⁹ and the '*seigneur de Lindesée*' accompanied by 'his six brothers, who were all of them knights', were present with the king in Edinburgh to meet them.¹³⁰ Despite the king's desire for peace, 'the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the children of Lindsay', and others met at St Giles to arrange for war.¹³¹ Froissart does not explain how several of the country's leading nobles, with French guests, were able to file into Edinburgh's main church, on its main street, undetected.

Regardless of whether this council happened, the group of men named were probably in favour of war at this point.¹³² While James Lindsay apparently had no brothers or sons, there were actually six other Lindsays, all closely related to James, active at about this time: Sir David Lindsay of Glen Esk,¹³³ Sir Alexander Lindsay (eventually) of Baltrady,¹³⁴ Sir William Lindsay of the Byres,¹³⁵ William Lindsay (eventually) of Rossie (and David's half-brother),¹³⁶ Walter Lindsay (eventually of Kinneff, and also David's half-brother),¹³⁷ and John Lindsay (David's illegitimate brother).¹³⁸ Sir David Lindsay of Crawford (d. c.1355) was their grandfather. Froissart's

¹²⁶ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 18; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, x, 285-6.

¹²⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 119.

¹²⁸ RMS, i, 636.

¹²⁹ A. H. Diverres, 'Jean Froissart's Journey to Scotland', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, i, (1965), 55n. The suggestion this may be a member of the de Vesci family is erroneous. No Vescis participated in Robert II's government, nor were they involved in David II or Robert I's governments (RRS, v, vi). Froissart mentions a Thomas Versy and a Robert Versi who seem to correspond with members of the Erskine family. For example, Froissart recorded Richard II's army attacked land of the lord of the lord of '*Vers?*' around Stirling. This is undoubtedly the Erskine land of Alloa (Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 53; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, x, 392). See also Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre I (première partie, 1325-1350) et Livre II*, Peter F Ainsworth and George T. Diller, eds (Paris, 2001), 304, in which the editors identified 'Rebert de Versi' as Robert Erskine.

¹³⁰ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 19; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, x, 290.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 120.

¹³³ RMS, i, 762.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 273-4

¹³⁶ RMS, i, 762.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 492-3.

account aside, James, David, and William Lindsay (of the Byres) were among the recipients of a French war subsidy delivered in 1385, receiving 2,000, 500 and 500 *livres tournois*, respectively.¹³⁹ Moray, whom Froissart reported was also present, received 1,000 *livres tournois*.¹⁴⁰ This raid clearly provided opportunities for political networking since James, David, and Moray shared the common goal of seeing Alexander earl of Buchan's power restrained. Although Froissart almost exclusively attributed the 1384 and 1385 raids to Douglas and Moray, Froissart definitely implied the Lindsays played an important part, since he stressed they were among the men in Scotland who wanted war.¹⁴¹ That France was willing to pay James Lindsay twice as much as Moray for his service suggests his importance.

Indeed, Froissart's knowledge of Scottish affairs has been rightly criticised, but his knowledge of the Lindsay family is often accurate. This is for several reasons. The first is rather obvious: Froissart had connections to the Douglasses, whose affinity later provided him information on Otterburn.¹⁴² James Lindsay himself was close to Douglas, as was William Lindsay, who held land in Roxburghshire and had received safe conducts to travel with William earl of Douglas in October 1366.¹⁴³ Froissart had also spent six months in 1365 in Scotland, and had been 'full fifteen days resident at... [William 1st earl of Douglas'] castle of Dalkeith'.¹⁴⁴ In 1365, though, the Lindsays who were active in the mid-1380s were minors, and those who were adults in 1365 did not associate with the Douglasses, excepting one safe conduct including Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk and William Douglas.¹⁴⁵ Tantalizingly, though, during his stay in Scotland Froissart did travel to Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire, probably with David II, where Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk had acquired lands through his 1358 marriage.¹⁴⁶ Since Alexander is unrecorded in 1365, had had no contact with David II since 1363, what impression Alexander, or his reputation might have made on Froissart is probably irrecoverable.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ *Foedera* (O), vii, 484-6.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 18-22, 35-7, 47-50, 52-7.

¹⁴² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 144; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 204; Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 368.

¹⁴³ *RMS*, i, 636; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 905.

¹⁴⁴ Diverres, 'Froissart's Journey', 54-5.

¹⁴⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 160; *Morton Registrum*, ii, 80, 85-6; *RMS*, i, 280; *RPS*, 1369/3/4, 1370/1/10, date accessed: 14 May 2009; *RRS*, vi, nos. 402, 418, 420, 423, 426, 430, 444, 451, 459, 475, 478, 502, 561; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 824-5, 897-8, 905, 915-6.

¹⁴⁶ Diverres, 'Froissart's Journey', 56-7, 59; *RRS*, vi, no. 126.

¹⁴⁷ *RMS*, i, 173.

Still, Froissart may have had a direct connection to James and David Lindsay's home turf. The party of French knights in 1384 who allegedly met at St Giles in Edinburgh to arrange the 1384 raid into England, put into port at 'Monstres', surely Montrose, spent two nights there drawing much attention from the locals, and passed through Dundee, and Perth.¹⁴⁸ According to Froissart, Geoffrey de Charny and the rest of the Frenchmen stayed at Perth, waiting for news, having sent two messengers to Edinburgh, where Robert II was holding Parliament.¹⁴⁹ This may have left, by Froissart's rendering, almost thirty Frenchmen staying in Perth for perhaps a week or so.¹⁵⁰ This is highly significant because Montrose, Dundee and Perth were all towns to which James and David Lindsay had demonstrable contemporary connections. It is likely Froissart drew some of his information from this party of Frenchmen. More important, though, it may have been through this group of men, and through possible participation in campaigns in northern England, that David Lindsay was able to make some of his French connections that became evident later in his career.

The resulting Franco-Scottish *chevauchée* was commanded by James 2nd earl of Douglas and Jean de Vienne, and probably included Archibald Douglas lord of Galloway and Robert earl of Fife.¹⁵¹ Jean de Vienne brought 40,000 *livres tournois* to help fund the raid. Many Scottish lords received payment from it, including Douglas (7,500), Carrick (5,500), Archibald Douglas (5,500), March (4,000), Fife (3,000), James Lindsay (2,000), Moray (1,000), David Lindsay (500), and William Lindsay (500).¹⁵² Although they captured Wark castle, strife between the French and Scottish contingents proved too much at Roxburgh castle, and the army disbanded without taking the castle.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the effectiveness of this raid was limited by the fact Richard II had been intentionally allowed to raid Scotland around the same time.¹⁵⁴ Robert earl of Fife followed this with a raid in October 1385, most likely into the East March, perhaps to garner favour with the younger, more warlike generation of lords, like Douglas, and James and David Lindsay.¹⁵⁵ Since David held land in Fife, of the earl of Fife, he might

¹⁴⁸ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 19 and 19n; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, x, 289.

¹⁴⁹ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 19. This Geoffrey de Charny should not be confused with Geoffrey de Charny, author of *Livre de Chevalerie* who fell, bearing the Oriflamme at Poitiers in 1356.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁵¹ Grant, 'Otterburn War', 44-5.

¹⁵² *Foedera* (O), vii, 484-6.

¹⁵³ Grant, 'Otterburn War', 44-5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 109-11; *Chron. Westminster*, 138-9; Grant, 'Otterburn War', 42-3, 45-6; MacDonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 92.

easily have been in Fife's retinue. After this October raid, a truce previously arranged in September 1385, lasting to July 1386, came into effect. This effectively ended the war and it was extended twice, ultimately to 19 June 1388.¹⁵⁶

When this truce ended, England was poorly prepared for defence. Northern English Marcher lords were weak from infighting and illness, and a major invasion of France on 10 June 1388 depleted English men and materiel.¹⁵⁷ It was probably Carrick who organised the massive Scottish campaign against English interests, involving three Scottish armies, one raiding Ireland under William Douglas of Nithsdale, another under James 2nd earl of Douglas targeting northeast England that ultimately fought at Otterburn, and Fife led the largest force, attacking northwest England.¹⁵⁸ David Lindsay's location during the campaigns is unknown. Fife may have called him up for the reasons explained above, or David might have been with James 2nd earl of Douglas' army, where his associate, the earl of Moray, was present, along with his cousins, James and William Lindsay.¹⁵⁹

Although James Lindsay's participation, and nearness to Douglas are definite, only foreign sources recorded his presence (and capture) at Otterburn. English chronicle evidence suggests James Lindsay was widely known in England. The English chronicler, Henry Knighton, who reported many Scots were captured at Otterburn, only named James, and described him as '*frater regine Scocie, uir potentissimus*', ('brother of the queen of Scotland, a man most powerful').¹⁶⁰ While correctly noting James was not the queen's brother, surely Knighton's translators were mistaken to translate *potentissimus* as 'important' rather than as 'most powerful'. As the superlative of *potens*, this word really only has the sense of having power or being powerful, as opposed to the sense of having importance.¹⁶¹ The Westminster chronicler also recorded James in very similar terms. Having stated that Sir Matthew Redmayne, while viciously harrying the Scots on their return to Scotland, captured James Lindsay, 'the most renowned figure in all

¹⁵⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 139; Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 92-3.

¹⁵⁷ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 103-4.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 104-5.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas de Barry, untitled Otterburn poem in *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 422-3; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 416-7; *Chron. Wynthoun* (Laing), iii, 36; Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, 369-71; Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, G. H. Martin, ed (Oxford, 1995), 502-5. Knighton appears a bit confused about who invaded where, asserting that Douglas, Fife, 'Sir Alexander of the Outer Isles', March, Strathean, Moray, Orkney, and Archibald Douglas all participated in the eastern raid that resulted in Otterburn.

¹⁶⁰ Knighton, *Chronicle, 1337-1396*, 506.

¹⁶¹ Knighton, *Chronicle, 1337-1396*, 506-7; R. E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), 362-3.

Scotland, with some powerful achievements to his credit'.¹⁶² Richard II also clearly felt James Lindsay was an important captive: on 25 September 1388 he denied Henry Percy earl of Northumberland the freedom to release James until king and Great Council gave him instructions on what to do with him.¹⁶³ Walsingham is the only major English chronicler who did not mention James Lindsay at Otterburn, though his account of the battle and its aftermath were quite brief.¹⁶⁴

Froissart's account of Otterburn is far longer than any other contemporary source, and provides the most information on the Lindsays involved. Although Froissart does not have the most accurate account of the Otterburn campaign, the broad details he provided of James Lindsay's participation, namely that he fought in the battle, that he came into contact with Matthew Redmayne, that he was captured, and that his contemporaries thought he was a significant figure, are all corroborated elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ Unlike other chroniclers, Froissart did name other Lindsays involved. When describing an assembly of James earl of Douglas' forces at Jedburgh taking place before the battle, Froissart placed '*Guillemme de Lindesée et messire Jacques son frère, messire Thomas de Verzy* [Erskine] [*et*] *messire Alexandre de Lindesée*' among many other Scottish knights.¹⁶⁶ Obviously William Lindsay of the Byres and James Lindsay of Crawford were not brothers, though they had campaigned together in 1385 with Jean de Vienne's expedition. The juxtaposition of Thomas Erskine of Dun and Alexander Lindsay of Balrody (David Lindsay's younger brother) is quite striking, since they both fought together to repel the English raid on Lothian in 1384.

One point figuring in most accounts of Otterburn is that the Scots were caught unaware in their camp. As a result, James earl of Douglas had to make extreme exertions to save the day for the Scots, and was killed as a result.¹⁶⁷ Froissart's account is the most detailed of these, and he recorded that none of Douglas' men, save his chaplain William of North Berwick and Robert Hart, had been able to keep pace with

¹⁶² *Chron. Westminster*, 350-1.

¹⁶³ *CDS*, iv, 384.

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, H. T. Riley, ed., vol. 2 (London, 1864), 176. Walsingham mentions no Lindsays in his text.

¹⁶⁵ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 370-1, 373-4.

¹⁶⁶ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, xiii, 201. Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 361-2 discusses this gathering, but renders 'Verzy' as 'Berry'.

¹⁶⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 416-7; Thomas de Berry's Otterburn Poem in *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 424-437; *Chron. Westminster*, 346-9; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 34-9; Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 367-372. Henry Knighton did not openly record Otterburn as an English defeat (Knighton, *Chronicle, 1337-1396*, 504-7).

Douglas, until he fell, mortally wounded.¹⁶⁸ First to catch up with Douglas and the also mortally-wounded Hart, were ‘sir James Lindsay, sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires’.¹⁶⁹ Dying, Earl James ordered that his men were not to know of his death, and that Walter and John Sinclair were to raise his banner and keep up the shout ‘Douglas!’¹⁷⁰ Both Walter and John Sinclair, as well as John Lindsay (perhaps David Lindsay’s illegitimate brother) followed this order, raising Douglas’ banner and keeping up the shout, which helped to carry the day.¹⁷¹ Accuracy aside, this episode illustrates the closeness Froissart wanted to show between the Lindsay family and James earl of Douglas. Froissart’s record of the Lindsays’ nearness to Douglas is a noticeable divergence from the English sources, which record James Lindsay as a significant figure within Scotland in his own right, though it would hardly be a leap to assume in Froissart’s understanding of late 1380s Scotland, that to be important within the Douglas affinity was to be important within Scotland, and *vice versa*.

While Froissart gave John Lindsay, Walter and John Sinclair the honour of carrying Douglas’ banner, he spent much more time describing James Lindsay’s martial exploits against Matthew Redmayne, and James’ subsequent English capture. Froissart stated that

On his [Redmayne’s] departure, he was noticed by sir James Lindsay, a valiant Scots knight, who was near him, and through courage and the hope of gain, was desirous of pursuing him. His horse was ready, and leaping on him with his battle-axe hung at his neck, and a spear in his hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle...¹⁷²

Upon getting within earshot, James challenged Redmayne to stop and fight, lest he lance him in the back, which appears to have spurred Redmayne to ride on harder, until his horse collapsed under him.¹⁷³ After dismounting, James and Matthew fought axe-to-sword ‘for a long time... for there was no one to prevent them’, and James eventually won Matthew’s surrender.¹⁷⁴ This small victory in itself was negated in Froissart’s account. James, after releasing Matthew on pledge, confused the available roads on account of the darkness, and took the road to Newcastle and ended up falling into the

¹⁶⁸ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 370. *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 38 records the death of ‘Robert Hert’ at this battle.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 370-1.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 373.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 373-4.

Bishop of Durham's hands. Held at Newcastle, he ran into Redmayne, where they dealt courteously with each other, settling Redmayne's ransom.¹⁷⁵

As is typical with Froissart, extracting the worthwhile ideas and senses from the fiction with which they are so finely woven is the challenge. The picture he painted of James Lindsay is rather mixed despite his valiance against, and later courtesy displayed towards, Matthew Redmayne. Although James was apparently an important familiar of James earl of Douglas, what effect Froissart expected the story to make of a knight, who disengaged and left his men behind to pursue the chance of a hefty ransom, is unclear.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, what to make of James Lindsay's confusion over the right path back to Scotland is also problematic. Earlier in the text, Froissart had asserted the moonlight and good weather allowed the two armies to see each other fairly easily.¹⁷⁷ It may be safest to assume, without any further evidence, that Froissart knew of some sort of altercation between Matthew Redmayne and James Lindsay of Crawford, whom he knew to have a martial reputation, and that he fabricated this into a fanciful account playing on turns of fate. Since it seems there is a distinct possibility Matthew was actually James' captor, it is difficult to determine if Froissart would have intentionally altered the account, or if his Douglas source supplied him with biased information.¹⁷⁸

The most striking feature of all these accounts of the battle is the stark absence of any mention of David Lindsay of Glen Esk. This is intriguing because later in David's career he was recorded fighting on land, ostensibly fighting at sea as the commander of a fleet, as well as highly renowned in Scotland, and mentioned in one surviving English chronicle for his prowess in tournament.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, of the Lindsays active at the time of the battle, Froissart mentioned four: James, William, Alexander, and John, the latter two probably being David's brothers.¹⁸⁰ If David was not involved in Fife's army raiding northwest England, it is tempting to conjecture that he, in contrast to some of his other relatives, would have seen more pressing issues than close support of Douglas in border warfare. First and foremost, English invasion did not immediately threaten any of the lands David possessed in 1388 as they all lay north of the Forth. In contrast, William Lindsay of the Byres' Lothian and Roxburghshire lands would have been immediately at threat, along with James Lindsay's lands of

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 374-5.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 373.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 367.

¹⁷⁸ *Chron. Westminster*, 348-51.

¹⁷⁹ See below.

¹⁸⁰ Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 371.

Crawford and Kirkmichael. Furthermore, although any lands John Lindsay and Alexander Lindsay of Baltrody held were probably north of the Forth, as an illegitimate son and a younger son, respectively, service to Douglas perhaps seemed attractive because of the profit from ransoms and spoils it might bring. As head of a primarily Forfarshire family, David, in contrast, had to resist Alexander earl of Buchan's disruptive presence north of the Forth, which may have pushed David's brothers, 'second sons', to pursuits they thought would be more productive.

While this participation in raids and battles in northern England may have been beneficial for James' southern interests, both his interests in the north, as well as those of his cousin David had been under pressure from Alexander earl of Buchan, and David could have felt involvement in border conflict would distance him too much from his most important interests. Indeed, the mixed results of the 1385 campaign, in which he seems likely to have participated, might not have disposed him well towards a similar venture. Furthermore, David's possessions north of Forfarshire possibly included more lands than at present are attested. For example, although his father's marriage charter states he acquired Aberdeenshire lands without specifying them, his receipt of annuities from Aberdeen suggests serious interests there.¹⁸¹

In October 1386, Moray's position in the north collapsed, while Buchan and his adherents, some of whom had been wooed away from Moray, were making gains.¹⁸² As well, some time during or before February 1387, Robert II had made Buchan justiciar north of the Forth. Although this threatened David Lindsay and Moray's position, it must have particularly rankled with David since his father, Alexander, had served in that role as late as 1379-80.¹⁸³ As mentioned above, it was in 1386 and 1387 that David Lindsay received several atypical payments from Robert II, three owed for an 'obligatorium', and a one-off grant from the St Andrews customs.¹⁸⁴ The timing of these payments suggests they could have easily been meant as some sort of compensation for David since he had not received the post of justiciar.

James earl of Douglas' death at Otterburn spelled change not only in central government, but also for Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan. One of Carrick's pillars of support against Buchan had been Douglas and his affinity, which disintegrated upon Earl James' death, resulting in a competition for the earldom between Archibald

¹⁸¹ RRS, vi, no. 196.

¹⁸² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 133-4.

¹⁸³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 134; ER, ii, 428, 434-5, 455, 458, 623, iii, 30-1.

¹⁸⁴ ER, iii, 144-5, 147, 175-6.

Douglas ‘the Grim’ and the late Earl James brother-in-law, Malcolm Drummond. Archibald Douglas ‘the Grim’ was ultimately successful in this competition, and became the third earl of Douglas¹⁸⁵ It was also no help to Carrick that James Lindsay was captive in England until some time before 12 August 1389.¹⁸⁶ He was probably not present for the General Council in December 1388 that replaced Carrick with Fife as guardian, on account of Carrick’s infirmity and failure to provide justice as guardian. James Lindsay may also have still been outside of the kingdom in April, when the decision was finally made to give George Douglas Tantallon and North Berwick, while granting Archibald the Grim the earldom of Douglas.¹⁸⁷ James Lindsay’s later presence at Dunfermline witnessing a grant to Fife of Aberdeenshire lands with, among others, James Douglas of Dalkeith, one of Archibald the Grim’s supporters, suggests James Lindsay had no problem associating with the new regime.¹⁸⁸

David Lindsay’s entry into the affinity of Fife’s guardianship was only slightly less smooth, as he was clearly willing to work with Fife. At the same December 1388 council where Fife took the Guardianship from Carrick, he also removed the justiciarship north of the Forth from Alexander earl of Buchan, but denied it to David Lindsay.¹⁸⁹ Any disappointment on David’s part at this decision ought not to be stressed. David could not have expected to exercise a pro-Fife justiciarship in the face of Alexander earl of Buchan, and the grant of the superiority of Guthrie (next to David’s land of the Forest of Plater) in Forfarshire bought his acquiescence on 8 December 1388.¹⁹⁰ The secular witnesses, Carrick, Fife, March, Archibald Douglas, and Thomas Erskine of Dun, suggest David was supported by those who were victorious in the settlement of the succession to the Douglas earldom.¹⁹¹ Gaining David’s support was an important step for Fife to take in order to effect his policy against Buchan. Fife ultimately gave his own son, Murdoch, the justiciarship, and an unhappy rival claimant like David could have potentially undermined Murdoch’s authority.¹⁹²

3. Resolutions and Conflicts, 1389-1397

¹⁸⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 149-52.

¹⁸⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 30-2; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 149.

¹⁸⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 152; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 86; *RPS*, 1388/12/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁸⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 30-2; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 161-3.

¹⁸⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 168-9; *RPS*, 1388/12/3. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁹⁰ NAS GD188/1/1/1.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 168-9; *RPS*, 1389/3/12. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

Dealing with Buchan was to be no easy task, and failure in this area had in large part cost Carrick his guardianship. Fife was more resourceful. Buchan had been taking advantage of his position in the north to increase both his income and landed territory at the expense of secular and religious men. He had been in conflict with Alexander Bur, bishop of Moray. He had used his former position as justiciar to withhold tiends, and had also tried to bring Bur to court in Inverness despite the fact he did not have the right to do this, and extracted the renting of Rothiemurchus and Abriachan as well.¹⁹³ He also gained possession of Abernethy in Inverness-shire, as well as Bona at the northern end of Loch Ness, Stratha'an and Urquhart.¹⁹⁴ Most of these lands bordered, or were near, Buchan's provincial lordship of Badenoch so in effect he was expanding his main power-base.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, acquiring Urquhart, on the southern side of Buchan's territory of Ross, put pressure on the earldom of Moray.¹⁹⁶

Initially, one might expect the earl of Moray and bishop of Moray would be cooperative, presenting a united front against Alexander, earl of Buchan, who had been encroaching on their territories. In fact, until late 1389, the earl and bishop of Moray had had a long-running dispute with its origins in the grant of the earldom of Moray in regality to John Dunbar in 1372.¹⁹⁷ It was different than the earldom of Moray granted to Thomas Randolph in 1312.¹⁹⁸ Although this dispute had its twists and turns, the main issue appears to have stemmed from the way Moray was reconstituted when it was granted to John Dunbar, and the bishop of Moray had not been used to working with an earl as secular overlord over some of his lands, an arrangement which was not uncommon in other Highland bishoprics.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps taking heed of the April 1385 General Council's mandate to Carrick to personally go to the Highlands to deal with depredations there, Fife went to Inverness in late October 1389, a clear challenge to Buchan in itself, and laid the foundations for an attack on Buchan by arranging for an indenture resolving the dispute between the earl and bishop of Moray.²⁰⁰ Soon

¹⁹³ Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch', 148-9; Richard Oram, 'Alexander Bur, Bishop of Moray, 1362-1397' in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, Barbara Crawford, ed. (Edinburgh, 1999), 203.

¹⁹⁴ Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch', 149.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ *ASH*, 202.

¹⁹⁷ Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 202-4

¹⁹⁸ *RMS*, i, 405; *RRS*, v, no. 389.

¹⁹⁹ Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 202-4.

²⁰⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 170; *RPS*, 1385/4/3, date accessed: 14 May 2009; *Moray Regstrum*, 197-201.

afterwards, at Inverness, on 2 November, and surely at Fife's insistence, a church council headed by Alexander Bur ordered Buchan, who had abandoned his wife, Euphemia, for a mistress, Mariead daughter of Eachann, pledged to return to Euphemia, not to threaten her life, not to attack her, and to make sure she had her possessions.²⁰¹

Buchan's authority was clearly at risk, as he stood to lose Ross if his wife were able to divorce him.²⁰²

A host of lay lords witnessed Fife's October resolution between the earl and bishop of Moray, and among them are men who had local interests or connections, had been members of James earl of Douglas' affinity, or were in both categories – John Swinton lord of Mar, David Lindsay, Alexander Lindsay of Balthrody, George Leslie of Rothes, John Lindsay of Wauchopedale (Langholm parish, Dumfriesshire), John Ramorgney esq., Walter Tulach esq., and William Chalmers of Aberdeen esq.²⁰³ Thus, it was useful for David to be included, as the restriction of Alexander earl of Buchan's activities in the north was beneficial for him. Whether he may have felt any potential divorce between Euphemia Ross and Buchan to be an opportunity to restore relations with the Leslies, and create a new Lindsay/Leslie affinity similar to the one in which his father was involved, is not certain.²⁰⁴ Most likely, he saw this victory, at least on parchment, as an opportunity to align more closely with the earl of Moray, a figure with whom he had worked in the past, and somebody with whom he would be linked in the future.

Supporting Fife in this venture probably raised David and his brother Alexander in the earl's esteem, as they soon received grants and responsibilities. On 8 January 1390, Robert II, probably at Fife's instigation, made a hereditary grant to Alexander Lindsay of Balthrody of the superiority of the barony of Owres, of Lumgerre and of Hiltone in Kincardineshire, and of Balgillow in Forfarshire.²⁰⁵ It was probably no coincidence this grant was made at Dundee.²⁰⁶ Alexander died around 1397, and the fate of these lands is not known.²⁰⁷ Eight days later, at Aberdeen, David Lindsay, Walter Tulach, John Balbirnie (Ruthwell parish, Angus), and Robert son of Alan witnessed Alexander Murray of Culbyn (Dyke and Moy parish, Moray) deliver sasine of

²⁰¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 171; Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch' 151; Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 204.

²⁰² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 171.

²⁰³ *Moray Registrum*, 197-201.

²⁰⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 171.

²⁰⁵ *RMS*, i, 792.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *ER*, iii, 422-3.

'Badfothel', (Pitfodels, Aberdeenshire?), to William Rede.²⁰⁸ In March, David Lindsay and Walter Stewart of Brechin, the future earl of Atholl and Robert II's youngest son oversaw Euphemia, the widowed countess of Strathearn confirm lands in Strathearn to David Murray, and attached their seals to the charter.²⁰⁹

Fife's lay and ecclesiastical challenges to Buchan's authority occasioned some local activity. Moray's son, Thomas Dunbar (sheriff of Inverness), and Alexander Bur both understood how politics worked, especially against a hard-line politician like Buchan. Fife had played his hand, and it was their turn to wait for Alexander's response. Quite logically, therefore, on 22 February 1390, Thomas made an agreement with Bur, pledging to protect Bur and his property.²¹⁰ David Lindsay, on the other hand, was drawn away from the North. He had challenged John Welles of England to compete against him in tourney, and acquired a safe conduct to this effect, granted on 22 January allowing him to pass to England with twenty-nine men, unarmed, and with David's armour packed, effective from 1 April for two months.²¹¹ Apparently Richard II was not comfortable enough with the truce agreed in the summer of 1389 to trust the Scots to ride armed in his country.²¹² In March, Moray also received a safe conduct for similar purposes.²¹³

On 19 April 1390, Robert II died, but Robert earl of Fife maintained his guardianship despite the succession of John earl of Carrick to the throne, who changed his name to Robert III.²¹⁴ It was also about this time David acquired an extension of his safe conduct, which was granted on 25 May, for two months beginning on 2 June.²¹⁵ This safe conduct is also the first tangible link of David to the city of Dundee, as it records another safe conduct for the 'Seinte Marie ship of Dundee' to come to England carrying goods for sale, and to return with 'a complete suit of armour for the body of the said David [Lindsay]'.²¹⁶ Dundee was a burgh that loomed large in the first four earls of Crawford's careers and, based on this transaction, it seems David had contacts with the burgh's shipping.²¹⁷ Since this latest safe conduct mentioned David's 'harness',

²⁰⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 262.

²⁰⁹ *Inchaffray Registrum*, xlviii-xlix.

²¹⁰ Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 204-5.

²¹¹ *CDS*, iv, 404.

²¹² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 167-8.

²¹³ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122.

²¹⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 175.

²¹⁵ *CDS*, iv, 410.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

along with that of his men, it appears David had the resources to own at least two suits of armour.²¹⁸

While historians like Boardman and Oram have implied David Lindsay and Moray's decisions to go south were individualistic, and perhaps even vain, it is possible they were neither.²¹⁹ Rather, they may indicate a desire on Fife's part to maintain positive contacts with England. On 25 May of that year, David Lindsay, John Brown, John Haliburton (of Dirleton), the earl of Moray and William Dalziel all participated in English tournament.²²⁰ Besides Moray, John Broun and David Lindsay had both been at Inverness for Fife's settlement between the earl and bishop of Moray. Dalziel, on the other hand, in the late 1390s, came to associate with both David, as well as with John Ramornie, one of Fife's arch-conspirators who helped to seize David duke of Rothesay in the end of 1401.²²¹ The only 'odd man out' was John Haliburton. He had flirted with English allegiance in the summer of 1389, though to no end.²²² His connections were with the late James earl of Douglas and Malcolm Drummond, but around the time of the tournament he was also courting Margaret Stewart at Tantallon, who was cooperating with Fife.²²³ Despite John Haliburton's presence, and the fact Moray was jousting against his rival in border warfare (the keeper of the Roxburgh castle, the earl of Nottingham),²²⁴ it is quite difficult to miss the influence of Robert earl of Fife in this assembly of men. Fife perhaps even assembled them. It is also clear that Fife's affinity included a cadre of men interested in tournament, and who may have been searching for a way to exercise their martial skills outside of warfare, since Scotland and England were at truce at the time.

The tournament at which David Lindsay competed is documented in English and Scottish sources. Wyntoun provided, by far, the most detail of David's participation, and will be addressed below. Bower made mention of the tournament, but focused on the activities of William Dalziel. For Wyntoun and Bower, recounting David and William's exploits was as much an opportunity to exhibit Scottish prowess in chivalry as it was as an attempt to recount events factually. The Westminster chronicler,

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 175; Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 205. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122 makes no statement on whether or not this should be understood as an individualistic act.

²²⁰ CDS, iv, 411.

²²¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 501-2; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 223-6; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 13-5, 38-41; HMC 4.1, 494; RMS, i, app. i 157.

²²² CDS 4, 391; Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 112.

²²³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 166, 196; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 83.

²²⁴ CDS, iv, 411, 413; Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122.

apparently less fired by chauvinism than his Scottish counterparts, only delivered a short, dispassionate account, simply stating Lindsay and Welles proved equally proficient with lances, battle-axes, and daggers.²²⁵ He was clear, but undramatic, regarding Nottingham, who performed ‘with greater distinction than... Moray’ and related Peter Courteny’s combat against a Scottish knight in similar terms, noting the Scots knight ‘was not wanting in vigour or mettle’.²²⁶

In both accounts, the Monk of Westminster emphasised the sharpness of the lances (*‘lanceis acutissimis’* / ‘sharpest lances’ in David’s case, and *‘lanceis valde acutis’* / ‘very sharp lances’ in Moray’s) used by David Lindsay, in his joust against Welles, and Moray in his joust against Nottingham, and in particular, described David Lindsay and John Welles’ jousting as *‘hostiliter’*.²²⁷ Likewise, when Peter Courtney jousting against an unnamed Scottish knight, the author stressed the sharpness of his lance.²²⁸ According to the Monk of Westminster, Richard II banned jousts of war after this event, perhaps partly because the earl of Moray was injured badly in the event, and died before 12 February 1392.²²⁹

Bower, on the other hand, was much more subjective in his record of the event. He described David as ‘a worthy knight and extremely distinguished in every military skill’ and cited David’s glorious triumph over John Welles at a tournament before Richard II as an excellent example of this, stating that ‘[t]he especial fame of his knightly skill is still remembered in England today’.²³⁰ He later placed David at a feast following the tournament to which Richard II had invited him.²³¹ Strangely, then, having simply brushed over David’s participation, Bower chose instead to describe another Scottish knight, William Dalziel’s exploits in detail.²³² There may be an explanation for this. The story of David’s joust, in one garbled form or another, remained current at least until the time of Pitscottie in the sixteenth century, so it is quite possible that it was well known when Bower was writing, and he therefore felt no need to elaborate.²³³

²²⁵ *Chron. Westminster*, 434-5.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 436-7.

²²⁷ *Chron. Westminster*, 434-7.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 436-7.

²²⁹ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122.

²³⁰ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12-3.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 14-5.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 107.

To demonstrate Dalziel's rhetorical skills, Bower recalled that a 'grandiloquent and wordy English knight' spoke to Dalziel at the banquet, telling him the reason Scottish knights, like David Lindsay, whose own surname he said was English, possessed so much valour, was because many of them descended from English knights who had fathered children with Scottish noblewomen during the wars of independence.²³⁴ Dalziel, in return, conceded this point, but argued that as a result of the English knights all being in Scotland and fathering his generation of Scottish knights, the abandoned wives of the English knights had, in their lust, begot the current generation of English knights with 'cooks and churls, serfs and villeins, and sometimes friars and confessors... men neither suited to warfare nor efficient at fighting', and as a result, Dalziel said he was proud to have descended from noble stock.²³⁵ Bower ended this exchange stating when Richard II heard of this conversation, he requested it be repeated before him, and having heard the exchange, praised Dalziel for his wit.²³⁶

Next, Bower recounted a joust between Dalziel and Peter Courtney, which the chronicler stated was at another time than the feast mentioned above. In the days preceding the joust, Courtney allegedly wore a surcoat with an embroidered falcon, and the message 'I beer a falcon fairest of flicht; quha so pinchez at hir his deth is dicht in[graith]'.²³⁷ To provoke him, Dalziel had a similar surcoat made, with a magpie, and a satiric message, 'I beer a py pikkand at a pese [pea]; qwha so pikkis at her I pik at his nese [nose] in faith'.²³⁸ This provocation resulted in a joust, in which Dalziel further upset Courtney by failing to fasten his helmet, which meant when Courtney struck him on his head during the first two courses, Dalziel's helmet took the full force of the impact, falling off, leaving Dalziel still on his horse.²³⁹ On the third course, when Dalziel knocked out two of Courtney's teeth, Courtney complained to Richard II Dalziel's harness was not equal, since he was not fastening his helmet.²⁴⁰ Dalziel, in the presence of Richard, proposed they start the joust over, and he promised they should be made entirely equal, or he would pay £200.²⁴¹ Courtney agreed to this, but when Dalziel, who had lost an eye at Otterburn insisted that Courtney have one of his eyes put out so they could be equal, the English knight rejected this, and was forced to pay

²³⁴ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 14-5.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 14-7.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-7.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 16-8.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16-8.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-9.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the £200.²⁴² This, again, resulted in Richard praising Dalziel for his cunning and his skill in arms.²⁴³

Bower's ill-disposition towards England probably helped shape the way he wrote these passages. Nevertheless, David Lindsay figured in Bower's narrative a few times, often in relation to chivalric display and military prowess. It is surely informative then, that Bower described Dalziel in the terms that he did. Although Dalziel's own chivalric display may appear somewhat lacking given his recourse to trickery, Bower's use of a sage-like Richard II to praise Dalziel's cunning leaves no doubt Bower intended his readers to perceive Dalziel as an exemplar of Scottish chivalry. Furthermore, he accurately recalled Dalziel was a veteran wounded at Otterburn, so his knightly credentials could hardly be questioned. Therefore, Bower's implication was that David Lindsay, who had a reputation for the practice of chivalry and the use of arms in battle, was keeping a retinue of men who did the same.

Andrew Wyntoun's account of David's participation in the London tournament of 1390 is the most revealing of all accounts, especially because of the context in which he placed it. After relating Robert II's death, Wyntoun was careful to mention his chronicle, from David II's birth to Robert II's death 'wes noucht my dyte', but that he copied it not only because he felt it was well-written, but also because 'I wes in my trawail sade, / I ekyd it here to this dyte / For to mak me sum respyte'.²⁴⁴ He then went on to state

Bot yhit I thynk noucht for to close
Off my matere all purpose:
Bot yhyt forthirmar I wyll procede
In to this matere yhit in dede,
Set I wyll noucht wryt wp all,
That I hawe sene in my tyme fall,
Part, that is noucht worth to wryte;
Part, that can mak na delyte;
Part, that can na proffyt bryng;
Part, bot falshed or hethyng;
Qwhat is he, off ony wyte,
That wald drawe sic in this wryte?
In lawté is full my purpos
Off this Tretis the sowme to clos.
Noucht all yhit that is fals, and lele;
Noucht all to wryt, yhit na consele;
Off this purpos yhit noucht to blyn

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 44-6.

Qwhare last wes lefft, I will begyne.²⁴⁵

Thus, it is highly significant that, after Wyntoun stressed his lofty purpose to record that which was worthwhile, delightful and profitable, that he immediately began his account of his own times ‘Qwhen Schyr David the Lyndyssay rade / Till Lundyn, and thare Journay made’, to which he devoted 103 lines.²⁴⁶ He introduced David, on his way to London as

...a lord mychty
Honest, abill and avenand,
...
With knychtis, sqwyeris, and othir men
Off his awyne retenw then;
Qwhare he and all his company
Wes well arayid, and dayntely,
And all purwad at devys.²⁴⁷

This appears in line with Wyntoun’s stated goal of only recording worthy affairs. In his narrative, the three main themes he stressed were David’s martial prowess, his sheer physical strength, and his courtesy. Often in stressing David’s strength or prowess, he emphasised the other characteristics as well, though they come across as individual traits. During the joust, for example, ‘The Lyndyssay thare wyth manffull fors / Strak qwyte the Wellis fra his hors / Flatlyngis downe upon the grene; Thare all his saddille twme wes sene’.²⁴⁸ According to Wyntoun, because Welles was renowned in England as ‘Manfull, stoute, and off gud pyth’, some onlookers claimed David was tied to his saddle.²⁴⁹ When David heard this, to prove he was not, he rode to Richard II, leapt from his horse, knelt before Richard II, and said to him it was apparent whether or not he was tied down.²⁵⁰ That done, without any aid, he leapt back on his horse and finished the joust.²⁵¹ Given David’s genteel address to Richard II, all three elements—strength, prowess and courtesy—were clearly visible.

In the second portion of the tournament Lindsay and Welles fought on foot with various weapons, last of which was with ‘knywys’.²⁵² They both flew at each other with gusto, however David ‘festnyd his dagere / In till Wellis armowris fyne’, lifted him

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 46-7.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 47-50.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 47.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 48.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 48-9.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 49.

²⁵² Ibid.

from the ground, and ‘gave the Wellis a gret fall, / And had hym haly at his will, / Qwhatevyr he wald haȝe dwne him till’.²⁵³ Richard II, in Wyntoun’s account, essentially told David he was free to kill Welles if he so wished, but that David, ‘all curtays wes, / Sayd to thaim, that stud hym by, “Help help now, for curtasy,” and took Welles by the fist and helped him stand, saying there was still combat that needed to be done.’²⁵⁴

Wyntoun’s conclusion to this passage deserves to be related in full:

Schyr Dawy the Lyndissay on this wys
Fullfyllid in Lwndyn his jowrné
Wyth honowre and wyth honesté.
And to the Qwene than off England.
He gave this Wellis than in presand
Thus qwyte wonnyn all frely:
And scho than off that curtasy
Thankyd him. And swa he
Wyth honowre and wyth honesté
Retowryd syne in his land hame,
Gret wurschype ekyd till his fame.
This dede wes dwne in till England
Befor Rychard the Kyng ryngnand
The Secownd, qwhen that state held he
Wyth honowre gret and honesté²⁵⁵

Thus, Wyntoun, who had interspersed the qualities of strength, prowess and courtesy throughout his account of David’s exploits, ended the account in a flurry of what was, essentially praise of honesty, honour and courtesy.

How much this is informative about the historical David Lindsay is of course another matter entirely. Since David figures in two more passages in Wyntoun (the Battle of Glasclune and at Hawdenstank), he must surely have been reasonably well known.²⁵⁶ Since Wyntoun was writing between 1413 and 1420, he would not have been separated from David’s own lifetime by more than thirteen years, well within living memory, but certainly long enough for his memory to be romanticised.²⁵⁷

This is actually highly significant. As Richard Kaeuper suggested, chivalric literature, especially of this sort, is ‘more often prescriptive than descriptive’.²⁵⁸ Even the most highly flown passages such as this one, can be full of information, as this one certainly is when it is taken in context. There would have been little reason for

²⁵³ Ibid., 49.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 49-50.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 50.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 58-60, 65-7.

²⁵⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 144.

²⁵⁸ Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), 33.

Wyntoun to focus so directly on knightly practice of courtesy, honesty and honour if he did not see some sort of problem along these lines in the first place.²⁵⁹ Indeed, this section of Wyntoun is surely one of the types of texts Kaeuper had in mind when he stated chivalric literature could honestly glory in the pageantry of chivalry, and at the same time betray the author's desire for knights to reform their ways to achieve order in society.²⁶⁰

Indeed, David's chivalric display in London, or Wyntoun's use of it, in any case, was not the only notable Scottish magnatial activity happening in May and June of 1390. Although Wyntoun followed his chapter on David's tourneying in London with 141 lines ranging over the issues of Robert II's funeral, Robert III's coronation, and Augustus Caesar, he ended this following chapter, briefly stating it was 'That ilk yhere... wyld wykkyd Heland-men' had burned the church at Elgin.²⁶¹ This was of course, part of raiding Alexander earl of Buchan had conducted in retaliation for Fife and Alexander Bur's attacks on his political position and marriage, which first, in the end of May, hit the burgh of Forres, the choir of the church of St Leonard and the manor of the archdeacon, and second, on 17 June, burned '*totam villam de Elgyn*' ('the whole village of Elgin) and the church of St Giles, the *Maison Dieu* near Elgin, and eighteen '*mansiones nobiles et pulcras*' ('noble and beautiful houses') of the canons and chaplains.²⁶² At a local level, Buchan clearly chose these targets partly because they were significant possessions of the bishop and earl, which meant his ability to destroy them emphasised the Dunbars' failure to make good their pledge to protect Alexander Bur, but also because these burghs and churches were some of the main sources of revenue for the bishop and earl as well.²⁶³ Furthermore, at a national level, he may have also been hoping to undermine Fife's attempts to undercut his power in the north, and to convince Robert III that order was impossible in the north without him.²⁶⁴ Indeed, as Wyntoun stated at the beginning of the section of his chronicle detailing events happening during his own life, emulation of David's chivalric and honourable qualities could indeed 'proffyt bryng', especially contrasted to Buchan's attacks on the church.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 33-4.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 34.

²⁶¹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing) iii, 55.

²⁶² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 175-6; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), vii, 446-7; *Chron. Pluscarden*, i, 329; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing) iii, 55; Grant, 'Wolf of Badenoch', 151-3; Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 204-6; *Moray Registrum*, 381.

²⁶³ Oram, 'Alexander Bur', 205-6.

²⁶⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 176.

²⁶⁵ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 47.

By the end of the summer, Bur had excommunicated Buchan, who later submitted and pledged to make compensation for the damages he had inflicted, ending the feud.²⁶⁶ This was done at Perth, with witnesses Walter Trail bishop of St Andrews, the king, Fife, Walter Keith, Malcolm Drummond lord of Mar, and Thomas Erskine of Dun ‘and many others’.²⁶⁷ Although it is tempting to speculate that, in this case, those ‘many others’ included some members of the Lindsay family – perhaps James Lindsay since he had a townhouse in Perth – Lindsay interests would have probably been fairly well represented whether or not they were present, since James was married to a Keith (though this relationship later came to grief), and Thomas Erskine of Dun had campaigned with Alexander Lindsay of Balthrody.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, since Fife seems to have made David a part of his plan to undercut Alexander Stewart’s power in the north, it is hard to imagine that the guardian would have forgotten David at this point.

Ultimately, though, the Lindsays’ activities between 25 May 1390, when David received a further two month safe conduct, and 28 September, when David and his cousins appeared in Edinburgh, are irrecoverable. From 28 September, there was a flurry of activity involving the Lindsays. On that date, at Edinburgh, for the redemption of Ralph Percy of England, Robert III granted Henry Preston (James Lindsay’s brother-in-law) the lands of Formartine, Fyvie with its village and castle, the lands of Meikle Gardens (Skene Parish, Aberdeenshire), and 50 merks of the lands of Parkhill (Kemnay parish, Aberdeenshire), which James had resigned.²⁶⁹ Witnesses included Fife, Douglas, Moray, David Lindsay, Thomas Erskine of Dun, and Robert Keith.²⁷⁰ The arrangement later provoked a dispute between James Lindsay and the Keiths. Wyntoun’s account of an incident in 1395, in which James defeated Robert Keith’s men near the church at Bourtie in Garioch while Keith was attempting to lay siege to his aunt (James’ wife) who was at that time holding Fyvie, would seem to suggest James maintained possession of the castle.²⁷¹ Whatever the immediate intent and result of this grant were, James and his cousin David were cooperating two weeks later. On 12 October 1390 at Dundee, James granted John Taillefer the Lanarkshire land of ‘Hareclouch’ (Hareshaw, Avondale parish, Lanarkshire?) which Taillefer’s uncle had freely resigned at Dundee. Witnesses were William Angus abbot of Lindores,

²⁶⁶ Oram, ‘Alexander Bur’, 206; *Moray Registrum*, 381-2.

²⁶⁷ *Moray Registrum*, 381-2.

²⁶⁸ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 62-3.

²⁶⁹ *RMS*, i, 801.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 62.

William Lindsay (probably of the Byres), David Lindsay, John Herries (James' son-in-law), knights, Patrick Inverpeffer, and Richard Spalding, burgesses of Dundee.²⁷²

Over the next year, David remained very closely tied to central government. Buchan's attacks on Elgin and Forres surely pleased neither Robert III nor Fife, and they sought Lindsay support. On 2 January 1391, David received two grants of £40 yearly, hereditarily from Aberdeen, one of which was a fee for special retinue service to David earl of Carrick, Robert III's heir.²⁷³ Nicholson felt these sorts of fees stood out 'with sinister clarity' as a sign of a weak kingship, but Boardman reassessed them as a realistic method by which Robert III was attempting to bind a group of retainers to him to create an affinity.²⁷⁴ Whether this helped Robert III and Carrick draw David Lindsay into their affinity, the secular witnesses present were significant as they included Fife, Douglas, James Douglas of Dalkeith, and Thomas Erskine of Dun.²⁷⁵ These men were, including David Lindsay, in Fife's affinity, and Fife surely influenced Robert III to make this grant. Boardman has noted in later years many of Fife's northern nobles, especially David Lindsay, provided an important point of overlap between the affinities of Robert III's heir David, and the earl of Fife himself.²⁷⁶ Thus, it is quite possible this grant should be seen in a light of concession, if not cooperation, between Fife and Robert III.

Later, as winter was giving way to spring, David Lindsay made a grant that would have major implications for his family over the coming decades. On 9 March 1391 at Dundee, David granted £20 coming from his lands of Newdosk, Glen Esk, and 'Blacokmore' within Forfarshire and Kincardineshire to his cousin Sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Forfar and lord of Auchterhouse.²⁷⁷ The witness list is a clear indication David commanded a wide range of Lindsay family members and adherents: Alexander Lindsay of Baltrody, Patrick Gray, John Lindsay, Malise Spens, knights, Alexander Ogilvy, Philip Lindsay, William Auchterlonie, and Patrick Blare.²⁷⁸ That this grant was to Walter Ogilvy, and that William Auchterlonie was present as a witness strongly suggests David had maintained the connections his father had with these men's families, as both these men were mentioned in the first charter David witnessed in 1380.

²⁷² Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 365-6; RMS, i, 322, app. i 157.

²⁷³ RMS, i, 811-2.

²⁷⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 194-6; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 211-3

²⁷⁵ RMS, i, 812.

²⁷⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 214.

²⁷⁷ RMS, i, 819.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

By itself, this grant probably would seem to have been a purely local affair, however, the circumstances surrounding it give it wider implications. First of all, it is highly significant that David had just been given two annuities of £40 from Aberdeen two months before. Whether or not Robert III and Fife had intended David to use his boost in income specifically to build up his connections with Walter Ogilvy is unknowable. Nevertheless, they surely must have expected this increase in revenue would be used to build up his affinity. If John earl of Moray was indeed dying from wounds received in London the summer before,²⁷⁹ Fife and Robert III may have hoped to ensure that whatever happened to Moray in the coming months, Fife's ally, David, remained strong in the face of Alexander earl of Buchan who had recently shown his willingness to use violence as problem-solving method.

Just as Buchan had carefully struck at the bishop and earl of Moray in calculated places at times when they were undefended, it appears he gave a repeat performance some time in early 1392, this time targeting David Lindsay and his affinity. Probably around 18 January 1392, Buchan's sons, David and Robert Stewart with the aid of Clann Donnchaidh (the Duncanson family), led a raid down Glen Isla in West Forfarshire culminating in a battle (according to Wyntoun) at Glasclune, under two kilometers south of Blairgowrie or (according to Bower) at Glen Brerechan, 6.5 kilometers directly northeast of Pitlochry.²⁸⁰ Since Glasclune and Glen Brerechan are located in different places, it is possible this is a conflation of two battles, or perhaps that it was a running battle and fought in more than one place. Wyntoun's identification of Glasclune is preferable. Not only was he alive during David's time, but he also mentioned Clann Donnchaidh who were named in the parliamentary complaint. Furthermore, Glasclune is very near James Lindsay of Crawford's land of Alyth, a target Buchan may have wanted to hit, especially since James Lindsay was claiming the lordship and earldom of Buchan.

Parliamentary records indicate these events definitely happened before 25 March 1392, when a complaint about the raid was made, naming both Stewarts and members

²⁷⁹ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122.

²⁸⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 180. For date, see: Catherine R. Borland, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916), 332; University of Edinburgh Library MSS 27, f.232v. For Glasclune: *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58-9. For Glen Brerechan: *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 6-7; *Chron. Extracta*, 203; *Chron. Pluscarden*, iii, 32. All three of these accounts are very similar, and probably derive from the Coupar Angus manuscript of Bower, as MS CA places the battle at 'Glenbroth', the *Pluscarden* at 'Glenbreth', and *Chron. Extracta* at 'Glenbroth'. Furthermore, both MS CA and *Chron. Extracta* describe Duncan Stewart as 'armiductor' and 'bastardus filius Alexandri comitis de' Buchan, among other textual similarities.

of Clann Donnchaidh as the perpetrators.²⁸¹ According to Wyntoun, David Lindsay had suspected an attack, and sent a spy into the Highlands who never returned. In the meantime, Walter Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar had waited in Kettins, near Coupar Angus, while David waited in Dundee. When Clann Donnchaidh did finally attack, the Lowland response was uncoordinated, Walter arriving before David. If Clann Donnchaidh was driven back, it was at a high cost: David Lindsay was gravely injured, and Walter Ogilvy and his uterine brother, William Lichton, among others, died.²⁸²

Wyntoun, writing during the lifetime of Buchan's son, Alexander earl of Mar (d. 1435), laid blame wholly on 'Heyland men... Thomas, Patrik and Gibbone... Duncansonnys', though Bower, who wrote after Mar's death, openly blamed the raid on Duncan Stewart, Buchan's illegitimate son.²⁸³ Parliamentary records also indicate many men were involved in this raid, including 'Duncan Stewart, Robert Stewart, Patrick Duncanson, Thomas Duncanson, Robert 'de Atholia' and all of '*Clanqwheril*'.²⁸⁴ The presently unidentified '*Clanqwheril*' later intersected David's path in 1396 at Perth, in equally violent circumstances.²⁸⁵

Although the proximate cause of this event is lost, like many conflicts in late medieval Scotland, competition and tension at local and national levels were working in a diabolical sort of harmony. Wyntoun alleged there was 'discorde' between David Lindsay and Clann Donnchaidh.²⁸⁶ One root of this feud may have been the Glen Esk inheritance, as Robert 'de Atholia', a member of Clann Donnchaidh, had married a daughter of John Stirling of Glen Esk, and through her may have been a potential claimant of parts of David's barony of Glen Esk.²⁸⁷ This would have made Robert quite old at the time of the raid, but by a second wife he produced a son who was alive in 1432, suggesting Robert may have had a long lifespan.²⁸⁸ Also important, the land of

²⁸¹ RPS, 1392/3/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁸² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 6-7; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58-60; RPS, 1392/3/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁸³ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 6-7; *Chron. Extracta*, 203; *Chron. Pluscarden*, i, 332; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58.

²⁸⁴ RPS, 1392/3/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁸⁵ RPS, 392/3/1, date accessed: 14 May 2009; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 7-11.

²⁸⁶ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58.

²⁸⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 180; RMS, i, 1395; J. A. Robertson, *Comitatus de Atholia. The Earldom of Atholl: Its Boundaries Stated. Also, the Extent therein of the possessions of the Family of de Atholia and their Descendants, the Robertsons* (Edinburgh, 1860), 25-8.

²⁸⁸ Robertson, *Comitatus de Atholia*, 25-8.

Stormont that Robert 'de Atholia' acquired from his second wife was less than ten kilometers southeast of Glasclune, giving him a base in the area.²⁸⁹

With Robert 'de Atholia' as an ally, and a feud possibly in progress, it would have taken little encouragement from Buchan to push these men to attack the Lindsays with the aid of Buchan's own sons. Buchan's attack shared two key similarities with his attacks on Forres and Elgin eighteen months earlier. The first of these was timing. Just as Buchan had attacked Forres and Elgin when they were ill-defended because the earl of Moray and David Lindsay were in London, so Buchan attacked Lindsay territory around the time John Dunbar earl of Moray died.²⁹⁰ Second, once more Buchan targeted his victim's financial resources, as he had targeted the bishop and earl of Moray's resources in 1390. Glasclune is less than a kilometer from Alyth in Perthshire, which James Lindsay owned. It is tempting to speculate Buchan may have chosen to target a property of James Lindsay, who had been claiming the earldom of Buchan consistently since the 1380s.²⁹¹ Moreover, it should not go unnoticed that Walter Ogilvy, David's ally and sheriff of Angus, was killed in the battle. Although it is unclear whether Ogilvy was killed by some random missile, chose to fight to the death, was specifically denied quarter, or fell in some other way, it is certain Ogilvy's death in that battle fulfilled Buchan's other goal of undermining the link between David Lindsay and Walter Ogilvy. Last, like his attacks on Forres and Elgin, this raid, perhaps especially in light of the sheriff of Angus' death, was not good for Buchan's reputation in Lowland Scotland.²⁹²

David's career saw a few shifts over the next several years. His activities became markedly more international, he associated more closely with David earl of Carrick, and his outlook took on a markedly more southern element, especially after he inherited the heirless James Lindsay of Crawford's lands of Crawford and Kirkmichael c.1396. Despite his numerous safe conducts, which presumably took him outside of Scotland and to somewhere where he could not keep his finger on the pulse of Scottish politics, he managed to shift his associations to remain in the affinity of the most ascendant political force in Scottish politics, namely that of David earl of Carrick. As well, he was

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 28.

²⁹⁰ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 122.

²⁹¹ NAS RH2/6/4, f.154r; RPS, 1385/4/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁹² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 180-1.

involved in diplomacy in France and England, an indication the royal establishment in Scotland favoured him.

David's safe conducts between 1391 and 1397 help illustrate his international activities, and also indicate French inclinations. Furthermore, the men with whom he traveled suggest he was primarily cultivating links south of the Forth, while still maintaining his local, northern links. The table below illustrates his English safe conducts granted from 1391 to 1397:²⁹³

Dates Active	Purpose	Retinue Size	Armour Status	Named Companions & Similar Safe Conducts
29 May 1391 - 29 August 1391	To return from France	40	Uncertain	None
15 November 1391 - 14 April 1392	To enter and return from England	20	All unarmed	None
5 January 1393- 29 Septmeber 1393	To enter and return from England	20	Uncertain	Earl of March & John Swinton. 24 December 1392 - 29 August 1393.
30 August 1394 (open ended)	Truce Negotiation	not specified	not specified	Clergy: St. Andrews, Glasgow Lay: Carrick, Douglas, March, Douglas of Dalkeith, James Lindsay, Thomas Erskine, Patrick Graham, and others.
12 March 1396 - 12 September 1396	Pass through England, ship abroad, and to return.	40 men and 2 Scottish knights.	Uncertain	Sir James Scrimgeour with 18 horsemen, to ship abroad and return. 12 March 1396 - 12 March 1397
12 March 1397 - 12 September 1397	To pass through England en route to and from France.	40 men and 2 Scottish knights.	Uncertain	Similar letters to Sir James Scrimgeour

The first point to note is the nature of David's first safe conduct, from 29 May 1391, is the specification for David's *return* from France; he had apparently gone there beforehand without a safe conduct specifically naming him, some time before 9 March 1391.²⁹⁴ David may have been involved in the renewal of the Anglo-Scottish Alliance

²⁹³ CDS, iv, 431, 487; Rot. Scot., ii, 110, 118-9, 126, 136.

²⁹⁴ RMS, i, 819; Rot. Scot., ii, 110.

which Robert III confirmed in December 1390, and Charles VI renewed on 30 March 1391.²⁹⁵ Wyntoun indeed recalled a Scottish presence at negotiations taking place in 1391 at Amiens, and that Louis, then duke of Touraine, later duke of Orléans, showed favour to the Scots there.²⁹⁶

At this point, time in France may well have furthered David's interest in chivalry. Jean de Vienne, to whom David had a connection from the French expedition of 1385, was in Louis duke of Touraine's company.²⁹⁷ In 1391, the nineteen year old duke of Touraine was the power behind Charles VI, and also maintained a lavish court, criticised for its luxury, and at which tournament was a known feature, something surely interesting to David.²⁹⁸ David and his brother Alexander also apparently acquired their father's interest in crusading, and joined Philippe de Mézières' (d. 1405) Order of the Passion, established in 1395.²⁹⁹ Mézières, whose activities interested Louis duke of Orléans, was a major promoter of crusade, and had been tutor to the future Charles VI until the king's uncles dismissed him after Charles V's death.³⁰⁰ In Mézières' conception, the Order of the Passion would be a large army of 21,000 men, well trained to correct problems Western armies had with discipline, to ensure victory against what he felt were formidable Muslim forces.³⁰¹ Furthermore, several of David Lindsay's potential contacts from Jean de Vienne's expedition to Scotland in 1385 either appear to have been members of or to have pledged support to the Order of the Passion.³⁰² It should also probably not pass without mention that 1396 was the year of the Crusade of Nicopolis, which Mézières had been promoting, though David was not involved in this undertaking.³⁰³

The key political event in Scotland during the dates the above safe conducts cover was David earl of Carrick's acquisition of more power within Scotland at Fife's

²⁹⁵ Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 119.

²⁹⁶ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 55-7; Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, David Douglas, trans. (New York, 1965), 193.

²⁹⁷ Perroy, *Hundred Years War*, 192-3.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 193-4.

²⁹⁹ Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934), 135; Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560* (Edinburgh, 1985), 88.

³⁰⁰ N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327-1405* (Paris, 1896), 491; Perroy, *Hundred Years war*, 188.

³⁰¹ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, Revised ed. (Woodbridge, 2000), 264, 310.

³⁰² Atiya, *Crusade of Nicopolis*, 133-4; Froissart (Johnes), *Chronicles*, ii, 29; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, x, 318-9. Jean de Vienne, Enguerrand (VII) de Coucy and Jean de Sainte-Croix are all almost certain. The baron 'd'Yury' (Johnes) and 'd'Ivery' (Lettenhove) may be the Passion's 'Gaucher d'Yrois'. Similarly, 'John de Hangiers' (Johnes) / 'seigneurs de Hangiers' (Lettenhove) may be the Passion's 'Jehan de Hangest'.

³⁰³ Atiya, *Crusade of Nicopolis*, 26-32, 84, 92; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 7-11. Bower reports David was in Perth on 25 September 1396, the day Ottoman forces defeated the crusaders at Nikipolis.

expense, something initially done with Robert III's aid.³⁰⁴ Although Robert III had courted the losers of the 1389 Douglas settlement that gave Archibald Douglas lord of Galloway the earldom of Douglas, denying it to Malcolm Drummond, Robert was still prepared to reach out to other men as well.³⁰⁵ David Lindsay and Moray, disregarding their receipt of special retinue fees from Carrick, might not have appeared, at least at first glance, especially likely to support Robert III and Carrick, since they were integral to the northern policy of Fife who had usurped Robert III's power. Nevertheless, as the years wore on, it is possible that neither David nor the successive earls of Moray had been especially content with Fife's government. Being at the spearhead of Fife's assault on Buchan's advances was hardly an advantage. Whatever prestige it had bought them, it also brought Highland raiders to their lands within the space of about two years. Although in 1392 David Lindsay was working with the Keiths, a family in Fife's affinity, by 1393, when Fife lost his position as Guardian of Scotland, David would have been ready to look for greener pastures.³⁰⁶

During this period, James Lindsay figured heavily in David earl of Carrick's company, probably since James was close to the retinue of the late James 2nd earl of Douglas, which had lost out in 1389, along with Malcolm Drummond.³⁰⁷ David Lindsay and his cousin, William Lindsay of the Byres, also associated with Carrick. While David and James Lindsay had been involved in truce negotiation in August 1394, David, James, and William all witnessed a confirmation by Carrick, who used the title 'lord of Nithsdale', to inspect a grant to the parish church of Dumfries on Christmas Eve 1394.³⁰⁸ This may have been specifically calculated to pressurise Archibald 3rd earl of Douglas and lord of Galloway.³⁰⁹ Not only was Carrick involving himself in matters in Galloway, his lordship of Nithsdale, along with his birthright of Carrick, neatly sandwiched Archibald's lordship of Galloway.³¹⁰

David's witnessing of Carrick's confirmation is especially indicative of the southern slant his activities began to take, which increased after 1396. Some time before 22 April 1396 James Lindsay died. He and his wife, Margaret, had both received a plenary absolution on 20 April 1395, so in his last moments he had no need to fear

³⁰⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 194.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 196.

³⁰⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 197, 199-200; Fraser, *Sutherland*, i, 47.

³⁰⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 196.

³⁰⁸ *Spalding Misc.*, v, 1852, 250-2; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 126.

³⁰⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 198.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

divine torment for the murder of John Lyon.³¹¹ James may have been dying on 6 March 1396 when Robert III confirmed some lands James had granted in 1390, and his death was first attested on 22 April 1396.³¹² James' death without male heirs meant his lands, including those in the south such as Crawford and Kirkmichael, passed to David Lindsay of Glen Esk.

David had possessed southern connections as early as 1393 when he and the border lords, the earl of March and John Swinton, received English safe conducts, although David's southern contacts did not intensify until 1397.³¹³ Probably in spring 1397, David witnessed a resignation of several claims James Sandilands had by reason of his wife Isabella Douglas of Mar, George Douglas earl of Angus' sister, including claims to Cavers, Liddesdale, Selkirk, the shrievalty and keeping of Roxburgh, and 200 merks yearly from the customs of Haddington.³¹⁴ These were meant to go to George Douglas, earl of Angus, to whom Robert III married his daughter that summer.³¹⁵ Robert III had done this with the intent of creating a counter-balance to Archibald 3rd earl of Douglas.³¹⁶ It was obvious David and his relatives William Lindsay of the Byres and John Lindsay of Wauchopedale were ready to support Robert III against Fife, Douglas, and Douglas of Dalkeith. Perhaps as a reward for participating in this resignation, Robert granted David the Perthshire lands of 'Kyneil' and Meigle.³¹⁷ By mid-1397, David was in contact with William Dalziel, John Ramornie, and some of James Lindsay's old affinity, including the Maxwells, Colvilles, and Prestons, perhaps settling some of James' affairs.³¹⁸

Through this period, David also remained in touch with his interests north of the Forth. The region had become increasingly violent. Because of Buchan's divorce and loss of influence, Alexander lord of Lochaber had been moving from the west into places Buchan previously held.³¹⁹ In April 1394, David was at Arbroath with John Lindsay of Waulchopedale and Alexander Scrimgeour, among others, witnessing a convention between the burgh and monastery of Arbroath.³²⁰ In March 1396, he

³¹¹ NAS RH2/6/4, f. 154r.

³¹² ER, iii, 385-6; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 365-6.

³¹³ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 118-9.

³¹⁴ Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 35-6.

³¹⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 204-5.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 205.

³¹⁷ RMS, i, app. ii 1748.

³¹⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 501-2; RMS, i, app. i, 157.

³¹⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 184, 199-200, 203.

³²⁰ *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 40-2.

received a safe conduct with James Scrimgeour, mentioned above.³²¹ The Scrimgeours were closely associated with Dundee and had held its constableness since Robert I's reign.³²² David's most notable activity north of the Forth, though, was jointly organising with Thomas earl of Moray a thirty against thirty clan fight on the north inch of Perth between Clann 'Qwhele' and Clann 'Kay' in late September 1396 to settle a running feud that had been disturbing the north.³²³ This combat is widely attested in Wyntoun, Bower, the *Liber Pluscardensis*, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* and the short chronicle in the Moray Register; it took place about five months after David earl of Carrick had been in the north to deal with the lord of Lochaber's encroachments.³²⁴ All accounts report it was an extremely bloody affair with few survivors on either side. Bower and Wyntoun clearly wished to stress the ferocity and savagery of the Gaelic kindreds who fought in this battle.

It should be noted that only Bower and sources apparently derived from him (the *Liber Pluscardensis* and the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*), link David Lindsay and Moray to this battle, whereas Wyntoun and the Moray Register's chronicle do not. Curiously, Wyntoun chose to compare the loss of life at the fight at Perth to the of the battle of Glasclune, stating: 'Yeit ws fel the mare tynsale / Off that daywerke that wes dune. / As yhe before hard, at Gasklune' which might mean Wyntoun saw a link between the two events.³²⁵ Therefore, David Lindsay and Thomas earl of Moray's involvement as the primary organisers of this fight should be accepted with some caution, since Bower's work, written in the 1440s, is the first attestation of this.

Nevertheless, one should not underestimate their potential influence behind the scenes. If Robert III was at Perth, as the Moray Register's chronicle and Bower insisted, it is hard to imagine David earl of Carrick was not present, and by extrapolation his retainers, David Lindsay, and the earl of Moray.³²⁶ Furthermore, as David Lindsay had interests in Perthshire, had presumably inherited his cousin James' Perth *hospicium*, and as David had apparently been a target of Clann Qwhele at Glasclune, and as he and Moray had personally felt the sting of cateran violence in the recent past, they ought to

³²¹ CDS, iv, 487.

³²² RRS, v, nos. 129, 131

³²³ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 7-11.

³²⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 203; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 63-4; *Chron. Extracta*, 203; *Chron. Pluscarden*, i, 330-1 ii, 253; *Moray Registrum*, 382. The *Chron. Pluscarden* dates this event to 1391-2, and the chronicle in the *Moray Registrum* dates the battle to 28 September.

³²⁵ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 64.

³²⁶ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 8-9; *Moray Registrum*, 382.

have been very interested in the outcome of this fight.³²⁷ As emphasised above, and in a forthcoming article, 'Kingship in Crisis', Boardman asserted these men were connected to chivalric culture in both an English and wider European context.³²⁸ This combat has echoes of the thirty against thirty combat at Ploërmel in Brittany in 1351, fought on foot between mercenaries.³²⁹ This Breton combat remained famous in France where, in 1382, it apparently inspired a similar staged confrontation. Wyntoun was aware of it when he wrote in the early 1400s, lauding it as a worthy chivalric event, and it is easily possible it inspired the 1396 Perth fight.³³⁰

Recent scholarship has stressed the chivalric element of this fight, and argues Wyntoun and Bower probably downplayed any chivalric elements in this event by emphasising the Gaelic kindreds' ferocity because of their suspicion of Highland society.³³¹ Instead, the presence of Robert III and possibly some French and English dignitaries has been highlighted to help stress the chivalric nature of this event.³³² Surely, as contemporary paragons of Scottish chivalry, if David Lindsay and Thomas earl of Moray had arranged this fight, then there was a chivalric element to it. This nevertheless should not obscure the rest of the picture. Pragmatism, more than pageant, may be what underlies this event. Unlike Ploërmel, where over half of the combatants walked away alive, the Perth clan fight was, by the reckoning of all five chronicle accounts, a bloodbath with few survivors.³³³ Even if this was a chivalric entertainment, it was apparently a very effective liquidation of about fifty of the most notorious active central Highland raiders. Bower himself asserted that after the fight 'for a long time the north remained quiet, and there was neither evil nor upset there as before'.³³⁴ This may have been the most desirable element of the whole affair to David Lindsay and Moray, who had united practical politics with chivalric display in a productive way. David was a keen politician, and had effectively attached himself to Carrick when his fortunes were on the rise, and probably saw this as the best way to secure peace in his sphere of influence. This was one situation in which the close

³²⁷ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1-2.

³²⁸ Stephen Boardman, 'Kingship in Crisis', Forthcoming Article, 2008. I must give many thanks to Dr. Stephen Boardman for providing me with this article.

³²⁹ Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), 41-2; Boardman, 'Kingship in Crisis'.

³³⁰ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 41-2; Boardman, 'Kingship in Crisis'; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), ii, 488-94.

³³¹ Boardman, 'Kingship in Crisis'.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 41-2.

³³⁴ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 11.

interweaving of politics and chivalric display worked well to achieve desirable results for most involved, save the Highlanders who perished.

4. *Culmination: Sir David Lindsay 1st Earl of Crawford, 1398-1407*

It was amid these problems of securing peace in the north that Robert III introduced the style of duke to Scotland, granting his son David the duchy of Rothesay, and his brother Robert the duchy of Albany at Scone on 28 April 1398.³³⁵ Boardman has provided a convincing argument asserting Robert III was not engaging in a game of titular one-upmanship with the English, but rather had probably given these titles for the effect they would have on Gaels, as he was preparing to launch an assault against Donald lord of the Isles, and his brothers Alexander lord of Lochaber, and John Mór lord of Dunivaig and the Glens. The titles Robert III gave, 'Rothesay' and 'Albany', had Gaelic territorial implications.³³⁶

A week before the ducal creations, on 21 April, Robert III granted Sir David Lindsay of Glen Esk the earldom of Crawford.³³⁷ In light of Boardman's argument about the new duchies, the assertion Robert was attempting to raise David Lindsay's profile in Forfarshire is not a satisfying explanation, especially since David already wielded much influence there. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine the distant land of 'Crawford' itself meant much to local Forfarshire lords, and especially Highland raiders.³³⁸ Even though the regality of Crawford was the estate associated with the head of the Lindsay family, surely Robert would have made David earl of some northern territory, perhaps of Glen Esk, if he wished to impress those in and around Forfarshire. On the other hand, taking into account the recent southern slant to David's activities in 1396 and 1397, and his involvement with Carrick's (now Rothesay's) attempts to undermine Archibald 3rd earl of Douglas' sphere of influence in the south, one cannot ignore the fact that Crawford castle is only thirteen kilometers southeast of Douglas castle. While David should not be seen as the primary alternative to the 3rd earl of Douglas, his influence would surely have raised his profile in southern Scotland and been a challenge to Archibald the Grim, especially with the apparent backing of James Lindsay of Crawford's former marriage allies.

³³⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 207-8; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12-3; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 68-70; *Moray Registrum*, 382.

³³⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 206-9; *RPS*, 1398/6-1398/9, 1398/17. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³³⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 12-3; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 69.

³³⁸ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 208-9.

Despite Robert III's best laid plans, his campaign along the west coast of Scotland, with which the ducal creations are associated, failed.³³⁹ Probably seeing this as the final straw, the chief magnates of Scotland quickly attempted to deal with their inept king by a combination of collaboration and transfer of power to the heir to the throne. Unfortunately, this plan only led to a clash of ambitions resulting in Rothesay's death in 1401-2. Initially cooperative, the two royal dukes and Archibald earl of Douglas met in November 1398 at Falkland, and arranged for David duke of Rothesay's three-year lieutenancy, which allowed the twenty-year-old Rothesay to rule with a council of advisors in place of the incapacitated Robert III from 27 January 1399.³⁴⁰ Crawford was named among the laymen on this council, which is a clear indication of his closeness to Albany and Rothesay, and must also indicate his influence within Scottish politics. Unsurprisingly Crawford had connections to many of his fellow lay councillors. They were through his local working relationships, his familial relationships, his connections to Albany, and his connections to Rothesay. Those on the council included Albany himself, Moray, William Keith the Marischal, Thomas Erskine of Dun, and John Ramornie.³⁴¹ Crawford also had looser connections to other councillors, including Patrick Graham, Adam Forrester customar of Edinburgh, and Thomas Hay, the Constable and his family.³⁴² Less than two weeks after Rothesay's triumph, David was working with Alexander Leslie earl of Ross (also on Rothesay's council) in the transfer of the land of Fithkill (now Leslie, Leslie parish, Fife) from Ross to George Leslie of Rothes, another man to whom David had existing connections.³⁴³

This was not a successful solution to the problems posed by Robert III's inability to effectively govern due to a series of events involving unforeseen developments in diplomacy with England as well as the increasing liberties Rothesay took in political, financial, marital and possibly extra-marital forms. Rothesay's activities so offended the chief magnates of Scotland that it appears they felt the best solution to the problems posed by Rothesay was to neutralise him politically. In general, Rothesay, charged as the king's lieutenant, acted in contradiction of these magnates' goals and expectations. Besides Albany, March, and Douglas, Crawford was also a very clear and

³³⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 213.

³⁴⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 57; 213-4; RPS, 1399/1/1-1399/1/9. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁴¹ RPS, 1399/1/3. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁴² Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 35-6; Fraser, *Menteith*, ii, 262-4; *Moray Registrum*, 197-201; RPS, 1399/1/3, date accessed: 14 May 2009; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 126

³⁴³ Fraser, *Elphinstone*, ii, 226-8; HMC 4.1, 494.

critical victim of Rothesay's policies. In the plague year of 1401 all of these issues came to a head.³⁴⁴

The goals and expectations of earls of Douglas and March were all tightly intertwined with the events in England beginning in September 1399. Previously, in August 1395, probably around the time of James Lindsay's death, March arranged for his daughter Elizabeth Dunbar to marry David earl of Carrick, apparently without the consent of either Robert III or the three estates.³⁴⁵ Although Robert III was moved to attempt a siege of Dunbar castle, an arrangement was concluded with Pope Benedict XIII's approval in which Rothesay was to be separated from Elizabeth Dunbar for an unspecified period of time before remarriage.³⁴⁶ This decision was clearly made to accommodate March and keep him close to the throne, even if his initial pursuit of the marriage was unorthodox.

This arrangement was not completed by September-October 1399, when Henry Bolingbroke, John of Gaunt's son, deposed Richard II of England.³⁴⁷ Despite Robert III's attempts to maintain peace with England, serious raiding, probably under the leadership of Archibald Master of Douglas (Archibald the Grim's heir) and George Dunbar (March's heir) occurred, taking advantage of the unrest in England.³⁴⁸ The Scots borderers quickly lost their momentum, though. In the meantime, since 1397, Rothesay's engagement to Elizabeth Dunbar remained unfulfilled, and it was at the same time as this renewed border raiding Rothesay changed his tack, pledging to marry Mary Douglas, daughter of Archibald the Grim.³⁴⁹

Having learned of the proposed marriage between Rothesay and Mary Douglas, March requested Robert III enforce the marriage contracted between his own daughter and Rothesay, though to no avail. As a result, in February and March, George Dunbar earl of March began working with Henry IV to change his allegiance. In June, Rothesay and Douglas became aware of this, and Douglas' forces aided by March's nephew, Robert Maitland, took Dunbar castle to deny Henry IV the opportunity of using it. Henry IV invaded Lothian in August and, though unopposed, was unable to supply his army properly and his invasion failed. After the invasion, Douglas hoped to see the earldom of March dismembered, something the February 1401 Parliament passed a law

³⁴⁴ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 38-9; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 80-1.

³⁴⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 200-1; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 4-5, 30-1; *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 45.

³⁴⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 203-4; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 4-5; *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 70.

³⁴⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 226.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 227.

to allow, though the dismemberment never happened. Instead, it appears Rothesay acquired the earldom of March, which would have threatened Douglas' influence in the south and in border warfare. Thus, Rothesay had, at best, mitigated the good will his marriage alliance would have achieved with Douglas, and at worst, may have alienated him.³⁵⁰

Rothesay also presented several problems for Albany. The most basic of these, of course, was Rothesay's mere existence.³⁵¹ Although Albany had been very successful, Rothesay's coming of age threatened to undermine his sextogenerian uncle's role in government. Rothesay was acting without regard to the council appointed to manage him, which was heavy in Albany's associates. Thus Albany's relevance in Scottish politics was diminished.³⁵² Furthermore, in October 1398, Robert III had granted Rothesay the earldom of Atholl, which meant for the past two years, Albany and Rothesay's spheres of influence north of the Forth overlapped, probably causing friction.³⁵³

It took more specific conflicts to bring matters to a head for Albany, and the plague year of 1401 produced these, with the deaths of Walter Trail, longtime bishop of St Andrews, and Queen Annabella Drummond, Rothesay's mother. When Walter Trail died, Benedict XIII was under siege at Avignon, so he was unable to confirm Thomas Stewart, the canons' elected successor to St Andrews.³⁵⁴ Rothesay took advantage of this situation, and attempted to seize control of the episcopal castle of St Andrews, which naturally came with control of its significant annual revenue until a new bishop was confirmed; this allowed Rothesay greater financial independence from Albany, the chamberlain.³⁵⁵ Although this provided a broad threat to Albany, it was also a personal matter since St Andrews castle's keeper was John Wemyss of Reres, a man in Albany's company, whose own castle of Reres Rothesay also besieged.³⁵⁶ Although Albany as chamberlain had approved the payments for these sieges, this could not have endeared Rothesay to him.³⁵⁷ Even if in the spring of 1401 Rothesay and Albany had been united in their desire to arrange a truce with England against the wishes of Douglas,

³⁵⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 226-32; Brown, *Black Douglases*, 99-104; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 30-3; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 77-9; *ER*, vi, 55; *RPS*, 1401/2/8. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁵¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 235.

³⁵² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 235-6; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 134.18-20.

³⁵³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 213.

³⁵⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 233; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 36-7; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 80.

³⁵⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 233.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 233; *ER*, iii, 559-60.

who wanted to pursue his feud with George Dunbar, Rothesay's activities in Fife, and against Wemyss surely undermined any unitary diplomatic vision Rothesay and Albany shared.³⁵⁸

While March, Douglas, and Albany were all men with whom Rothesay might wish to compete for influence, David 1st earl of Crawford was a member of Rothesay's own retinue. This was no guarantee of respect from Rothesay, though. Bower, writing four decades afterwards, believed Rothesay had contracted marriage with Crawford's half-sister, Euphemia.³⁵⁹ Whether this is accurate or not, one would have expected Rothesay to have defended Crawford's interests. However, Rothesay's desire to act unilaterally overpowered any sensibility on his part, and he can be conclusively shown to have acted against Crawford's goals and expectations. The first concrete evidence there may have been problems between Rothesay and Crawford was an agreement from 20 December 1400 made at Brechin in which Crawford pledged to support Thomas Erskine's claim to the earldom of Mar after the death of the lady of Mar; it also opened the possibility Robert Erskine, Thomas' son, might marry an unnamed daughter of Crawford.³⁶⁰ This arrangement was potentially problematic because Rothesay's mother, Annabella was the sister of Malcolm Drummond lord of Mar.³⁶¹ Crawford's agreement with Erskine would have undermined Malcolm Drummond's interests in Mar. If Bower's accusation was accurate that Rothesay had repudiated an engagement to Euphemia, Crawford's half-sister and Lindsay of Rossie's full sister, this repudiation could have driven them to seek out alliances counter to Rothesay's family's interests.³⁶²

Almost as notorious as Rothesay's treatment of his potential wives, was his use of burgh customs revenues and abuse of burghs' customars. Although as lieutenant Rothesay had the right to uplift customs fees from burghs,³⁶³ it appears he exercised this right with little discretion, and was resisted by burgh customars. Of the four burghs Rothesay targeted in summer 1401, three rendered hereditary fees to Crawford: Montrose, Dundee, and Aberdeen.³⁶⁴ Rothesay was causing financial problems in areas that were clearly Crawford's home turf, and he used violence in the process. At Montrose, he abducted and detained one of the customars, John Tynedale, until he paid

³⁵⁸ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 103.

³⁵⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 40-1.

³⁶⁰ NAS GD124/7/3.

³⁶¹ Strangely, Crawford was still in Rothesay's retinue as recently as 17 December 1400: NAS GD25/1/25.

³⁶² *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 40-1.

³⁶³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 234.

³⁶⁴ *ER*, iii, 549-53, 598-99.

him £22, and in Dundee Rothesay siezed £71 4s. 9d. from the burgh ‘violently’.³⁶⁵ Rothesay’s violent actions in Dundee would have probably been especially insulting for Crawford, as a John Lindsay, probably Crawford’s illegitimate half-brother, served along with John Mortimer as customar of Dundee.³⁶⁶ Thus, Rothesay had not only flouted Crawford’s basic expectation of good lordship and perhaps physically attacked Crawford’s brother John, but also threatened his sphere of influence, and possibly crushed his hope of a royal marriage for his half-sister.

Rothesay, the young politician, who emerges, was characterised by impetuosity and audacity. He showed an absolute disregard for his role in government, as well as a complete inability to accommodate the expectations and goals of the most powerful magnates of the kingdom. It is nearly impossible to determine what Rothesay expected to happen if he alienated March, Albany, Douglas, and his own associate, Crawford. The three estates had marginalised Rothesay’s father and grandfather for failing in their regnal duties. Since Rothesay’s three-year lieutenancy was due to end sooner rather than later, he ought to have been acutely aware of the risks he was running through his unilateral actions. As he was only twenty-four, blaming his youth is tempting, but hardly satisfying. While his relative inexperience probably played a part, a more useful solution is to assume he was in dire financial straits, from the effects of the plague recorded in 1401.³⁶⁷ If he had run his finances into the ground in 1401 due to economic instability brought on by plague, he may have felt ‘forced’ to use his right of uplift.³⁶⁸ Indeed, in 1402, the revenues of Dundee and Montrose were down sharply from the previous year, with Aberdeen’s revenue for 1402 unrecorded. Moreover, the revenues of Aberdeen, Dundee and Montrose had generally been in decline since at least 1398.³⁶⁹

Bower’s uncorroborated account records Rothesay was captured by William Lindsay of Rossie and John Ramornie between Nydie and Strathtyrum in Fife, on his way to St Andrews castle.³⁷⁰ Although Bower’s dating of the event suggests the capture took place between 22 February and 18 March 1402, it most likely happened towards the end of 1401, as the prince was not recorded in the royal court or involved in diplomacy from autumn 1401.³⁷¹ Rothesay died some time before 16 May 1402,

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 549-52.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 551-2.

³⁶⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 38-9; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 80-1.

³⁶⁸ Bower noted Rothesay’s predilection for violent and frivolous entertainment (*Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 38).

³⁶⁹ *ER*, iii, 434, 441-2, 467, 472, 474, 520-2, 549, 552.

³⁷⁰ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 38-9.

³⁷¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 235-6.

possibly between 25 and 27 March, either from dysentery or starvation.³⁷² Albany's involvement in the capture was manifest. He had ties to John Ramornie and William Lindsay of Rossie, who held Rossie from Albany, and General Council records exonerated Albany of Rothesay's death.³⁷³

The 1st earl of Crawford's role in the organisation or execution of Rothesay's capture, while not explicitly recorded, is nevertheless evident. Along with William Lindsay of Rossie and John Ramornie, Crawford witnessed a grant by Rothesay issued some time after Rothesay's mother died, probably in September or October 1401, of his late mother's lands in Forfarshire and Fife to Richard Spalding, a Dundee burgess.³⁷⁴ This was very shortly before Rothesay's own capture. Furthermore, that summer Crawford had been in close contact with Albany acting as an auditor of the Exchequer at Perth along with John Ramornie, and received a remission on £29 6s. 8d. worth of wool from the Dundee customs.³⁷⁵ By November 1402, Rothesay's close associate, Malcolm Drummond lord of Mar, was captured and died and, on 18 March 1403, Crawford and Albany were at Kidrummy dividing the spoils with Isabella Douglas lady of Mar, suggesting Crawford was happy to exploit the outcome of Rothesay's capture.³⁷⁶

Suspiciously, though, Crawford left Scotland around the time of Rothesay's capture, as he was at Paris on 1 January 1402 pledging his support to Louis duke of Orléans in exchange for 1,000 Francs yearly.³⁷⁷ It is tempting to speculate that Crawford had chosen to leave Scotland while his half-brother, William, did the dirty work and dealt with Rothesay. It must be taken into account, of course, that Crawford was in France on a diplomatic mission, requesting French assistance against the English.³⁷⁸ The date of this grant suggests Crawford was at least out of the country before Rothesay died and so he may have been taking precautions in case Rothesay's neutralisation did not go according to plan. Orléans would have been a natural French associate for Crawford for a few reasons. Although they had previous diplomatic connections and a shared interest in Philip de Mézières' Order of the Passion, at the

³⁷² *Chron. Bower.*, viii, 38-41; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 82; *RPS*, 1402/5/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁷³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 236, 251 n66 and n68; *ER*, iii, 268; *Moray Registrum*, 197-201; *NAS* GD212/1/6, 178-81; *RPS*, 1402/5/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁷⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 232; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 81; *RMS*, ii, 181.

³⁷⁵ *ER*, 514, 516, 533, 536.

³⁷⁶ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 207-8; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 252 no. 72.

³⁷⁷ *NLS Acc.* 9769, Crawford Papers, Personal Papers, 75/1/1.

³⁷⁸ C. J. Ford, 'Piracy or Policy: The Crisis in the Channel, 1400-1403', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 71.

time, Orléans pursuing a pro-war, anti-English policy, a policy the Albany regime was promoting to gain Douglas' support.³⁷⁹ Orléans hoped to further this policy by harrying the English at sea with Crawford serving as Admiral.

Crawford could have had some experience with raiding on the high seas, making this role appropriate. A letter, very frustratingly dated only to 12 November and failing to mention a year, written on behalf of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, presumably to Robert III, complains of the seizure of a Flemish ship by men from Aberdeen and '*de familia aut sutenacione comitis de Crafford*' (from the family or support of the earl of Crawford) between the towns of Nieuwpoort and Ostend.³⁸⁰ Since the Scottish culprits in this affair apparently feigned being English, it suggests this was an incident separate from Crawford's raiding in the summer of 1402.³⁸¹ Even if this piracy happened after July 1402, it suggests Crawford had an interest in Aberdeen shipping, and may have been involved in naval operations of one sort or another prior to his employment by the French.

In any case, Crawford's activities with Orléans' fleet in 1402 can be reconstructed in some detail. The fleet appears to have departed in March from Harfleur, while at the same time Henry IV was ordering a payment of 40*s.* to 'Lyndesey' the herald of the earl of Crawford to take a message to the earl of Douglas on 14 March 1402.³⁸² Lindsay Herald's presence in England probably indicates Crawford's diplomatic activities were fairly extensive at this point. Crawford was at sea until July, taking more time, and with many more ships than would have been necessary to deliver the small cadre of French knights he had secured.³⁸³ This fleet, Scottish in ensign but primarily French in men and matériel captured anywhere between twenty-five and thirty-three ships as part of a growing and unofficial naval war between France and England during the summer of 1402; both the English and French truce conservators blamed these activities on pirates, but only to avoid the more thorny diplomatic implications both sides' policy of flagrant naval warfare created.³⁸⁴

About the same time as Albany and Douglas were in Edinburgh being exonerated for the death of David duke of Rothesay, David 1st earl of Crawford was recorded at the port of Corunna in Galicia, stripping down a ship (of unrecorded

³⁷⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 236-9; Richard Vaughn, *Philip the Bold* (London, 1962), 42, 44, 51.

³⁸⁰ *St Andrews Copiale*, 226-8.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

³⁸² *CDS*, iv, 602; Ford, 'Piracy or Policy', 71.

³⁸³ Ford, 'Piracy or Policy', 71.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 63-77, see especially 64-5, 71-2, 76.

nationality) he had captured.³⁸⁵ There, he encountered Jean de Béthencourt and some of his men, who had sailed from La Rochelle earlier that month, on their way to conquer the Canary Islands.³⁸⁶ With Crawford were two men, the Lord de Hely and Messer Rasse de Renty.³⁸⁷ These men are fairly identifiable with the affinity of Jean count of Nevers', (later the duke of Burgundy). Rasse de Renty accompanied Jean to Nicopolis in 1396, and the Lord of Hely is almost certainly Jacques sieur de Heilly, another of Nevers' associates who later served Douglas in 1402.³⁸⁸ The authors claimed Crawford and Béthencourt each led an '*armée*'.³⁸⁹ If the chronicle account is accurate, the companies of Crawford and Béthencourt fell into dispute about what property Crawford may have allowed Béthencourt's men to take from the ship Crawford had captured.³⁹⁰ This resulted in Béthencourt and his crew weighing anchor and setting sail with Crawford's men in hot, though ultimately futile, pursuit.³⁹¹

David's presence so far south is really not surprising, as there were several seizures of Castilian vessels while David was at sea with his fleet, and the year beforehand, the coast of Portugal, not far from Corunna, was a hotspot for seizures.³⁹² Since England was allied with Portugal against Castile,³⁹³ Corunna would have been a perfect perch from which David could mount raids against shipping, and perhaps hope to mitigate some of the Castilian losses. Furthermore, Corunna is only fifty-six kilometers northeast of Santiago de Compostela and its shrine. No record exists that Crawford visited this shrine, nor did he patronise St James, though as Santiago was the third most important Christian pilgrimage site after Jerusalem and Rome, it is tempting to speculate he may have visited it if he was based at Corunna.

Upon David's return to Scotland, his activities were focused on the north of the realm. Although this initially might be linked with Albany's shift to more northerly concerns from 1402, this is probably only part of the explanation. It was also these northerly concerns, particularly the Mar patrimony, that drew Robert III back into Scottish politics in a significant way.³⁹⁴ Through playing off the interests of Robert III

³⁸⁵ Bontier and le Verrier, *Canarian*, 3-7; *RPS*, 1402/5/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁸⁶ Bontier and le Verrier, *Canarian*, 6-7.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ Atiya, *Crusade of Nicopolis*, 146; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 214-5.

³⁸⁹ Bontier and le Verrier, *Canarian*, 4-5.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-7

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Ford, 'Piracy or Policy', 70, 73-4.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁹⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263.

and Albany, Crawford, in his characteristic way, remained at the centre of Scottish politics, diplomacy, finance, and was participating in the culture of chivalry to the very end of his life.

David's first recorded activity after his return from raiding English and English-aligned shipping was at Kildrummy castle on 18 May 1403.³⁹⁵ Since he had left Scotland, war and time had taken a toll on the men with whom Crawford had associated. Perhaps the only point of continuity was turbulence in the north. On 3 July 1402, Alexander lord of Lochaber (third son of the late John lord of the Isles), violently entered Elgin, seized many of the town's goods, and gave the greater part of the city to flame.³⁹⁶ By October, he and his accomplices had presented themselves to William Spynie bishop of Moray (Alexander Bur's successor) at Forres, and had their sentence of excommunication revoked.³⁹⁷

On 14 September 1402, the English and Scots forces had met at Humbleton Hill in Northumberland, where the forces of Henry Hotspur, aided by George earl of March, defeated those of Archibald 4th earl of Douglas.³⁹⁸ David's presence is not recorded at Humbleton, though men with whom he was aligned, and men who helped keep the north of Scotland stable were, and several were captured, including Murdoch Stewart, Archibald 4th earl of Douglas, Robert Erskine of Alloa, and possibly George Leslie of Rothes. George Douglas earl of Angus was also captured and died from the plague in England.³⁹⁹ Another destabilising death was Alexander Leslie earl of Ross on 8 May 1402.⁴⁰⁰ Crawford's absence and the deaths of Malcolm Drummond lord of Mar and David duke of Rothesay earl of Atholl surely contributed to Alexander lord of Lochaber's ability to raid Elgin in July.⁴⁰¹ Of more long-term concern to Crawford and Albany, though, was Lochaber's older brother, Donald lord of the Isles. He had married Mariota Leslie, Alexander Leslie's sister, and rival claimant to Ross. Alexander Leslie had also produced a daughter, Euphima, whom Albany sought to control, to control the Ross inheritance.⁴⁰²

It is probably no surprise, then, that the first record of Crawford following his naval campaign was at Kildrummy castle, along with Albany, counseling Isabella

³⁹⁵ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 207-8.

³⁹⁶ *Moray Registrum*, 382-3.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 44-49.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁰⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 258.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 258-9.

Douglas countess of Mar on the ownership of her lands in Mar and Garioch, which she declared to have been and to be in possession of the church of Aberdeen.⁴⁰³ This surely bought the support of Gilbert Greenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, who was among Isabella's councillors.⁴⁰⁴ Crawford himself may already have had a good relationship with Greenlaw. In November 1400 he had patronised the church of Aberdeen, surrounded by officials from the churches of Moray and Ross and burgesses from Aberdeen.⁴⁰⁵ It was probably at or around this time at Kildrummy on 8 April 1403 that Isabella granted Crawford the barony of Megginch in Perthshire, and the sizeable barony of Clova in Forfarshire.⁴⁰⁶ The date and location of Robert III's Great Seal confirmation of this charter have been lost, but he could have easily confirmed it when Crawford was at Rothesay castle on 18 April 1404 witnessing a grant by Robert III, or at the 28 April General Council at Linlithgow, which extended Albany's lieutenancy for two years.⁴⁰⁷ David's name appeared second after Walter Stewart earl of Atholl on the *sederunt* among the list of nobles, indicating his prominence.⁴⁰⁸

That May, Alexander Stewart (d. 1435), the illegitimate son of Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan (d. 1405), created a situation that, intentionally or otherwise, backed Albany into a corner, and allowed Robert III to reassert himself in Scotland. Alexander Stewart (d. 1435), acquired, by means unknown, a marriage contract with the aging Isabella Douglas countess of Mar specifying that if no children were produced between them (the unstated, but most likely outcome), that Mar would descend to Alexander's (d. 1435) heirs.⁴⁰⁹ This measure received considerable support from the lords of Aberdeenshire and from Aberdonian burgesses, most likely because it provided the earldom of Mar with an active, local leader for the first time in about a century.⁴¹⁰ It is tempting to speculate that Buchan organised this, taking advantage of his new remit from Albany. His son, the new earl of Mar, clearly had the support of the local establishment including Alexander Waghorn bishop of Ross and the nobles Andrew Leslie, John Forbes, his heir Alexander, Duncan Forbes, Alexander Irvine of Drum, and

⁴⁰³ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 207-8.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 203-5.

⁴⁰⁶ *RMS*, i, app. ii, 1830, 1830 *n*.1.

⁴⁰⁷ *Paisley Registrum*, 371-2; *RPS*, 1404/1, 1404/4. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁴⁰⁸ *RPS*, 1404/3. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁴⁰⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 261-2; *RMS*, ii, 1239

⁴¹⁰ Stephen Boardman, 'The Burgh and the Realm: Medieval Politics, c.1100-1500' in *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History*, E. Patricia Dennison, et. al., eds (East Linton, 2002), 210.

William Chalmers.⁴¹¹ Although Isabella and Alexander's marriage was, apparently a *fait accompli*, there would have been little reason for these local lords to oppose it, since it had the potential to bring the stability to the region only a male earl, likely to pass on his estate, could.

The other option was the Erskine claim, that Albany, Crawford, and William Keith supported. Thomas Erskine's wife, Janet Keith (William Keith's half-sister) was believed, at least by the Erskine camp, to have been the granddaughter, and sole surviving heir of Donald earl of Mar (d. 1297).⁴¹² Not only had Albany and Crawford displaced Alexander earl of Mar's new supporters from their positions on Isabella countess of Mar's council, but also the Erskine family had very little influence in Aberdeenshire, and the policy of waiting for Isabella countess of Mar to die so an interloper could take her place was not likely to be appealing to any of them.⁴¹³ Furthermore, Alexander Irvine of Drum was involved in a feud with William Keith, so Alexander Stewart's (d. 1435) intervention would have surely been welcome to Irvine.⁴¹⁴

Crawford was on the wrong end of this political settlement since his potential marriage ally, Erskine, had lost his claim to Mar, but he was still able to turn it to his favour. As ever, his varied connections and political acumen not only saw him through, but allowed him to be a major part of the dispute's resolution and earned him two royal charters. Although David's involvement in the resolution of this conflict has been observed,⁴¹⁵ the depth of involvement and resulting degree of influence he and his affinity had in the resolution of this affair has not been properly emphasised. Robert III chose this dispute to re-enter Scottish politics, and had arrived at Perth by 26 November 1404, where he confirmed one charter in favour of Walter Ogilvy of Carcary, and made another, granting him the land of 'Estirkelore' in Forfarshire (Keillor, in Kettins parish, Angus).⁴¹⁶ Ogilvy's land of Carcary was actually held from John Erskine of Dun, Robert Erskine's brother.⁴¹⁷ The day beforehand, Robert made a grant to Crawford (probably a confirmation), of the Perthshire lands of Alyth and 'Baltrody' (now Pitroddie, Alyth parish) lands previously recorded in the Lindsay of

⁴¹¹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 262.

⁴¹² Ibid., 261-2.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 262-3.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 263.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 505-6; NAS GD16/3/4.

⁴¹⁷ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263; NAS GD16/22/1.

Crawford patrimony.⁴¹⁸ This was presumably a warrant for Crawford and Ogilvy to resolve the Mar succession dispute.

Crawford and Ogilvy were recorded at Isabella countess of Mar's castle of Kildrummy on royal business on 1 and 5 December 1404, respectively.⁴¹⁹ Whether this was a show of force or support, it surely made an impression. Crawford was one of the most powerful lords in Forfarshire, had recently commanded a French fleet, and also could well have been sheriff of Aberdeen by this point.⁴²⁰ Walter Ogilvy was almost certainly brother of the current sheriff of Forfar, who held land from Crawford, among other close links these two families shared, frequently witnessing charters together.⁴²¹ Furthermore, both families had been involved in the fight at Glasclune in 1392.⁴²² Robert III had definitely sent in some of his most powerful servants.

These records from 1 and 5 December are significant. Isabella made two grants on 1 December. One went to Ogilvy of Carcary of the Perthshire lands of Glenatnay (Comrie parish) and the Forfarshire lands of the Kirkton of Eassie (Eassy and Nevay parish).⁴²³ This naturally gave Ogilvy of Carcary a direct interest in who became the next earl of Mar. The other grant was of land in Mar and the Garioch to William Chalmers lord of Findon (Banchory-Devenick parish, Aberdeenshire).⁴²⁴ He was probably the William Chalmers '*seniore*', esq. who witnessed Isabella's original 24 August marriage contract.⁴²⁵ There were two William Chalmers active at this point; the elder William Chalmers was a burgess and customar Aberdeen who rendered its accounts between 1380 and 1406.⁴²⁶ His son William rendered the accounts in 1391 and was attested in 1399 and 1402; the elder William's other son, Alexander Chalmers, was involved with affairs in Aberdeen during this same period.⁴²⁷ Not only had Crawford and William Chalmers witnessed documents together, it appears Chalmer's son had also

⁴¹⁸ RMS, i, 1832.

⁴¹⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 732; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263; NAS GD16/24/199, GD124/1/122, RH6/220.

⁴²⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 343-5; *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 383; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1; *Aberdeenshire Court Bk.*, i, xxxv.

⁴²¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 505-6; NAS GD16/24/170, NAS GD16/22/1; NAS RH1/2/162; RMS, i, 819, 882; RMS, ii, 140; RPS, 1404/3, date accessed: 14 May 2009; SP, i, 108-1.

⁴²² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58-60.

⁴²³ NAS GD16/24/199.

⁴²⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 732; NAS RH6/220.

⁴²⁵ RMS, ii, 1239.

⁴²⁶ ER, iii, 45, 223, 629.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 223, 306, 475, 540.

witnessed one of Crawford's charters in 1401.⁴²⁸ In 1403 Williams Sr. and Jr. both witnessed an arbitration between Margaret Lindsay daughter of James Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1396) and Henry Preston that William Keith conducted in February 1403 regarding the castle of Fyvie.⁴²⁹

It is uncertain when Crawford left Kildrummy, though he did not witness Isabella's grant in favour of the minster and house of the Holy Trinity of Aberdeen done on 5 December.⁴³⁰ Among the witnesses were Alexander Forbes, William Chalmers, Walter Ogilvy, and Archibald earl of Douglas, captured at Humbleton, probably back on parole.⁴³¹ Alexander Forbes is, perhaps, the most interesting of them, as he, under the second, third, and fourth earls of Crawford served as keeper of the castle of Strathnairn, the sheriff deputy of Aberdeen and, alongside the Crawford earls, was one of the main local proponents of the Erskines' claim to Mar.

Crawford was also not recorded at the resolution of the whole affair, which took place in front of Kildrummy castle on 9 December 1404.⁴³² Isabella, in the presence of Alexander bishop of Ross, Andrew Leslie lord of Sydie, Walter Ogilvy of Carcary, William Chalmers, Richard Loyal, and Thomas Gray, having received the castle of Kildrummy, its charters and the moveable goods that came with it freely chose Alexander Stewart (d. 1435) to be her husband.⁴³³ The new arrangement stipulated that Mar would pass to Isabella's heirs if she and Alexander, now earl of Mar, were unable to produce any.⁴³⁴ This was a fruitful resolution for two reasons. First, Mar and Albany occasionally worked with each other over the coming years, and second, Mar's ability to control his cateran raiders was desirable to the local leaders.⁴³⁵ It also implied an Erskine claimant could, eventually, succeed to Mar. By 10 December, Crawford was in Perth, where he witnessed Robert III's grant of the Stewartry to James earl of Carrick (later James I), surely having informed Robert III of the resolution of the dispute over Mar.⁴³⁶ It was probably as a result of his work in the resolution of this dispute that Robert III granted him the lands of Meigle in Perthshire on Christmas Eve, 1404.⁴³⁷

⁴²⁸ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 203-5: On this grant by Crawford, Chalmers is recorded as a 'master' and canon of Moray; *Moray Registrum*, 197-201; *Yester Writs*, 31-2.

⁴²⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 501-2.

⁴³⁰ NAS GD124/1/122.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² NAS GD124/1/123.

⁴³³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263-5; NAS GD124/1/123.

⁴³⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 263-5; NAS GD124/1/123.

⁴³⁵ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 265-6.

⁴³⁶ NAS GD124/1/1129.

⁴³⁷ RMS, i, app. ii, 1829.

The specifics of David's activities until September 1405 are obscure, but he appears to have been involved in diplomatic activity with England. He acquired a safe conduct on 29 December 1404 to travel to and from England with a company of 100 men, to last until 7 June, and he was probably still outside Scotland on 2 June when he received another safe conduct, again for himself and 100 men, armed or unarmed, expiring on 1 September.⁴³⁸ It would be easy to imagine his brothers and sons may have been with this large company, since there are no records of their activity during this period, even if few Lindsays had been recorded active since the time of David duke of Rothesay's murder.⁴³⁹ Walter Ogilvy is not recorded during this period either, but is also absent from records between 9 December 1404 and 11 November 1406, which does not particularly tie his activity to these safe conducts.⁴⁴⁰ No evidence suggests he was involved in chivalric activity.

Rather, concurrent with Crawford's receipt of his 29 December safe conduct was the seizure by English pirates of a Flemish ship bearing goods of the merchants of St Andrews on 14 December 1404, allegedly worth £1,000.⁴⁴¹ A series of letters issued from Scotland in early January 1405, by Albany on 1 January, one by Crawford on 2 January, and by Robert III and Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews on 10 January.⁴⁴² It is most likely that at least one reason Crawford acquired his safe conduct was to negotiate the restoration of these goods to the merchants of St Andrews, since according to Crawford, the merchants and town of St Andrews fell under his purview (*'les dis marchans et ville de Sanct Andreu m'apartenynt'* / 'the said merchants and town of St Andrews appertain to me').⁴⁴³ Crawford's six-and-a-half-month safe conduct might initially seem excessive simply to request the restoration of one ship's goods, but since the goods on the ship belonged to Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, this may make more sense.⁴⁴⁴ Likewise, negotiations took place at Haddenstank on 12 March 1405 which Crawford could have easily been intended to attend as well.⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 172-4.

⁴³⁹ *RMS*, i, 878, 881. Crawford had three recorded sons: Alexander, David and Gerard.

⁴⁴⁰ NAS GD16/3/5; NAS GD124/1/123.

⁴⁴¹ R. F. C. Hingeston, ed., *Royal and Historical Letters During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland*, vol. 2. (London, 1965), 3-14.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴⁴³ Hingeston, *Letters... Henry the Fourth*, ii, 3-5; This letter is also printed, in French in Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, i, 105-6.

⁴⁴⁴ Hingeston, *Letters... Henry the Fourth* ii, 12.

⁴⁴⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 173-4.

These negotiations came to naught. Archibald earl of Douglas had been in captivity since Humbleton, so in April 1405, through the summer during the rebellion of the earl of Northumberland and Lord of Bardolph, Robert III promoted David Fleming and Henry Sinclair earl of Orkney as war leaders in the borders, in Douglas' place.⁴⁴⁶ While this clearly was not the best policy to get Murdoch Stewart and Douglas released,⁴⁴⁷ Robert III may have relished their misfortune. Perhaps Robert III was promoting his own favourites to Murdoch and Archibald's disadvantage to take revenge on the men who had killed his son three years earlier. Given Crawford's connections to Albany, he may have remained in England to try to negotiate Murdoch and Douglas' release. They were not to be released this year, though. In the meantime, in 1405, Northumberland and Bardolph's rebellion failed, and they took refuge in Scotland.⁴⁴⁸ There was apparently a plan to exchange Northumberland and Bardolph for Murdoch and Douglas towards the end of 1405, but Fleming scuttled it, warning Northumberland and Bardolph of the plan, who fled to Wales to escape Henry IV's justice.⁴⁴⁹

Crawford was back in Scotland at Perth on 1 September 1405 (the day his second safe-conduct expired), where he witnessed a confirmation of a charter regarding the possession of James Lindsay's land of Formartine.⁴⁵⁰ The witness list included a mix of men, including the bishop of St Andrews and David Fleming, who were the king's favourites, as well as Albany, who probably would not have been happy to hear his son's release had been postponed. In 1406, though, it became evident Albany and Crawford were drawing closer together. In March, when the Exchequer was rendered, Crawford served as Albany's deputy chamberlain for accounts north of the Forth.⁴⁵¹ This indicates Albany was giving Crawford increasing power within his administration, and is surely an indication of Crawford's influence north of the Forth. Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan had died in 1405, and although his son, also Alexander, became one of the leading northern magnates, while David 1st earl of Crawford lived, he was clearly the most powerful lord north of the Forth.⁴⁵² This was only to last a short while, though.

⁴⁴⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 286-7.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 286-7; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 273.

⁴⁵⁰ RMS, i, app. i, 157.

⁴⁵¹ ER, iii, 613, 625-6, 629, 631, 642-3, 647-8.

⁴⁵² ER, iii, 634.

Although Crawford received an English safe conduct on 3 May lasting until 15 August, and another issued on 11 December lasting until Pentecost, it seems by the time of the issue of the second safe conduct Crawford was dying.⁴⁵³ In September 1406, Alexander earl of Mar was in London for a feat of arms, and it is tempting to speculate that Crawford's safe conducts may have been connected to this, though to participate in this event, he would have needed an extension to his safe conduct. It is tempting to speculate that he may have been critically injured at this event, since he did not live long afterwards.⁴⁵⁴ In December 1406 and February 1407, he issued a series of six charters from Dundee, five of which he issued with the consent and assent of his son and heir, Alexander—a new feature.⁴⁵⁵ He probably did not leave Dundee during this period, and it is probably safe to speculate he had some sort of lingering malady. The charters he issued were concerned with the his younger sons' inheritance, and his own soul's health. On 10 December he established four masses to be said on weekdays at the altar of St George at Blessed Mary of Dundee for his soul, his mother and father's souls, and all his predecessors and successors, funded by money from his baronies of Downie and Inverarity in Forfarshire and Aberbothrie (Alyth parish) and Megginch (Errol parish) in Perthshire.⁴⁵⁶

The witnesses to these charters to the church of Dundee included William Lindsay of Rossie, Walter Lindsay of Kinneff (Kinneff and Catterline parish, Kincardineshire), Alexander Lindsay, Crawford's heir, John Mortimer, and Adam Clerk burgesses of Dundee and William Man, Crawford's secretary. Since only Crawford's nearest family members, and two Dundee burgesses witnessed, it could suggest this was a hastily assembled group of Dundee worthies who were to hand. However, Crawford and his affinity already had close connections to John Mortimer and Adam Clerk. John Mortimer had served alongside John Lindsay as customar of Montrose when Rothesay had abused his right of uplift, and after 1402, Adam Clerk took John Lindsay's place as customar.⁴⁵⁷ This surely represents Crawford's influence in Dundee, and these men's presence was no accident.

Although the altar to St George was apparently in existence at the time these masses were established, this is the first recorded patronage of St George in Scotland.

⁴⁵³ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 177-8.

⁴⁵⁴ *Chron. St Albans*, 1; *Foedera* (O), viii, 437, 449-50.

⁴⁵⁵ *RMS*, i, 878-82.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 877-80.

⁴⁵⁷ *ER*, iii, 493-4, 519-20, 551-2, 572-3, 596-7, 622.

Although St George has a reputation as an ‘English’ saint, it was only Edward III’s court that truly brought him to the fore as a patron of England, probably to emphasise Edward III’s own self-perceived importance in the wider European chivalric world.⁴⁵⁸ Up to this point, St George had been seen as an international patron of knights and crusaders.⁴⁵⁹ Scottish interest in St George, beginning in the fourteenth century, probably had a few points of origin, one of which was participation in crusade in various locales such as Spain, the Baltic (where the Teutonic Knights saw St George as a patron), or further afield, such as in the sack of Alexandria.⁴⁶⁰ Another origin may have been the links established between Edward III and his captive, David II, who was captive in England between 1346 and 1357, and who acquired an interest in chivalry much like Edward III’s.⁴⁶¹ Many of the families involved in border warfare or crusade, including the Leslies, Douglas earls of Angus, and the Dunbar earls of March gave their offspring the name George.⁴⁶² The Lindsays are a major exception to this, which is striking, given James Lindsay of Crawford (d. 1396) and his grandfather David’s (d. c. 1355) participation in border warfare,⁴⁶³ Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk’s and his son, David 1st earl of Crawford’s shared interest in crusade, and the first two earls of Crawford’s patronage⁴⁶⁴ of the cult of St George. It is of course most striking in David 1st earl of Crawford’s naming of his children, given his many English safe conducts and tourneying at the English court. ‘George’ as a Lindsay personal name appears nowhere in surviving records through the lives of the first four earls of Crawford, even among younger sons. Rather, the Lindsays seem to have been most interested in perpetuating the names of their ancestors: David, Alexander, James, William, Walter and the occasional John.

On 11 November, Crawford witnessed a Great Seal confirmation by Albany of a grant by Archibald Douglas to Walter Ogilvy of Carcary.⁴⁶⁵ This was done in Dundee,

⁴⁵⁸ Stephen Boardman, ‘The Cult of St George in Scotland’, Forthcoming (2008). I should like to thank Dr. Stephen Boardman for providing me with this article, yet to be published.

⁴⁵⁹ Boardman, ‘St George in Scotland’.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid. George Abernethy of Saltoun was the first George recorded in Scotland, in 1346, and another George Abernethy was present at Parliament later. What impact this had on David 1st earl of Crawford, who quartered the Abernethy arms is questionable, as the line of the Abernethy family from which he had descended had failed, leaving the Abernethies of Saltoun as only very distant cousins by the end of the fourteenth century (*SP*, vii, 398-404).

⁴⁶³ *CDS*, iii, 326: David Lindsay captive in England in 1313. *Chron. Winton* (Laing), ii, 478: David Lindsay of Crawford was captain of Edinburgh castle in 1346.

⁴⁶⁴ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 20-3.

⁴⁶⁵ NAS GD16/3/5.

and it is tempting to speculate Albany may have gone to Dundee so David could witness this grant in favour of one of his close associates. David's last recorded acts were concluded on 12 February, at Dundee. There, Crawford granted his son David Lindsay the barony of Newdosk in Kincardineshire and a 40 merk annuity from the customs of Montrose, entailed to his younger son, Gerard.⁴⁶⁶

The witness lists to these two charters, while containing all the men named on his previous charters issued on 10 December also contained a few other lords: William Graham of Kincardine, Sir Patrick Gray of Broxmouth (Roxburghshire), Sir William Hay of Naughton (Fifeshire), Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar, and Walter Ogilvy of Carcary. Assuming David still inherited the superiority of Chamberlain Newton from James Lindsay⁴⁶⁷ in Roxburghshire, it appears this assembly of men represented not only men who had political connections to him, but also connections to almost all the sheriffdoms where he held land, excluding Lanark and Dumfries, where he held Crawford and Kirkmichael.

William, Walter and Alexander Lindsay, along with Alexander Ogilvy witnessed Albany's confirmation of Crawford's church grants on 24 February at Perth, and those same men, along with John Stewart lord of Buchan, Albany's son, and Alexander earl of Mar witnessed Albany's confirmation of Crawford's grants to his son, David.⁴⁶⁸ These charters do not record David as *quondam*, so most likely those involved believed David still lived. Alexander Lindsay was not present witnessing the confirmations on 27 February, perhaps suggesting he had returned to Dundee. By the 12 March 1407 rendering of the Exchequer done at Perth, Crawford had died.⁴⁶⁹

By most measures of his own day, David's career was brilliantly successful. He began as the head of a cadet branch of a moderately important family in a turbulent part of the kingdom, and ended it dominant in his geographic region, a figure of international significance, and someone who had endeared himself to Louis duke of Orléans and even gained the attention of a few foreign chroniclers, to say nothing of the fact he earned overflowing praise in two Scottish chronicles. Like the Black Douglasses, Crawford's success probably lay, at least partly in his command of a military retinue, even if the one battle in which he is known to have fought was a defeat. It is

⁴⁶⁶ RMS, i, 881-2.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 636.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 877-82.

⁴⁶⁹ ER, ii, 30, 32.

easy to imagine he was involved in many smaller engagements, defending the Lowlands between the Mounth and the Tay from cataran raids. His success also lay in his canny self promotion through his continued engagement with the culture of chivalry. Between Wyntoun and Bower's accounts, David certainly must be one of the most praised Scottish participants in tournament. David's interest in tournament could have contributed to his decision to employ Lindsay Herald, who surely helped promote David's name and cause within Scotland. It may well have been at least partially Lindsay Herald's work that earned David such a prominent place in Wyntoun's chronicle. If he was seen as a paragon of Scottish chivalry (as he apparently was when Wyntoun wrote), then David may have been a figure men like Albany, Rothesay, or Robert III wanted to have in their company. David's chivalric credentials could have easily shored up Albany and Rothesay's own credentials, and made their courts more attractive to other Scottish nobles. Crawford's final act, of patronising St George naturally fits in with his character as an exponent of chivalry, and shows his commitment to those values.⁴⁷⁰

David's interest in crusade was along similar lines. There is no evidence showing David on crusade, though it is easy to imagine at least some of his safe conducts were acquired so he could go on the Prussian *reysa*. Certainly his and his brother's pledge to join the Order of the Passion made them stand out, as they were the only Scots connected to the Order. Although Scots appear to have been involved in neither the Barbary crusade of 1390, nor more significant, the Nicopolis crusade in 1396,⁴⁷¹ this was certainly an auspicious time for a nobleman to be presenting himself as a crusader. For David, being able to present this image surely won him respect in Scotland and helped him convince the duke of Orléans to support Scotland militarily in 1402, especially since they both shared interest in the Order of the Passion.

In a similar way, David's (apparent) knowledge of French could have made him stand out. His January 1405 letter, in French, to Henry IV was produced at a time when French may have been falling from use amongst some Scottish nobles.⁴⁷² Indeed, his knowledge of French, and previous French contacts were probably part of the reason he was sent to France to negotiate support from Louis duke of Orléans in 1402, and this combined with his interests in chivalry and crusade may have made him best suited

⁴⁷⁰ Boardman, 'St George in Scotland'.

⁴⁷¹ Macquarie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, 88.

⁴⁷² Fraser, *Douglas*, iv, 59-60. It should be noted that in 1401 Archibald 4th earl of Douglas and in c.1407 Christian countess of March both produced letters in French to Henry IV (Ibid., 60-7). At the same time, Froissart reported during the 1380s that French knights in Scotland could not communicate with the Scots. See *Chron. Froissart* (Johnes), ii, 35-6.

for the job. Furthermore, his knowledge of French could have contributed to his image as a practitioner of chivalry, and caused others to see him in an exotic light.

Last among the factors leading to David's high levels of influence in Scotland may be personality. Obviously, this is somewhat speculative, and a minefield in any medieval context, but nevertheless a factor which ought to be at least presented. To be able to engage with the cult of chivalry in such an effective way, promote himself so successfully, and most important, to be able to associate with such varying, and often opposed affinities in Scotland, would seem to suggest David had some sort of charisma making others want to associate or work with him. Although others may have appreciated his chivalric *curriculum vitae*, he may have had a personality that made him an attractive figure with which to associate. A hint of this may be found when Wyntoun recorded Crawford taunting Henry Percy for appearing in full armour at a truce negotiation, perhaps suggesting Wyntoun thought David was appreciated for a quick wit.⁴⁷³ Bower praised William Dalziel, with whom David associated, for the same quality.

When Sir David Lindsay earl of Crawford and lord of Glen Esk died in early 1407, his power and influence placed him among the top tier of magnates in Scotland. He had earned this high degree of influence through his flamboyant displays of chivalry, such as at tournament in London, and by his overt expression of interest in crusade. He also had the more practical resources of a significant income from annuities and a wide range of lands held across Forfarshire, Kincardineshire and Perthshire from which he was able to draw a military retinue. He had campaigned on land and at sea, and at least dabbled in piracy. By maintaining various contacts north and south of the Forth, and by integrating himself into multiple affinities, he was able to maintain a position of prominence in Scotland from around 1390, through presenting himself as a personification of chivalric ideals with which his fellow magnates wanted to associate and by having useful military and financial resources. The connections he had established with the Ogilvies and Erskines, in turn strengthened his local position, and left his son, Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, a strong inheritance in Forfarshire. Unfortunately, as the Alexander 2nd earl's generation gave way to David 3rd earl's, these ties brought strife to his family, but for the moment, these were at the core of Crawford local policy.

⁴⁷³ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 66-7.

Chapter II: Alexander Lindsay 2nd Earl of Crawford, 1407- c.1439

Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's career differed markedly from his father's. Most notably, no records suggest he had interests in tournament or crusade and, also unlike his father, son, or grandson, he is virtually unattested in any chronicle. No indication survives of how his contemporaries perceived him. Alexander's affinity and associations were more stable than his father's, perhaps because Robert duke of Albany's delegatory style of government reduced pressure on magnates to compete at the national level. Surviving evidence suggests Alexander maintained his father's position of influence in Forfarshire if not Aberdeenshire, though he maintained connections with men and families in the latter region. Alexander filled, somewhat silently, a significant role in the highly regionalised politics of the Albany governorship, and was part of the Albany government's coalition against the lord of the Isles.

The most important links Alexander maintained were with his half-uncles, Sir William Lindsay of Rossie and Sir Walter Lindsay of Kinneff. As older, experienced politicians, they often played important parts in Alexander's policy. Nearly as significant were the Lindsays of Crawford's links to members of the Ogilvy family, important because many Ogilvies shared power with Crawford and his half-uncles in Forfarshire on one hand, and because they supported Alexander Stewart earl of Mar (son of Alexander earl of Buchan) in resisting Donald lord of the Isles' eastward expansion on the other.¹ In the later years of Robert duke of Albany's government, William and Walter Lindsay became heavily involved in Alexander earl of Mar's affinity and power-network in Aberdeenshire, forging links with him and his associates. James I's increasingly inevitable return from English captivity, and the indication, from 1421, that Crawford would serve as one of the hostages for James' ransom impacted Crawford's policy. As a result, he strengthened his ties to the Ogilvies by arranging for his son and heir, David, to marry Marjory Ogilvy, probably the daughter of the late Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, sheriff of Forfar (d. c.1422), a move designed to bind their Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire interests tightly together.²

¹ For the purposes of this chapter, 'the Lindsays of Crawford' refers to Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, and his half-uncles, William and Walter.

² *CDS*, iv, 952, 960; *CPL*, vii, 260; *CSSR 1423-1428*, 3, 3n; *SP*, i, 110. *The Scots Peerage* and a footnote to the *CSSR* assert Marjory was Alexander Ogilvy's daughter, but cite no evidence. The dispensation itself does not name David's or Marjory's parents. For Alexander's death, see *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 380; *ER*, iv, 337.

1. Lordship in Forfarshire and Connections to Aberdeenshire, 1407-1411

At the time of his accession, Alexander was active in Forfarshire and in Robert duke of Albany's court, but this activity should not be exaggerated. He had not reached his majority when his father died, so his appearance as a charter witness while his father was dying suggests Alexander was near his majority at twenty-one, and was thought old enough to confirm his father's policies.³ Likewise, William Lindsay of Rossie and Walter Ogilvy's service as David 1st earl of Crawford's executors, rather than Alexander, further suggests his minority.⁴

Alexander had met Albany at Perth on 24 February 1407 when he witnessed the Governor's confirmation of some of his father's deathbed charters, and again in January 1408 as earl of Crawford, when he was in Perth, witnessing another gubernatorial confirmation, this time of Walter Ogilvy of Carcary's establishment of a chaplain of St George the Martyr at Brechin cathedral.⁵ It is hard to imagine Walter Ogilvy was not imitating David 1st earl of Crawford's patronage of George.⁶ Also present for this confirmation were men who loomed large in the future of Scotland, including Albany's youngest brother, Walter earl of Atholl, and Albany's younger son, John earl of Buchan. Crawford was again in Albany's court, at Dundee in December of that year, witnessing a grant in favour of Alexander Lauder, and Elizabeth Forrester, daughter of John Forrester of Corstorphine, of lands in Lothian.⁷ Among the other witnesses were John Forrester of Corstorphine and Walter Ogilvy of Carcary.⁸

These charters do not indicate that Alexander was entering Albany's court, as they have one point in common, a connection to Crawford's own local interests. Besides Crawford's involvement in witnessing some of his father's charters, his witnessing of Walter Ogilvy's grant to Brechin surely indicated Crawford's links to Walter, who held an annuity from him, inherited from Ogilvy's grandfather and Crawford's father.⁹ Furthermore, Walter's patronage of the cathedral of Brechin probably mattered to Crawford since Brechin, lying in Forfarshire, was within Crawford's sphere of influence, and perhaps because Crawford's father had established

³ *SP*, iii, 17 asserts Crawford was a minor at accession, but does not provide evidence. On the same page, the author stated Alexander was a hostage for Archibald 4th earl of Douglas, correctly citing *Foedera* (O), viii, 429.

⁴ *ER*, iv, 35.

⁵ *RMS*, i, 877-80, 941.

⁶ Boardman, 'St George in Scotland'.

⁷ *RMS*, i, 915.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 819.

a prebend there.¹⁰ Crawford's later witnessing of Albany's grant to Alexander Lawder and his wife is best explained by the charter's place of issue in Dundee. Crawford probably had a townhouse in Dundee at the time.¹¹ His father also appeared there several times throughout his career and heavily patronised its parish church shortly before his death in the burgh in 1407.¹² Since Albany was in a burgh with which Alexander was closely associated, it is unsurprising that Crawford witnessed the charter. Walter Ogilvy, one of the other witnesses, was probably there because of his connection to Crawford, as opposed to the other witnesses, such as Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen Albany's chancellor, John earl of Buchan, David Barclay, and Alexander Hawick, Albany's secretary, who were clearly there because of their connections to the governor.¹³

From this point Crawford rarely appeared in Albany's council, though this did not mean Alexander was unimportant. One of the main features of the Albany Governorship was the extremely regionalised and delegated nature of government resulting from the governor's inability to call Parliaments, and his resulting inability to forfeit nobles of their lives, lands, and goods.¹⁴ He was able, though, to call General Councils. Similarly, Albany was unable to grant crown lands or heritable annuities, and apparently had no clear way to invest men with earldoms.¹⁵ Albany's personal sphere of influence generally stretched across central Scotland, as he was earl of Fife and Menteith, and his son was heir to the earldom of Lennox via a marriage and entail.¹⁶ Added to this was the marriage of his daughter, Marjory, to Duncan Campbell, lord of Loch Awe, who had pretensions to the lordship of Argyll.¹⁷ Where his familial connections did not reach, he made other arrangements. From June 1409, Archibald 4th earl of Douglas held sway south of the Forth, as specified in a private indenture, completely outwith any General Council, arranged between Albany and Archibald, in which both men apparently regarded each other as equals.¹⁸

¹⁰ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 21.

¹¹ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1.

¹² Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 365-6; NAS GD16/22/1, GD16/24/170; RMS, i, 819, 876-82.

¹³ RMS, i, 915. For Barclay, see RMS, i, 876, 945 and Fraser, *Wemyss*, ii, 45-7.

¹⁴ Karen Hunt, 'The Governorship of the First Duke of Albany, 1406-1420', unpublished University of Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis (1998), ii-iii, 23-55.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 181, 183.

¹⁷ Ibid., 181.

¹⁸ Michael Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 110.

More relevant to Crawford was Albany's support of Alexander earl of Mar as the government's man in Aberdeenshire. Alexander Stewart (d. 1435), son of Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan (d. 1405) had come into the earldom of Mar by marriage to Isabella Douglas countess of Mar in 1404, and was essentially confirmed in that position in December of 1404 by an arrangement involving Robert III, David 1st earl of Crawford and Walter Ogilvy of Carcary, concluded with the assent of many Aberdeenshire nobles.¹⁹ This had initially conflicted with Crawford's goals, as well as the goals of William Keith the Marischal and Albany, who had supported the claim put forward by Thomas Erskine to the earldom of Mar. In the end, though, the practicalities of providing Mar with an adult male earl to appease the local nobility, and to protect against Highland raiders coming from the west won out.²⁰ The final negotiations produced a marriage contract providing for descent of the earldom to Isabella's heirs if she and Alexander (as was probably expected) failed to produce heirs.²¹ The Erskine claim was not specifically mentioned, but clearly implied.

This was a practical and sensible decision preventing the earldom of Mar from being without an effective male leader acceptable to the local lords.²² Alexander lord of Lochaber's burning of Elgin in 1402 surely drove home the need for active protection against the eastern goals of the MacDonalds of the Isles and their adherents, especially given the power vacuum that had been developing in northern and northeastern Scotland from the deaths of David duke of Rothesay earl of Atholl and Malcolm Drummond lord of Mar.²³ Since then, Alexander earl of Buchan's death in 1405 and David 1st earl of Crawford's death in 1407 would have increased the vacuum to extremely worrisome proportions.

Michael Brown suggested David 1st earl of Crawford's death probably moved Albany to adopt Alexander earl of Mar as his new man in the North.²⁴ This is surely accurate. What has so far escaped comment, though, is the uncanny similarity between the careers of David 1st earl of Crawford and Alexander earl of Mar. Both jousted in London with several comrades at the beginning of a new king's reign, and both were

¹⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 262; Michael Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 31.

²⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 262; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart earl of Mar', 31; NAS GD124/1/123 , GD124/7/3; RPS, 1391/5. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²¹ NAS GD124/1/123.

²² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 262-3.

²³ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 258-9; *Moray Registrum*, 197-201, 382-3.

²⁴ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 33.

praised as pillars of Scottish chivalry.²⁵ Both were also integral in Albany's government of northern Scotland.²⁶ Furthermore, both held the office of Admiral of Scotland, and were involved in legitimate naval activity, as well as piracy based in Aberdeen against Flemish ships. Both even pirated near Nieuwpoort.²⁷ Furthermore, chroniclers noted them fighting against or dealing with Highland and Island forces, though not always successfully.²⁸ Last, both were interested in service to French magnates. David served Louis duke of Orléans and had previous connections to John the Fearless duke of Burgundy. Alexander Stewart served John the Fearless, who ironically arranged for the murder of Louis duke of Orléans.²⁹ If Ditchburn's suggestion is accurate that Alexander Stewart earl of Mar was '*le bastard d'Escoce qui se appeloit conte d'Hembe*' ('the bastard of Scotland who called himself the earl of [the unidentified earldom of] *Hembe*') who was at Tannenberg in 1410, where the Prussian crusade was effectively and finally defeated, then Crawford and Mar could be shown to have maintained an interest in crusade, given Crawford's involvement with Philip de Mézières' Order of the Passion.³⁰

Thus, on David 1st earl of Crawford's death, Mar was, in many ways, ready to fill David's shoes in respect to the men whom his affinity attracted. Surviving records indicate Mar began associating with men who were in David 1st earl of Crawford's affinity, as well as men with whom Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford was in contact. While Mar was in London jousting against the earl of Kent, Wyntoun reported,

Thare Schir Waltere de Lyndesay
A Scottis knyght in gud aray,
Wyth the Lord de Bewmonte he
Be talyé off armys a journé
Did, and fulfillt wele,
That tailyeit was all ilke dele.³¹

²⁵ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 32; *CDS*, iv, 410-1; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 6-9, 12-5, 66-7, 74-7, 292-3; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 47-50, 102-16; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 110 and 179: A safe conduct for Mar and for Walter Ogilvy from 3 September 1406 to Easter 1407.

²⁶ See above, 'Chapter I'; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 31-53.

²⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 183; *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 112; Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman...', 19-34; Ford, 'Piracy or Policy', 63-78; *St Andrews Copiale*, 226-8.

²⁸ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 6-11, 74-7, 263-6; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 58-60.

²⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 66-7; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 104-116; Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, Thomas Johnes, trans., vol. 1 (London, 1840), 53-4, 116-7; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Personal Papers, 75/1/1.

³⁰ Atiya, *Crusade of Nicopolis*, 135; Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman...' 24-5 quoting L. Douet d'Arcq, ed., *La Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1857-62), 79. See also, Monstrelet (Johnes), *Chronicles*, i, 159. Although no evidence places Mar anywhere between April and December 1410, Ditchburn observed, 'Monstrelet's mysterious description contrasts with his identification of 'le conte de Mareuse' during the Liege campaign of 1408' ('The Pirate, the Policeman...', 33 n. 51).

³¹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 102-3.

Although other men from further south with connections to Lothian and the borders, like Walter Bickerton of Luffness, William Cockburn, and William Cranston were involved in this tourneying expedition, so also was Alexander Forbes, who had been involved in Mar's original (August 1404) and re-negotiated (December 1404) marriage contracts with Isabella countess of Mar.³² Forbes later served as keeper of Strathnairn castle and sheriff deputy of Aberdeen for the second, third, and fourth earls of Crawford.³³

Furthermore, according to Wyntoun, along with Mar at the 1408 battle of Liège were 'Schir James Scremgeoure of Dundee' who was already 'a famous knyght', and the 'Lord of Nachtane Schir William [Hay]'.³⁴ William Hay of Naughton witnessed David 1st earl of Crawford's deathbed charters, and James Scrimgeour had traveled abroad with David in 1397, and like David was connected to Dundee.³⁵ Because Alexander earl of Mar came to the fore just before David 1st earl died, it is uncertain whether Mar's chivalric sphere was created in competition or in conjunction with Crawford's. The political cooperation of the first and second earls of Crawford with Alexander earl of Mar may suggest for the brief time both companies existed, they were not competing—if contemporaries even saw them as separate spheres.

While Mar has been examined by a few authors, study of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, especially during the Albany Governorships is wanting. Much of what exists is contained in Karen Hunt's thesis, 'The Governorship of the First Duke of Albany 1406-1420', and is primarily relegated to a footnote.³⁶ The value of Hunt's thesis should not be underestimated, as it sheds light onto an age rendered dark by the dearth of study, save some recent works including chapters of Michael Brown's books *The Black Douglases* and *James I*, his article, 'Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland: The Badenoch Stewarts II, Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', as well as David Ditchburn's article, 'The Pirate, the Policeman and the Pantomime Star: Aberdeen's Alternative Economy in the Early Fifteenth Century'. A modern monograph examining Scotland

³² Ibid. David II and Robert II granted charters of Luffness each in the name of Walter Bickerton, though these were probably different men. In 1180, Luffness had been a Lindsay estate (*APS*, i, 388); NAS GD124/1/122-3; *RMS*, i, 875, 934, app i, 132, app. ii, 748, 1308, 1898-9; *RMS*, ii, 1239.

³³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 393n.

³⁴ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 110-1.

³⁵ *RMS*, i, 877; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 136.

³⁶ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 312 n. 308.

in the years between 1406 and 1424 is yet to be written at the date of submission of this thesis.

Hunt devoted much attention to Alexander earl of Mar. Her interpretation of Aberdeenshire, Kincardineshire, and Forfarshire politics, especially respecting Mar and his affinity, is of a 'zero-sum game', (i.e., one magnate's gains only result from another's losses of an equal amount). Mar's associations with the Ogilvies are stressed, and doubtless his connections to that family were important and helped bolster his authority.³⁷ Indeed, members of the Ogilvy family had acquired lands held of the countess and earl of Mar in December 1404, when the descent of the earldom was determined.³⁸ There were definitely marriage links between members of Mar's retinue, as Patrick Ogilvy (heir of Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse sheriff of Forfar), was married to the daughter of Alexander Keith of 'Grandoun' (Grandholm, Old Machar parish, Aberdeenshire?) by October 1413, whom Mar knighted before the battle of Liège.³⁹ By 1422 Alexander earl of Mar had granted Patrick a few charters.⁴⁰ The Ogilvies also figured heavily in Bower's account of the 1411 battle of Harlaw, where Mar and others fought against and stopped Donald lord of the Isles. Bower reported Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar was present, and that George Ogilvy, Alexander's heir died in the battle.⁴¹

That the Ogilvies played a part in Alexander earl of Mar's retinue is certain, but it is debatable how important they were to him prior to the battle of Harlaw. Indeed, neither Hunt nor Brown demonstrate any pre-1411 links between Mar and any Ogilvies beyond their involvement in the settlement of the succession crisis in Mar in 1404. While it might be easy to read backwards the Ogilvy connection to the earl of Mar evident after the 1411 battle of Harlaw to the period before the battle, this is not the best explanation. Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse was probably present at the battle of Harlaw because he wished to help defend the interests of his brother, Walter Ogilvy of Carcary. Walter held the land of Harlaw in a grant from his mother-in-law, Margaret Glen widow of John Glen of Inchmartine.⁴²

Although Brown noted Walter's possession of Harlaw, as well as the Glen of Inchmartine-Ogilvy marriage, he did not take into account what this meant for the

³⁷ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 37.

³⁸ NAS GD16/24/199.

³⁹ *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 112; *RMS*, ii, 109.

⁴⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 578-9; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 35; *Spalding Misc.*, iv, 115.

⁴¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 75, 77.

⁴² Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 35; *Spalding Misc.*, iv, 115.

descendants of David 1st earl of Crawford (among whose executors was Walter Ogilvy of Carcary) whose family had been connected to the Ogilvy family since at least 1379.⁴³ After David's death, the Ogilvies had their own set of interests in Aberdeenshire and elsewhere; in this case, they overlapped with Alexander earl of Mar, but in many other places, their interests overlapped with those of the earls of Crawford. Similar to Brown, Hunt's 'zero-sum' assessment of the politics of the Albany governorship led her only to see winners and losers, the winners being Mar and his associates, and the losers being those without close and direct connections to that earl. Thus, the support the Ogilvies gave Alexander earl of Mar was a haemorrhaging of support from Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford and, regarding the 1423 marriage of Crawford's son David to Marjory Ogilvy, Hunt asserted that it was 'doubtful whether Alexander, earl of Crawford greeted the marriage of his son and heir to Marjory Ogilvy in 1423 with anything other than resignation'.⁴⁴

These interpretations might be revised. The interaction between Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's affinity, members of the Ogilvy family, and Mar did not so much suggest competition as cooperation and close involvement. These three parties had overlapping and intertwined interests. The most important element which Brown and Hunt did not fully take into account were affairs in Forfarshire, where the Lindsays and Ogilvies remained very closely linked. Their relationship in Forfarshire, both families' base, colours all their other relationships, including their relationships in Aberdeenshire. As outlined in Chapter I, the descendants of Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk and the members of the Ogilvy family had common cause. The Lindsays of Glen Esk were the most powerful landowners in Forfarshire, especially since their barony of Glen Esk dominated northern Forfarshire and shared the eastern half of its long, arcing northern border with Kincardineshire, and the western half with Aberdeenshire.⁴⁵ It is certainly larger than the scattered lands of the earldom of Angus.⁴⁶ The possession of the substantial barony of Clova just to the west of Glen Esk meant the Lindsays controlled practically the whole border between Forfarshire and western Aberdeenshire across the Mounth.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the earls of Crawford held Clova from Isabella countess of Mar, which would have given Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford a connection to Alexander

⁴³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 35; *ER*, iv, 35; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 492-3.

⁴⁴ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 312 n308.

⁴⁵ *ASH*, 203, 206.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁴⁷ *ASH*, 203; *RMS*, i, app. ii, 1830.

earl of Mar.⁴⁸ Next, Crawford's lands of Finavon,⁴⁹ the Forest of Plater,⁵⁰ Downie,⁵¹ Guthrie,⁵² Inverarity,⁵³ Ethiebeaton,⁵⁴ Earl's Ruthven,⁵⁵ and Brichty,⁵⁶ in Forfarshire gave them major interests there.⁵⁷ Surely, the possession of Glen Esk, and the lands near it, Clova and Brichty, gave the descendants of Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk the responsibility of protecting northern, if not all Forfarshire from Highland raiders, as well as control of the flow of over-land trade to and from Dundee.

Combined with this are the Ogilvy interests in Forfarshire. First and foremost, the office of sheriff of Forfar had been associated with the senior branch of the Ogilvy family since c.1330.⁵⁸ Ogilvy connections to Forfar went back eighty years earlier, as an Alexander Ogilvy appeared at Forfar in 1251.⁵⁹ Besides the barony of Ogilvy itself, which is located in Forfarshire, by 1407, the family had also received the Forfarshire lands of Kettins (Kettins Parish, later Perthshire),⁶⁰ Wester Powrie (Murroes parish),⁶¹ £29 yearly from 'Kyngalvy',⁶² Nevay (Eassie and Nevay parish),⁶³ the Kirktown of Eassie (Eassie and Nevay parish),⁶⁴ 'Inncarrewchie' in the barony of Kirriemuir (Kirriemuir parish),⁶⁵ Easter Keillour, (now Keillor, Kettins Parish, Angus)⁶⁶ £20 drawn

⁴⁸ *RMS*, i, app. ii, 1830.

⁴⁹ *RMS*, i, 618, 712.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 618, 712.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 403, 523.

⁵² NAS GD188/1/1/1.

⁵³ *RMS*, i, 337.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, app. ii 1311.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 153. Although *ibid.*, app. ii, 1777 indicates Robert III granted Ruthven to Walter Stewart earl of Caithness, a 1421 entail (NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1) of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's lands indicates Ruthven stayed in the Crawford patrimony.

⁵⁶ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 492-3. Although this grant is from the lord of Fern, at some point before 1449, the whole barony of Fern entered into the Crawford patrimony (*HMC* 15.7, 63-4 no. 128).

⁵⁷ *ASH*, 206. The lands listed here for c.1405 do not illustrate the full extent of the lands associated with the Crawford patrimony, (e. g., Finavon and Strathnairn are not listed, nor any lands in Fife), but generally it is still a good visual representation of the Lindsay of Crawford patrimony.

⁵⁸ NAS GD16/13/1. The NAS catalogue description of this item indicates it is printed at Fraser, *Menteith*, ii, 230.

⁵⁹ *Arbroath Liber*, i, 190.

⁶⁰ *ASH*, 206; *RMS*, i, app. i, 2. Held by Patrick Ogilvy, from king (1306 x 1329, Robert I's reign).

⁶¹ NAS GD205/3/Bundle 1; *RMS*, ii, 112. Held by Walter Ogilvy, son of late Walter Ogilvy, son of late Patrick Ogilvy, from Alexander Ogilvy of that Ilk (1351 x 1361).

⁶² *Ibid.*, i, 757. Held by Sir Walter Ogilvy, from king (1385).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, app. ii, 1800. Held by Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse sheriff of Forfar, from king (1390 x 1406, Robert III's reign).

⁶⁴ NAS GD16/24/199; *RMS*, i, app. ii, 1828. Held by Walter Ogilvy, from Isabella Douglas countess of Mar (confirmed 1390 x 1406, Robert III's reign).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, app. ii, 1837. Held by Walter Ogilvy of Carcary from John 'Allerdes', (1390 x 1406, Robert III's reign).

⁶⁶ NAS GD16/3/4; *RMS*, i, app. ii, 1840. Held by Walter Ogilvy from Crown, by resignation of John Barclay of 'Kippow', (1404).

partly from the earl of Crawford's lands in Forfarshire,⁶⁷ Carcary (granted by Sir John Erskine of Dun, and located near Dun in the parish of Farnell, Angus),⁶⁸ Kinnell (Kinnell or Inverkeilor parishes),⁶⁹ 'Kinbredy',⁷⁰ 'Breky',⁷¹ and several lands in the barony of Lintrathen granted by Archibald 4th earl of Douglas and confirmed under the great seal in November 1406.⁷²

The way the Lindsays of Crawford and members of the Ogilvy family dominated Forfarshire landholding and administration forced them to interact, and when they did, during most of the 2nd earl of Crawford's career, they appear to have acted in cooperation with each other. In late April 1409, a host of lords converged at 'Carnconane' to hold an inquest into the lands and fees of the late William Auchterlonie's Kincardinshire lands, eventually granting them to Alexander, his son or brother.⁷³ Walter Ogilvy of Carcary, in his capacity as bailiff of the regality of Arbroath officiated at this event. Among the sixteen men present, the first four named were William Lindsay of Rossie, Gilbert Graham of 'Hathirwyk', Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar, and John Ogilvy of that Ilk. Also listed were Richard Loyal of Ballumbie, David Lichten, and Richard Lichten.

Most of these men had long-standing connections to each other. For example, the families of Lindsay, Lichten and Ogilvy all had participated in the battle of Glasclune.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's father, along with Walter Ogilvy of Carcary and Richard Loyal had all been involved in the arrangement of the countess of Mar's second marriage contract to Alexander earl of Mar in December 1404.⁷⁵ These men had demonstrated overt interest in dealing with militarised Gaeldom, and at least two of their recent ancestors had been slain in resisting Highland forces. It should also not pass without mention that men of the family of Auchterlonie had witnessed charters by both Alexander and David Lindsay of Glen Esk, and that the

⁶⁷ Ibid., 819. Held by Walter, from David Lindsay of Glen Esk (1391). See above, 'Chapter I', as the land of Blacklochmuir mentioned in this charter is very near to Glasclune, where the David Lindsay of Glen Esk and Walter Ogilvy fought against caterans in early 1392.

⁶⁸ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 502-3; NAS GD16/22/1. Held by Walter Ogilvy, if deficient by Alexander Ogilvy, from John Erskine of Dun (1400).

⁶⁹ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 504-5. Held by Walter, from king (1404).

⁷⁰ RMS, i, app. ii 1838. Held by Walter Ogilvy, from 'John Ogstoun', (Confirmed 1404).

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² NAS GD16/3/5; RMS, i, 876. Held by Walter Ogilvy from Archibald 4th earl of Douglas (November 1406).

⁷³ *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 47-8. William's relationship to Alexander is described as both '*pater*' (father) and '*frater*' (brother) in the printed text.

⁷⁴ *Chron. Wynthoun* (Laing), iii, 58-60; RPS, 1392/3/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁷⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 732; NAS GD124/1/122, 123; NAS RH6/220.

Lindsays of Crawford went on to cross paths with them, including this William Auchterlonie, in 1425.⁷⁶ While this does not show that all these families were necessarily close allies, it does show that for decades they had shared interests and cooperated.

Perhaps a more direct indication of the overlapping interests of the Lindsays of Crawford and the Ogilvies, as well as their political connections, occurred in December 1410 when Alexander earl of Crawford presented Andrew Ogilvy, clerk of the Dunkeld diocese, to fill the Lethnot prebendary David Lindsay of Glen Esk established in 1385.⁷⁷ The terms of the creation of the prebend allowed David and his heirs to nominate future prebends, and it appears they preferred to choose men from families with local influence. The man who had previously filled it, William Wright, was perhaps related to a William Wright, connected to Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk in 1382, Adam Wright bailiff of Forfar (1385), John Wright bailiff of Forfar (1406), and a David Wright who was a bailiff of Aberdeen in 1388.⁷⁸ If William Wright was from the same family, it appears Alexander and his father preferred to entrust that office to men from families in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire.

The next year, on 10 January 1411, at Forfar, there was a major convergence of Lindsays of Crawford and Ogilvies to help deal with a Forfarshire dispute. The squabble at hand in the Forfar sheriff court, over which Alexander Ogilvy lord of Auchterhouse and sheriff of Forfar presided, was whether the moor of Fernwell belonged to a local lay lord or the church of Brechin, in which the dempster found in favour of the church of Brechin.⁷⁹ The case had come to court three times previously, and the most recent attempt at resolution, on 11 November 1410 had failed because ‘mony of ye grit baroniss war absent’.⁸⁰ No such hindrance existed in January 1411, as the first men recorded present were John Stewart Albany’s son and lord of Buchan, Alexander earl of Crawford, Walter Panter abbot of Arbroath, Thomas abbot of Jedburgh, James Keith prior of Restenneth, Crawford’s brother David Lindsay of Kinneff and William Lindsay of Rossie.⁸¹ Also present was John Ogilvy undersheriff of Forfar, with several men from the church of Brechin including one dean, the

⁷⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 43-4; NAS GD 150/14L; *RMS*, i, 819.

⁷⁷ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 21, 29.

⁷⁸ *ER*, iii, 73, 127-8, 185, 637.

⁷⁹ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 29-32.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

archdeacon, the official and the cantor.⁸² Although the earlier law day of 11 November 1410 failed to reach quorum, the way men from the Lindsay and Ogilvy families, along with clergy of Brechin ultimately came to pack the court, it is hard to believe the resulting decision in favour of Brechin was not to their liking. Indeed, as just demonstrated, the Lindsays and Ogilvies had direct links to the diocese of Brechin and dominated Forfarshire landholding.

While the Lindsays and Ogilvies had been entrenching themselves in Forfarshire, Alexander Stewart earl of Mar had been pursuing interests outside Scotland. From 1406 onwards, Mar had spent much time abroad, tourneying in London in 1406 and campaigning in France in 1408.⁸³ His involvement in piracy took him to sea in 1409 and 1410.⁸⁴ With all this international activity, Mar probably had not had that much time to bind himself to Forfarshire lords like the Ogilvies, or even local Aberdeenshire lords. Given this, it is surprising the question has not been raised as to how Mar could have maintained such international interests, and still been an effective defence against Donald lord of the Isles at the same time.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse's father, Walter Ogilvy, had died at the 1392 battle of Glasclune in which Mar's brothers had been involved, perhaps making Ogilvy wary of Mar. Conceivably, prior to Harlaw, Mar could have been an object of Ogilvy suspicion. Observing Mar's activities from this angle, one wonders if Mar's international activities in 1406, and 1408-1410 had further contributed to the power vacuum created by his father's death in 1405 and widened by David 1st earl of Crawford's death in 1407. Indeed, Mar's absenteeism surely contributed to Donald lord of the Isles' decision to drive eastward with an army in late July 1411, which resulted in the battle of Harlaw.⁸⁶

If one closely examines Bower's account of the 1411 battle of Harlaw, reading between the lines, it seems Mar was not necessarily the 'bulwark' Bower (at another point) and subsequent authors painted him to be.⁸⁷ After indicating that the the lord of

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 32; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 66; *Chron. Wyntoun* (Laing), iii, 102-16; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 179.

⁸⁴ Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman...', 21.

⁸⁵ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 31-4.

⁸⁶ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74.

⁸⁷ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 33-4; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74-7, 292-3; Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 286-7.

the Isles' army was vast, and its activities heavily destructive, the version of Bower that his recent editor, Watt, preferred continues:⁸⁸

Cui occurit Alexander Stewart comes de Mar cum Alexandro Ogilby vicecomite de Angus qui semper et ubique justiciam dilexit cum potestate de Angus et Mernez... (Alexander Stewart earl of Mar ran to meet them with Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus, who always and everywhere loved justice, with forces from Angus and the Mearns)...⁸⁹

The Coupar Angus manuscript, (datable to the late 1440s),⁹⁰ reads:

Cui occurit Alexander Stewart comes de Mar cum Alexandro Ogilby vicecomite de Angus qui semper et ubique justiciam dilexit cum omnibus quos habere potuit de Mar et Garioch Angus et le Mernez... (Alexander Stewart earl of Mar ran to meet them with Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus who always and everywhere loved justice, with all whom he was able to have from Mar, Garioch, Angus and the Mearns)...⁹¹

The conflated translation Watt provided reads:

Alexander Stewart earl of Mar went to meet him, along with Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus (who always and everywhere loved justice), [with all those whom he could have from Mar and Garioch, Angus and the Mearns].⁹²

Especially in the original Latin, both versions indicate Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar/Angus drew many men, definitely from his historical bases of Forfarshire and Kincardineshire and perhaps from the earl of Mar's own base of Aberdeenshire, suggesting Ogilvy was an extremely important figure in the lowland response to the lord of the Isles' campaign. Furthermore, Bower described Ogilvy as a man '*qui semper et ubique justiciam dilexit*' ('who always and everywhere loved justice') which is in contrast to his lack of any qualitative description of the earl of Mar.⁹³ It can only remain a nagging question if Bower's apparently intentional failure to compliment Mar for his participation in this battle is an indication of some disapproval.

The difficulty of attempting to answer this question is compounded by Bower's glowing eulogy for Mar later in his text, crediting Lowland victory at Harlaw to his

⁸⁸ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Although described as sheriff of Angus here, the Ogilvies are variously described in some documents as sheriffs of 'Forfar', and 'Angus' in others.

⁹⁰ Introduction to *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, xvi.

⁹¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), 74, 74 note *o*. The Mearns was a deanery in the Archdeaconry of St Andrews, stretching along the east coast, between St Cyrus (just north of Montrose) and Nigg (just south of Aberdeen). See *ASH*, 348-9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 75.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 74.

presence.⁹⁴ Bower's manifest fixation on describing strong, just leaders could have led him to use the opportunity of Mar's death to produce this apparent contradiction in his text, as in his eulogy he had praised Mar for changing himself from a base leader of cateran raiders 'into another kind of man', a strong northern leader.⁹⁵ It is easily possible Bower felt Mar's transformation '*in virum alterum*' ('into another man') was not complete by the battle of Harlaw.⁹⁶

Included on Bower's roll of dead were men who were clearly linked to Alexander earl of Mar, as well as other men who were probably more closely associated with Alexander Ogilvy. James Scrimgeour of Dundee, by virtue of his family's long possession of the constableness of Dundee would have been close to Ogilvy as the sheriff of Forfar, even if he had campaigned with Mar in France in 1408.⁹⁷ Next is James Loyal, probably a relative of Richard Loyal of Ballumbie (Morroes parish, Angus), with whom Alexander Ogilvy, as well as William Lindsay of Rossie, were recorded in 1409.⁹⁸ The last victim named, who probably had a Forfarshire connection, was an 'Alexander de Strivelyne', possibly a relative of Katherine Stirling, daughter of John Stirling whom Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk married, acquiring lands in Inverness-shire, Aberdeenshire, and Forfarshire, including Glen Esk.⁹⁹ If Alexander Ogilvy was indeed the focus of Forfarshire resistance to Donald lord of the Isles' campaign, surely it was a result of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's youth.

This Lindsay association is worth mentioning, because in May 1404 at Aberdeen (before Alexander Stewart had acquired the earldom of Mar) David 1st earl of Crawford, had associated with many men who became supporters of Alexander Stewart and his acquisition of Mar.¹⁰⁰ Two men who died at Harlaw, Alexander Irvine of Drum and Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, fall into this category.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, just after David 1st earl of Crawford's death, on 16 April 1407, Mar resolved a dispute between Walter Lindsay and Alexander Forbes, with Robert Davidson burgess of Aberdeen, Mar's companion in piracy, and another victim of Harlaw, who stood pledge for Walter

⁹⁴ Ibid., 292-3.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 293.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 292.

⁹⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74; *Chron. Wyntoun*, iii, 100-1; RRS, v, nos. 129, 131.

⁹⁸ *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 47-9 no. 49; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 76.

⁹⁹ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 34-7; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 76; RRS, vi, no. 196.

¹⁰⁰ Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 505-6.

¹⁰¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 505-6.

Lindsay's good behavior.¹⁰² Both families also had important connections to Aberdonian burgesses as well. While Mar was close to Davidson, David 1st earl of Crawford had maintained connections to another important Aberdonian family, the Chalmers, who produced more than one Aberdeen burgess since the 1380s and who frequently worked with Robert Davidson.¹⁰³ Last, David 1st earl of Crawford himself had received a joint safe conduct with James Scrimgeour in 1397.¹⁰⁴ The Lindsays' frequent appearances in Dundee would have acquainted them with Scrimgeour, the constable of the city.¹⁰⁵ Thus, although no Lindsays were outwardly named as participants in Harlaw, many of those recorded who fell had major Lindsay connections.

Taking into account the lands Crawford and his family held in Forfarshire, Kincardineshire,¹⁰⁶ the annuities he held from Aberdeen, and his probable possession of the office of sheriff of Aberdeen, it is hard to imagine some Lindsays were not among the many men from Forfarshire and its surrounding sheriffdoms Bower claimed fought at Harlaw. Bower's failure to mention any Lindsays by name, especially Earl Alexander, may be explained by the fact Bower only mentioned the commanders and those slain. Perhaps no Lindsays fell into either category. Regardless, if all the men known to have fought at Harlaw with bases significantly south of Aberdeenshire did participate in the battle, it may suggest there is some element of truth in Bower's claim Donald lord of the Isles wished to extend his lordship from Aberdeen to the Tay, even if it simply reflects current Lowland fears, justified or otherwise.¹⁰⁷ This fear may have grown from Mar's near absenteeism and resulting power vacuum north of the Mounth in the years before 1411. Regardless, the battle's placement, at Harlaw, twenty-seven kilometers northwest of Aberdeen suggests that burgh was definitely a target, and the forces of Alexander earl of Mar and Alexander Ogilvy were either unable or unwilling to intercept Donald lord of the Isles any earlier.¹⁰⁸ Admittedly, much like Glasclune, the

¹⁰² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 380-1; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 34-5; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 76; Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, The Policeman...', 19-34.

¹⁰³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 732; *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 203-5; NAS RH6/220, for two members of the Chalmers family witnessing one of David 1st earl of Crawford's charters, in Aberdeen in 1401; *ER*, iii, [for Chalmers connection to Aberdeen]:147, 233, 251, 299, 325, 359, [for Chalmers and Davidson together]: 387, 414, 441, 474, 498, 520, 539, 569, 598, 631; *ER*, iv, [for Chalmers connection to Aberdeen]: 35, 248-9, *Moray Registrum*, 197-201; *Yester Writs*, 31-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 137.

¹⁰⁵ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 29; NAS GD16/2/1, GD16/12/3; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1-2; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 186; *RMS*, ii, 878-81, 915.

¹⁰⁶ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1; *RMS*, i, 226, 881.

¹⁰⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Boardman, 'The Burgh and the Realm', 212.

battle was fought just on the Lowland side of the geographic Lowland/Highland division (i.e. where the mountains end and the flatter lands begin). This suggests the Lowland-dwellers had reliable methods of detecting active Highland armies, and an ability to mount quick responses on the type of terrain most suited to the Lowland type of warfare.

Ultimately, the men who fought at Harlaw were not there purely because Alexander earl of Mar, who had been often absent from Scotland during the previous few years, bade them. They were there because they shared a complex of intertwining interests and connections driving them to bring their bands of men to the field on 24 July 1411 to resist a large incursion into their territory. Once on the battlefield, though, Mar's experience fighting on the continent in pitched battle, his connections to cateran raiding through his father, and his comital rank, would have made him best-suited to command the Lowland forces that day.

2. Expanding Interests, Expanding Concerns 1411-1420

For the decade following Harlaw, the Lindsays of Crawford maintained involvement in Forfarshire while acquiring an increasing importance in Aberdeenshire. The connections Crawford and his family maintained with members of the Ogilvy family, as well as Alexander Irvine of Drum, probably the son of the man killed at Harlaw (men who were ostensibly Alexander earl of Mar's agents, according to Brown and Hunt), suggests the Lindsays of Crawford regularly communicated and cooperated with Mar and that, in no way did Mar dominate them. At the national level, there are hints Albany saw Crawford and his family members as influential, partially indicated by their participation in shaping diplomacy.

Unsurprisingly, in the eighteen months following Harlaw, the Lindsays, and their close associates, the Ogilvies, collectively consolidated their interests. In late 1412, one of Crawford's kinsmen, an Alexander Lindsay, M. A., was promoted within the church in a way to keep the Lindsay family influence in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire. Alexander Lindsay, M. A. acquired a James Lindsay's offices of canon and treasurer of Aberdeen, and James Lindsay, an illegitimate kinsman of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, received a dispensation to be promoted to holy orders, and was allowed to hold the church of St Brioc in Montrose, St Andrews diocese.¹⁰⁹ Earlier, in July 1412,

¹⁰⁹ *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 259-60, 262.

John Scrimgeour and Catherine Ogilvy received a marriage dispensation.¹¹⁰ Even if Crawford had not helped arrange this marriage, in the wake of Harlaw he probably would have found it useful to see the interests of the sheriff's family, with whom he shared power, to be tied to the family of the constable of Dundee, where Crawford himself was influential.

The Exchequer records also help illuminate the months following Harlaw, suggesting the battle brought turbulence as well as reward. For example, Albany mandated a payment of £30 from Dundee to Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, surely reward for service at Harlaw.¹¹¹ The amount of the gift to Ogilvy is significant. This Exchequer accounted for two years, and for two years, Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford received £100 from Dundee.¹¹² Since his yearly fee from Dundee was £66 13s. 4d., he should have received £133 6s. 8d., but there was no immediate attempt to rectify this discrepancy.¹¹³ It seems Crawford's fee came up short by approximately the amount of Alexander Ogilvy's reward. Also for these two years, one of Crawford's annuities from Aberdeen was wanting. Although his yearly payment of £40 was paid in full for two years (£80), of his £66 13s. 4d. also from Aberdeen, over two years, he received only £13 6s. 8d., when he should really have received about ten times that amount.¹¹⁴ This might suggest Aberdeen's hinterlands were affected.

In summer 1413, important members of the Lindsay and Ogilvy families had contact with Robert duke of Albany, probably for the purpose of determining diplomacy. In May, William Lindsay of Rossie was in Dunfermline where he witnessed a grant by Albany in favour of John Stewart earl of Buchan (Albany's son), and Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of Archibald 4th earl of Douglas of lands in the barony of Cunningham.¹¹⁵ In July, also at Dunfermline, Alexander earl of Mar and Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar witnessed a confirmation by Albany of a charter by Robert Keith the Marischal in favour of John Keith of lands in Banff.¹¹⁶ Lindsay, Ogilvy and Mar had probably been drawn to Albany for reasons other than simply witnessing these

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 252.

¹¹¹ *ER* iv, 144-5.

¹¹² Ibid., 135-7.

¹¹³ In 1422 Crawford received £76 13s. 4d. from Dundee, for both the year of 1422 and years preceding (*ER*, iv, 358-9).

¹¹⁴ *ER*, iv, 144-5, 154. Over the next several years it was not uncommon for Crawford's fees from Aberdeen to come up short, and not until 1420 was any serious attempt made to rectify the discrepancy (*ER*, iv, 248-9, 273-4, 314-5, 330-1).

¹¹⁵ *RMS*, i, 945.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 939.

charters. There had been important events in England in the spring, and no doubt, Albany and his associates would have been discussing their ramifications. On 30 March 1413 Henry IV had died, and his son, Henry V, who had more uncompromising ideas about English suzerainty over Scotland than his father, had taken his place, and on 16 July ordered messengers north to negotiate, presumably about releasing James I.¹¹⁷ Both James I and Albany's son, Murdoch, were warded in cells in the tower of London.¹¹⁸ By August, Albany was sending his own messengers south, including William Borthwick, who had also witnessed the above grant in favour of Buchan.¹¹⁹ William Lindsay of Rossie had witnessed the charter with him, and may well have been involved in determining the policy Borthwick would relay to the English.

Negotiations continued for James I's release during the summer of 1414, and the pope even offered some money to pay James I's ransom.¹²⁰ Although negotiations failed, this news had probably not reached Forfarshire by June 1414. In the future, in 1421 and later in 1423, when James I's release seemed imminent, this occasioned Lindsay activity, often in conjunction with the governor; the summer of 1414 initiated this pattern. Doubtless, Albany and William Lindsay of Rossie worried about how James would regard them upon returning because of their roles in David duke of Rothesay's death (James I's brother), especially since there had been rumor Rothesay was intentionally starved to death.¹²¹ It could have been concerns over James I's possible return, or perhaps a general desire to strengthen his affinity that led Crawford to grant lands to Alexander Skene with Alexander Irvine of Drum witnessing in 8 May 1414.¹²²

¹¹⁷ *Foedera* (O), ix, 40-1; Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 104-6.

¹¹⁸ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 104-5.

¹¹⁹ *Foedera* (O), ix, 45.

¹²⁰ *Foedera* (O), ix, 125, 145-6. Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 110: For one of her sources, Hunt cited Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell, trans. and eds., *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Oxford, 1975), 82, claiming the chronicler believed James I's release was imminent. Page 82 of *Gesta Henrici Quinti* actually describes the battle of Agincourt. A glance through the whole text suggests she meant to cite page 138, but this passage clearly describes an event taking place just before 14 June 1416, and based on the language used, there is no indication the chronicler, or anybody else expected James I's release to be imminent. Rather, based on the English chronicler's record of the Scottish ambassadors' utter refusal to accommodate Henry V's demand of English overlordship, release seemed quite unlikely.

Safe conducts for several men, including the earl of Orkney, James Douglas of Balvenie and Walter Ogilvy, covering a period allowing them to have come to London in late May or early June 1416 confirm the chronicler's record of negotiations at this time (*Foedera* (O), ix, 341); *St Andrews Copiale*, 241-2.

¹²¹ Michael Brown, *James I* (East Linton, 2000), 12-3; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 38-41; RPS, 1402/5/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009. NLS Adv. Ms. 34.6.24, 189r. indicates William Lindsay was indeed forfeited by 1431.

¹²² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, 44-5 n. 2.

After threat of James I's return passed, Crawford and his uncles continued exerting their influence around the Tay, participating in diplomacy, and making appearances in support of Alexander earl of Mar. The first instance of this was 14 September 1414 at Scone, when Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse sheriff of Forfar affixed their seals 'for the greater security of the affair' to Robert Logan of Restalrig's grant to the church of St Michael of Scone.¹²³ Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy's brother, Walter, held lands in Perthshire, giving them interests there.¹²⁴ This grant's most important aspect, though, was Crawford and Ogilvy's close cooperation.

Crawford and his family's activities are unknown for about two years from this point, which could partly reflect disturbances in the north resulting from Alexander earl of Mar's conflict with the lord of the Isles.¹²⁵ For the Exchequer period from 22 June 1415 to 27 June 1416 Alexander earl of Mar received £20 for victuals and munitions for a naval campaign in the Isles probably against Donald lord of the Isles.¹²⁶ Also in 1416, Crawford's £66 13s. 4d. annuity from Aberdeen (fully paid in 1413, 1414 and 1415) was wanting, perhaps suggesting disruption in Aberdeenshire, as had happened after Harlaw.¹²⁷ It is of course, unknown, if Crawford himself, or his half-uncles were involved in Mar's campaign against the Isles.

When record of Crawford next occurred, he was involved in diplomacy with England. On 8 December 1416, Walter Stewart earl of Atholl, William Graham, Alexander earl of Crawford, George Dunbar heir of the earl of March, Henry bishop of St Andrews, William bishop of Glasgow, William Douglas of Drumlanrig, the recently released Murdoch Stewart, John earl of Buchan, and Archibald 4th earl of Douglas, all with companies of forty men, were allowed passage to England until 1 April.¹²⁸ The same day, Henry V issued a document proposing to allow James I to return to Scotland in exchange for hostages, apparently indicating these men were to be allowed south either as negotiators or as hostages.¹²⁹ This plan ultimately failed, though, preempted by Henry V's interest in war in France.¹³⁰

¹²³ *Scone Liber*, 163.

¹²⁴ NAS GD16/24/199, GD16/24/170; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1; RMS, i, 891, 941, app. ii, 1828.

¹²⁵ ER, iv, 259.

¹²⁶ ER, iv, 261-2, 265; Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 278.

¹²⁷ ER iv, 170, 199, 225, 248-9.

¹²⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 219.

¹²⁹ *Foedera* (O), ix, 417.

¹³⁰ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 116-9.

This is the only record of Crawford's activities for three and a half years.¹³¹ His uncles, William and Walter, were active during this period, though, maintaining contact with important men like Mar and Albany, and developing their influence in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire. The first indication of this growing influence was Walter Lindsay's presence at Perth on 24 May 1417 when John earl of Buchan and Ross granted 'Fothibiris', probably the Forest of Birse in the large Aberdeenshire barony of Aboyne, to Alexander Forbes.¹³² Among the witnesses was Alexander Stewart earl of Mar.¹³³ The implications for Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford were significant. Aboyne, in which the Forest of Birse lay, is contiguous with Glen Esk's northern border.¹³⁴ To Aboyne's west is the earldom of Mar, and to the east it faces the barony of Kincardine O'Neill held by John earl of Buchan, and Ross as part of the Ross patrimony.¹³⁵ To the east, in Kincardineshire, Aboyne borders Strachan, which William Keith the Marischall held, and whose daughter, Muriel, had married Robert duke of Albany.¹³⁶

Mar and Walter were cooperating again in November, when Walter Lindsay in his capacity as sheriff of Aberdeen, and Alexander Forbes, in the capacity of justiciar especially deputed for the case, arranged a perambulation to settle a dispute between the lord of Udney and the Abbey of Arbroath over the boundaries of their lands in Aberdeenshire.¹³⁷ Among the perambulators were Henry Preston lord of Formartine. He was married to Elizabeth Lindsay, one of James Lindsay of Crawford's (d. c.1396) daughters. Henry and Elizabeth had acquired James' Aberdeenshire lordship of Formartine by purchase from Thomas Colville and his wife, Margaret Lindsay, James' other daughter.¹³⁸ Also among the men present was Alexander Irvine of Drum, who frequently associated with Alexander earl of Mar.¹³⁹

The most significant aspect of these documents is Walter Lindsay's description as sheriff of Aberdeen, as this was the first time the office of sheriff of Aberdeen is known to have been held by a member of the Lindsay family.¹⁴⁰ That Walter used this title, and Mar and Buchan cooperated with Walter in this capacity as sheriff of

¹³¹ There is mention of one, now non-extant charter from February 1417-8 in an early eighteenth century inventory. See *Banff Chrs.*, 24.

¹³² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 383.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *ASH*, 203.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*; Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 273.

¹³⁶ *ASH*, 203; *CPLS Clement VII*, 44; *RMS*, i, 203, 500, app. ii, 1430, 1550.

¹³⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 343-5.

¹³⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 501-2; *RPS*, A1382/6/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹³⁹ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 19-34.

¹⁴⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 383.

Aberdeen underlines the official influence the Lindsays held in Aberdeenshire. Crawford himself can be shown to have controlled the office at a later date, so Walter's exercise of the office was presumably as deputy to Crawford.¹⁴¹ The presence of Alexander earl of Mar with his interests west of Aboyne, Buchan's possession of Aboyne and Walter Lindsay as sheriff of Aberdeen and uncle of the lord of Glen Esk indicates a great deal of approval of Forbes' new position at the intersection of the interests of Stewart of Buchan, Lindsay of Crawford and Stewart of Mar. Later, the Lindsays of Crawford and Forbes became very close partners, as Forbes served as sheriff depute for the second, third, and fourth earls of Crawford.¹⁴² This grant clearly illustrates the close involvement of the Lindsays of Crawford in the affairs of Aberdeenshire.

Mar's support of Lindsay of Crawford interests is further underlined by Mar's grant to William Lindsay of Rossie on 1 January 1418, '*pro suo consilio et auxilio multiplicat nobis impen*' (for his council and aid many times rendered to us) of the lands of Alford, just four kilometers west-southwest of the barony of Forbes, on the northeast corner of the earldom of Mar.¹⁴³ The witness list is short, but names William Hay of Naughton, Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar, and Walter Ogilvy of Carcary.¹⁴⁴ This charter further illustrates an assembly of men already demonstrated to have intertwining interests in Forfarshire, Aberdeenshire and with connections to the Lindsays of Crawford and earl of Mar. This grant tied Lindsay of Rossie's interests to Mar's in a direct way, and gave him a connection to Alexander Forbes, as the barony of Forbes is six kilometers west northwest of Alford. This grant built on Mar's earlier grant making Forbes of that ilk's interests contiguous with those of Alexander earl of Crawford the previous year. Even if Forbes frequently witnessed Mar's charters, in light of Mar's interactions with the Lindsays and Forbeses, it is hard to assert, as Brown does, that 'there is little doubt that the earl [of Mar]'s sympathies were with Alexander Forbes and his brothers'.¹⁴⁵ In the space of eighteen months Mar had made the interests of Alexander earl of Crawford, William Lindsay of Rossie and Alexander Forbes overlap his own interests, and clearly considered all of them desirable neighbours. Mar's 'sympathies' were with them all.

¹⁴¹ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1.

¹⁴² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4, 393*n*, 398*n*.

¹⁴³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 142; NAS GD52/399.

¹⁴⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 142; NAS GD52/399.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 36.

On 19 June 1419 William Lindsay of Rossie was among the witnesses at Falkland when Robert duke of Albany confirmed a grant the late John Hay of Tulibody made to Alexander Stewart son of John Stewart of Lorn of the land of Banchory.¹⁴⁶ On the same day, Alexander Stewart son of John Stewart of Lorn issued a letter making this confirmation known ‘Till all and sindry’, sealed with Buchan’s seal, in absence of his own, also witnessed by Lindsay of Rossie.¹⁴⁷ Although this grant would have been useful for Albany, since Robert Stewart (John Stewart of Lorn’s heir), was married to Johanna Stewart, (Albany’s daughter), these men probably had other matters on their minds than just Alexander Stewart’s possession of Banchory.¹⁴⁸ It was probably around this time letters from the Dauphin Charles Valois arrived in Scotland requesting an army to resist the English. In response, Albany held a council of the three estates that sent John earl of Buchan to France with an army in October 1419.¹⁴⁹ This was the last time the paths of the Lindsays of Crawford and the Robert Stewart duke of Albany are recorded to have crossed before Albany died. In his final year, he clearly saw William Lindsay as a worthwhile military advisor.

In contrast to earlier years, when surviving evidence suggested Forfarshire was the Lindsays’ main area of interest, since 1417, the Lindsays of Crawford, primarily Walter and William, had extended their influence into Aberdeenshire with Alexander earl of Mar’s aid. Walter Lindsay served as sheriff of Aberdeen in 1417, and William Lindsay acquired lands in Aberdeenshire, tying his interests to Alexander earl of Mar, and Alexander Forbes. Through this period Crawford’s uncles, William and Walter, were apparently acting in concert both with each other and in support of Mar. Crawford’s absence from records is frustrating, though the favour Robert’s successor, Murdoch duke of Albany, showed him suggests he was a figure of some import.

3. The Lindsays of Crawford and the End of the Albany Governorships

In 1420 pestilence and crop failures swept through Scotland and the same year saw the death of Robert duke of Albany, probably on 3 September.¹⁵⁰ George Dunbar earl of March died that year also, along with Henry Sinclair earl of Orkney, and James Douglas of Dalkeith.¹⁵¹ Besides this, John earl of Buchan, and Archibald earl of

¹⁴⁶ Fraser, *Grandtully*, i, 187-8.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁴⁸ *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 75; *SP*, v, 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 216; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 112-3, 199-200.

¹⁵⁰ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 112, 116, 132-5, 210-1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

Wigtown (heir of Archibald 4th earl of Douglas) were abroad campaigning in France, together with, by Bower's reckoning, 7,000 other Scots.¹⁵² Murdoch Stewart took on his father's role as governor. Historians' assessment of Murdoch's abilities in comparison to his father's has been poor, beginning with Bower's dreary estimation.¹⁵³ Chief of the problems Murdoch had, according to Bower and later authors, were his sons, particularly Walter, whose goals clashed with his father's in Lennox, to which he was heir after his father.¹⁵⁴ Archibald 4th earl of Douglas capitalised on this conflict during Murdoch's governorship in 1421 and began serious negotiation for James I's return.¹⁵⁵

The Lindsays' relationship to Murdoch as governor was markedly different from their relationship to his father, Robert. During Robert's governorship, Lindsays rarely witnessed gubernatorial charters and were not involved in rendering the Exchequer; rather, they hovered in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire, only appearing in Albany's presence to counsel Robert on northern matters, or matters of diplomacy. Murdoch, on the other hand, apparently made regular association with and use of the Lindsay family in central government (such as it was), an overt policy and, by autumn 1423, Murdoch was staking his future partially on Lindsay support.¹⁵⁶ Initially, though, it was simply northern matters drawing Murdoch as governor to first associate with the Lindsays.

William Lindsay witnessed a charter Murdoch granted at Edinburgh on 28 October 1420.¹⁵⁷ His northeastern interests contrast with the more southerly and westerly interests of the other witnesses (Stewart of Lennox, Robert Stewart of Lorn, John Forrester of Corstorphine, Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs, and Alan Otterburn Murdoch's secretary) on Murdoch's grant of Dumfriesshire lands to Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock.¹⁵⁸ Given the southwestern slant of this charter, it is hard to imagine its content drew William Lindsay to Edinburgh. Although he may have been there on his own accord or Crawford's, making contact with the new governor, that was probably not his sole purpose. William's connections to Alexander earl of Mar are highly informative at this point, since it was three weeks after this meeting at Edinburgh with Murdoch, on 16 November at Perth, that Murdoch finalised an indenture between Mar

¹⁵² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 218-9; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 112.

¹⁵³ Brown, *James I*, 27-33; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 134; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 257.

¹⁵⁴ Brown, *James I*, 28-9; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 134-5.

¹⁵⁵ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 219; Brown, *James I*, 23.

¹⁵⁶ Fraser, *Wemyss*, ii, 45-7.

¹⁵⁷ *RMS*, ii, 48.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

and himself in which Mar pledged to serve Murdoch for life maintaining order in the north of Scotland, in exchange for, among other points, the possibility of Murdoch's support for Thomas Stewart, Mar's illegitimate son, to succeed to the earldom, overturning the Erskine claim.¹⁵⁹ Beyond this, Mar was also to receive large sums of money, needed, apparently, to resist the Lord of the Isles, the main intention of this arrangement.¹⁶⁰ On 28 October 1420, William Lindsay of Rossie had probably brought word to the new governor of Mar's desire to have his position formalised and confirmed. This hardly calmed affairs for Murdoch: as early as spring the next year his position as governor was under threat.

Archibald 4th earl of Douglas' attempt to resolve James I's captivity, beginning in 1421, was surely the factor that moved Murdoch to engage differently with the Lindsays than his father had. In 1421, Archibald 4th earl of Douglas had proposed, highly unusually, to serve Henry V in France in exchange for James I's release for three months to negotiate a treaty allowing his permanent release.¹⁶¹ Douglas had been in contact with Henry V since April, after a Scots army under Buchan had won the battle of Baugé against the English on 22 March 1421.¹⁶² Most likely Henry V was hoping to relieve some of the pressure Baugé had created, taking advantage of Scottish dissatisfaction with Murdoch's government.¹⁶³ In the meantime, Charles Dauphin of France had been seeking a Scottish army, and it is possible Douglas' indenture with Henry V was designed firstly, to drive as hard a bargain as possible with Charles, and secondly, to endear himself to James I in contrast to Murdoch Stewart, who had apparently made no attempts to achieve his first cousin's release.¹⁶⁴ Unsurprisingly, Douglas' proposal came to nothing, but Hunt is right to notice it did occasion action in Scotland.¹⁶⁵

This is no surprise because, according to Douglas' proposal, James I's initial return was to be made in exchange for hostages including the earls of Atholl, Moray, Angus, Crawford, and Orkney, and the lords James Douglas of Balvenie (the 4th earl of Douglas' second son), Walter son and heir of Murdoch duke of Albany, Robert Stewart of Lorn, Robert Erskine, and Robert Keith the Marischal (Murdoch's maternal step-uncle).¹⁶⁶ Douglas did quite well out of this, as he and his first son were safe from

¹⁵⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 181-2; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 39-40.

¹⁶⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 181-2; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 39-40.

¹⁶¹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 219-20; Brown, *James I*, 23; *Foedera* (O), x, 123-5.

¹⁶² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 218-9; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 119, 121; *Foedera* (O), x, 99-100.

¹⁶³ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 131-2.

¹⁶⁴ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 219-20; Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 131-2.

¹⁶⁵ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 132.

¹⁶⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 229.

English captivity, although five other Scottish earls were not. This arrangement potentially stripped several of Murdoch's allies away from him, including Robert Stewart of Lorn and Robert Keith. Furthermore, the naming of Robert Erskine as a hostage could have been a gesture by Douglas to the earl of Mar, as Erskine was a potential rival heir to Mar; if Erskine was languishing in captivity in England for the long term, he would be less of a threat to Mar if any arrangements were made to re-arrange the entail of the earldom.

Later in the year, in December 1421, Crawford entailed his lands to his son David, and Hunt claimed this entailment of his lands (discussed below) was the only hint that Douglas' indenture and parole agreement was seen as a realistic possibility.¹⁶⁷ While Crawford's entail was probably a result of Douglas' overtures to Henry V in summer 1421, it appears this proposal may have had more immediate effects. The list of hostages is dated 31 May. Five days later, on 4 June at Dundee, Crawford issued an unwitnessed charter granting his beloved 'kinsman', Sir John Ramsay lord of Kernok several lands in the barony of Clova.¹⁶⁸ This John Ramsay may be identifiable with a John Ramsay who rendered the Montrose accounts in 1407.¹⁶⁹ Crawford had previously patronised this family, according to a charter (now lost, but recorded in an early eighteenth-century inventory) from February 1418, in which he granted part of his lands of Alyth in Perthshire to 'Neil Ramsay of Bamff, his armour-bearer'.¹⁷⁰ The Ramsays were also a family Robert duke of Albany patronised, perhaps near his death, when he granted Thomas Ramsay, esq. (possibly a brother of Neil) the lands of 'Balbreky, Balnekerk de Antiqua Aula' and all of 'Luthelde' with its mill in a charter that William Lindsay witnessed at Falkland.¹⁷¹

It should not go unmentioned that Murdoch patronised the Ramsay family the same summer, which would have given him a connection to Crawford's affinity. On 14 July 1421, Murdoch Stewart held his Exchequer at Perth, and the auditors there are very telling since most had connections to Aberdeenshire or Forfarshire, and together would have formed a tight group representing Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire ecclesiastical and secular interests. The auditors were Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen and chancellor of Scotland, Walter bishop of Brechin and clerk of the rolls and register, John Hailes

¹⁶⁷ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 132 ; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1.

¹⁶⁸ NAS GD16/2/1.

¹⁶⁹ ER, iv, 14-5.

¹⁷⁰ *Bamff Chrs.*, 24.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 24-5.

abbot of Balmerino, Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse and sheriff of Forfar, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, deputy of the chamberlain, William Lindsay of Rossie, James Shaw of ‘Salchy’ (Selki Skerry, Orkney?), and Allan Otterburn Murdoch’s secretary.¹⁷² This was a striking change of course for the Lindsays. Since 1407, no Lindsay had served on the Exchequer, and no Ogilvy either, except the previous year at Robert duke of Albany’s final Exchequer.¹⁷³ Although most of the major lords and both bishops had been present the previous year, Murdoch’s inclusion of William Lindsay of Rossie directly brought representation of the Lindsay of Crawford interests in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire to Murdoch’s circle.

It was only after these events that Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford moved, in December 1421, to entail his lands, offices, and annuities north of the Tay to his son. In order, they were 100 merk and 40 merk [*sic; recte* £40] annuities from Aberdeen, the hereditary office of sheriff of Aberdeen, a thirteen merk annuity from Banff and the lands of Ballindalloch in Banffshire, the barony of Urie and the lordship of Newdosk in Kincardineshire, the lordship of Glen Esk with advocation of the church of Lethnot and the chaplainry of Dalbog, a forty merk annuity from Montrose, the lordship of Inverarity with the advocation of its church, the barony of Downie, the lordship of Guthrie, the lordship of Finavon, the forest of Plater, the lordship of Clova, the lordship of [Earl’s] Ruthven, and advocation of four chaplains at the Altar of St George in the parish church of Dundee and the advocation of the chaplainry of the altar of All Saints in that same church, a dwelling-house in Dundee on the north side of that church, all in Forfarshire, the lordship of Meigle, the lordship of Megginch, the lordship of Aberbothrie, the lordship of ‘Letvy’, the lordship of ‘Carnbaddy’, the lordship of Baltrody (now Pitroddie), and a tenement in the burgh of Perth on the east side of that burgh’s watergate, all in Perthshire, and the lordship of Cambo and Newhall in the constabulary of Crail.¹⁷⁴ After Crawford’s death, the lands were to be held first by David and his male heirs, and if deficient, then by Crawford’s uncle, William Lindsay of

¹⁷² *ER*, iv, 337.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 17-9, 20, 310.

¹⁷⁴ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1. The source for this entail is a nineteenth century authorised, hand-written copy. Before the full text of Crawford’s charter is related, all the main annuities, offices, lands, etc. to be entailed are listed. The reference to a 40 merk annuity from Aberdeen is mentioned in this portion of the confirmation, as well in the full text of Crawford’s entailment that is related in the confirmation. This is a discrepancy not only with the original grant from Robert II to Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk that this confirms (*RMS*, i, 648), but also with the Exchequer Rolls’ record of what Alexander and his heirs were regularly paid (e. g., *ER*, iii, 479-80, iv, 259), as this annuity was actually of £40, *not* 40 merks.

Rossie, then by Walter Lindsay, then by John Lindsay of the Byres.¹⁷⁵ After those, they were entailed to the nearest legitimate male kinsman either bearing the name and arms of Lindsay, or willing to assume the name and arms, and whose heirs were willing to do the same.¹⁷⁶ That this entail did not mention Crawford's regality of Crawford, the barony of Kirkmichael, the thanage of Alyth or his annuity of 100 merks from Dundee is not significant, as a previous entail charter from Robert II's reign covered these.¹⁷⁷ Crawford's previously established land of Strathnairn is not mentioned in either of these entails, so it is possible he held other lands beyond those named in these two entails otherwise unattested.

Crawford's entailment and Murdoch's confirmation of the entailment were done on the same day, 13 December 1421, in Dundee. Witnesses to the confirmation (and probably to the original entailment) were William bishop of Glasgow chancellor, Sir Alexander Stewart of Lennox the governor's son, Walter Stewart of Railston, William Hay of Naughton, and Alan Otterburn, Murdoch's secretary.¹⁷⁸ While most of the men present were connected to Murdoch, William Hay of Naughton stands out as a mutual associate of the earl of Mar, Crawford, and Crawford's father. While it can occasionally be easy to read too much into a confirmation, this rule does not apply here, considering the confirmation's content, timing, location, and wider historical context. Because this grant was done in Dundee, and confirmed there on the same day by Murdoch with Murdoch's councilors witnessing the confirmation, it is certain the arrangement of this entail was a fairly major affair, and that Murdoch, in particular, not only had a significant interest in this act of entailment, but also strongly supported it. Furthermore, it is likely Murdoch had personally gone to Dundee, Crawford's own territory, to acquire Crawford's support in person.

Unless something catastrophic happened killing off Crawford, his half-uncles, and his son, Murdoch had guaranteed these estates stayed together, and this confirmation would mean that to whomever the Lindsay of Crawford estates north of the Tay passed – most likely David Lindsay heir of Crawford, William Lindsay of Rossie or Walter Lindsay – that man would know Murdoch had made the confirmation. Furthermore, this confirmation probably endeared him to Alexander earl of Crawford,

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ *RMS*, i, 763. Also mentioned was the land of 'Auandale' in Dumfriesshire (possibly Annandale?), as well as patronage of the church of 'Fale' in Ayrshire.

¹⁷⁸ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1.

who must have been aged about thirty at this point, and was likely to have many more years ahead of him. Most important, though, this entailment guaranteed the Lindsay of Crawford lands stretching from Fife to Banffshire would be united under one earl.

Murdoch's actions are highly informative of his expectations. His decision to include William Lindsay of Rossie in his government, and to associate with him over the coming years, as well as with his brother Walter, and half-nephew Crawford, indicates Murdoch feared his prospects were poor if James I returned to Scotland, as William Lindsay of Rossie had been personally involved in David duke of Rothesay's capture in 1401, and William's half-brother, David 1st earl of Crawford, had been conveniently absent from Scotland at the same time. Perhaps because James I was working with Archibald 4th earl of Douglas, who was also involved in David duke of Rothesay's death, the king may have been less willing to compromise with others in the same position. Assuming Murdoch (whose father was intimately involved in Rothesay's death) expected little accommodation from James I upon his return, William Lindsay of Rossie would have been an excellent political partner. Since William had probably been personally involved in Rothesay's capture, it is almost unthinkable James I would have desired anything other than William's forfeiture, something he eventually acquired.¹⁷⁹ Had Murdoch hoped to endear himself to James I, any association with one of Rothesay's captors would, presumably, have been anathema. Murdoch's time in the Tower of London and Windsor castle as a prisoner with James I surely gave him a good chance to assess the king's personality and intentions.¹⁸⁰ Clearly the governor was not optimistic.

The event that is generally felt to have changed the goals of English diplomacy regarding concessions sought for James I's return was Henry V's death in August 1422.¹⁸¹ Admittedly, it did not occasion immediate action from the regency governments of either Scotland or England; the first Scots to receive a safe conduct were Walter Ogilvy, Alexander Seton of Gordon, Thomas Mirton, Dougal Drummond, John Seton, John Forrester, William Foulis and John Leith on 1 February 1423, surely months after news of Henry V's death had reached Scotland.¹⁸² The safe conducts for most of these men suggest their main purpose for visiting England was to counsel

¹⁷⁹ NLS Adv. Ms. 34.6.24, 189r.

¹⁸⁰ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 108,

¹⁸¹ Brown, *James I*, 24.

¹⁸² *Foedera* (O), x, 266-7. Archibald 4th earl of Douglas had a safe conduct issued in July 1422, and lasting until the Feast of All Saints, which could indicate he was in England at Henry VI's accession (*Ibid.*, 230).

James I, who had been agitating for negotiations on what action to take during the minority government of Henry VI to achieve his own release.¹⁸³ Indeed, by 12 May 1423, most of these men, and a few more, including William bishop of Glasgow and George earl of March, had received safe conducts lasting until 29 September specifically detailing that they were to come from Scotland to arrange for James' release.¹⁸⁴ By 6 July the English government was giving instructions to its ambassadors to Scotland on what goals to achieve, and on 10 July they deputed commissioners and granted safe conducts to William Foulis and Archibald earl of Douglas.¹⁸⁵ Exactly forty days later on 19 August at Inverkeithing, Murdoch duke of Albany, with the counsel of the three estates in General Council, deputed his own commissioners including George earl of March and William bishop of Glasgow to negotiate for James I's release.¹⁸⁶

In the meantime, Murdoch had continued associating with and promoting the Lindsay family. When Murdoch confirmed Banffshire conveyancing between William Johnson and Patrick Ogilvy of Grandon (Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar's heir), witnesses included not only William bishop of Glasgow, who had been involved in attempts to return James I to Scotland, but also Robert Stewart of Lorn and William Lindsay of Rossie, who had been named as potential hostages.¹⁸⁷ In July, William Lindsay was at Perth, again serving as an Exchequer auditor, alongside largely the same men who had served the previous year, excepting Walter Ogilvy.¹⁸⁸

Likewise, during the same months, the Lindsays of Crawford were strengthening their own positions. In April 1422, Marjory Lindsay lady of Kinross (daughter of John Stewart of Railston and niece of Robert II, also second wife of Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk and mother of William Lindsay of Rossie and Walter Lindsay), acquired transumpt of earlier transumpt of two charters in which Robert II granted her last husband, Henry Douglas, the lands of Longnewton in Roxburghshire, along with a separate grant of Loch Leven castle, sixteen Kinrossshire lands including Kinross, as well as an annuity from 'Colcarny'.¹⁸⁹ Witnesses included Master James Lindsay, Alexander Lindsay treasurer and canon of Aberdeen, Walter Ogilvy of

¹⁸³ Brown, *James I*, 24; *Foedera* (O), x, 266-7.

¹⁸⁴ *Foedera* (O), x, 286.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 294-5

¹⁸⁶ *Foedera* (O), x, 298-9; *RPS*, 1423/8/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁸⁷ NAS GD185/6/6/2.

¹⁸⁸ *ER*, iv, 358, 373.

¹⁸⁹ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 47, 66 n34; *ER*, iii, 319-20; Fraser, *Buccleuch*, ii, 12-3; NAS GD150/14/H, J; *SP*, iii, 14

'Ballischrane', esq., and Thomas Blaire of 'Borthyok', esq.¹⁹⁰ While James and Alexander have already been demonstrated to be in the Lindsay of Crawford orbit, Thomas Blair may have been as well. Thomas was probably a relative of Walter Blair, M. A., whom Crawford successfully presented to the church of Dunlichty in his land of Strathnairn, in Moray diocese in 1428, against the earl of Moray's presentee.¹⁹¹ In July 1423, Marjory acquired another transumpt of an earlier transumpt of a charter by Robert II, which granted the keepership of the royal castle of Loch Leven, the office of sheriff of Kinross, and the previously mentioned sixteen Kinrossshire lands to David earl palatine of Strathearn, their previous holder.¹⁹² Since David had died without male offspring, perhaps this transumpt somehow helped established Marjory's just possession of these lands, perhaps because they would have reverted to the crown. This transumpt was also drawn up in Dundee, with witnesses William Lindsay of Rossie, Walter Lindsay lord of Kinneff,¹⁹³ Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen and Carcary,¹⁹⁴ Alexander Ouchterlony lord of Kelly and two minor churchmen.¹⁹⁵ Alexander earl of Crawford's hand can probably be seen in these transumpt, since they were done in Dundee, and the witnesses showed a heavy Forfarshire and Lindsay bias. Marjory's decision to acquire these transumpt, especially of the charter to David earl of Strathearn, seems to suggest a degree of nervousness on her and her sons' part to stress these lands were hers rightfully.

The most important event during this period regarding the Crawford patrimony, though, was Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's arrangement for his son, David, to marry Marjory Ogilvy, probably daughter of Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse sheriff of Forfar.¹⁹⁶ Hunt has portrayed this event as an indication of Crawford and his uncles' subjugation to Alexander earl of Mar and his associate Alexander Forbes, as if maintaining the office of sheriff of Aberdeen and marrying into the family of the sheriff of Forfar indicates the Lindsays of Crawford had somehow 'lost out in terms of lands and offices'.¹⁹⁷ She went on to suggest it was 'therefore, doubtful whether Alexander, earl of Crawford greeted the marriage of his son and heir to Marjory Ogilvy

¹⁹⁰ NAS GD150/14H, J; for original grants see *RMS*, i, 796-7.

¹⁹¹ *C.SSR 1423-1428*, 236.

¹⁹² NAS GD150/14L.

¹⁹³ This is one of Walter Lindsay's first appearances with the title 'of Kinneff'.

¹⁹⁴ *SP*, i, 111.

¹⁹⁵ NAS GD150/14L.

¹⁹⁶ *C.SSR 1423-1428*, 3, 3*n*.

¹⁹⁷ Hunt, 'Governorship of the First Duke of Albany', 274, 312 *n*308.

in 1423 with anything other than resignation'.¹⁹⁸ In contrast to this interpretation, in light of the relationships between the Lindsays of Crawford, Ogilvies, and earl of Mar, this marriage must have been a cause for celebration for Crawford for several reasons. First, it linked his son, David, with one of the most powerful land-owning families in Forfarshire, and a family that, like his, was on the rise in Aberdeenshire, and in the good graces of Alexander earl of Mar. Second, he surely hoped it would have strengthened his already strong bloc in Forfarshire, which could present a united front to James I, whatever his policies. As a proposed hostage, and as a man whose uncle had the blood of Rothesay on his hands, this would have been very important for Crawford to ensure peace while he was a captive for an indefinite period of time.

Besides these more positive points, this marriage may have been an indication of an undercurrent of competition in Forfarshire as well. Although there had been Douglas earls of Angus for decades by 1423, there is really little evidence of their interference, or even interest in Forfarshire politics, until June 1420. Between 3 and 10 June, at 'Ballynschane', Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen initiated the process of granting his brother, John Ogilvy, the Forfarshire land of Inverquhar, ordering his bailiff, Alexander Murray lord of 'Glaswellis' to grant sasine of Inverquhar on 10 June.¹⁹⁹ This was hardly unusual. What was unusual was Walter's apparently willing resignation, also on 10 June, of his superiority of Inverquhar into the hands of the '*magnifici et potenti*' ('magnificent and powerful') William Douglas earl of Angus.²⁰⁰ Ten days later, on 20 June at Yester, Angus confirmed Walter's original grant to John Ogilvy.²⁰¹ Since Crawford and Angus were both named as potential hostages in 1421 for James I's return, and were indeed designated as hostages in the final arrangements in December 1423, they may have at least shared some of the same short-term concerns.²⁰² In the long term, though, Crawford would have surely recognised that the intrusion of the earl of Angus into Forfarshire politics could present a potential threat and point of conflict, especially since Angus was courting members of the Ogilvy family, particularly the undersheriff of Forfar.²⁰³ This is one situation where a zero-sum interpretation of politics might be useful.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 312 n308.

¹⁹⁹ NAS GD205/3/1

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ NAS GD205/3/1; RMS, ii, 1550.

²⁰² Rot. Scot., ii, 229, 241-2.

²⁰³ Brechin Registrum, i, 29-32.

Unlike the negotiations of 1421, those of summer 1423 did not fail. On 10 September at York, English and Scottish negotiators agreed to an ‘appointment and concordat’ arranging the details of the payment of James I’s £40,000 ransom and his marriage.²⁰⁴ The Scottish negotiators did not have the power to name hostages, though, and it was decided that James I would proceed to Brancepeth or Durham in March 1424 to name hostages.²⁰⁵ Crawford must have expected his name was to be among those chosen, and both he and Murdoch continued in a pattern similar to that before, drawing together, presumably for mutual support. No record of Lindsay activity survives between 2 July 1423, when Marjory Lindsay of Kinross acquired her latest transumpt, until 16 October the same year.²⁰⁶ On that day, Alexander earl of Crawford with the consent of his son, David Lindsay, granted to William Lindsay of Rossie, ‘*pro suo fideli consilio et auxilio nobis multipliciter impensis*’ (‘for his faithful council and aid many times rendered to us’) the lands of Dunbog and ‘Covyntrehill’ with its mill and patronage of the chapel of the monks of ‘Gawdwyne’ in the barony of Ballinbreich, sheriffdom of Fife, just across the Tay from Errol.²⁰⁷ Infesting William in the months before James was meant to return may suggest Crawford, like Murdoch, was not confident James I would be well disposed towards him upon his return. Furthermore, granting William lands in Fife gave him close connections to Murdoch. Underlining this connection to Murdoch is William Lindsay of Rossie’s presence a week later in the governor’s council at Inverkeithing, witnessing a grant in favour of David Wemyss of lands in Fife.²⁰⁸ Around the same time, Murdoch had also included a John Wemyss in his council.²⁰⁹ It was the Wemyss castle of Reres that David duke of Rothesay was besieging just before his capture by John Ramornie and William Lindsay of Rossie in 1401.²¹⁰ Just one day later, Sir Walter Lindsay sheriff of Aberdeen resigned two of his Aberdeenshire lands, Cocklarachy and Gerry, into the hands of the earl of Mar, and deputised several attorneys to carry out this action including a William Hay, surely William Hay of Naughton, along with John Scrimgeour constable of Dundee.²¹¹ On the same day, William Lindsay of Rossie resigned Alford to Mar who subsequently granted those

²⁰⁴ *Foedera* (O), x, 299-300.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 300.

²⁰⁶ NAS GD150/14L; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/30.

²⁰⁷ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/30.

²⁰⁸ Fraser, *Wemyss*, ii, 45-7.

²⁰⁹ NAS GD16/3/8.

²¹⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 233.

²¹¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 183.

lands to Alexander Forbes.²¹² Last, at some point before 20 February 1424, Walter's depute-sheriffship was reassigned to Andrew Stewart of Sandlaw, Mar's brother, as Andrew Stewart was recorded as sheriff of Aberdeen in a charter witness list of that date.²¹³ At least for William, Crawford's recent grant of lands in Fife may have been designed to mitigate his resignation to Mar of Alford.

These resignations are significant. Also in October, John earl of Buchan was organising a Scottish army to go to France, and was actually in the process of redistributing some of his lands as well and, since Walter is known to have fought at Verneuil, it is possible the Lindsay resignations in Aberdeenshire were related.²¹⁴ Naturally, a goal of the English for James I's ransom was a truce or peace. In actual fact, what had probably been arranged by this point, was a truce within the British Isles, while any Scots in France by May 1424 were still free to serve there and were otherwise unaffected by the truce.²¹⁵ While William Lindsay may have remained in Scotland, Walter followed Buchan and Douglas, whom Buchan was able to woo successfully to his cause. Walter fought and died alongside Douglas in France at the Franco-Scottish defeat at Verneuil in 1424.²¹⁶ Brown was certainly accurate, when writing of these October 1423 resignations, that they 'were the handover of interests to a man who could defend them, in a situation of uncertainty'.²¹⁷ He is not certainly right, though, to have cast these resignations in a light of domination. William and Walter Lindsay had been useful political partners and agents for Mar, and had benefited from his patronage: Alford itself had been a gift from Mar to William in 1418.²¹⁸ William's resignation of Alford certainly does not seem as inauspicious when taken alongside Crawford's previously mentioned grant to him of a similar date. William Hay of Naughton, who had witnessed Walter's resignation was close to both Walter and Mar, while John Scrimgeour would have been an important Dundee associate of the Lindsays of Crawford.²¹⁹

²¹² Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 38; *Maitland Misc.*, i, 378. The record of this date is recorded, with an unexplained gap where the months should be, as '24 of 1423' [*sic*] in a 17th century record of this charter; surely it was done on 24 October 1423.

²¹³ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 220; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 38.

²¹⁴ Brown, *James I*, 29-30; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 38.

²¹⁵ Brown, *James I*, 29-30.

²¹⁶ Brown, *James I*, Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 38; Monstrelet (Johnes), *Chronicles*, i, 511; John Waurin, *A Collection of Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, Now Called England*, vol. 3, (London, 1891), 87.

²¹⁷ Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 38.

²¹⁸ NAS GD52/399.

²¹⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 183.

By 4 December, the negotiators had named the hostages for James I's ransom. Among them were Thomas earl of Moray (named first), Alexander earl of Crawford (named second), William earl of Angus (named third), Robert Erskine, and Robert Keith the Marischal.²²⁰ On 13 December, Crawford, among others, received a safe conduct to go to England.²²¹ The removal of these men would have left Alexander earl of Mar (who was not named as a hostage) and Murdoch duke of Albany very exposed, and it is possible James I already had plans for these men. The king may not have yet considered Murdoch's death a goal for which he could reasonably plan, since at this point Buchan and Douglas were meant to be in charge of an army of 6,500 men in France that could potentially return and make a serious impact on the course of Scottish politics.²²² Nevertheless, James I may have been hoping that with Mar and Murdoch exposed, they would have been more willing to do his bidding. It is also significant no Ogilvy was named on this list. Curiously, Walter Ogilvy of Carcary and Lintrathen was one of his first charter witnesses and later served as James I's treasurer.²²³

Between December 1423 and 28 March 1424, when James I went to Durham and confirmed his own ransom deal as king of Scots,²²⁴ Murdoch further attempted to entrench himself with the Lindsays of Crawford and their associates. If James I had given any members of the Ogilvy family any indication he had plans for them, there is no overt evidence of this, as they were intricately involved in Murdoch's last attempts to shore up his position. On 16 January 1424, Murdoch issued two charters in Dundee. In one, he confirmed a grant by William Douglas earl of Angus of the land of Creiff in Forfarshire to John Ogilvy of Inverquhar.²²⁵ Witnesses included Alexander earl of Mar, Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, and Patrick Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar.²²⁶ He also confirmed Walter Ogilvy of Carcary and Lintrathen's grant of Inverquhar to John Ogilvy. The witnesses were the same but, instead of Crawford, John earl of Buchan witnessed.²²⁷ Since the earls of Crawford were so closely associated with the city of Dundee, Murdoch's decision to hold council there must be seen as a major indication of Lindsay of Crawford support. By confirming grants by William earl of Angus, one of

²²⁰ *Foedera* (O), x, 307-8; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 241-2.

²²¹ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 243-4.

²²² Brown, *James I*, 31.

²²³ *RMS*, ii, pp. 1-46.

²²⁴ Brown, *James I*, 40.

²²⁵ NAS GD205/2/2.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

the other named hostages, to members of the Ogilvy family, he was also clearly courting the favour of all the main players in Forfarshire. Likewise, Buchan, Mar, and Crawford were all men whose interests both dukes of Albany had furthered.²²⁸

Besides the fact Murdoch was acquiring friends in Forfarshire (Lindsays, Ogilvies) and acquiring friends who were meant to be hostages, and otherwise probably were not in favour of James I's return (Crawford, Angus), Murdoch was also acquiring friends versed in war. Mar, of course, had participated in the battle of Liège and was celebrated for winning Harlaw, and had participated in both legitimate and piratical naval activity throughout his career. Buchan was constable of France. His courting of the families of Ramsay and Wemyss was a natural way of acquiring allies who may have feared for their safety upon James I's return. For all the criticism of Murdoch Stewart, he clearly had a very good idea of the men with whom he should associate to protect himself when James I returned, and how to bring them into his circle. Murdoch's acquisition of friends with military capabilities could have possibly seemed dangerous to James I, and this may have contributed to James I's decision to execute Murdoch and his family in May 1425.²²⁹

There are very few notices of Crawford before his arrival in England as an hostage. On 20 February 1424 at Dundee he transferred some lands in the lordship of Glen Esk from Duncan Scott to Duncan's son William, in a charter with no witnesses.²³⁰ He appears to have been in Pontefract castle by 21 May 1424, as an order of that date asks for him to be taken from there to the Tower of London.²³¹ This is potentially at variance with another charter, ostensibly granted on 20 June at Dundee allegedly issued by Crawford with his son and heir, David's consent, granting the lands of 'Halyards' in Perthshire to Walter Ogilvy of Carcary and Lintrathen, naming no witnesses, but bearing the seals of David and his father.²³² Since David Lindsay acted in his father's stead during his time in captivity, it is possible he may simply have commandeered his father's seal, though if he did, this would be the only surviving record of such an act, as he was otherwise content to act in his own name between 1424 and 1427. How much influence this grant had on Walter Ogilvy, though, is questionable: by 10 July 1424 he was witnessing James I's charters, and by 8 January

²²⁸ Brown, *James I*, 30-1.

²²⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 244.

²³⁰ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/31.

²³¹ *CDS*, iv, 960.

²³² NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, C2/198. Laing, *Seals*, ii, 107, misidentifies the place of issue of this charter as Perth.

1425 he had acquired the office of treasurer.²³³ Walter was no longer just a partner with Crawford in Forfarshire, but was beginning a long and successful career as a courtier.

This did not mean, though, that the Lindsays and Ogilvies had gone separate ways. Over the next three decades, the families would continue to interact and associate. For the moment, the Lindsays may have acquired a friend in James I's court, though famously during David's career as 3rd earl of Crawford, the relationship completely broke down. This was largely as a result of the rise of conflict with Alexander Seton lord of Gordon, later earl of Huntly. Under Huntly, the Ogilvies fought against David at the battle of Arbroath in 1446.²³⁴ This strife, though, was not yet on the horizon. The order for Crawford's release was given on 9 July 1427 and, by 10 August, he had returned to Dundee, and apparently slipped back into the affinity he had been strengthening since 1407.²³⁵ There, with the consent of his son, he confirmed a grant by Thomas Rattray lord of Tullymurdoch to Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen of the lands of Tullymurdoch in the lordship of Alyth and an 80s. annuity from the lands of 'Beloch' held from Crawford.²³⁶ Ogilvy of Lintrathen was not the only old Lindsay associate to witness. The other witnesses included William Hay of Naughton, with his connections to Mar, Patrick Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar, and John Ogilvy of Inverquhar with his connections to William earl of Angus.²³⁷ Last named was William Man, his (and probably his father's) secretary.

Although this has all the appearances of the resumption of the old affinity and old arrangements of 1407 to 1424, this is not the case. Instead, this charter is more of a 'last hurrah'. After 1427 Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford played a very diminished role in Scottish politics, quite probably as a result of his father and half-uncles actions in 1401. When David Lindsay 3rd earl of Crawford emerged in 1440 as the head of the family, his affinity had taken on a very different shape, and he implemented a very different policy than his father.

Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford occupied a significant role in Scottish politics between 1407 and 1424. Although previous assessments of his activities during the governorship have suggested he was fairly impotent, more of an observer than a

²³³ RMS, ii, 4-8, 13.

²³⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

²³⁵ NAS GD16/12/3.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

participant, these assessments have failed to take into account not only the Lindsay of Crawford perspective in general, but also the perspective from Forfarshire, where the Lindsays of Crawford clearly had their landed base. Throughout the two Albany governorships, the Lindsays successfully networked with governors, earls, and lords, and those lords, earls and governors all clearly made efforts to maintain good relations with Crawford and his uncles. In contrast to his father, Alexander was not accustomed to shifting between affinities and associations, especially prior to 1424.

The basis of Crawford and his uncles' political significance was their ascendant position in Forfarshire. There, Crawford had inherited his father's original main lordship, Glen Esk, as well other, smaller holdings and interests, and connections to the Ogilvy family. Throughout the governorships, Alexander and his uncles attentively nurtured and strengthened their relationship with the main members of that family. Because Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, and later his son Patrick, were the hereditary sheriffs of Forfar, and because various members of the family held lands scattered all across Forfarshire, they were a family with which the Lindsays of Crawford needed to be on good terms. Throughout the two governorships, the Lindsays actively associated and cooperated with them in day-to-day administration. Perhaps the best example of this cooperation was Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy's joint appending of seals to Robert Logan of Restalrig's grant in favour of St Michael of Scone.²³⁸ Furthermore, Crawford made a point of promoting members of the Ogilvy family, especially within the church, as when he presented Andrew Ogilvy for the prebendary of Lethnot, and Henry Ogilvy to the church of Inverarity. When the marriage between Crawford's son, David, and Marjory Ogilvy did occur, probably some time after February 1423, it surely confirmed and solidified a relationship two previous generations of Lindsays had fostered. This was what made it such an advantageous marriage in the face of James I's return, as it was intended to unify further two highly connected families.

To the north of Forfarshire lay Aberdeenshire, in which Alexander Stewart earl of Mar held sway as the governors' effective lieutenant in the north. Neither Mar nor Crawford operated in a vacuum, nor were their affinities exclusive. Men like Alexander Irvine of Drum, various members of the Ogilvy family, Alexander Forbes, and William Hay of Naughton associated with both men. Similarly, Crawford's half-uncles, William Lindsay of Rossie and Walter Lindsay of Kinneff kept company with their nephew and

²³⁸ *Scone Liber*, 163.

with Mar. It was the fact both the Lindsays of Crawford and the earl of Mar had connections to these men that allowed the Lindsays to begin acting in cooperation with Alexander earl of Mar in Aberdeenshire beginning in 1417, or perhaps earlier, when he campaigned against the Lord of the Isles in 1415. Mar's willingness to work with and promote the Lindsays of Crawford in Aberdeenshire is indicated a few times. The most apparent was his grant of Alford to William Lindsay of Rossie. He also was apparently willing to accept Walter Lindsay's position as sheriff of Aberdeen.

Just as the Lindsays of Crawford must have found the Ogilvies useful associates in Forfarshire, so must Alexander earl of Mar have found the Lindsays of Crawford useful associates in Aberdeenshire. Although any Lindsay lands in Aberdeenshire remain unknown, the facts that Crawford's father (like the earl of Mar) had engaged in piracy using Aberdeen as a base, and (also like the earl of Mar) had maintained connections to Aberdonian burgesses suggest the family had further connections there. Crawford's annuities from Aberdeen totaling £106 13s. 4d. combined with his control of the office of hereditary sheriff of Aberdeen indicate something remained of the interests his father had built there. Similar to the Ogilvy-Lindsay relationship in Forfar, the Lindsays of Crawford were a family with which Mar needed to interact to manage effectively affairs in Aberdeenshire.

Robert, and especially Murdoch, dukes of Albany and governors of Scotland also sought out the counsel and support of the Lindsays of Crawford at various points during their governorships, which suggests their importance was not purely regional. Most of the associations between the Lindsays of Crawford and Robert duke of Albany took place during the first years of Alexander earl of Crawford's career, ending abruptly, just before Albany made his indenture with Douglas in June 1409. Still, though, William Lindsay of Rossie was in Robert duke of Albany's council when news of Henry V's death probably reached Scotland. At the same time as the child-king Henry VI acceded to the English throne, his regency government was commissioning negotiators to head north to discuss James I's potential release. After Robert duke of Albany died, and his son Murdoch acceded to the governorship, English pressure to return James I for a ransom with Archibald 4th earl of Douglas' encouragement appears to have led Murdoch to seek out Lindsay support, particularly from William Lindsay of Rossie, whom he made an Exchequer auditor. Since Lindsay of Rossie had been so personally involved in the capture of David duke of Rothesay, Murdoch may have regarded him as a potential ally should James I seek to move against the individuals and

families who had created problems for the royal line prior to 1406. In the short-lived governorship of Duke Murdoch, Lindsay of Rossie also associated with Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, Alexander earl of Mar, John earl of Buchan, William earl of Angus, Walter Lindsay of Kinneff, members of the Ogilvy family, as well as with men from Fife, like David and John Wemyss.²³⁹

Since Archibald 4th earl of Douglas, William Lauder bishop Glasgow, and John Forrester of Corstorphine,²⁴⁰ men with interests south of the Forth, had been heavily involved in acquiring James I's release, Murdoch may have been hoping he would be able to maintain a strong northern sphere of influence as a counterbalance. Surely acquiring the support of William earl of Angus, Alexander earl of Crawford, and Alexander earl of Mar was meant to provide Murdoch with that counterbalance, a string of men all along the east coast who would not have been interested in acting against the Albany Stewarts after the return of James I. Murdoch had also acquired the support of John earl of Buchan, whose army in France might possibly be able to return to Scotland to back him. All these men shared connections through men like Crawford and his uncles, Alexander Forbes, William Hay of Naughton, members of the Ogilvy family, and Alexander Irvine of Drum. Also, most of these men had martial experience chroniclers chose to praise, and it seems Murdoch had secured the support of a company of men who could have potentially posed a very real military threat to James I. Indeed, while Douglas was in France, James I may have been quite militarily exposed.

In the end, this planning came to naught, largely because of the Scots' disastrous defeat at Verneuil in 1424. Murdoch and much of his family were judicially murdered within a year of this defeat. Crawford's career suffered greatly upon James I's return, and his career took on a more regional focus. He died sometime between 1438 and 1440. The end of his career is best assessed in the context of the rise of his son, largely because the affinities existing during the two governorships gave way to new ones which helped shape the careers of David 3rd earl of Crawford and his son, Alexander 4th earl of Crawford.

Nevertheless, during the governorships, Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford led a successful, if fairly stable and conservative career as evidenced by his strengthening of connections to local Forfarshire families and his solidification of his family's interests in Aberdeenshire. He and his uncles kept company with the earl of Mar in Aberdeenshire

²³⁹ Brown, *James I*, 30.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

and they probably cooperated with him in his resistance to Lord of the Isles' expansionist policies. They also advised both governors of Scotland between 1407 and 1424 on diplomacy and shored them up when James I's return seemed imminent. Throughout the governorships, the governors trusted Crawford and his uncles with running Forfarshire and supporting Alexander earl of Mar, and sought their aid and advice in times of need.

Chapter III: David Lindsay 3rd Earl of Crawford, 1423-1446

David Lindsay 3rd earl of Crawford began his career well before becoming the head of his family. During his early career he maintained a close political relationship with his father, frequently witnessing his charters. While David was still Master of Crawford he was involved in disputes in Forfarshire and managed his father's affairs while he was held as a hostage for James I. David acceded to the earldom of Crawford between October 1438 and February 1440, in the troubled period following James I's assassination.¹ At about this time, David's daughter married William 6th earl of Douglas. The disorder of James II's minority, combined with Crawford's own prominent position after Archibald 5th earl of Douglas' death in June 1439 made him a target for men like William Crichton and James Douglas of Balvenie, who had much at stake in the minority government. Since William 6th earl of Douglas was in his teens, Crawford, as his father-in-law, was potentially one of the most powerful men in the kingdom because William was likely to assume his father's position as Lieutenant-General, and because William was heir to the throne. Given the right set of circumstances, Crawford and Douglas could have dominated the politics of the minority. It may have been this emerging threat to established power that persuaded Crichton and Douglas of Balvenie to arrange the judicial 'murder' of William earl of Douglas at the Black Dinner in November 1440.

Following the Black Dinner, David was cast out of the minority government, seemingly disaffected, and politically marginalised. Despite frequent General Councils, no record ties him to national government for a few years.² By 1443, following James 7th earl of Douglas' death, David was aligned with Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander and William 8th earl of Douglas, the latest faction to control the minority government. In the meantime, Alexander earl of Mar had died in 1435, and David had earned the enmity of Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon (later 1st earl of Huntly), a prominent Aberdeenshire lord, eager to take Alexander earl of Mar's place as leader of the north. David had been attempting to undermine Seton by supporting Robert Erskine's claim to the Aberdeenshire earldom of Mar. Seton had responded by interfering in David's affinity, drawing members of the Ogilvy family (the family of David's wife) into his orbit.³ These were factors leading to the battle of Arbroath in

¹ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38; RMS ii, 213.

² Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424-1488* (East Linton, 2001), 280-1.

³ CSSR 1423-1428, 3, 3*m*; SP, i, 109-10.

1446, where David was killed. Crawford's main centre of business for his nearly twenty-five year career, as suggested by the place of issue of most of his charters and instruments was Dundee, one of the few areas of continuity between his career and those of his predecessors.

1. Master of Crawford and Early Career, 1423-1440

David Lindsay was first recorded when he received a dispensation on 26 February 1423 for marriage to a Marjory Ogilvy.⁴ The Ogilvies and Lindsays had been in close association for generations, and both families were significant powers in Forfarshire. This was a sensible alliance. The following summer, on 21 May 1424, James I is said to have knighted David's father, Alexander earl of Crawford, at his coronation along with several other magnates.⁵ This is probably erroneous, as Alexander was recorded in England at this time, but nevertheless, the next time David appeared in record, in September 1425, he was called Sir David Lindsay, suggesting that it might have been the younger Lindsay who was knighted at this ceremony.⁶ Certainly several others were knighted whose offspring and relatives played major roles in David's life: Alexander Seton of Gordon, Walter Ogilvie, John Scrimgeour constable of Dundee, Patrick Ogilvie of Auchterhouse sheriff of Forfarshire (probably David's brother in law), and William Erskine of Kinnoul.⁷ James I's knighting ceremony was probably intended to bind these men together and to bind them to himself to strengthen his position on his return from captivity. If David Lindsay's knighthood was indeed bestowed by James I, it suggests David and his father were, like the other men involved in the ceremony, key men in Scotland whom the king identified as potential allies.⁸ Certainly, in the days before the major Scottish defeat at Verneuil in 1424 where Archibald 4th earl of Douglas died, and while Murdoch duke of Albany was still free, James I may have been more willing to woo these men. Indeed, many of the men named, like Crawford, the Ogilvies and William earl of Angus had been associating with Murdoch and the earl of Mar, who may have been wary of James I's return.⁹

⁴ *CSSR 1423-1428*, 3, 3n.

⁵ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 242-3.

⁶ *CDS*, iv, 960 ; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 242-3; NAS GD45/16/1960.

⁷ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 242-3; *SP* i, 109-10.

⁸ Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), 44, 171-2.

⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), viii, 242-3.

From 1425, David was commanding affairs in Forfarshire, managing his captive father's estates.¹⁰ Surviving records show David embroiled in a court battle with his neighbours who were perhaps taking advantage of his father's absence. On 9 September 1425 in Dundee, Patrick Parker, attorney for Thomas Maule of Panmure, petitioned David Lindsay to give Thomas the lands of Cambustane, to be answered eight days later in Dundee.¹¹ David, (and his father, who intervened in November 1426), had no desire to hand over the land. John Ogilvy of Inverquhar, sub-sheriff of Forfar, aided them and, on one occasion refused to hold court, so preventing a decision.¹²

Cambustane was in the barony of Panmure in Forfarshire, not far from several lands Crawford held, the nearest being Ethiebeaton.¹³ Cambustane had been a Maule family possession as early as David II's reign, when Walter Maule of Panmure granted it, along with other lands in Panmure to John Monypenny.¹⁴ Since Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen and Carcary (hereafter 'Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen') served as witness for Thomas Maule while John Ogilvy cooperated with David Lindsay, it appears, unsurprisingly, various members of the Ogilvy family were acquiring separate connections and developing separate interests through the 1420s.¹⁵

These documents above describe David as 'Master of Crawford', a common designation for an heir to an earldom. After his father returned to Scotland, though, he usually took a style describing him as Alexander earl of Crawford's 'eldest son', 'first born', or 'heir'.¹⁶ On 10 August 1427 he appeared as 'lord of Meigle, eldest son of... the earl' on a charter of confirmation his father made at Dundee, along with other witnesses Patrick of Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar, William Hay lord of Naughton, John Ogilvy, and William Man the earl's secretary.¹⁷ Meigle was part of the Crawford inheritance, and probably indicates David's father had recently given him direct control

¹⁰ *Rot. Scot.* ii, 241-2, 247.

¹¹ NAS GD45/16/1960; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 189-90.

¹² NAS GD45/16/1960-2; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 189-94.

¹³ *RMS*, i, app. ii, 767.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ NAS GD45/16/1961; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 190-3. Hereafter, Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen and Carcary will be referred to as Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, which is how he appears in the records.

¹⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 393n.; *Brechin Reg.*, i, 41-3; NAS GD16/12/3, GD121/3/12 [GD121 has been removed from the NAS, but its calendar remains. All references to GD121 are to the bound calendar at the National Archives of Scotland General Register House]; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/36, 38.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

of the lordship upon his return from England between 9 July 1427 and the date of the charter.¹⁸

The next year, on 12 February 1428 David Lindsay, John Loyal and John Rous, 'his servant', 'men of the king of Scotland' received a three month safe conduct to go to England.¹⁹ While the safe conduct does not positively identify this David as the master of Crawford, since the other men named were in the master of Crawford's orbit, it suggests that such an identification would be appropriate. While in London, the three were to acquire chairs for the Queen of Scotland, wine, cloth, electrum vases, cinnamon, and shoe ties, to be transported back to Scotland on a ship from London.²⁰ John Loyal, a merchant who frequently travelled between Scotland and England, was probably related to Richard Loyal of Ballumbie, a man with whom David associated during the Cambustane dispute, and with whom the Lindsays had been connected for decades.²¹ 'John Rous' was no doubt John 'de Roos' of Kinfauns another witness to the Cambustane dispute, and may possibly have been an associate of David 1st earl of Crawford with Aberdeenshire connections.²² Alexander earl of Crawford's influence may be detectable here, as in the Cambustane dispute, since David's service probably linked both father and son to the king. Since James I's wife had apparently engaged them to procure furniture for her in London it may suggest James I similarly saw Crawford and his son as worthwhile partners.

David next appeared as the first lay witness on a charter granted at Brechin in favour of the church of Brechin made on 22 May 1429 by Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl.²³ Walter was the husband of the heiress to the lordship of Brechin, giving him interests in the church of Brechin and Forfarshire.²⁴ Since 1384 the Lindsays of Crawford had been linked to the cathedral church of Brechin, near their castle of Finavon, it was probably a sensible matter of course for David to witness a charter granted both to and in the cathedral church of Brechin by a figure of national importance like Walter.²⁵

¹⁸ *CDS*, iv, 1009; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 260.

¹⁹ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 262.

²⁰ *Ibid.* *Electrum* is an alloy of gold and silver.

²¹ *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 191; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 262, 263, 270, 272, 275, 276, 282, 284, 290, 312.

²² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 582-3; *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 201-2, 214-5, 216-7; *ER*, iv, 511, 568-9; Hingeston, *Letters... Henry the Fourth*, ii, 3-5; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 193.

²³ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 41-3.

²⁴ *RMS*, i, 652, 689.

²⁵ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 21.

Three years later, on 31 May 1432, David was part of an indenture between his father, who was the hereditary sheriff of Aberdeen, on one part, and Alexander Forbes Lord of that Ilk on the other, agreeing Forbes would hold the lands and castle of Strathnairn in Inverness-shire for Alexander earl of Crawford, and be his sheriff depute in Aberdeenshire.²⁶ This connection to the Forbeses was constant for David's lifetime, and was important in the escalation of tension preceding the battle of Arbroath in 1446. Although Crawford had connections through his uncles to Alexander Forbes, Forbes was useful for other reasons, primarily because of his connections to Alexander earl of Mar, and the fact Forbes was married to Elizabeth, sister of William earl of Angus and daughter of Princess Mary, King James' sister.²⁷

Thereafter, David is unrecorded until 12 February 1437, nine days before James I's murder, when David and his father jointly received a reversion of a £10 annuity from Westerbrichty in the barony of Kinblethmont, Forfarshire, from Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, at Dundee.²⁸ The next year, Thomas Boyd killed Allan Stewart lord of Darnley over their competing claims in the earldom of Lennox.²⁹ The Lindsays' connection to Boyd was a rare connection to a person with interests on the west coast, though this connection apparently died with Boyd, when he was killed in 1439 by Alexander Stewart 'Bucktooth'.³⁰ Among the witnesses to the February 1437 reversion was Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, one of James I's close advisors. This may suggest David and his father had easy communication with James I near the time of his murder.

No records survive of the movements of either David or his father for almost two years after James I's murder. It is impossible to know whether they participated in James I's ill-fated assault on Roxburgh, or attended the Edinburgh General Council held on 22 October 1436 where Robert Graham may have attempted to arrest the king.³¹ Given Crawford and his son's tendency to conduct business in Dundee, they should in theory have been well able to attend the General Council at Perth that began on 4 February 1437, just before James I's death. While Tanner noted the next Parliament, on 25 March 1437, may have been poorly attended as a result of its short notice, it is difficult to imagine with Dundee thirty kilometers up the Tay from Perth that they

²⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 393n.

²⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 343-5; *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 380-1, 383; Michael Brown, *James I*, 128; Brown, 'Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar', 35-6; *Maitland Misc.*, i, 378.

²⁸ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/36.

²⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 160; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 89.

³⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 160.

³¹ Brown, *James I*, 163-4; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 69-71.

would not have attended, unless they chose to make a statement by their absence.³² Either way, it is likely they were among the first people to hear of James I's murder on 21 February 1437.

Although Tanner argued forcefully that anarchy and chaos did not follow James I's murder, that records for the period are not scant, and government had not failed, citing the six meetings of the estates from spring 1437 to autumn 1439, it is nevertheless important to keep in mind concurrent destabilising events. Indeed, six meetings of the estates in two and a half years suggests a need to discuss problems in need of resolution. Parliament executed Walter earl of Atholl and his allies in 1437.³³ Sir Thomas Boyd killed Allan Stewart lord Darnley in 1438, and Alexander Stewart Bucktooth in turn killed Boyd in 1439, as previously mentioned.³⁴ That same year Lachlan MacLean and Murthow Gibson killed John of Colquhoun lord of Luss when, according to the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, John was under surety protection.³⁵ Alexander Livingston captured James I's widowed Queen, Joan Beaufort, also in 1439 and William 6th earl of Douglas was judicially murdered in 1440.³⁶ This is to say nothing of the fact all these events took place in the shadow of the first act of regicide in Scotland since the eleventh century.

Agricultural, economic and public-health crises also beset Scotland in 1439. In a very revealing passage in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, the author recorded that at about the 'samyn tyme' as the previously mentioned political violence, Scotland experienced a famine resulting in high grain prices and many deaths from starvation. Concurrently Scotland suffered a plague colloquially called 'the pestilence but [without] mercy' as the author reported it killed all infected within twenty-four hours.³⁷ No magnate could have borne the economic implications of these events comfortably. Their revenues and crop yields were surely down, their labourers were dying from starvation, and plague would have killed commoner and noble indiscriminately, perhaps claiming the 5th earl of Douglas who died that summer.³⁸ It is no surprise the Exchequer was not rendered in 1439. The evidence suggests at this time of multiple crises, natural and man-made, nobles were as ready as ever to resort to extreme measures to attempt to secure

³² Ibid., 77-8.

³³ Ibid, 76.

³⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 160.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 76.

³⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 160.

³⁸ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 250. Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford died about this time, too, and he would have been 55-60 years old.

resources in their own dominions. Even if government was continuing as usual, there had to be a great deal of uncertainty about the future.

The uncertainty resulting from the initially political upheavals of these years apparently prompted David Master of Crawford and his aging father to rush to strengthen their existing alliances and to make new ones. On 24 August 1438, David witnessed a charter his father granted to Richard Loyal and Elizabeth Douglas, Alexander's niece and sister of Henry Douglas of Loch Leven, granting them the lands of Murroes in Crawford's barony of Inverarity.³⁹ Next, in his last recorded act during his father's lifetime, David gave his assent on 25 October 1438 to a hereditary grant to Crawford's 'kinsman' David Ogilvy of all the lands of Kinneff with their castle in Kincardineshire along with three other minor lands.⁴⁰ The presence among the witnesses of Dundee burgess Nicholas Lauson indicates this grant was probably made in Dundee. The grantee, David Ogilvy, was probably David Ogilvy heir of Inchmartine, who had helped to seize Walter earl of Atholl following the murder of James I and had received a crown charter on 1 June 1437.⁴¹ This was an extremely sensible grant since it reinforced an old local bond, and helped bind Crawford to a victor in national politics. Among the witnesses was Walter Lindsay son of the late Sir Walter Lindsay of Kinneff, Crawford's half-uncle.⁴² As the late Walter Lindsay had held Kinneff, his son's presence probably affirmed the transfer of these lands which were part of the Crawford inheritance.⁴³ In the months after James I was murdered and his killers executed, it only made sense for Alexander and David to strengthen their bonds with their local allies, especially those who had played a key role in national politics.

In 1438 Robert Erskine also re-asserted his right to the earldom of Mar, so beginning a decades-long legal battle that involved three generations of Crawford earls. He claimed Mar in right of his mother, who was heiress to the earldom of Mar after Isabella Countess of Mar, and approved in this position by Robert III in 1391.⁴⁴ Alexander Stewart earl of Mar had died without a legitimate heir in July 1435, and James I took the earldom for himself, despite the Erskine claim.⁴⁵ Erskine and his son Thomas were quick to react and, on 17 November 1435, he had made an indenture with

³⁹ NAS GD121/3/12 [Removed from NAS]; *RMS*, ii, 768; *SP* vi, 366.

⁴⁰ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38.

⁴¹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 81.

⁴² NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38.

⁴³ *SP*, iii, 14-5.

⁴⁴ *RPS*, 1391/5. Date accessed, 21 May 2009.

⁴⁵ Brown, *James I*, 156; Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), 20.

Alexander Forbes wherein Forbes pledged to help Erskine and his son recover the Mar earldom.⁴⁶ Erskine, intelligently, never challenged James I for the earldom but, by 22 April 1438, Forbes, in his capacity as the earl of Crawford's sheriff depute of Aberdeen, made a retour at Aberdeen declaring Robert Erskine heir of Isabel Stewart for half the earldom of Mar and of the regality of Garioch, which the daughter of the 4th earl of Douglas, Elizabeth Countess of Buchan, spouse of the late Thomas Stewart was currently holding.⁴⁷ Forbes found in favour of Erskine as heir of the other half of Mar on 16 October 1438.⁴⁸ At no point during the 3rd earl of Crawford's life did his sheriff depute Forbes appear to abandon Erskine's claim, suggesting Crawford support for Erskine's claim to Mar was also constant. David's grandfather, David 1st earl of Crawford had pledged to help the late Thomas Erskine recover the earldom of Mar and Garioch in 1400, proposing also a marriage alliance between the families.⁴⁹ Whether this earlier indenture played into David 3rd earl of Crawford's policy is uncertain, but there is no doubt support of the Erskine claim to Mar was a constant for the rest of his life and helped further increase tensions between himself and the Setons of Gordon, who became royal agents in Aberdeenshire. An active Erskine earl of Mar, who owed his title to Crawford's support would have presented a formidable obstacle to Seton of Gordon's ambitions in the north.

A few months later in Rome, on 5 December 1438, a request for a marriage between Gordon's son, Alexander Seton of Tulibody (later 1st earl of Huntly) and Johanna Lindsay daughter of David Lindsay Master of Crawford 'lord of Aberdeen and lord of Brechin' was approved.⁵⁰ The description 'lord of Aberdeen and lord of Brechin' was never used before or after to describe a Lindsay, and may simply have been meant to indicate with which dioceses he was associated. Had this marriage happened, it would have provided Crawford with a useful, local, Aberdeenshire-based ally, and was in line with Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's policy of maintaining good relations with the leading lord in Aberdeenshire. This marriage alliance also appears to have been arranged at about the same time as Archibald 5th earl of Douglas granted the keepership of Kildrummy castle to Alexander Seton of Gordon.⁵¹ This arrangement, had it

⁴⁶ *Aberdeen & Banff Illustrations*, 188-9; McGladdery, *James II*, 20; NAS GD124/1/137.

⁴⁷ McGladdery, *James II*, 20; NAS GD124/1/138; *RMS*, ii, 37.

⁴⁸ McGladdery, *James II*, 21; NAS GD124/1/142. This retour is nearly unreadable without the aid of an ultraviolet lamp.

⁴⁹ NAS GD124/7/3.

⁵⁰ *CSSR 1433-1447*, 120.

⁵¹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248; *ER*, v, 54, 61.

happened, could have created a useful political arrangement in the northeast, though it further sidelined the Erskine claim to the earldom of Mar.

Unfortunately for Seton of Tulibody, it must have been just around the time this dispensation was granted that Johanna Lindsay married William Douglas who, at the time of marriage could have either been Master, or 6th earl, of Douglas (the date of Archibald 5th earl of Douglas' death is not precisely known).⁵² When Johanna was betrothed to William Douglas is irrecoverable, as the existence of their marriage was not recorded until years later.⁵³ This is compounded by the fact Archibald 5th earl of Douglas died in June 1439 and Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford died between 25 October 1438 and 1 February 1440, so who arranged Johanna's new marriage is uncertain.⁵⁴ Since William was probably too young to have arranged the marriage on his own, it is possible David Lindsay and the fifth earl of Douglas arranged it, placing the time of the offer sometime in the last half of 1438 or the first half of 1439.

It is most likely the Lindsay side canceled Johanna's marriage to Seton of Tulibody when the more lucrative Douglas offer was made. Calling off the Seton of Tulibody wedding was perhaps reckless. Whichever Lindsay called off the wedding, the inevitable result was the damaging of relations with the Gordon heir. However, the attractions of the Douglas match clearly out-weighed any concerns about Seton of Tulibody's bruised feelings. Crawford support of Robert Erskine's claim to Mar may have already soured the relationship between Crawford and Seton of Gordon. The Lindsays probably hoped support from Douglas at the national level could help secure Erskine the earldom of Mar, which would gain them their ally in Aberdeenshire and make offending the Setons irrelevant.

The potential benefits for David of marrying Johanna to William Douglas speak for themselves. Archibald 5th earl of Douglas had watched the struggle for control of James II play out between Queen Joan and Walter earl of Atholl, with the former winning and the latter being executed in March 1437.⁵⁵ The General Council at Stirling held in May elected Douglas Lieutenant-General, a man whose royal blood from his Stewart mother and regional lordship made him a relatively natural choice for the position.⁵⁶ By 1438 he exercised tremendous power in Scotland, and although he was

⁵² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248; NAS RH6/321.

⁵³ NAS RH6/321.

⁵⁴ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38; RMS, ii, 213.

⁵⁵ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 246.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 246-7.

supposed to be ruling in the name of James II, he apparently called the General Council meeting in 1438 in his own name, and acted by this and not James II's authority that year.⁵⁷ Not only would David Lindsay have gained influence and reciprocal support from the Lieutenant-General, but he probably expected a prominent role in national policy-making and some security for the foreseeable future. He probably also expected to be an influential figure in the life of the future sixth earl of Douglas, who was in his teens in 1438.⁵⁸ This was important, as William was well-placed to take over the Lieutenancy if Archibald died before James II reached his majority. His only potential rival with Stewart ancestry and a significant sphere of influence was Alexander MacDonald earl of Ross and lord of the Isles, but his chances of acquiring the position would have been compromised because he was an outsider to central government.⁵⁹

The Lindsay-Douglas marriage would have benefitted the Black Douglasses both politically and dynastically. Both men knew James II had no direct heir, and at the same time, they both, Douglas and Crawford, descended from Stewart kings. David 1st earl of Crawford's wife had been a daughter of Robert II, while Archibald 5th earl of Douglas was the son of Margaret Stewart daughter of Robert III.⁶⁰ James II was young, and it seemed likely that his minority would last for at least a decade. If he died as a child, producing no heir, Archibald was next in line in to the throne after the captive earl of Menteith, and joining up two Stewart lines in William 6th earl of Douglas and Johanna Lindsay's marriage would have given the offspring of William 6th earl of Douglas an even stronger Stewart claim.⁶¹

While undoubtedly significant, the importance of the link should not be over-emphasised. At this time there were at least nine families in Scotland descended from Robert II, and most were closer to the royal line than the Lindsays of Crawford. If anything, Archibald may have simply enjoyed the added authority it would bring to his family and the strong alliance with the Lindsays that would result from this marriage.

Also, more solid evidence exists to show power politics rather than genetics drove this marriage alliance. Brown suggested it was about this time that Archibald 5th earl of Douglas made Alexander earl of Ross justiciar north of the Forth.⁶² This grant, in light of the concurrent Lindsay-Douglas marriage alliance seems to be part of a

⁵⁷ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 79.

⁵⁸ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 260.

⁵⁹ *SP*, v, 43-4.

⁶⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 98; Robertson, *Index*, 133 no. 14; *SP* iii, 14.

⁶¹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliaments*, 78.

⁶² Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 210; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248.

pattern. Ross was the only other non-captive, adult earl in Scotland, other than the earl of Orkney.⁶³ The earls of Sutherland and the earl of Menteith were both hostages in England, and the 3rd earl of Angus was a minor when he succeeded in the late 1430s.⁶⁴ All these families descended from Robert II's daughters. Furthermore, there were several other families descended from Robert II's offspring as well, including the Kennedys of Dunure, the Grahams, Douglas of Dalkeith, the Hays of Erroll, the Lyons of Glamis and Sandilands of Calder.⁶⁵ Notably Kennedy of Dunure and Graham descended from daughters of Robert III, making them closer to the throne than any of the earls, other than the earl of Douglas. Alexander earl of Ross descended from Robert II's first marriage, putting him closer to the throne than David 3rd earl of Crawford, who descended from Robert II's second marriage, placing Crawford towards the rear rank of the first born male descendants of Robert II.

In the end, Alexander Seton of Tulibody eventually acquired the powerful marriage alliance for which he had been searching, marrying William Crichton's daughter, Elizabeth, before 18 March 1440.⁶⁶ William Crichton had been James I's Master of the Household, and during the minority captained Edinburgh castle, was sheriff of Edinburgh and a figure of great importance.⁶⁷ Crichton's marriage alliance with Seton surely contributed towards his eventual disaffection towards Crawford. By August 1440, Robert Erskine was reasserting his rights to the earldom of Mar.⁶⁸ In the coming years, David 3rd earl of Crawford supported this claim, putting him at odds with Seton and Crichton, contributing to a general destabilisation of politics in northeast Scotland.

David had a varied set of connections throughout his early career reflecting the changing politics of Scotland. He had important contacts with the Forbeses who remained important to him later in his career, he had met Walter earl of Atholl, and eventually aligned with the Black Douglasses after James I's murder. Ties to the Ogilvies show the survival of an affinity stretching back to the previous century. Close connections to important Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire lords, as well as the Black

⁶³ *SP* v, 43-4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 175-6, vi, 142-3, viii, 329-31

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 448-9, 454, iv, 561-4, vi, 142-3, 214, 350, 353, viii, 259-60, 267, 381-2.

⁶⁶ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248; Charles XI Marquis of Huntly, ed., *Records of Aboyne* (Aberdeen, 1894), 394; *SP*, iv, 524.

⁶⁷ McGladdery, *James II*, 16.

⁶⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 192-3.

Douglasses who figured in national politics helped him remain relevant in this period. Curiously, most of these connections he made or witnessed being made, primarily under his father's tutelage, including the Forbsses, Ogilvies and eventually the Douglasses proved not only defining factors in his career as 3rd earl of Crawford, but also helped ensure his death at Arbroath in the winter of 1446. In the ensuing years he found two of these families, Black Douglas and Ogilvy, each filling the roles of ally and enemy.

2. Earl of Crawford, 1440-1446

David Lindsay 3rd earl of Crawford's career was, by all accounts, stormy. While Alexander, his father, is not known to have been involved in major conflict during his career, controversy seemed to swirl about his heir. When David succeeded to the Crawford patrimony there were few adult earls in Scotland, and his position as father-in-law of the teenage sixth earl of Douglas put him in an enviable position. He initially based his political strategy on alliance with the Black Douglasses. This created significant problems when he found himself at odds with James Douglas of Balvenie (future 7th earl of Douglas), and William Crichton, who engineered the murder of William 6th earl of Douglas at the Black Dinner in November 1440 to protect their own interests in government.

The links between the Lindsays and the Black Douglasses were ultimately stronger than the events of 1440, and the course of David 3rd earl of Crawford's career is best followed in terms of his relationship with the Black Douglasses. Although the Black Dinner eliminated Crawford from national politics, nearly the instant that the 7th earl of Douglas left the scene in 1443, David rose in position and importance within the kingdom as a result of new ties to William 8th earl of Douglas, the 7th earl's son. His alliances with the fifth, sixth, and eighth Douglas earls were highly important for him, as they gave him the ability to participate in national Scottish politics and provided him with a defence against his local rivals, such as Gordon, and members of the Ogilvy family who had begun associating with Gordon. David's relationship, good or bad, with the Douglas earls was one of the defining factors of the course of his career.

The date of David's accession to the earldom is uncertain. Earl Alexander was last recorded on 25 October 1438, while his son appeared in Edinburgh as earl of Crawford witnessing a charter issued in James II's name (probably at the instance of

William Crichton) on 1 February 1440.⁶⁹ At the end of the month, David was still in Edinburgh, probably attending the General Council being held there. At Edinburgh he granted the barony of Kirkmichael, previously resigned by James Douglas of Dalkeith, to Sir William Crichton, confirmed under the great seal four days later.⁷⁰ The witnesses on David's charter, nearly identical to those on the confirmation, suggest he possibly made this grant at James II's court.⁷¹ This grant by Crawford is significant because it was made about the time the old Douglas lord of Dalkeith died and his mentally incompetent son succeeded him, and also because Crichton had designs on the Dalkeith inheritance, and was probably taking advantage of these developments.⁷² Just months before David's charter in favour of Crichton, Crichton and Alexander Livingston of Callendar had been vying for control of the king and realm, with Crichton victorious, but with Alexander Livingston still a major player.⁷³ Livingston was a West Lothian lord whose sudden rise is somewhat unexplained. He acquired the keepership of Stirling castle which then became his power base and he rose to prominence during James II's minority.⁷⁴ He was frequently at odds with William Crichton, who occupied the office of chancellor.⁷⁵ Whether or not Livingston maintained possession of James II as Tanner claims and McGladdery denies, there is no doubt Crichton was still in charge despite Livingston's sudden, sharp rise resulting from his capture of Queen Joan in August 1439 and his 'Appoyntment' with her.⁷⁶ Taking advantage of his recent victory, Crichton used his brother George to get at the Dalkeith inheritance, by marrying him to Janet Borthwick who had recently received joint control of Nithsdale and Morton, part of the Dalkeith estates, from her previous husband James.⁷⁷ Crawford apparently had no intention of resisting the Crichton move on the Douglas of Dalkeith estates.

Two witnesses from these Kirkmichael charters immediately jump out, for rather different reasons. Alexander Livingston stands out as a future ally of Crawford, and appears on both the original charter and the confirmation. Livingston backed Robert Erskine's claim to Mar during the third and fourth earls of Crawford's careers,

⁶⁹ *RMS*, ii, 213.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 226; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 281.

⁷¹ *RMS*, ii, 226.

⁷² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 264-5.

⁷³ McGladdery, *James II*, 17-9; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 91-2.

⁷⁴ McGladdery, *James II*, 16.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-6.

⁷⁶ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 255, 257; McGladdery, *James II*, 17-9; *RPS*, 1439/9/1, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 91-2.

⁷⁷ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 264-5.

while Crichton opposed it. Also appearing on David's original charter is Alexander Seton Master of Gordon and lord of Tulibody, the marriage ally of Crichton. Seton's appearance suggests that there was, as yet, no irreconcilable breach between Crawford and Crichton's principal ally in the northeast.

For the moment, David was probably a highly valuable associate for Crichton. When James I died there were only three living earls in Scotland, the earls of Crawford, Douglas and Angus. After the latter two's deaths, David earl of Crawford was the only Scottish earl alive who was not captive in England, a teenager like Douglas, or a new creation like James Douglas of Balvenie who was created earl of Avondale, (the future 7th earl of Douglas).⁷⁸ Besides this, Crichton was a long-time Douglas associate, and this probably gave Crawford and Crichton some common ground.⁷⁹ This cooperation did not last long, as Crichton and his allies decided to neutralise Crawford rather than woo him, probably as a result of the Crichton-Seton marriage alliance.

The associations of the men in Crawford's affinity made them ripe to be plucked away from him. In the years, and especially months before the Black Dinner, the Ogilvies seem to have been consciously wooed by Crichton and his allies. While the early associations are probably nothing more than an unrelated diversification of ties, the later contacts within months, and weeks – perhaps even days – of the Black Dinner look like a conscious undermining of the Crawford affinity. No doubt, though, the early associations made the later attacks possible, and ought therefore to be examined.

The Ogilvies, for years before the Black Dinner, had associated with men who eventually became Crawford's enemies. On 15 January 1435 Alexander Seton of Gordon (d. *ante* 3 April 1441) granted Alexander Ogilvy, son and heir of John Ogilvy of Inverquharity several lands in Forfarshire with Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, Andrew Ogilvy of Inchemartine, and David Ogilvy of Balmuto witnessing the charter.⁸⁰ On 30 May 1438, James Douglas of Balvenie, Alexander Seton of Gordon, William Crichton, and Andrew Ogilvy all witnessed a notarial instrument in Edinburgh concerning the legal redress for the wrongful spoliation of Egidia Countess of Orkney's lands of Nithsdale.⁸¹ Egidia, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale (d. c.1392) and a daughter of Robert II was the mother of William earl of Orkney, who himself

⁷⁸ McGladdery, *James II*, 14-6.

⁷⁹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 88-9.

⁸⁰ *RMS*, ii, 1550.

⁸¹ Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 422-3; *SP*, iv, 521.

had a marriage alliance with James earl of Avondale.⁸² Moreover, the Exchequer of June 1440 indicated the late Walter Ogilvy secretary of the King and Constable of Dundee and James Douglas of Balvenie earl of Avondale had both met in a conference (text: '*colloquio*') with the Lord of the Isles at Bute.⁸³ Thus, the record evidence demonstrates these men, who eventually aligned against the Crawford earls for the next fifteen years, were associating with each other and binding themselves together years beforehand. At this point, though, Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen probably did not see this association as particularly anti-Lindsay.

On 10 August 1440 at Stirling, about three months before the Black Dinner, an indenture between James II and Robert Erskine granted the latter Kildrummy castle in exchange for the royal castle of Dumbarton, and confirmed his possession of half the revenues of Mar; this was a major coup for Erskine in his pursuit of the Mar earldom, as the castle of Kildrummy was the earldom's main seat.⁸⁴ Apparently Erskine had seized Dumbarton by force to use it as a bargaining chip for Kildrummy.⁸⁵ The quitclaim of Dumbarton and remission to Erskine, 'his son and al his men of al thingis done fra the day of his entre in the said castell of Dumbertane to the day of the making of thir presentis lettres' contained in the indenture indicates Erskine had possessed the castle illegally.⁸⁶ The witness list is a curious mix of men, including Alexander Livingston, Richard Crichton of Sanquhar, John Ogilvy of Lintrathen and Walter Ogilvy, but notably not William Crichton.⁸⁷ Since it was produced in Stirling, Livingston's base, and had Livingston as a witness, Livingston was probably the driving force. This indenture was surely a devastating blow to Gordon, who by a grant from Archibald 5th earl of Douglas had been holding Kildrummy castle.⁸⁸ This followed on Erskine's local success in his pursuit of Mar, as the Aberdeen Guild Court recognised him as '*comes de Mar*' ('earl of Mar') when it granted him the status of burgess on 28 December 1439.⁸⁹

A separate confirmation granted the next day, but with Crichton and Livingston as witnesses, confirmed to Walter Ogilvy the barony of Deskford, which his wife,

⁸² RMS ii, 245; SP, iii, 164, vi, 570-1.

⁸³ ER, v, 79, 84.

⁸⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* iv, 192-3; McGladdery, *James II*, 20-1; RPS, 1440/8/5, date accessed: 14 May 2009; *Spalding Misc.*, v, 262-3.

⁸⁵ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 96.

⁸⁶ RPS, 1440/8/5, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 96.

⁸⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* iv, 192-3.

⁸⁸ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248; ER, v, 61.

⁸⁹ *Abdn. Counc.*, i, 394; Boardman, 'The Burgh and the Realm', 215.

Margaret Sinclair had resigned, to be held by both of them hereditarily.⁹⁰ The presence of both Crichton and Livingston make the intent of this document slightly difficult to decipher, but it could have been an important contact between Crichton and an Ogilvy. When Crichton responded to the slighting of his Aberdeenshire ally, Alexander Seton, around 12 November 1440, Walter Ogilvy of Deskford was involved.

Crichton's most crucial overtures to the Ogilvies took place on 12 November 1440. It is not known whether Crichton judicially murdered William 6th earl of Douglas and his brother David Douglas at the Black Dinner before or after that date, but on that date Crichton issued some important charters apparently intended to bribe members of the Ogilvy family with land grants to ensure their support. First, Crichton granted John Ogilvy of Lintrathen half the lands of 'Wardropstoun' in Kincardineshire, and Walter Ogilvy of Deskford half the lands of Balhall (Menmuir parish) in Forfarshire.⁹¹ He also granted John Rait Drumtochty (Fordoun parish, Aberdeenshire), essentially entailed to Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin following John Rait's death.⁹² Half of this was to be held by John's son, Henry Rait, but, following John's death, Henry would hold his half from Andrew Ogilvy.⁹³ No other Great Seal charters survive between a 20 September grant to Avondale and the five on 12 November, and none between then and one on 2 December in Edinburgh.⁹⁴ It is uncertain whether the five were in preparation for or reaction to William 6th earl of Douglas' murder, but they certainly were linked to that event, and were probably intended to woo Ogilvy support from Crawford. Since Crichton specifically and exclusively targeted a family closely associated with the Lindsays of Crawford, and whose lands were near Crawford's suggests Crawford's weakening was a major goal of the murder, especially since it followed so closely on the heels of William and Johanna's marriage.

It seems likely that James earl of Avondale was involved in the strike against his young kinsman. He was William's heir, and had probably been running the sixth earl of Douglas' estates since Archibald 5th earl's death, and during this time probably enjoyed influence over William.⁹⁵ Avondale's ability to control the wider Douglas lordship would naturally have dissipated once William attained his majority, but the young man's

⁹⁰ *RMS* ii, 245.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 247, 249.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 250.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 246, 252.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 259.

marriage to Crawford's daughter surely threatened an acceleration of this process.⁹⁶ Crichton and Avondale may thus have seen Crawford's position as father-in-law of William 6th earl of Douglas as a direct threat to their interests across the kingdom. There was probably little reason to believe William 6th earl would not inherit his father's position as lieutenant general, or at least attempt to claim it, and as his father-in-law, the adult Crawford may have expected to benefit from this. The plot to draw Douglas and his brother to Edinburgh castle and execute them was not just a move for an earldom, it was a calculated attack against both William 6th earl of Douglas and David 3rd earl of Crawford, and a highly successful move to determine who had greatest influence in Scottish politics.⁹⁷

These were the origins of 'the Black Dinner'. It was carried out in November 1440, when William Crichton executed William 6th earl of Douglas and his brother David at Edinburgh castle.⁹⁸ As a result, the earldom of Douglas fell to James Douglas earl of Avondale, William's great uncle, who became the 7th earl of Douglas. An addition to the Harleian manuscript of Bower written c.1473 suggests that the Black Dinner took place on 24 November.⁹⁹ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, and Buchanan, both sixteenth century chroniclers, maintained Crichton used flattery to entice Douglas and his brother to Edinburgh castle, though no earlier sources report this.¹⁰⁰ John Lesley bishop of Ross, another sixteenth century chronicler, suggested Livingston and Crichton worked together to get 'revenge' on William for being unruly. To do this, they summoned a council, to which Douglas came, and then, as in Pitscottie and Buchanan, arrested him at dinner after presenting him with a bull's head.¹⁰¹ Some degree of deception must have been involved, as it is unlikely William would have knowingly walked into such a hostile environment. Conspiracy involving James Douglas earl of Avondale was certainly a factor in William's and his brother David's executions, though surprisingly none of the contemporary or sixteenth-century chronicles suggested it. The Black Dinner considerably benefitted the earl of Avondale, and he and Crichton probably planned it this way. Three days after Crichton executed William and his brother David, he also executed Malcolm Fleming, a man who was an enemy in

⁹⁶ Ibid., 258-9.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 260-2.

⁹⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 171; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ix, 140-1; *Chron. Extracta*, 237. The 1454 Exchequer Rolls also state William died (text: '*obiit*') in November 1440 (ER, v, 668-9).

⁹⁹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ix, 140, 144.

¹⁰⁰ Buchanan, *History*, ii, 67-70; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 39-46.

¹⁰¹ Buchanan, *History*, ii, 70 Lesley, *History*, 15-6; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 45.

Lanarkshire of James earl of Avondale, now 7th earl of Douglas, and with whom William late 6th earl had recently been associating.¹⁰² Fleming was forfeited, his lands thus going to the crown, while William 6th earl of Douglas and his brother were not.¹⁰³ This, of course, resulted in James Douglas earl of Avondale inheriting the Douglas earldom.¹⁰⁴

Modern interpretations of the Black Dinner's origins vary. Dunlop argued Crichton was probably not most to blame for the murders, although 'the feast of death was spread upon his board'.¹⁰⁵ Instead, she asserted Alexander Livingston and James earl of Avondale may have been able to force Crichton's consent. A petition had been sent to the pope in March 1440 accusing John Cameron bishop of Glasgow of treason, along with 'several other lords of the King's Council'.¹⁰⁶ Since Cameron and Crichton were old allies, this could have implied Crichton's involvement and put him in a weak position.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, Dunlop felt the intended result of the murders was James earl of Avondale's acquisition of the Douglas earldom.¹⁰⁸ Nicholson, whose account is heavily reliant on Pitscottie, asserted 'circumstantial evidence' pointed to James 7th earl of Douglas' involvement, though he also suggested Crichton and Livingston probably had some degree of complicity.¹⁰⁹ Nicholson saw Robert Fleming's eventual inheritance of his father, Malcolm Fleming's forfeited estates and his marriage to Avondale's daughter as concessions suggesting Douglas was 'anxious to hush matters up'.¹¹⁰ McGladdery understood the Black Dinner similarly: she saw co-operation between Livingston and Crichton with the connivance of Avondale.¹¹¹

Brown's understanding of the Black Dinner is rather different, as he argued that the inheritance of the Douglas earldom was not Avondale's primary concern. Instead, Brown asserted control of Scottish government was what Crichton and Avondale felt was at stake in November 1440.¹¹² In contrast to earlier interpretations, Brown gave Livingston little role in the event. To support this, he noted, like Dunlop, the potential accusation of treason against Bishop Cameron of Glasgow, but interpreted it

¹⁰² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 259.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 33.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 33n.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 33-4.

¹⁰⁹ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 330-1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 331.

¹¹¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 22-4.

¹¹² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 260-2.

differently. He argued William 6th earl of Douglas may have been attempting to gain the Lieutenant Generalship of Scotland, which would have threatened Avondale and Crichton's position.¹¹³ He also noted, uniquely, that James II's sister, Johanna, had just married James earl of Angus, indicating the dowager Queen may have been attempting to assert her influence.¹¹⁴ This led men, experienced in violent politics, schooled by 'James I, their old master' to murder William and David to preserve their position in government – a very compelling argument.¹¹⁵

Most recently, Tanner, in his work on the late medieval Scottish Parliament, appropriately treated the Black Dinner in light of fifteenth century Scottish Parliaments. He felt Crichton and Avondale were the primary conspirators, and noted no excuse was ever made for the deaths of William and David Douglas, unlike the deaths of David duke of Rothesay and William 8th earl of Douglas, though Alexander Livingston later denied involvement in the execution of Fleming.¹¹⁶ This may simply be because these were, technically, executions.

These interpretations of the Black Dinner all, however, disregard another significant factor. As Crawford's daughter had just married William 6th earl of Douglas, it seems likely that the Black Dinner was also a strike against Earl David. For Crichton, this would seem to have been a risky strategy: he had 'judicially murdered' one of Scotland's great magnates and seriously offended the father-in-law of his victim, another great magnate. This was a risk Crichton could afford to take, though. James 7th earl of Douglas owed his earldom to him, he had bought off members of the Ogilvy family, and, on 18 March 1440, Elizabeth Crichton had married Alexander Seton of Gordon (later 1st earl of Huntly).¹¹⁷ Thus, Crichton had Forfarshire- and Aberdeenshire-based allies, now bound all the more tightly to him. For James 7th earl of Douglas, no evidence suggests he had any previous links to Crawford that this murder would break. Instead, the incident created a strong bond between himself and Crichton, a useful ally given his dominant position in Edinburgh.

It was perhaps the shocking nature of the young earl's execution and the major benefits it brought Douglas and his line that distracted later authors from examining how Crawford might fit into the political circumstances surrounding it. Dunlop is one

¹¹³ Ibid., 260.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 260-1.

¹¹⁶ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 98-9.

¹¹⁷ *SP*, iv, 524.

of the few authors to address this issue head-on, but somehow dismissed it as an ‘ugly coincidence’ that caused ‘no real breach in the traditional friendship between the Lindsays and Douglasses’.¹¹⁸ While she was correct to observe that within a few years Crawford and William 8th earl of Douglas were aligned, this does not take into account the fact that Crawford had no dealings with James 7th earl of Douglas from the Black Dinner until Douglas died in 1443, nor did Douglas’ ally, Crichton, favour him. It is critical to understanding the Black Dinner that Crawford be seen as a major target of the coup, since undercutting Crawford’s influence by killing his daughter’s husband, William 6th earl of Douglas would have been beneficial to James earl of Avondale and William Crichton’s goal of maintaining influence in central politics.

It is hard to imagine Crawford was not enraged following the Black Dinner, since his daughter Johanna’s marriage with William 6th earl of Douglas was surely the cornerstone of his policy.¹¹⁹ That Johanna and the sixth earl of Douglas had not even had the chance to produce an heir must have galled Crawford even more. No doubt this was surely part of James earl of Avondale’s intent, as William and Johanna’s production of an heir would have prevented the earldom from passing to him.

If the loss of his son-in-law stung dearly, then Crawford must have been utterly devastated to have at the same time been cast out of national politics. Excepting the widowed Johanna, Crawford was the person most inconvenienced by these murders, yet there is no sign of the earl actively seeking retribution. This probably indicates Crichton’s policy of undermining Crawford by wooing Seton and members of the Ogilvy family had been effective. Indeed, Crawford seems to have had few powerful allies in 1440, and his influence in national politics for the next few years was nil. Crichton’s government, in contrast, had fairly broad-based support into 1443, and few would need to associate with Crawford, whom Crichton had cast out.¹²⁰

Alexander Livingston’s involvement in the Black Dinner has been discussed, but not fully analysed. He figured importantly in the third and fourth earls’ careers, usually as a close supporter, so his involvement or lack thereof in the Black Dinner is something requiring examination. Alan Borthwick, in his 1989 thesis, ‘The Council Under James II: 1437-60’, which pays much attention to the Livingston family asserted

¹¹⁸ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 131.

¹¹⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 248.

¹²⁰ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 97-8.

the Black Dinner was the work of Alexander Livingston.¹²¹ This is part of his general argument for a 'Livingston Revolution' in government which holds that members of the Livingston family and their associates entered into many important positions of government in the 1440s.¹²² The origin of this 'gradual revolution' was Alexander Livingston's capture of and 'Appoyntment' with Queen Joan, orchestrated in 1440. Following this, Borthwick observed Livingston family members witnessed almost every significant royal document in Scotland.¹²³ Borthwick also noted that in 1442 many members of the family and their affinity, such as James Livingston, Alexander Livingston, Robert Livingston of Drumry, Robert Livingston of Middle Binning, and Robert Callander began to assume roles in government.¹²⁴ Overall, this does not lend much support to the theory of Livingston involvement in the Black Dinner in Edinburgh in 1440 since the Livingstons did not begin acquiring their offices until after the death of James 7th earl of Douglas in 1443.¹²⁵ By Borthwick's own admission, the Livingstons were never terribly influential in Edinburgh, Crichton's main stronghold.¹²⁶ These later developments help to illustrate the Livingstons' comparably restricted potential for participation in government in 1440.

Unlike Borthwick, McGladdery suggested Livingston and Crichton were cooperating during 1440 which, if true, implies Livingston involvement in the Black Dinner. Evidence to the contrary, particularly involving Livingston and Crichton's opposing responses to the Erskine claim to Mar, though, suggests conflict rather than cooperation ought to be the model for interaction between Crichton and Livingston in this period. Even if David 3rd earl of Crawford's relationship with the Douglas earls determined his rise and fall, it is still important to stress Livingston and Crichton's relationship to each other since David 3rd earl of Crawford's career is partially defined in light of Livingston-Crichton conflict, especially given Crichton's connection to Gordon and Livingston's connection to Erskine. Although Crichton and Livingston frequently witnessed Great Seal charters together, it is telling that from 1439 until 1443 there were no royal grants in favour of Livingston or his family. In contrast, in 1440, there were two Great seal charters in favour of William Crichton himself, and two in favour of

¹²¹ Alan Borthwick, 'The King, Council and Councillors in Scotland, 1437-60' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989), 27.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 60-1.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 58-60.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 61-2, 66-8, 70-1.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

Robert Crichton, his cousin, one entailing William's properties to Robert if William's heirs failed.¹²⁷ This suggests the start date for Borthwick's 'Livingston revolution' should be dated after the close of 1440.

Although Livingston participated in government in Edinburgh and Stirling, as government moved between the two centres, it is worth noting that, to 1444, several grants to the Ogilvies, excepting one, and one to Avondale took place at Edinburgh, Crichton's base.¹²⁸ This is also suggestive as the Ogilvies ultimately aligned with Gordon and Crichton, Alexander Livingston's opponents over the issues of Kildrummy and Erskine's claim to Mar.¹²⁹ In a similar manner, Livingston expressed his support for Crichton's opponent, Erskine, in Stirling, Livingston's own base. Livingston also witnessed documents in favour of Erskine of Mar that were clearly anti-Crichton, such as an instrument detailing how Crichton seemed to have intentionally misplaced a retour of Garioch in Robert Erskine's favour and a grant in favour of Erskine of Kildrummy castle.¹³⁰ Last, Livingston's willingness in 1443 to support William 8th earl of Douglas' at Crichton's expense suggests no strong alliance.¹³¹

It would seem that Livingston was not a committed supporter support of Crichton, but was prepared to accept Crichton's behavior in order to remain in royal government. There was also reason for Crichton to include Livingston in politics. Since Livingston controlled the royal centre at Stirling castle, fifty-five kilometers along the Forth from Edinburgh, he could hardly be ignored. Including Livingston in politics gave Crichton a degree of control over him. That Crichton and Livingston were not fast allies, and that the Erskine claim to the earldom of Mar was a sore point between the two are key to understanding the events proceeding from the Black Dinner through to the battle of Arbroath, because during this six year period, who was allied with whom would generally be drawn along these two axes: Crichton-Gordon and Livingston-Erskine.

Therefore, the limited Livingston involvement in government in November 1440 strongly suggests they were not the driving force behind the Black Dinner. This limited involvement may also indicate Borthwick overestimated the extent of the 'Livingston Revolution' in 1440. Although the Livingstons had certainly placed

¹²⁷ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 264; RMS, ii, 226-7, 233-4; SP, iii, 58.

¹²⁸ RMS, ii, 218-21, 245-51

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 192-3; NAS GD124/1/149.

¹³¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 28.

themselves in the right position to claim royal offices following James 7th earl of Douglas' demise in 1443, in 1440 they were simply not the dominant force in government. Furthermore, the Great Seal register from 1440 to 1444 shows the vast majority of charters were issued in Edinburgh, Crichton's base, and only from 1444, did the issuing of Great Seal charters shift to Stirling, Livingston's base.¹³² Although from 1440 the Exchequer was held in Stirling, evidence from the Exchequer itself indicates Crichton controlled policy-making through this period. Although Alexander Livingston had apparently been assigned significant payments in 1440, as indicated by his receipt of them in the 1441 Exchequer, it was only from 1441, after the Black Dinner, that other Livingstons began establishing themselves in offices.¹³³ Whether Alexander Livingston either approved of or encouraged the Black Dinner, the prime mover in the executions at Edinburgh was most likely Crichton. This close involvement of Crichton and Avondale, and the relative 'innocence' of Livingston may help explain the third as well as the fourth earls of Crawford's nearness to Livingston over the next thirteen years.

Immediately following the Black Dinner, Crawford's activities are poorly attested. The Exchequer rolls record him receiving his £66 13s. 4d. annuity from Dundee and his £66 13s. 4d. annuity from Aberdeen, the latter which was unpaid since 1422, which he had recently recovered.¹³⁴ Once the record of his receipt began in 1440, there is no evidence his payments were interrupted.¹³⁵ Uninterrupted payment of his Dundee annuity indicates his power base in Forfarshire remained strong despite the events in November 1440. Likewise, his recovery and continued receipt of his Aberdeen annuities is significant because the last time an earl of Crawford received any money from Aberdeen was £40 paid to his father Alexander in 1425.¹³⁶ This is good evidence David's power bases in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire remained strong despite his national defeat.

The activities of Crawford's family and allies help to illuminate his disposition. On 24 January 1441 at Aberdeen, Robert Erskine, styling himself 'earl of Mar', granted Aberdeenshire lands to Andrew Culane burgess of Aberdeen with witnesses including

¹³² *RMS*, ii, pp. 51-65. Note: Only one Great Seal charter survives from 1443 (modern reckoning), which was issued in Stirling.

¹³³ *ER*, v, 96, 113-4, and by Index, 'Livingston'.

¹³⁴ *ER*, iv, 358-9, 396-7, v, 70-1, 92-3.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 69-71, 75, 96-7, 113, 130, 151-2, 189-90, 227-8.

¹³⁶ *ER*, iv, 396-7.

David Lindsay his esquire, Henry Douglas and Alexander Forbes.¹³⁷ David Lindsay, esq., was possibly the lord of Newdosk, and younger son of David 1st earl of Crawford.¹³⁸ Henry Douglas is probably identifiable as Henry Douglas of Loch Leven and Lugton, as this Henry was associated with Crawford and his affinity, and may have been married to a daughter of Robert Erskine; he was definitely the son of Sir William Douglas of Loch Leven and an otherwise unidentifiable Elizabeth Lindsay.¹³⁹ While there is little to substantiate the possibility of Henry's marriage to an Erskine, his youngest son took the admittedly common name of Thomas, the name of both the heir and of the father of Robert Erskine claimant of Mar, possibly indicating an alliance in marriage or otherwise.¹⁴⁰ Erskine's charter is evidence of a closing of ranks of those oriented against Crichton and Gordon's goals in Aberdeenshire. It also indicates Erskine was acquiring an affinity that supported his claim to Mar, and that it included the Lindsays and their allies.

Crawford's first surviving act after the Black Dinner was made at Finavon castle. On 15 April 1441, David, perhaps attempting to counter Crichton's wooing of members of the Ogilvy family confirmed the hereditary grant his father made on 25 October 1438 to David Ogilvy, of Kincardineshire lands including Kinneff.¹⁴¹ The precise place of this David Ogilvy within the wider Ogilvy family is unknown, although a David Ogilvy witnessed a charter with Alexander Seton of Gordon (father of Alexander Seton of Tulibody) and William Crichton in January 1435 and David Ogilvy of Kinneff, witnessed charters involving Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar in 1439.¹⁴² Crawford's issue of this charter in Finavon is unusual since he and his predecessors had usually operated from Dundee.¹⁴³ He may have felt less exposed behind his castle's walls.

Although he had lost national influence, Crawford and his family's activities indicate he remained prominent in Forfarshire. Notably, in August 1441, Patrick Lindsay, whom Crawford later described as his cousin, began returning the Dundee customs account at the Exchequer.¹⁴⁴ Later evidence probably suggests he owed his

¹³⁷ RMS, ii, 279.

¹³⁸ RMS, i, 881.

¹³⁹ SP, vi, 365-7.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 357.

¹⁴¹ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38.

¹⁴² RMS, ii, 218, 1550.

¹⁴³ The only other extant charter granted at Finavon by an earl of Crawford was issued by David's father in 1432 (*Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 393*n*; NAS GD52/1044).

¹⁴⁴ ER, v, 96-7.

position to Crawford's influence. In July 1442 the customars of Montrose, rendering their account for the first time in about five years, recorded a pending sum in David earl of Crawford's hands, which grew over the years, as he seems to have been (rightfully) receiving the 40 merk annuity recorded in his father's 1421 entailment charter, which the Montrose customars disputed for several years.¹⁴⁵ Patrick Lindsay's rise and the Montrose payments show David still in control of his own local affairs. Clearly, Crichton's attacks did not reach Crawford's own local territory, nor had Crawford's local rivals successfully undermined his authority or resources in Forfarshire or Aberdeenshire.

At the same time as David was attempting to recover from the Black Dinner, events within the church resulting from the 'Little Schism' involved his family and his neighbours, and probably pulled him and his family members in multiple directions. On the one hand, Felix V, the Conciliarist, Basle-supported pope had appointed James Ogilvy as bishop of St Andrews on 26 July 1440,¹⁴⁶ though, it is difficult to identify to which branch of the Ogilvy family this James belonged. If James was an associate of Earl David, then Crawford might well have been disappointed with the decision of Eugenius IV, the Roman pope, to appoint James Kennedy to the bishopric in May 1441 and Kennedy's eventual securing of the office on 30 September 1442.

On the other hand, another episcopal vacancy, this time in Aberdeen following Henry Lichon's death, probably created further tensions between Crawford and James 7th earl of Douglas. Eugenius IV appointed the ultimately successful Ingeram Lindsay, an illegitimate 'kinsman' of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, to the bishopric of Aberdeen on 28 April 1441 while Felix V named the sixteen year old James Douglas, son of James 7th earl of Douglas and future James 9th earl of Douglas as bishop of Aberdeen on 30 May 1441.¹⁴⁷ At this point, earl James was actively opposed to Eugenius in Rome and James Kennedy his appointee in St Andrews, which may suggest Crawford and his family sided with Rome and Eugenius, whom William 8th earl of Douglas ultimately supported two years later.¹⁴⁸

Just weeks before Kennedy's success in St Andrews, on 1 September 1442, a group of men assembled at Crawford's residence in Dundee where a notarial instrument was issued. Involved in the instrument was a group of men who had reason

¹⁴⁵ ER, v, 115; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29.

¹⁴⁶ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 40; *St Andrews Copiale*, 204-9.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 41; *Scottish Graduates*, 346.

¹⁴⁸ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 44; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 109.

to be disaffected with Crichton's government. The instrument's details are convoluted, but it involved Henry Douglas of Loch Leven as the main mover in the event, as well as Robert Stewart of Lorn, brother in law to James I's Queen, Joan Beaufort, and Patrick Graham of that Ilk.¹⁴⁹ The witnesses included Thomas Monypenny of 'Petmalye' (Pitmuies, Kirkden parish, Angus?), John Monypenny of Kinkell, Walter Lindsay (probably Crawford's son), and an unidentifiable Thomas Ogilvy.¹⁵⁰ This gathering of men, David earl of Crawford, Robert Stewart of Lorn, David Stewart of Rosyth, and Patrick Graham is a rather striking occurrence. The careers of Crawford, Graham, Stewart of Rosyth, and Stewart of Lorn all stretched back over a decade, and all but Crawford had acceded to their familial lands by the 1420s.¹⁵¹ Also, none of these men, despite their age seemed to have participated much in central government.

While Stewart of Rosyth had received confirmation of Rosyth and several other lands in Inverness in 1428 from James I, these men had little contact with James I, except to have grants from the Albany Stewarts confirmed.¹⁵² Until the middle of 1442, the change in regime apparently brought little change to these men's participation in government, excepting Sir David Stewart of Rosyth's probable service as Exchequer auditor in April 1437.¹⁵³ David Stewart had also witnessed a charter by Joan Beaufort (James I's wife) in March 1440—a few months after her 'Appoyntment' with Livingston.¹⁵⁴ Along with the 1428 confirmation this suggests he was in Joan's favour, and therefore perhaps in James I's favour around the time of his death.

This would not exactly have been an advantage for David Stewart by 1442. He was also a first-cousin of Robert Stewart of Lorn and James the 'Black Knight of Lorn' who had married Joan Beaufort after James I's murder.¹⁵⁵ While James the Black Knight owed his freedom to Gordon, Crichton, and the lord of the Isles, who had ransomed him following his capture by Livingston, the presence of Crawford as the highest member of nobility at this meeting suggests if Gordon and Crichton's services to the 'Black Knight' had ever inspired loyalty in James' brother and cousin, it was

¹⁴⁹ NAS GD150/102.

¹⁵⁰ *ER*, v, 378; NAS GD150/102; *SP* iii, 18-9. A Thomas Ogilvy of Clova associated with David 5th earl of Crawford between 1468 and 1473, and was alive as late as 1477. Whether or not this is the same Thomas Ogilvy, though, is uncertain, though in 1477 he would have had to have been about 55 (NAS GD1/640/1; GD16/2/11 ; RH1/6/87).

¹⁵¹ *RMS*, ii, 115; *SP*, vi, 217.

¹⁵² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 582-3; *RMS*, ii, 150, 165, 169.

¹⁵³ *ER*, v, 10-1.

¹⁵⁴ 'Sir David Stewart of Rosyth' in *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ix, 357-8.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 345.

irrelevant at this point.¹⁵⁶ Rosyth and Lorn had lost favour due to their connections to Joan Beaufort, and Graham was perhaps unpopular due to his marriage, which was to Christine Erskine, daughter of Robert Erskine, claimant of Mar.¹⁵⁷

It was crucial for Crawford to be associating with these disaffected men to strengthen his own position. On 1 August 1442 at Cluny (probably his castle in Aberdeenshire), Gordon made a grant to his 'dearest cousin' William lord of Keith of the lands of 'Ouchtiruthirstruthir' (Struthers, Ceres parish, Fife?), Wester Markinch (Markinch parish, Fife) and Pittendreich (Elgin parish, Moray) in exchange for Dunnottar. The witnesses list showed many Ogilvies were in Gordon's orbit: Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort, Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin, Walter Ogilvy of Deskford and Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar.¹⁵⁸ Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort's presence witnessing this charter suggests Gordon had effectively strengthened his affinity. Ogilvy of Beaufort had made an indenture, previously, with George Leslie regarding the lands of the Seven Davochs which Walter had pledged to help George recover 'by treaty' from the Lord Gordon, and that failing, he was willing to 'take all part with the said George against the Lord Gordon'.¹⁵⁹ Besides indicating he had previously been prepared to work against Gordon, this indenture also specified Ogilvy of Beaufort held lands from Crawford.¹⁶⁰ While one document may not be enough to show a shift in alliance, that Ogilvy of Beaufort was dealing amicably with Gordon highlights the difficulties Crawford faced in maintaining a hold over the powerful Ogilvy family. These difficulties would become even more apparent in 1445 and 1446.

Shortly after this grant, in September 1442 Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar received permission under James II's signet – and therefore certainly from Crichton – to 'fortify his house and strengthen it with an iron gate'.¹⁶¹ This must have meant Inverquhar castle, which stands nine kilometers west of Finavon castle. This surely could be construed as a threat by Crawford, although as Inverquhar stands facing a wide pass into the Highlands, the fortification might also have also been a response to raids from upland zones. In any case, it is unsurprising the Auchinleck chronicler

¹⁵⁶ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 160.

¹⁵⁷ *Prot. Bk. Simon*, ii, 296; *SP*, vi, 221.

¹⁵⁸ *RMS* ii, 278.

¹⁵⁹ *HMC* 4 (Appendix), 495 no. 20.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ NAS GD205/Box 1/2.

recorded that after the Ogilvies' defeat at Arbroath in 1446, Alexander 4th earl of Crawford 'tuke thair gudis and destroyit thair placis'.¹⁶²

Fortunately for David 3rd earl of Crawford, circumstances changed in 1443, allowing him to resume a role in national politics. The most important development was James 7th earl of Douglas' death around February 1443; a council met at Stirling at this time, but James did not attend.¹⁶³ It was at this February council at Stirling that Crawford made his first recorded national appearance for almost three years, along with Ingeram Lindsay Bishop of Aberdeen, James 3rd earl of Angus, William Crichton Chancellor, Patrick Graham, and Alexander Livingston among others at a council confirming Michael Ochiltree's installment as bishop of Dunblane.¹⁶⁴ This was good news for the supporters of Rome, as James 7th earl of Douglas' vain promotion of the Conciliarists' cause had clearly failed by this point.¹⁶⁵ By August the effects of James 7th earl of Douglas' death were even more apparent; his son, William, the new 8th earl of Douglas and the Livingstons aligned against Crichton.¹⁶⁶ It was probably the combination of James 7th earl's failures and illnesses, along with William 8th earl of Douglas' ambition that prompted the breakup of the former ruling group centred around Crichton.¹⁶⁷

Shortly after the council, on 8 April 1443 Crawford issued a letter indicating his opponents were still acting against his interests.¹⁶⁸ This is the first personal writings from any Lindsay surviving since David 1st earl's 1405 letter to Henry IV. Unlike David 1st earl's letter written in French, David 3rd earl's letter was in Scots.¹⁶⁹ In his capacity as sheriff of Aberdeen, he instructed his depute, Alexander Forbes, to comply with the advice of the king's council to restore to Crawford's other ally, David Scrimgeour (probably of Fardill, a younger son of John Scrimgeour constable of Dundee), goods despoiled from him, including goods an unidentified Alexander Stewart took from Scrimgeour's lands of Pitfour (Old Deer parish, Aberdeenshire, not to be confused with Pitfour in Perthshire).¹⁷⁰ Crawford expressed serious concern that despite the king's

¹⁶² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

¹⁶³ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 107.

¹⁶⁴ *APS*, ii, 58-9. The editors of *RPS*, A1443/1/1 assert this has been mistakenly described as a General Council when the manuscripts do not identify it as such. (Date accessed: 14 May 2009).

¹⁶⁵ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 104-5, 7.

¹⁶⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 28-9.

¹⁶⁷ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 107.

¹⁶⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4; NAS GD52/63.

¹⁶⁹ Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, i, 105-6.

¹⁷⁰ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4; NAS GD52/63; *SP* iii, 306.

council's order, Forbes had done nothing to repay Scrimgeour, but tempered this by informing him that Scrimgeour had 'na wyte of the gret hereschip [raid] made be the Lorde Gordone upon' Forbes and his 'freindis'.¹⁷¹ Last he stated he did not want to have need to involve himself in these matters further since Scrimgeour and Forbes were 'sa nere to' him.¹⁷²

There is no evidence as to why precisely Gordon attacked Forbes in early 1443, but the dispute surely revolved around Forbes support of Erskine, as well as the fact both Forbes and Gordon had interests north of the Mounth. Although Gordon's raid might initially seem ill-judged given James 7th earl of Douglas' death and Crichton's subsequent fall, this was somewhat mitigated by Gordon's strengthened ties with the Ogilvies in 1442. Even if Gordon was isolated from the centre, he was not short of local allies. Forbes was naturally a target because of his support of Gordon's local rival, Robert Erskine claimant of Mar, whose claims to Mar and Garioch combined with his linked claims to Kildrummy threatened Gordon's Aberdeenshire sphere of influence. Forbes, in his capacity as Crawford's sheriff's depute had been furthering Erskine's claims.¹⁷³ Last, the canceled Lindsay-Seton of Gordon marriage may have still been a sore point for Gordon. With Crichton weakened and James 7th earl of Douglas dead, Gordon may have felt the need to assert his own authority, and the Aberdeenshire-based representative of Crawford and Erskine was a natural target.

Ultimately, the involvement of Gordon in an attack against somebody 'sa nere' to Crawford must indicate their sparring match had begun by that point, resulting from Gordon's dispute over Kildrummy with Erskine. It was probably no coincidence that at this time the Aberdeen Guild Court was issuing orders for the defence and protection of the burgh of Aberdeen.¹⁷⁴ Gordon's raids probably worried Crawford since Forbes had been instrumental in his policy in Mar, and he would not want to see Gordon cow him. Not only did Forbes have charters from 1439 and 1440 of lands in the earldom of Mar and Aberdeenshire from Robert Erskine but also in his capacity as Crawford's sheriff depute he had made a retour in favour of Erskine earl of Mar in 1438.¹⁷⁵ As well, there is no reason to believe the indenture between Crawford and Forbes regarding

¹⁷¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4; NAS GD52/63.

¹⁷² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4; NAS GD52/63.

¹⁷³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* iv, 393n.

¹⁷⁴ *Abdn. Guild Recs*, 34, 70.

¹⁷⁵ NAS GD124/1/138, 145, 146.

his keepership of the castle of Strathnairn was not still in effect, nor that he was no longer Crawford's Aberdeenshire depute.

That summer, violence involving the Mar earldom also came to Crawford's ally, Erskine. The Auchinleck chronicler reported conflict at Dumbarton castle on 15 July 1443 between Robert Erskine's man Robert Semple and Patrick Galbraith.¹⁷⁶ Despite its distance from the earl of Crawford's lands, the conflict at Dumbarton is important, as it suggests discord surrounded Erskine and his claims to Mar and Kildrummy. The quick succession in which these two attacks took place indicates that the enemies of Erskine, Forbes, and therefore Crawford were putting as much pressure on them as possible. Despite an earlier pledge to exchange Kildrummy for Dumbarton, Erskine apparently still held Dumbarton in 1443.¹⁷⁷ This suggests he had not received possession of Kildrummy castle.¹⁷⁸ On 15 July, Robert Semple, Erskine's sheriff depute and keeper of Dumbarton castle ejected Patrick Galbraith from Dumbarton through an act of subtlety, but allowed Galbraith to remove 'his geir' the next day.¹⁷⁹ Galbraith struck back quickly, though, and with a very small band of men, took the gate and the whole castle itself, casting out Semple on the day Galbraith was meant to collect his possessions.¹⁸⁰ The Exchequer for 19 July 1443 to 17 June 1444 supports this account, recording a payment to Patrick Galbraith in Dumbarton castle 'before the delivery of that castle to Robert de Callander', who continued receiving his payments for this service through 1449.¹⁸¹ Patrick Galbraith's name, as well as a William Semple's, perhaps Robert's relative, are recorded on an appointment from c.1439 between Forbes and Erskine, while a year later, Robert Semple witnessed an Erskine instrument, suggesting Erskine and his rivals were in competition for Galbraith's favour.¹⁸² While Livingston seems to have generally supported Erskine's claim to Mar, the new government under William 8th earl of Douglas apparently did not want Erskine holding

¹⁷⁶ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 161.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ McGladdery, *James II*, 21.

¹⁷⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 161. McGladdery, in *James II*, 21, appears to have misinterpreted this detail, stating, 'on 15 July 1443, Sir Robert Semple... was put out of the castle of Dumbarton by Patrick Galbraith'. In fact, her assertion Patrick put Robert out of the castle contrasts with the *Auchinleck Chronicle's* statement on '15... July, Sir Robert Sempill than beand in the castell of Dumbarton... and Patrick Galbraith beand in the ower bailze havand the entre be him self at wallace towre and the k(ep)ing of the ower bailze the said Sir Robert put out the said sir Patrick clerlie from all governans of the castell...' (*Chron. Auchinleck*, 161).

¹⁸⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 161.

¹⁸¹ *ER*, v, 145-6, 180, 246, 330, 359.

¹⁸² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 189-90; McGladdery, *James II*, 21-2; NAS GD124/1/155.

a major royal castle.¹⁸³ This may partly have been because Douglas had not yet made his official alliance with Livingston that later came in November of 1443.¹⁸⁴

Despite the April and July attacks on his local allies, nationally Crawford's circumstances improved, as his enemy, William Crichton, faced some reverses. In August 1443, probably not yet strong enough to challenge Crichton directly at Edinburgh castle, Livingston and Douglas besieged George Crichton's castle in Barnton, near Edinburgh.¹⁸⁵ Douglas' men proved victorious, and it was probably no coincidence that on 4 November, Douglas officially aligned with Livingston at Stirling, where William and George Crichton were declared rebels.¹⁸⁶ As a part of this realignment, Livingston formally renounced any part in the death of Malcolm Fleming at the Black Dinner, though William 6th earl of Douglas and his brother were not mentioned.¹⁸⁷

In 1444 tension between Gordon and Crawford continued to intensify. A strange witness list with a date and place, clearly a fragment of an otherwise lost charter, survives in the Aberdeen Cathedral Register. Lacking a confirmer's name, it was issued in Aberdeen on 22 April 1444 with Ingeram Lindsay bishop of Aberdeen, William Hay constable of Scotland, Alexander Forbes, William Keith son and heir apparent of Andrew Keith of Inverugie, Alexander Dunbar among others witnessing.¹⁸⁸ The witness list itself suggests Gordon was not the confirmer, and the earl of Crawford's proclivity to stay in Forfarshire probably rules him out as well. Robert Erskine is a possibility, but only that. While Ingeram Bishop of Aberdeen and Alexander Forbes' allegiances need little explanation, examination of some of the other witnesses suggests these men were not well disposed towards Gordon or Crichton.

Alexander Dunbar was probably not associated with Crichton, Gordon or their associates. Dunbar was the illegitimate brother of Elizabeth Dunbar, wife of Archibald Douglas earl of Moray, younger brother of William 8th earl of Douglas.¹⁸⁹ Moray had twice clashed with the Crichtons, first over Dalkeith with George Crichton and second over his own earldom, with James Crichton.¹⁹⁰ Although Dunbar was also kin with Margaret Dunbar, the wife of the future Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, this would

¹⁸³ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 96.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 107-9.

¹⁸⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 161; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 108-9.

¹⁸⁶ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 107-9.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁸⁸ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 242; NLS Adv. Ms. 16.1.10, f. 3, r.

¹⁸⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses* 271; McGladdery, *James II*, 24, 32.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

have probably played little part in his sentiments as their kinship was distant.¹⁹¹ Also, it is impossible to know if Alexander Master of Crawford and Margaret Dunbar were married by 1444, as their marriage was only recorded in 1497.¹⁹²

In contrast to Ingeram Lindsay Bishop of Aberdeen, Forbes and Dunbar, most of the other men on this list ultimately aligned with Alexander Seton of Gordon by the early 1450s. William Hay constable of Scotland aligned with him against Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, William Keith heir apparent of Inverugie was kinsman to William Keith Marischal of Scotland, a man Gordon favoured less than two years earlier and Patrick Maitland of Scheves was, in 1460, witness to a grant by Gordon to James Forbes, heir of Alexander Forbes.¹⁹³ Whether Erskine or somebody else in the Douglas-Livingston affinity was this charter's confirmer, events occurring soon afterward indicate battle lines were being drawn in the northeast, and this assembly of men was probably involved.

Concurrently, Erskine decided to further advance his claims to Mar and Garioch. On 26 March 1444, Robert Lyle of Duchal (Kilmacom parish, Renfrewshire) issued an unwitnessed indenture regarding recovery of half of Mar, arranging an excambion of the Mar lands Lyle hoped to recover for some of Alexander Forbes land.¹⁹⁴ By 11 June 1444, Thomas Erskine Master of Mar and Thomas Wemyss of Reres arranged for another excambion between themselves and Robert Lyle regarding lands in Garioch, and on the same date John Broun of Kennet (Clackmannan parish, Clackmannanshire), procurator for Robert Erskine offered William earl of Orkney another Garioch excambion in exchange for an annual payment of £110, which Orkney found agreeable.¹⁹⁵ Allies of Erskine were gathering and strengthening their positions; now it was Gordon's turn to feel pressure, and he reacted quickly.

In September, Gordon responded decisively to these events, renewing his attacks on Alexander Forbes. On 30 September 1444 in Aberdeen he granted James Forbes, Alexander Forbes' heir apparent, several Aberdeenshire lands.¹⁹⁶ Also on this date James Forbes made a bond of manrent with Alexander Seton of Gordon.¹⁹⁷ Soon afterwards, on 3 October, James made an indenture with Gordon specifically binding

¹⁹¹ *SP*, iii, 21, vi, 301-9; *RMS*, ii, 2339.

¹⁹² *RMS*, ii, 2339.

¹⁹³ McGladdery, *James II*, 79; *RMS*, ii, 278, *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* iv, 400-1.

¹⁹⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 194-5.

¹⁹⁵ NAS GD124/1/155, 156.

¹⁹⁶ NAS GD52/406.

¹⁹⁷ NAS GD 44/13/8/1; *Spalding Club Misc*, iv, 179; Jenny Wormald, ed., *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 278.

himself to Gordon for several more lands, beyond those mentioned in the 30 September charter.¹⁹⁸ Among the witnesses of these charters were Walter Ogilvie of Deskford and Walter Ogilvy of Beufort. James Forbes and his father had never regularly appeared together, and by September 1444, there apparently was a rift between the two. From 30 September, James Forbes appears closely aligned with Gordon, and no friend to his father Alexander, Crawford or Erskine. This splitting of Crawford's associates surely weakened his position.

The raiding in 1443, Gordon's undermining Crawford's associations with members of the Ogilvy family, and his acquisition of James Forbes' support pushed Crawford and his remaining allies to support William 8th earl of Douglas, who had muscled Crichton out of power in 1443 and built an alliance with Livingston.¹⁹⁹ It seems that, if Crawford was getting some wider support from Douglas, Gordon was able and ready to respond in his own defence. This may suggest few in Aberdeenshire expected an Erskine earl of Mar was likely or viable. Crawford must surely have been aware of the events taking place in Aberdeen, as he was recorded in the Aberdeen tolbooth less than two weeks later on 9 October 1444 hearing a declaration by merchants whose ship had wrecked off Aberdeen.²⁰⁰ He was obviously unafraid to venture into Aberdeen and conduct business there.

In 1445, Earl David re-entered the political arena in spectacular fashion with the Auchinleck chronicler recording on 23 January Crawford, along with a large Ogilvy contingent, James Livingston, James Hamilton of Cadzow, and a Robert 'Reach' raided Fife, specifically targeting St Andrews' episcopal lands. As a result of the raid Earl David was excommunicated by Bishop Kennedy.²⁰¹ The presence of James Hamilton of Cadzow is telling, as it suggests Douglas may have sent men to support Crawford, as Hamilton shared no apparent interests with Crawford. Hamilton had, however, recently married Euphemia Countess of Douglas, Archibald 5th earl of Douglas' widow, and had been a major Douglas associate since James 7th earl of Douglas's time.²⁰² Hamilton's connections to Livingston were also quite strong. His mother, Janet Livingston, was daughter of Alexander Livingston of Callander.²⁰³ It is probably no surprise, then, he was made a Lord of Parliament and received a regrant of his lands in lordship, which

¹⁹⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 340-1.

¹⁹⁹ McGladdery, *James II*, 28-9; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 107-8.

²⁰⁰ *Abdn. Guild Recs*, 83-4.

²⁰¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

²⁰² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 263; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 55; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 74.

²⁰³ McGladdery, *James II*, 35.

Crawford witnessed in June 1445.²⁰⁴ Robert ‘Reach’ was probably Robert Duncanson of Struan, from Clann Donnchaidh.²⁰⁵ He was descended from the ‘de Atholia’ family, and his grandfather had been married to a daughter of John Stirling of Glen Esk, though this was not the marriage that produced Robert’s father.²⁰⁶ The appearance of the Clann Donnchaidh suggests Crawford’s continued interaction with central Highland families could sometimes have positive connotations for the earl, despite the earlier appearance of Clann Donnchaidh amongst those who fought against the 1st earl at Glasclune. Most interesting, though, is the chronicler’s assertion that ‘The Ogilvies all’ accompanied Crawford.²⁰⁷

The Auchinleck chronicler, Lesley, Pitscottie, and Buchanan all discussed Crawford’s Fife raid in the context of the battle of Arbroath, so further analysis of the raid will be reserved for the discussion of the historiography of the battle of Arbroath, on 23 January 1446. Suffice it to say, though, that the raid must have stemmed at least partly from a feud between Crawford’s supporter, Henry Douglas of Loch Leven, and James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews. On 29 April 1443, his procurator and brother, Alexander Douglas sent a plea on his behalf to Rome requesting a judgement on James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews attempted despoliation of Henry’s fishing rights in Loch Leven, claiming Kennedy had disturbed him in deed when he was unable to do so by law.²⁰⁸ James had, further, refused Henry’s request to submit to the judgment of king and council ‘and, assuming the office of judge and party, proceeded unjustly against... Henry’.²⁰⁹ Although Crawford did not witness this instrument, it was done in the chapel in his house in Dundee, so surely with his approval.²¹⁰

On 21 March 1445, David earl of Crawford, his son Alexander, Master of Crawford, and several Lindsay allies including William earl of Douglas, Henry Douglas of Loch Leven, James Livingston ‘keeper of the person of the King and esquire’, assembled in Stirling to confirm a hereditary grant by the king of Perthshire and Kinross-shire lands to Andrew Mercer of Meikleour, the chamberlain of Strathearn from 1444 to 1446.²¹¹ Crawford was the second lay witness after Douglas, indicating a

²⁰⁴ RPS, A1445/10, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 116.

²⁰⁵ Nicholson, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 341; RMS, ii, 491.

²⁰⁶ Robertson, *Comitatus de Atholia*, 21-9, 39.

²⁰⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

²⁰⁸ NAS GD150/14k.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ ER, v, 170, 202, 246-7; RMS ii, 286.

prominent position for him at this assembly.²¹² David attended this Parliament, and his rival, Alexander Seton of Gordon attended as well, though with a new title: earl of Huntly.²¹³ They both occur witnessing James Hamilton of Cadzow, a close ally of Douglas, being created a lord of Parliament as James Lord Hamilton.²¹⁴ How or why Huntly was able to acquire this new earldom is not certain, but may represent a shift of interests away from Mar. If it was an attempt to woo him away from Crichton, it did not work in the long-term.

Also, by this time, William Crichton's fall from power had resulted in the relatively unsuccessful siege of Edinburgh castle in 1445, which lasted about nine weeks, but only resulted in a pardon for Crichton who was soon back participating in politics.²¹⁵ On 9 July the Exchequer recorded a payment of £20, witnessed by James Livingston, to Alexander Master of Crawford for participation in that siege, indicating David's heir was of age, and that he and his father remained entrenched in Livingston's affinity.²¹⁶ At the end of the month the customs of Aberdeen recorded an additional £80 from Aberdeen, for two years, paid to David.²¹⁷ No doubt Crawford's position in Scotland was benefiting from his association with Douglas, allowing him to claim his £40 annuity from Aberdeen not received by the earls of Crawford for decades.²¹⁸

It may also have been this year, on 30 October, that Douglas issued an indenture expressing his intent to support Johanna Lindsay's claim to a terce of Annandale, which, unentailed, had reverted to James II upon William 6th earl of Douglas' murder.²¹⁹ This of course came with a price: she had to renounce all her claims to any other Douglas lands.²²⁰ This piece of parchment probably changed nothing for Johanna. As the widowed countess of Douglas she would have been entitled to one third of the Douglas estates, which would have probably made matters between the Lindsays and Douglasses rather awkward had she seriously pursued the lands that were otherwise lawfully hers. No evidence exists as to whether Douglas carried out his side of the bargain, but regardless, its terms were probably to be expected given the

²¹² RMS, ii, 286.

²¹³ RPS, A1445/10. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²¹⁴ Ibid.; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 116-7.

²¹⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 63; NAS RH6/311; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 115.

²¹⁶ ER, v, 178-80.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 196-7.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 184-5, 187-90, 196-7.

²¹⁹ McGladdery, *James II*, 35; NAS RH6/321. This document is damaged and the date has been lost. The NAS catalogue suggests it is probably from 1445, but might be from as early as 1443.

²²⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 35; NAS RH6/321.

circumstances.²²¹ It remained a concern years later, as Alexander 4th earl of Crawford confirmed it in 1450.²²²

Crawford's position was clear after the Black Dinner, and he had really only risen in influence as a result of his association with William 8th earl of Douglas. Furthermore, Johanna had probably never enjoyed the benefits of the countess of Douglas' title or ever had much, if any, access to her rightful terce while James 7th earl of Douglas lived. If 'possession is nine tenths of the law', then this agreement probably just confirmed what was, at that point, the *status quo*. William had surely acceded to the whole Douglas earldom, and Crawford could hardly have expected William to be eager to hand over one third of his lands to Johanna. In the long run, Crawford had strengthened his relationship with Douglas, who had expressed concern Johanna be secure. It was also the first link between Crawford and a Douglas earl since the Black Dinner had cut the ties Johanna's marriage to William 6th earl had created.²²³ Although the arrangement highlighted William 8th earl of Douglas' superiority to Crawford, it would have probably gone the same with most other Scottish magnates.

Finally, at the beginning of 1446, the culmination of Crawford, Douglas and Alexander 1st earl of Huntly's maneuvering during the last two years took place in Forfarshire in the form of the 1446 battle of Arbroath. The Auchinleck chronicler dated the battle to 23 January 1446, accurately stating this was a Sunday, suggesting the account was written not long after the battle.²²⁴ It appears that on this date, Alexander earl of Huntly led a group of men, including many Ogilvies, into Forfarshire – effectively invading Crawford's territory – where Crawford met him at Arbroath. It seems Crawford was wounded in the ensuing engagement, dying later, but that his son, Alexander, was able to win the day.

As key events in the lives of two earls of Crawford – and in the death of one of them – the affairs immediately surrounding the battle deserve close evaluation. The chronicle accounts are rather divergent, and all accounts of the battle of Arbroath later than the *Auchinleck Chronicle* contain elements found in the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*'s version of events, which may be the earliest source after the *Auchinleck Chronicle*. The Auchinleck chronicler told one account, John Lesley another partially drawing from the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, and George Buchanan drawing from Robert Lindsay of

²²¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 35; NAS RH6/321.

²²² NAS RH6/321.

²²³ McGladdery, *James II*, 35.

²²⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162; McGladdery, *James II*, 117.

Pitscottie's account came up with a fourth version. The few key points on which they all agree are that in 1446, following the raids by David earl of Crawford and his allies on Bishop Kennedy's lands in Fife, David and his men fought the Ogilvies and the earl of Huntly at Arbroath, that battle resulting in the earl of Crawford's death.²²⁵

While the *Auchinleck Chronicle* is probably the most reliable source for the battle of Arbroath, it being written nearest to the event, the window it provides on the events of the winter of 1445-1446 is somewhat narrow. The chronicle itself is apparently a compilation of information from several chronicles meant to be used as an addition to Bower's *Scotichronicon*.²²⁶ The chronicler first gave the date, Sunday 23 January 1446 and next related that the battle took place between

the erll of Huntly and the Ogilvies with him on the ta part and the erll of Crawford on the tother part... at the zettis of Arbroath on ane sonday laite.²²⁷

Crawford received his fatal injury resulting in his death 'within viii days', but despite this

he and his son wan the field and held it and efter that a gret tyme held the Ogilvies at gret subjectoun and tuke thair gudis and destroyit thair placis.²²⁸

Huntly and Wat Ogilvy had quit the field while Sir John Oliphant laird of Aberdalgie, Sir William Forbes, Sir Alexander Barclay, Alexander Ogilvy, 'David of Aberkerdath with uther sundry' allies of Huntley and Ogilvy, were killed.²²⁹

Following his description of the battle, he next related the raiding by the earl of Crawford, the Ogilvies, Hamilton, and James Livingston in Fife, which he stated happened a year to the day before the battle. This raiding resulted in Bishop Kennedy cursing and placing an interdict on the raiders.²³⁰ The chronicler gave no particular reason for the raid. David earl of Crawford seems to have been the main leader of the band, including James Livingston keeper of the king and captain of Stirling, 'all' of the Ogilvies, Robert Reach and James Hamilton laird of Cadzow.²³¹ Roland Tanner pointed out Crawford may have been the first to have been excommunicated based on the

²²⁵ *Auchinleck*, 162-3; Buchanan, *History*, ii, 74-6; Lesley, *History*, 18-9; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 52-5.

²²⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 116-9.

²²⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

legislation of November 1443 regarding protection of church lands from malefactors.²³² As a curious afterthought, the *Auchinleck* chronicler then stated

the forsaid erll of Craufurd lay four days abone the zerd and thair durst
no man erd [bury] him quhill the forsaid bischop and the prior of St
Andrews and he had nocht gotten bot eweyn the contrary in all
thingis.²³³

This excommunication itself may have been highly important in the way events progressed. Despite the factors pulling the Ogilvys and other men away from the Lindsays over the past few years, such as Gordon's grants and the Rome-Basle conflict which would have probably led them to support rival popes and candidates for the bishopric of Aberdeen, it could have been potentially productive for the Ogilvies to support the Lindsays of Crawford following James 7th earl of Douglas' death and Crichton's fall from power. This could have meant whether or not they were happy to raid Bishop Kennedy's Fife lands, they would have had little choice as it would be an important show of faith to Crawford. The resulting excommunication, though could have been quite difficult for them to bear; the Auchinleck chronicler's comment the 3rd earl of Crawford's body lay unburied for several days, if not a fabrication, suggests some men of the time took this sort of excommunication seriously, even if Crawford did not. Where his body was meant to have lain unburied is unknown. Since he lingered for eight days before his death, he could have been brought to Dundee.

The men whom the Auchinleck chronicler recorded as having died at Arbroath fighting for Huntly are all fairly easily identifiable. Sir John Oliphant was married to Margaret, the daughter of Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse.²³⁴ Alexander Barclay was most likely Sir Alexander Barclay of Garntuly. Barclay had resigned lands that went to Patrick Lindsay (one of Crawford's Dundee associates) on 6 September 1442.²³⁵ It is unknown if this was done under compulsion, though. More strikingly, Barclay had a direct interest in the Mar dispute, as he was recorded in the 1438 Exchequer as an auditor of the accounts of the grange of Kildrummy at a point when Seton controlled the earldom.²³⁶ The 'David of Aberkedath' who fell at Arbroath might possibly be the same person as David 'de Aberkedore', provost of the burgh of Dundee, who witnessed a grant in September 1438 by Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford, which grant

²³² Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 109.

²³³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

²³⁴ RMS, ii, 965; SP, vi, 539.

²³⁵ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/40.

²³⁶ ER, v, 59.

David, then Master of Crawford also witnessed.²³⁷ At the same time, ‘Aberkerdore/ Aberkedath’ itself could well refer to Aberchirder (Marnock Parish, Banffshire), in Huntly’s territory, placing this David further north. All these identifiable men, excepting Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalghy, appear to be former members of Crawford’s affinity, or men from within his wider sphere of influence in Dundee and Forfarshire, and must have been wooed away at one point or another. If the provost of Dundee died fighting against Earl David’s forces, this suggests his influence in Dundee was not all-encompassing

Despite its laconic style, the *Auchinleck Chronicle* is certainly the best chronicle source for understanding these events, as the author of the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, Lesley, Pitscottie and Buchanan, far removed chronologically from the events they described, are full of errors and fabrications. Similarly, the surviving records evidence does not so elegantly compliment them as it does the *Auchinleck Chronicle*’s account. The *Auchinleck Chronicle* stands out as the only account showing Huntly as the primary lay opponent of David 3rd earl of Crawford throughout, and the only source in which Huntly was at Arbroath intentionally. Outside of the later sixteenth-century chronicles, there is no reason to believe this was not the case. The *Auchinleck Chronicle* is also the only account suggesting Crawford’s raids in Fife were his own choice – which they probably were. Furthermore, the *Auchinleck Chronicle* stands out as the only source that appears to make the location of the battle coincidence, unlike the sixteenth-century chronicles which all state the battle was specifically about Arbroath Abbey. If the battle indeed resulted from something to do with Arbroath or Arbroath Abbey the evidence for this is now lost. Admittedly, Arbroath did have lands in Aberdeenshire, where the spheres of influence of Crawford and Huntly overlapped.²³⁸ Still, neither Earl David nor his immediate family members received annuities from Arbroath, or have any known endowments at Arbroath Abbey, it was nevertheless within their sphere of influence, and only twenty-five kilometers from their castle of Finavon.

In contrast to this, the Ogilvy family did have some connections to Arbroath Abbey. In 1409, Walter Ogilvy, probably Ogilvy of Carcary and Lintrathen, served as bailey of the regality of the abbot of Arbroath.²³⁹ Closer to the battle, in April 1443, John Ogilvy of Lintrathen had concluded an indenture with the abbot of Arbroath.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ NAS GD121/3/12 [NAS GD121 removed from NAS]

²³⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 343-5.

²³⁹ *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 47-8.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 74-5.

Although a contest over the office of the bailey of Arbroath was a major factor cited in the sixteenth century chronicles discussed below, no contemporary evidence exists suggesting this.

When examining the sixteenth-century authors who described the events of the battle of Arbroath, it appears they coloured their accounts with knowledge of later events in Scotland, as all were very aware of the 4th earl of Crawford's famous bond with the earls of Ross and Douglas. It seems they projected back some of its effects, namely the tight link between Crawford and Douglas, several years before they existed. In fact, at this point, Crawford and Douglas themselves seem to have been fairly fast allies, but had little connection with Ross. While David 3rd earl of Crawford and William 8th earl of Douglas had apparently found common cause, it is difficult to say whether Crawford was acting at Douglas' behest, or merely with his approval.

Later accounts of the battle really have very little to add that is not historical fiction. They merit attention because they have, unfortunately, informed all major accounts of the battle at least since Dunlop's *Life and Times of James Kennedy Bishop of St Andrews*. The *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, previously discussed in Chapter I, proves no more accurate or less literary describing events in the mid-fifteenth century than it does events in the late fourteenth century. Unsurprisingly, it contains more than one factual inaccuracy and clear elements of fabrication in its account of the battle of Arbroath. It asserts that the battle had its origins in a dispute between Alexander Master of Crawford, '*postea Erle Berdy vocatus*' ('afterwards called Earl Beardie') who had designs on the goods of the monastery of Arbroath, which brought him into conflict with Walter Painter the abbot, who refused him the goods.²⁴¹ Naturally, this made the Master of Crawford angry. The abbot called Walter Ogilvy, who came to the monastery on 20 January 1447-8. There, he was opposed by David 3rd earl of Crawford who was wounded in the mouth in the battle and died later.²⁴² Walter Ogilvy suffered little better, being captured and taken to Finavon castle. There at Finavon, in a melodramatic passage, the chronicler described how the newly widowed Margaret Ogilvy countess of Crawford suffocated her injured brother, Walter Ogilvy, with a feather pillow when he was about to receive medical attention, lest the work of the surgeon save his life.²⁴³

Besides the literary additions, the early sixteenth century *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* misdates the battle to 20 January 1447-8. If the chronicler used the

²⁴¹ *Chron. Extracta*, 241.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 241-2.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 242.

medieval dating system beginning the year on 25 March, this is a full two years off from the year David 3rd earl of Crawford died.²⁴⁴ Both of these are clearly results, in their own ways, of the chronicler's distance from events. Most telling, though, the documentary evidence leading up to 1446 shows Gordon courting or attacking Crawford's allies. Admittedly Crawford's allies included the Ogilvies, but no Ogilvy ever appeared to pursue an independent policy of undermining David 3rd earl of Crawford or his family's Forfarshire concerns. As well, there is virtually no record evidence of the activities of Alexander Master of Crawford. No charters or notarial instruments suggest he was pursuing a widely independent policy his father would at any point seek to mitigate, as the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* seems to indicate. Surely this account originates simply from the fact that, later in his career, Alexander 4th earl of Crawford gained a reputation, attested in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, for rapacity, being officially declared a rebel by James II and his supporters.²⁴⁵ It would be easy for later chroniclers to read this event back to his early years as Master of Crawford.

John Lesley's account, dating from the end of the 1560s and written in France, is one of the most interesting of the later accounts.²⁴⁶ It effectively redates the Fife raid, names no Crawford allies, and, like all the other later accounts, links him with Douglas. Lesley probably drew information from the *Auchinleck Chronicle* and another source. The *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*'s influence is present, but not strong. According to Lesley's version of events, Crawford, 'solicited be the Erle of Douglas' raided in Fife just prior to the battle of Arbroath in the winter of 1445-6 due to Douglas' enmity with Bishop Kennedy.²⁴⁷ During these raids, Crawford decided to plunder Arbroath Abbey which was under James Kennedy Bishop of St Andrews, who had entrusted the Ogilvies of Forfarshire with its defence, a detail with echos of the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*.²⁴⁸ After Crawford arrived he found Huntly by chance had lodged there 'returning north from court', who came to the abbey and the Ogilvies' defence as a custom of the time required of guests.²⁴⁹ The reason for Huntly's presence at Arbroath for the battle is unique to Lesley's account. They engaged in a battle that was 'verrey crewellie fouchin on boith sydis', the dead of Crawford's side included himself and many Forfarshire barons, Robert Maxwell laird of Tealing (Tealing parish,

²⁴⁴ Fraser, *Grandtully*, i, 10-2.

²⁴⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 163, 165-6, 173.

²⁴⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 137.

²⁴⁷ Lesley, *History*, 18-9.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Angus), William Gardin of Borrowfield and Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgie, the last a clear confusion of the *Auchinleck Chronicle*.²⁵⁰ On Huntly's side John Forbes of Petsligo, Alexander Gartullie and over 500 other men fell.²⁵¹ Alexander Lindsay succeeded his father as 4th earl of Crawford took 'the laird of Arley presoner, quha was principall of the Ogtilvyis at the time' with the earl of Huntly himself escaping.²⁵²

As an epilogue, Lesley mentioned Alexander Lindsay succeeded his father and was called Erle Bairdy, quha was a verrey awfull and rigorus man to all the barronis and gentlemen of the cuntry, and keist down mony of thair houses in Angus, quha wald nocht assist to him, quhairof sindre remains yet onbiggit agane in this our days.²⁵³

This passage is extremely important because it shows that Lesley either had access to the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, or a variant thereof, as this comment lifts ideas and even the occasional word from *Auchinleck Chronicle*. On a passage spanning *f.112 recto* and *verso*, the Auchinleck chronicler stated that in

1453... deit Alexander Lyndesay erll of Crawford in fynevyne that was callit a rigorous man and ane felloun and held ane gret rowme in his tyme for he held all Angus in his bandoun and was richt Inobedient to the king.²⁵⁴

The bulk of the *Auchinleck Chronicle's* passages describing the raiding against Bishop Kennedy's lands and subsequent battle of Arbroath fall on *f. 111 verso*, with the last few words on *f. 112 recto*, the same folio as the beginning of Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's obituary.²⁵⁵ It is easy to imagine Lesley read this and felt compelled to include it as an introduction to the 4th earl of Crawford's life. His claim that Alexander eventually destroyed the homes of those who refused him support may be borne out in a royal brief requesting inquest be conducted to determine what lands the Forfarshire based Walter Carnegie of Kinnaird held, as all Carnegie's charters had been lost when his castle was burned in the 'were [war] betyux' the earls of Crawford and Huntly taking place around 1452, after the battle of Brechin, also fought against Huntly.²⁵⁶ All this suggests that at least some of the text now contained in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* was in circulation in the 1560s and that in Lesley's time the disrepair of a number of Forfarshire castles was popularly attributed to Alexander 4th earl of Crawford.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 163.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 162-3.

²⁵⁶ *HMC* 7.2, 720 no. 30.

Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's account, written at the end of the 1570s,²⁵⁷ contains elements present in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, Lesley, and the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*. Like the Auchinleck chronicler, he put a wide space of time between the earl of Crawford's raids in Fife and the actual battle of Arbroath though, unlike the Auchinleck chronicler, he only described this space of time qualitatively.²⁵⁸ According to Pitscottie, Douglas had suffered raiding by William Crichton and concluded Crichton's strength lay in his allies, chiefly James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews.²⁵⁹ As in Lesley, Douglas contacted Crawford, who conducted his raiding in Fife against Bishop Kennedy's lands at Douglas' request.²⁶⁰ Unlike any other chronicle, Pitscottie suggested that Douglas also sent letters to Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar requesting he and his men attempt to capture the bishop and 'keip him quick in prisone within yrones'.²⁶¹ Both conducted raids, not only on the Bishop's lands, as Lesley and the Auchinleck chronicler indicated, but also on 'the haill landis adjacent thairto'.²⁶² This resulted in Kennedy summoning Crawford for an excommunication, laying

vpoun him ane sentence of cursing for his contemptione of the censur of holy kirk, quhilk the earle highlie vilipendit [despised], as a thing of no strength, without dread either of God or man.²⁶³

Next, according to Pitscottie, 'lang efter' Kennedy had excommunicated Crawford, a dispute, similar to the one in the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, arose between his son, Alexander Master of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy, the latter having 'vsurped the office of bailey of Arbroath, either by his own daring or through the wish of the abbot of Arbroath, which office had previously belonged to the Master of Crawford'.²⁶⁴ David 3rd earl of Crawford had tried to defuse the situation, but to no avail. With his bailiership lost, the Master of Crawford assembled a posse of his companions including several Hamiltons, 'thinkand he sould debaitt be strenth quhilk he could not doe be law'.²⁶⁵ At Arbroath he found Ogilvy had assembled his own allies including the earl of Huntly, whom Pitscottie implied was at Arbroath by chance.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁷ McGladdery, *James II*, 135.

²⁵⁸ Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 53-4.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 52-3.

²⁶² Ibid., 53

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 53-4.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 54

Just as the sides were about to engage, Crawford arrived, stayed his son, and rode forward to attempt negotiations with the Ogilvies. Unaware of the earl's identity, an Ogilvy rode forward striking him

in at the mouth with ane spear, and out at the neck, and sua incontinent he died in ane guid actione, labourand to put Christiane men to peace, conquest [earning] great comendatioun of all men, albeit he was verrie insolent all the rest of his lyfetye.²⁶⁷

Enraged, David's men charged forward and defeated the Ogilvies. Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquhar, 'principall' received a fatal wound, his side taking many casualties in their retreat, including John Forbes of Pitsligo, Alexander Barclay of Gartley, James Maxwell of Tealing, Duncan Campbell of Campbellfeather, and William Gordon of Borrowfield. The earl of Huntly mounted his horse and fled only to be captured, and to die shortly thereafter at Finhaven.²⁶⁸

Pitscottie's account is extremely fanciful and an attempt to salvage David 3rd earl of Crawford's reputation, relating the origins of the battle of Arbroath in terms giving it an almost Arthurian quality. He probably based the origins of the battle over the bailiary of Arbroath on the source informing the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* or the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* itself. While Pitscottie may have had access to information now contained in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, the main correspondences in Pitscottie's text are to Lesley's record of slain. Both also agree something unpleasant happened to the principal of the Ogilvies, though they do not agree on his name, or what the unpleasantness actually was. The capture and death of Huntly are details unique to Pitscottie and completely wrong, as Huntly outlived the 3rd and 4th Crawford earls.²⁶⁹ Perhaps Pitscottie had somehow confused Walter Ogilvy's fate as recorded in the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie* with Huntly's. While this battle was probably a bloody skirmish between two rough and ready opponents, as a victory for his family, Pitscottie surely wanted to make it appear as grand and exciting as possible. From this aspect of his account, most of his exaggerations and divergences from other texts must stem.

Published in 1582, George Buchanan's account of these events, up to the actual clash between the Lindsays and Ogilvies is heavily based on Pitscottie, both sources agreeing on the main points, with one significant exception.²⁷⁰ While

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 54-5.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 55.

²⁶⁹ *SP* iv, 524.

²⁷⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 139.

Buchanan was critical enough to see some of Pitscottie's fantasy for what it was, rendering a much more sober account of events, the mere fact he relied so heavily on Pitscottie essentially renders his account as factually bankrupt as Pitscottie's. As in Pitscottie, he described Crichton's raiding against Douglas, Douglas' orders to Crawford, and the subsequent raids in Fife against Kennedy's land and their surrounding lands, resulting in Crawford's excommunication.²⁷¹ Following this, he described a dispute between Alexander Master of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy over the bailiary of Arbroath leading to the battle of Arbroath itself, where Crawford, having ridden between the two forces was slain by an Ogilvy.²⁷² One difference between the accounts is Buchanan dated the battle to 24 January – a day after the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, though he did keep the battle in the evening, as in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*.²⁷³

The differences between Buchanan and Pitscottie, prior to the battle, are minor. Differing from the other sources when describing Crichton's raids against Douglas, he included George earl of Angus and John earl of Morton, both Douglases, but who 'always preferred the public welfare and their duty, to any family affection' as other allies of Crichton who had strengthened his position, allowing him the ability to attack Douglas' lands.²⁷⁴ This praise for Angus and Morton is probably best explained by the fact Buchanan was a contemporary and ally of James earl of Morton who was regent for James VI from 1567-78.²⁷⁵ Given Crawford's presence in Forfarshire, and his strong alliance with the earl of Douglas, it is likely Crichton and the earl of Angus, declared rebel in the Parliament of June/July 1445 where Douglas and Livingston dominated, probably felt more enmity than amity towards Crawford.²⁷⁶

Next, Buchanan's description of the situation leading to Alexander Master of Crawford's loss of the bailiery of Arbroath differed from Pitscottie. According to Buchanan, having been elected, Alexander had kept a large court of attendants who were 'too expensive to the monastery, and [himself] behaving rather as their lord than as their officer, was dismissed by the brethren, and Alexander Ogilvy placed in his room'.²⁷⁷ As a church reformer, Buchanan was probably keener to show collective decision removing the Master of Crawford from his position rather than an arbitrary

²⁷¹ Buchanan, *History*, ii, 74.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 74-5.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-6.

²⁷⁵ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991), 225.

²⁷⁶ *APS*, ii, 59-60; *RPS*, 1445/8, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 112.

²⁷⁷ Buchanan, *History*, ii, 74-5.

act. Last of these lesser differences between Buchanan and Pitscottie was Buchanan's portrayal of Crawford; while he kept Pitscottie's story of his attempted intervention, he made no attempt to portray his manner of death as atonement for a sinful life.²⁷⁸

Following the forces' engagement in battle, Buchanan and Pitscottie's accounts differ significantly. Most striking is Buchanan's inclusion of tactics used in the battle, absent in any other source. He asserted an act of deception on the part of 100 Clydesdale spearmen Douglas had sent helped turn the battle in Crawford's favour.²⁷⁹ No evidence, of course, suggests this element in Buchanan's account is based on any fact. However, it does indicate Buchanan's desire to show a strong link between David 3rd earl of Crawford and William 8th earl of Douglas, probably an echo of the bond in which Alexander 4th earl of Crawford was later involved.

Unlike the three other historians, Buchanan only named two men slain, the earl of Crawford, and 'Alexander Ogilvy, who was taken prisoner, [and] died a few days later of his wounds and vexation'.²⁸⁰ This has echoes of Lesley's account wherein the Ogilvies' chief was captured, and Pitscottie's account where Huntly was captured and died shortly afterwards. More subtle, but as significant, Buchanan did not even mention Huntly's involvement in the battle in his text until his description of the Ogilvies' retreat.²⁸¹ Huntly's importance apparently diminished with authors' distance from the events.

Essentially, two different versions of events between 1445 and 1446 are present. The *Auchinleck Chronicle* recalls one version: two significant regional conflicts, one between Crawford and Bishop Kennedy (the 1445 Fife raids) and the other between Crawford and Huntly (the battle of Arbroath). These are two clashes between heavyweights with conflicting political goals. On the other hand, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, Pitscottie, Buchanan, and Lesley, recall something entirely different: a small local dispute initially only between Alexander Master of Crawford and the Ogilvies. The fact these later works depicted Crawford as drawn into the affair as a peacemaker and Huntly's involvement an afterthought could not make this more clear, which distinctly contrasts with their positions as war leaders in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*. In mid-fifteenth century Scotland, it was certainly possible for local feuds to escalate, drawing in those not initially concerned with the feud's origins, as when Robert Erskine

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 75.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 75.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

seized Dumbarton castle in his pursuit of the earldom of Mar. It seems, the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*'s author, Lesley, Pitscottie, and Buchanan may have understood how conflicts could spiral out of control, without actually having a good grasp on the details of the conflicts themselves.

Although Lesley clearly used some form of the text now contained in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, he also had at least one other source, probably now contained, at least partially in the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*. Lesley thought Crawford himself had a quarrel with the Ogilvies, rather than Alexander Master of Crawford, but unlike later sources did not describe Arbroath as clash between disgruntled allies. Unlike the Auchinleck chronicler, though, Lesley stated Huntly's participation was incidental. Furthermore, Lesley is alone in his recollection of a bond between the earl of Ross, Douglas and Crawford at about the same time as the other chronicles reported Crawford raiding in Fife. If Crawford's raiding was in early 1445, could this have been Crawford striking out at local enemies from a recently solidified position? If so, this had to be as a result of improved relations with Douglas at this point, evidenced in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* by James Hamilton's participation in these raids. This is not evidence of the tripartite bond his son Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, William 8th earl of Douglas and John earl of Ross maintained in the early 1450s, as it developed for very different reasons.

It is probably a result of the paucity of evidence on David 3rd earl of Crawford and Alexander earl of Huntly that has led many secondary authors to rely on the later and less accurate *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*, Leslie and Pitscottie for the origins of the battle of Arbroath.²⁸² Dunlop, Nicholson, McGladdery, and even Tanner are curiously willing to mix the account provided by the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, compiled probably within twenty years of the battle, with elements from later chronicles that were probably written at least seventy years after the battle.²⁸³ Dunlop's account of the battle, based on a wide variety of sources including the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, Pitscottie and Buchanan, states Douglas and Hamilton sent contingents to help Crawford, and that Huntly was present for the battle by chance.²⁸⁴ She also kept the later accounts of David riding forward to attempt to stop the battle, only to be killed by accident.²⁸⁵

²⁸² *Chron. Extracta*, 180. *Chron. Extracta* mentions the 1513 Battle of Flodden in its text.

²⁸³ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 78-9; McGladdery, *James II*, 37; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 344-5; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 103.

²⁸⁴ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 78, 78n.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

Nicholson saw the origins of the Battle of Arbroath somewhat differently. He asserted James Kennedy Bishop of St Andrews was a leader of opposition elements in 1444 and 1445 including the earl of Angus, Crichton, and the Black Knight of Lorne and his wife, James II's mother.²⁸⁶ This association, he felt, led to David 3rd earl of Crawford's raids on Fife against Bishop Kennedy, which in turn, resulted in both Crawford's excommunication, and the Battle of Arbroath.²⁸⁷ This battle occurred at a time when the previously mentioned men had either abandoned him, or in the case of the Queen, died.²⁸⁸ The proximate cause of the battle, the clash between the Ogilvies and Lindsays over a position at Arbroath Abbey, fell into the same pattern as the conflict between the Homes and Hepburns over Coldingham Priory.²⁸⁹ Like Dunlop, Nicholson followed Pitscottie as well as the *Auchinleck Chronicle* for the details of the actual combat at Arbroath, including David 3rd earl of Crawford's intervention.²⁹⁰ McGladdery's account, in *James II*, follows previous authors, simply combining the *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie's* account with the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, resulting in a conflict whose origins were squarely rooted in a conflict between the Master of Crawford and Ogilvy of Inverquharthy over the justiciarship of Arbroath.²⁹¹ Tanner's account is nearly identical to McGladdery's, though his sources are the *Auchinleck Chronicle* and Dunlop.²⁹²

While combining chronicle accounts can be several vertebrae in the backbone of medieval history writing, it must be done critically, and where available, in combination with record evidence. Indeed, record evidence definitely shows rising hostility between Crawford and Bishop Kennedy, Crawford, and Huntly, as well as discord between Crawford and the Ogilvies. Unfortunately, combining chronicle accounts, in this situation, is impossible; Crawford and Huntly cannot be leaders and secondary figures at the same time. Huntly's presence at Arbroath cannot be both intentional and accidental. David earl of Crawford had had a running dispute with Huntly, and plenty of reasons to dislike him, including the raids on his ally Alexander Forbes, and the fact Huntly was married into the family of one of the men responsible for the murder of Crawford's son-in-law, William 6th earl of Douglas. Furthermore, Huntly had been drawing the Ogilvies and James heir of Alexander Forbes, into his orbit. Huntly also

²⁸⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 340-1.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 343-4.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 344.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 344-5.

²⁹¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 37.

²⁹² Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 103.

would have found Crawford's support of Forbes and Erskine in conflict with his own goals and alliances in Mar. The battle of Arbroath in January 1446 was part of a much wider conflict already in progress, a conflict stoked by the Mar dispute, but also revolving around Crawford's allies and neighbours and thus, the Auchinleck chronicler undoubtedly had the best interpretation of it – that which placed conflict between the earl of Crawford and the earl of Huntly at the heart of the matter.

Records confirm that David 3rd earl of Crawford died early in 1446, with his son witnessing, as Alexander earl of Crawford, a Great Seal charter on 22 March 1446.²⁹³ During his short, eight-year career as earl of Crawford, David saw his local position, based between Dundee and Aberdeen, fall and rise again. How much his initial fall resulted from the work of his own hands is hard to say, as circumstances beyond his control such as the influence of Crichton and Huntly did much to affect it. Perhaps most important to note, though, is that his success seems directly related to his position *vis-à-vis* the earls of Douglas. Even so, the support of the earls of Douglas always came with a heavy price for David. His daughter's marriage to William 6th earl of Douglas ended in disaster. As wife of a Douglas earl she probably deserved more than William 8th earl of Douglas' promise to help her recover her small terce of Annandale, but Crawford apparently accepted this. The raids Crawford conducted in Fife, while possibly done with Douglas' support, benefitted him little locally. It is hard to imagine that the repercussions from these raids did not lead to the battle of Arbroath in one way or another. Even if Alexander 4th earl of Crawford was able to benefit in the short term from subjugating the Ogilvies, in the long term, his position in Forfarshire had been seriously weakened at the very outset of his career as earl, since he had now fought openly against his neighbours, and would have to be prepared for reprisals.

Nevertheless, David 3rd earl of Crawford was not without his successes, muted as they were. He had recovered fees from Aberdeen and Montrose lost during his father's career. In spite of the murder of his son-in-law, he ultimately restored and strengthened his relationship with the Black Douglasses. He also left an inheritance and followers devoted enough to the Lindsay cause that his son, Alexander 4th earl of Crawford was able to impress himself upon the Auchinleck chronicler as an example of magnatial autonomy and rapacity. Battered though it was, that David 3rd earl of Crawford passed on a strong inheritance to his son that survived the ravages of James

²⁹³ Fraser, *Grandtully*, i, 10-2.

It speaks volumes of David's ability as a survivor. David's development and strengthening of his relationships with Livingston, Alexander Forbes, Robert Erskine, and Henry Douglas saw him through the Black Douglas's vicissitudes and the Ogilvies' drift towards Huntly. The great magnate families of Scotland had been falling fast in the past decades, but the Lindsays of Crawford were still standing, and for the moment, shoulder-to-shoulder with Douglas. It was this relationship with the Black Douglasses that defined his career; when Crawford was in favour with the earls of Douglas, he was in Parliament or General Council, and when he was out of favour, during James 7th earl of Douglas' career, David's influence was limited primarily to Forfarshire.

Chapter IV: Alexander 4th Earl of Crawford, 1446-1453

Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's career was largely defined by many of the relationships his father had established, and which Alexander continued to develop. Good relations with William 8th earl of Douglas were often important, though not constant, as Alexander avoided chaining himself to the interests of the Douglas earls. The cooperative agreement between his father, David, and William 8th earl of Douglas from the mid-1440s appears to have survived until sometime between Douglas' departure on his pilgrimage to Rome in October 1450 and January 1451 when Crawford began associating amicably with James II, though he did return support to Douglas when it suited him.¹ Crawford similarly kept good relations with the Livingston family, though the Livingstons' fall coinciding with James II's *de facto* attainment of his majority in 1449 also led Crawford to occasionally look to the crown for leadership. Similarly, he seemed to maintain his family's interest in the Erskines' pursuit of Kildrummy castle and the earldom of Mar. Towards the end of his career he found common cause with John earl of Ross and lord of the Isles because of the latter's marriage to Elizabeth Livingston, James Livingston's daughter. Crawford's connections to the Livingston family made support of the Livingstons a common cause to both Crawford and Ross. Once James II's authority started to flag when Douglas returned from his pilgrimage to Scotland in spring 1451, this opened the door for Crawford to support the earl of Douglas. This led to Crawford entering into a famous bond of mutual support between himself and Douglas, and Ross, which James II found highly objectionable. It was probably a combination of Crawford's decision to switch his affiliation from the crown to the Black Douglases, as well as his forfeiture at Parliament that contributed to another battle against Alexander earl of Huntly, fought at Brechin in 1452. Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's willingness and ability to shift between affinities made him more comparable to his great-grandfather David, who was also able to cast around for patronage and support when he found his established associations not helping him. This contributed to Alexander's relative success as a regional magnate during James II's reign.

Following his father's death, Alexander quickly went to Stirling, the Livingstons' power base, and reaffirmed and strengthened his father's connection to them. This connection to the Livingstons figured prominently, if not constantly, throughout his

¹ RMS, ii, 407.

career. Alexander Lindsay 4th earl of Crawford was first recorded as earl of Crawford on 22 March 1446 at Stirling where he witnessed a royal grant to Robert Abercromby of various Perthshire lands.² Besides the regular Great Seal witnesses, who were Alexander and James Livingston, and two men who would become regular witnesses, William Turnbull and William 8th earl of Douglas, James lord of Dundas also witnessed the charter.³ This is the first recorded contact between Crawford and Dundas, who would be associated with each other on a number of subsequent occasions.⁴ James Dundas was still in Stirling on 26 March, his only other appearance at court. Here he rubbed shoulders again with Douglas, Crichton, Livingston, William Turnbull, and Alexander Nairn.⁵ More significant, also at Stirling on the 26 March, Crawford granted James Livingston, Alexander Livingston's heir, the as yet unidentified lands of 'Calendrate', and 'Grenok in Calyn' in Menteith, Perthshire, to be held hereditarily.⁶ The witnesses were the bishop of Dunkeld, Douglas, William Crichton, William Turnbull, John Railstoun keeper of the privy seal and secretary of the king, James Dundas, Alexander Nairn of Sandfurd, Alexander Guthry, and Robert Balmanoch Crawford's familiar, who was later described as Crawford's secretary.⁷ While there is no hard evidence of sustained contact between Dundas and Crawford, Dundas was James Livingston's brother-in-law, and eventually fought at Brechin on 18 May 1452, on Crawford's side.⁸

Crawford's 26 March grant to Livingston is key to understanding his career, as his accommodation with the Livingston affinity was a recurring theme. By granting James Livingston some of his lands, he immediately tied Livingston's interests to his own. Besides the fact that this tied Crawford closely to James, this provided him better access to the wider Livingston affinity. James Livingston also married his daughter to

² Fraser, *Garntully*, i, 10-2. For Alexander and James Livingston as Great Seal witnesses, January 1446-December 1447 see RMS, ii, 270-89; for William Turnbull, February 1443-February 1452; see Ibid., 270, 272-3, 282-5, 287-89, 291-2, 297-8, 301-5, 308-12, 314, 316-9, 321-8, 331-9, 341-4, 346-59, 361-84, 386-91, 393-419, 425-6, 429, 436-8, 441-7, 449-50, 452-61, 463-72, 474-85, 488, 490-7, 499-500, 502-8, 512-523, 525-7; for William Crichton, February 1443-February 1452, see Ibid., 270, 288, 291-2, 297-8, 301-3, 305, 308-12, 314, 316-8, 321-8, 331-5, 337-9, 341-4, 346-59, 364-84, 386-91, 393-404, 406-19, 425-6, 429, 436-8, 441-4, 446-7, 449-50, 452-61, 463-72, 474-85, 488, 490-7, 499-600, 502-8, 512-23, 525-7, for Douglas, whose presence at court between September 1444 and January 1452 is more sporadic, see Ibid, 271-3, 287-8, 297-8, 301-4, 310-2, 314, 324, 327-8, 333-9, 341-4, 346-54, 358-9, 361-3, 375-6, 387-9, 522-3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ NLS Ch. B. 47: The Dundas head had been a Douglas vassal since at least 1406, when the 4th earl of Douglas granted him the land of Dunbarny in Perthshire.

⁵ RMS, ii, 288.

⁶ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/310.

⁷ HMC 15.8, 63-4, no. 128; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/310.

⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173; McGladdery, *James II*, 51-2.

John earl of Ross, which ultimately helped to unite the interests of Crawford, Ross, and Livingston in the coming years.⁹ Later, after James II had dispossessed the Livingston family in 1449, he apparently felt he needed to sever the Crawford-Livingston link this grant created, and did so by granting Crawford the Perthshire lands he had previously given Livingston including 'Calendrate'.

While Crawford was in Stirling, his sheriff depute, Alexander Lord Forbes, was managing affairs in Aberdeenshire where, on 27 April 1446, he acted as judge in a dispute over the border between Ingeram Lindsay bishop of Aberdeen's land of Cotton of Old Aberdeen and the Hospital of St Peters' lands.¹⁰ Among the witnesses were James Skene, John Vaus, John Fife, and John Scroggis, men who had been associated with Aberdeen during David 3rd earl of Crawford's career.¹¹ This document indicates the Lindsays and Alexander Lord Forbes were still a vital force in Aberdeen. Ingram Lindsay himself cannot be conveniently placed within the Lindsay family. He is merely described, in papal records in 1416, as 'kinsman of Alexander, [2nd] earl of Crawford'.¹² In October that year Crawford exerted his influence there a bit more personally, when, at his request, the Aberdeen Guild Court granted a member of his house, Andrew 'Alaneson' the next free water in the burgh for fishing.¹³

During the summer of 1446, James Lindsay of Covington, the future keeper of the Privy Seal entered William 8th earl of Douglas' affinity. James' relationship to the comital line of the Lindsay family has been lost, though he does not appear to have been politically connected to the earl of Crawford. James' activity witnessing three Douglas charters in July, August, and September 1446, and serving as the earl's secretary, suggest he was a regular member of the 8th earl of Douglas' council, and familiar with James, the future 9th earl of Douglas, as well as Archibald Douglas earl of Moray, and Hugh Douglas earl of Ormond.¹⁴ Also during this period of activity, he came into contact with Simon Glendinning, who would take part in James II's murder of William 8th earl of Douglas on 22 February 1452.¹⁵ Last, he also came into contact with George Schoriswood, a very close councilor of James II.¹⁶ Although James

⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 169, 172.

¹⁰ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 244-5.

¹¹ Skene: *HMC* 17 2-3; Vaus, Fife & Scroggis: *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 453-4.

¹² *CPLS Benedict XIII*, 335.

¹³ *Abdn. Guild Recs.*, 24, 107-8.

¹⁴ Fraser, *Buccleuch*, ii, 33-5; *Melrose Liber*, ii, 572-3; *RMS*, ii, 383.

¹⁵ Brown, *Black Douglasses*; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 171; *Melrose Liber*, ii, 572-3.

¹⁶ *Melrose Liber*, ii, 572-3.

Lindsay was initially at the heart of the Black Douglas affinity, he had already made some important connections that later allowed him to enter James II's inner circle.

The cooperation between the Livingstons and the Black Douglasses that had existed since 1443, on the other hand, was, by this point, starting to show signs of weakness. On 12 May 1447 in Stirling, James II ordered Robert Erskine claimant of Mar and Garioch and his son, Thomas Erskine, once friends of the Livingstons, to surrender Kildrummy castle so it could later be determined who had right to the castle.¹⁷ The place of issue of this charter and its support of Erskine may suggest it was in line with Livingston's goals. In October, perhaps in response to this, Ingeram Lindsay bishop of Aberdeen authorised testimony on an instrument requested by Robert Erskine's procurator, Walter Erskine, regarding Robert's descent. It stated he was heir to the earldom of Mar, with witnesses including James Skene, suggesting the Erskines retained some local support despite pressure from the royal courts at Edinburgh and Stirling.¹⁸ This could also indicate some tension between the earl of Crawford, and the Douglasses and Livingstons, for Ingeram seems to have been supporting Erskine's defiance of James II's move for Kildrummy, which was the seat of the earldom of Mar.

In the same year, the Livingstons apparently undermined the Douglasses' position in Carrick, ordering the transfer of Lochdoon castle, held by James II as earl of Carrick, from a Maclellan member of the Douglas affinity to Edward Mure.¹⁹ Perhaps key in the erosion of the Livingstons' position, on 17 November 1447, William Crichton returned to the position of chancellor upon the death of James Bishop of Glasgow, giving the Livingstons' old enemy a strong position from which to attack them.²⁰ If Crichton's resurgence made the Livingstons nervous, their concern ultimately would have been justified, as it was probably at Crichton's instigation that James II threw the Livingstons from power within two years.

While the Livingstons were struggling with their internal problems in 1447, the Black Douglasses also confronted a major internal concern in 1447. The problematic succession to the earldom of Douglas after the 'Black Dinner' of 1440 created a number of tensions.²¹ The first effect of this murder was that Galloway was broken off

¹⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 196-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 197-8.

¹⁹ *ER*, v, 261, 266-7; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 107, 107*n.*; McGladdery, *James II*, 53.

²⁰ Borthwick, 'King, Council and Councillors', 130.

²¹ *Chron. Bower* (Watt), ix, 144, 191; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 261-2, 278; McGladdery, *James II*, 70.

from the Douglas estates, as it had not been entailed to them, and was only restored through William 8th earl of Douglas' marriage to Margaret, 'the Fair Maid' of Galloway, daughter of Archibald 5th earl of Douglas.²² The second effect was the redirection of the inheritance of the Douglas earldom to what was essentially a cadet line originating with James earl of Avondale, who was Archibald 3rd earl of Douglas' second son and William 6th earl of Douglas' great uncle.²³ By August 1447, the family was having to confront the inconvenient fact that neither William 8th earl of Douglas nor Archibald Douglas earl of Moray had produced heirs. To attempt to rectify this problem Archibald earl of Moray and James Douglas of Heriotmure, twins, agreed to indentures made on 25 and 26 August, the first declaring Archibald and James were willing to have their mother declare who was elder, and the second declaring their mother named James the elder of the two, making him the heir of William if William produced no heirs.²⁴

The witness lists to these instruments are telling, and deserve to be related in full, as they bear not only on the Douglasses, but also the earl of Crawford. The first meeting, on the 25 August 1447 at Edinburgh included Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, Alexander Lord Montgomery, Laurence Lord Abernethy in Rothimay, John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Master James Lindsay parson of Douglas, Robert Fleming of Cumbernauld, Thomas Cranston of that ilk, John Wallace of Cragy, James Auchinlek of that ilk, knight, John St Michael and James of Parke. On the 26 August witnesses were Alexander earl of Crawford, Alexander Lord of Montgomery, John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, John Wallace of Cragy, James Auchinleck of that ilk, knights, master James Lindsay of Covington rector of Douglas, Thomas Cranston of that ilk, John St Michael, Thomas Cranston, William Cranston, William Liberton, Thomas Berwick, William Cameron, Alexander Napier, Lancelot Abernethy, and John Haukyrston.²⁵ The prominence of Alexander earl of Crawford amongst these Douglas adherents is striking. Although it is possible Crawford could have been in Edinburgh on other business, it would have been quite a coincidence, as there is no evidence for any large assembly in Edinburgh at that time. He may have been representing the interests of his sister, William 6th earl of Douglas' widow.

Sir John Lord Lindsay of the Byres' presence among the witnesses is slightly misleading. While earlier Lindsays of the Byres had been in close contact with the

²² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 228, 261-2; CPL, x, 130-1; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 332.

²³ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 98; McGladdery, *James II*, 70.

²⁴ RMS, ii, 301.

²⁵ Ibid.

Lindsays of Crawford, the succeeding generations had drifted out of the main line's political orbit since Alexander Lindsay of Glen Esk (d. 1382) had resigned his East Lothian barony of the Byres in favour of his brother, William Lindsay in 1367.²⁶ By 1440 the two lines of Crawford and the Byres had very little contact. Thus Lindsay of the Byres probably came to witness the indenture determining the Douglas earldom's succession not as a kinsman of Crawford, but rather as a Douglas adherent. The distance between the lines of Lindsay of Crawford and Lindsay of the Byres is in line with the distance and disassociation M. G. Kelley observed in the wider Douglas family.²⁷

In 1448, Alexander earl of Crawford was not attested outside of the Exchequer Rolls, though some evidence exists suggesting he was strengthening his local ties. First, on 7 January 1448, the crown confirmed Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford's life-grant to Alexander, now Lord Forbes, of the sheriff's depute-ship of Aberdeen and keepership of Strathnairn castle in Inverness-shire.²⁸ This confirmation was important because it reconfirmed and strengthened the Crawford-Forbes relationship, a strong and important working relationship over fifteen years old. Since there appears to have been no falling-out between Crawford and Forbes, the confirmation probably had more to do with the earl of Ross and the sheriffdom of Inverness. Ross was easing back from this area at this time, having allowed the kings' men into the affairs of Inverness, and the confirmation of Forbes' position in Strathnairn castle in that sheriffdom may have been a part of this.²⁹ Also in 1448 the Exchequer recorded the earls of Crawford's rightful receipt of £12 13s. 4d. annually from Banff burgh since 24 July 1436, approved by the auditors, totaling £152 by 17 September 1448.³⁰ This was fees for twelve years. He continued to receive this payment for the rest of his life.³¹

Alexander's ally, Robert Erskine claimant to Mar, was not so fortunate in 1448, as that year he came under pressure from the minority government. On 20 June Erskine agreed to exchange Kildrummy castle for possession of Alloa with cautioners including his familiar Sir Henry Douglas of Loch Leven.³² By December the deal was clearly complete, as Robert Erskine was at Alloa castle on 10 December 1448 with many

²⁶ RMS, i, 248.

²⁷ Kelley, 'Douglas Earls of Angus', 626-30.

²⁸ NAS GD52/1044.

²⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 270.

³⁰ ER, v, 325-6.

³¹ Ibid., 353, 404, 446, 569.

³² *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 196n.

old familiars including Robert Semple, William Semple, Patrick Graham, and the aforementioned Douglas of Loch Leven.³³ The new keeper who took control of Kildrummy sometime before 21 July, was Archibald Dundas, brother-in-law of Alexander Livingston, and a man with whose family Crawford had previous connections.³⁴ Unlike David 3rd earl of Crawford, whose support of the Erskine claim to the earldoms of Mar and Garioch was unwavering, Alexander 4th earl of Crawford was apparently most interested in maintaining any ally at Kildrummy and, by all appearances, Livingston's friend was Crawford's friend. Still, though, Archibald Dundas' loyalty to Crawford was probably only via Livingston as Robert Erskine, while partially in debt to the Livingstons, probably owed more to the Lindsays of Crawford, who had been consistent regional supporters over the past decade. The Livingstons were clearly consolidating their power.

Also in the summer of 1448 James II made his way to the north of Scotland, a move probably related to the transfer of control of Kildrummy to Archibald Dundas. By 24 July James II was in Inverness, where he regranted the Forfarshire land of 'Garlate' to John Ogilvy of Lintrathen and his wife Margaret 'countess of Moray', whose surname is not known conclusively.³⁵ If 'Garlate' corresponds to present-day Garlet Hill, Lochlee parish, Angus, this may have been an open threat to Crawford, as Garlet Hill lies within Glen Esk. Furthermore, Margaret's title of 'countess of Moray' in Inverness might have been perceived as a threat to Archibald Douglas earl of Moray, as Archibald had married Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the late earl of Moray, providing his claim to Moray.³⁶ Janet Dunbar of Frendraught, Elizabeth's sister, married James Crichton, William's son, bringing to James Crichton the title of Frendraught.³⁷ While James Livingston captain of Stirling castle was present among the witnesses, the witness list was dominated by men who chose to support James II against the Black

³³ NAS GD124/1/427; RPS, 1449/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009. McGladdery seems to have suggested in *James II*, 41 that this deal did not go through, based on the evidence of the April 1449 Parliament, but this view is difficult to hold in the face of the charter evidence of the Erskine's possession of Alloa castle cited above.

³⁴ McGladdery, *James II*, 41.

³⁵ ER, v, 306; Fraser, *Southesk*, ii, 518; McGladdery, *James II*, 41.

³⁶ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 231-2; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 271.

³⁷ RMS, ii, 319, 549.

Douglasses as hostilities between the two increased through the coming months and years.³⁸

In 1448, Crawford's position *vis-à-vis* the Erskine claimants of Mar and Forbeses of Forbes probably finally shifted as a result of developments within these two families. On 11 September 1448, Robert Erskine resigned all of his lands saving his liferent to his son and heir, Thomas Erskine.³⁹ From this point, Thomas conducted most, though not all, of the business typically conducted by the head of the family. Since he had already acted on his father's behalf as early as June 1444 and had been giving his consent to his father's charters since May 1440 this crown charter probably just confirmed an arrangement already in place, essentially retiring Robert from politics.⁴⁰ This charter, while including lands in Aberdeenshire, made no mention of Mar and Garioch nor of Kildrummy castle. While Robert Erskine's tenacity in his pursuit of the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, and the deals he made with local lords suggest he actually hoped one day to acquire possession of the earldoms, Thomas' behavior, especially in 1452 and 1453 suggests he was willing to compromise on the claim if he felt he could secure immediate political rewards in James II's court.

The reorientation of the Forbes family probably came shortly after 27 October 1448, the last time Alexander Lord Forbes was recorded. On that date, Forbes, in his capacity as Crawford's sheriff depute of Aberdeen oversaw a case involving the lands of Wester Badfothell which was settled in favour of Gilbert Menzies, a burgess of Aberdeen and occasional associate of the 4th earl of Crawford.⁴¹ Whether Alexander Lord Forbes died in 1448 as *The Scots Peerage* asserts is difficult to confirm, but he was certainly dead by 19 July 1451 when his heir appeared as James Lord Forbes.⁴² Furthermore, Crawford acted in his capacity as sheriff of Aberdeen in a court case on October 1450, suggesting Alexander Forbes was unable to serve as Crawford's sheriff depute.⁴³ Forbes' death, whenever it happened, cost Crawford a loyal Aberdeenshire ally. Huntly's confidence must have swelled as a result of the fact his own man, James

³⁸ The witnesses to James II charter in Fraser, *Southes* ii, 518 are: 'William bishop of Glasgow, Alexander Lord Montgomery, Patrick Lord Graham, William Lord Somerville, Patrick Lord Glamis, James Livingston Captain of Stirling castle, John Skrymgeoure, John Cockburn, knights, and Master John Arous canon of Glasgow'.

³⁹ NAS GD124/1/1.

⁴⁰ *Aberdeen Banff-Illustrations*, iv, 452-4; NAS GD124/1/155.

⁴¹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 269-70.

⁴² *ER*, v, 459, 463; *SP*, iv, 49.

⁴³ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 7-8.

Lord Forbes, was now running the Forbes estates.⁴⁴ No evidence exists suggesting James ever assumed his father's responsibilities as sheriff depute of Aberdeen during Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's life, and surviving evidence suggests Crawford may have never appointed another sheriff's depute.⁴⁵

While James II's visit to the north of Scotland in mid-1448 may have caused Crawford some concern, there were other, important international affairs taking place with wide implications. James II had been searching for a suitable bride of Burgundian extraction since 1446, and on 6 September 1448 Philip the Good duke of Burgundy allowed Arnold duke of Guelders to arrange a marriage between his daughter (Philip's niece) and James II.⁴⁶ Once this marriage was accomplished, James II began pursuing an increasingly independent policy, and he entered a *de facto* majority upon his wedding in September.⁴⁷

This marriage alliance proved timely, as shortly after it was arranged Scotland came under attack. On 23 October 1448, Hugh Douglas earl of Ormond, John Wallace of Cragie, the lord of Johnston, the lord of Somerville's son, and David Stewart of Castlemilk defeated the Percies and their allies at a battle alternately called Lochmaben Stone and Sark.⁴⁸ While this battle helped the Black Douglasses emphasise their self-appointed role of war-leadership, the majority of men fighting for Ormond were from the 'westland', a point not missed by the Auchinleck chronicler.⁴⁹ This was rather a contrast to earlier Douglas earls who had drawn their support primarily from border lords.⁵⁰ Whether this was an indication of the effects of the Black Dinner undermining the enthusiasm of traditional Black Douglas affiliates as Brown asserted, or was simply the result of the fact the battle was fought in an area easily accessible by 'westland' men is difficult to say, though both factors could have been at play.⁵¹ Any problems the Black Douglasses' may have had with their affinity would have mattered to Crawford. The weaker the Black Douglasses' affinity was, the less useful it was to Crawford, and the more precarious his positions would be in government. In any case, in less than a year, James II took control of government and, in time, directly challenged both men's positions and power.

⁴⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 340, 395-6; NAS GD52/406.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 7-8.

⁴⁶ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 95; McGladdery, *James II*, 44-6; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 347.

⁴⁷ McGladdery *James II*, 49.

⁴⁸ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 276-7, 279; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 164; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 93.

⁴⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 279; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 164.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 279.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

In 1449 Scottish government experienced much change, though old business dominates the surviving record of the General Council that took place in April that year – an Erskine was at court at Stirling on 4 April arguing for his right to Kildrummy castle and the earldom of Mar. Crawford, along with Douglas, Orkney, William Cranston, Gilbert Menzies burgh commissioner of Aberdeen, and the burgh commissioners of Linlithgow and Stirling witnessed it.⁵² Given Crichton's policy of avoiding dealing with Erskine's claim, this was probably not the primary reason this General Council had been called.⁵³ Instead, it was probably concerns about civil justice and negotiation with England arranged for May that required the summoning of a council.⁵⁴

While Thomas Erskine's pressing of his case for the earldom of Mar was probably not unexpected, other events were more unsettling. On 20 April 1449 Richard Colville murdered Sir James Auchinleck and, as a result, Colville was besieged at an unnamed castle by Douglas.⁵⁵ On capturing the castle, Douglas 'hedit' Richard and a few of his accomplices and destroyed the fortress.⁵⁶ The murder of Auchinleck, and subsequent reprisal was another indication of the rather sorry state of the 8th earl of Douglas' affinity.⁵⁷ The Colvilles were members of the old Douglas affinity, and important in Teviotdale, while James Auchinleck, a close councillor of Douglas was a 'westland' man.⁵⁸ The Colvilles had been loyal to the old Black Douglasses since the 1380s, but, on the evidence of their involvement in Auchinleck's murder seemed less concerned to cultivate the favour of the present earl. Michael Brown felt William's

coercive approach to lordship, like... [his] claims to regional power, fitted less easily into the Scottish realm of the late 1440s, a realm which contained many alternatives to the house of Douglas as a source of leadership and protection.⁵⁹

It was this sort of problem in Douglas' affinity, combined with the possible rift between the Black Douglasses and the Livingstons that may have allowed James II's destruction of the Livingstons.

Another significant event taking place in 1449 was Alexander earl of Ross and lord of the Isles' death, probably around 8 May.⁶⁰ His son, John, was perhaps about to

⁵² RPS, 1449/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

⁵³ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 120.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 171.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 279.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 280.

⁶⁰ *Isles Acta*, 303, 309.

turn fifteen at that point, and by 13 August the same year a charter was granted in his name.⁶¹ The relationship between Alexander earl of Ross and the earls of Crawford in the 1440s was complicated. As the spheres of influence of both earls overlapped in Kincardine and in Inverness-shire, this could have created an atmosphere of communication as well as competition.⁶² In the first half of the 1440s, Alexander earl of Ross had connections with the Ogilvies at a point when that family was not yet aligned against Crawford.⁶³ In October 1443, Ross had granted his 'cousin', Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort, 'Thanistoun' in Kincardineshire (possibly present-day Thainstone in Aberdeenshire?). This land was previously held by a William Lindsay and, in October 1444, Ross ordered his bailies, Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar and Alexander Strachan of Thornton to give sasine to Sir John Scrimgeour, constable of Dundee, of a grant of the Bordland and castle and other lands in Kincardine.⁶⁴ Given David 3rd earl of Crawford's own statement of nearness to the Scrimgeour family, this indicates the potential for communication between the earls via this Dundee-based family, as well as the Ogilvies, with whom Crawford still had amicable contact through 1445.⁶⁵ While Ogilvies did remain involved in Kincardineshire as late as 1448, Alexander earl of Ross' association with them seems to have ceased in 1444.⁶⁶ The combination of the Ogilvies' defeat at Arbroath, followed by Alexander earl of Ross' own death probably led to the alienation of these two families from each other. The Ogilvies also may have found the Crichton-backed Huntly a more convenient ally in the mid-1440s. Ross also had a tenuous connection to the future first earl of Huntly as the former had given the latter a life-grant of Kingedward in Inverness-shire.⁶⁷ Since this was only a life-grant, and contained a clause ordering his tenants to obey Gordon, it is hardly an indication of a strong alliance. Despite his connections to the Ogilvies and Huntly, there is no significant body of evidence surrounding Alexander earl of Ross suggesting he had a goal of weakening Crawford and his affinity, nor is there evidence of competition

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 77-8, 309-10.

⁶² e. g., NAS GD52/1044; RMS, i, 226, 762, 881 for Crawford. *Isles Acta*, 67-8, 77-9 for Ross.

⁶³ *Isles Acta*, 53-4, 61-2, 67-8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 61-2, 67-8. Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquhar was recorded as sheriff depute for Kincardine on 28 May 1442 and on 28 May 1443, indicating that, as a person with interests in Kincardineshire, he could have been in contact with Ross, the baron of Kincardine through mid-1443 (*Aberdeen Banff-Illustrations*, iii, 268-9; RMS, ii, 375).

⁶⁵ *Aberdeen Banff-Illustrations*, iv, 43-4.

⁶⁶ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 112-5, 172-4; ER, v, 390, 393-4; NAS GD45/27/106. On 1 April 1448, Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin was still active in Kincardineshire, though Patrick Barclay was now recorded as sheriff depute of Kincardine (RMS, ii, 495).

⁶⁷ *Aberdeen Registrum*, i, 241-2.

between Crawford and Ross. The third and fourth earls of Crawford and the earls of Ross' links to the Scrimgours, and perhaps to the Ogilvies, could have provided some degree of communication between them, but little more can be asserted without further evidence. Thus, Alexander earl of Ross probably bequeathed his son John a policy that was relatively neutral towards the Lindsays of Crawford.

That same summer of 1449 Scotland and England were at war again. The Auchinleck chronicler recorded that 'young persie and sir robert ogile' burnt Dunbar in May 1449.⁶⁸ The next month, on 3 June, Douglas, Orkney, Angus and Ormond struck back, burning Alnwick, while in retaliation the earl of Salisbury burned Dumfries.⁶⁹ On 18 June, the Scots again raided England, burning Warkworth.⁷⁰ It was amid this background of raid and counter-raid that James II was married to Mary of Guelders, on 3 July.⁷¹ While this marriage is usually treated as the start date of James II's *de facto* majority, he did not immediately strike at his inner circle, as he did a few months later.⁷² For example, at the Exchequer held at Linlithgow on 23 June 1449, was a mixed crowd of auditors, including a number James II later expelled from government like Alexander Livingston of Callander and Robert Livingston of Middle Binning the comptroller, as well as men who would go on to flourish under the young king, such as William Turnbull bishop of Glasgow, William Crichton, Alexander Nairn of Sandfurd, and John Scheves.⁷³

A charter of excambion of 18 June 1449 perhaps indicates Crawford was interested in currying favour during this period with the Black Douglas affinity as well as the Livingstons. By the terms of the excambion agreed at Stirling, Crawford granted his 'cousin' John Hamilton, the brother of James, Lord Hamilton 'for his most grateful help, counsel and service, often done to the Earl's progenitor, and to be done' (perhaps a reference to James Hamilton Lord of Cadzow's support during the 1445 raid in Fife) the lands of Whitecamp and Kirkhope, in the regality of Crawford-Lindsay, Lanarkshire, in exchange for the lands of Wester Brighty in his barony of Fern, Forfarshire.⁷⁴ Since the Hamiltons were close associates of the Black Douglasses, and James Hamilton had supported Alexander's father in the 1445 raids in Fife, this

⁶⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* The chronicler gave no date for the attack on Dumfries, but it is naturally more likely to have fallen after 3 June than on or before it.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 44-5; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 347-8.

⁷² McGladdery, *James II*, 49.

⁷³ *ER*, v, 336.

⁷⁴ *HMC* 15.8, 63 no. 128.

excambion suggests Crawford was, in the weeks preceding James II's marriage and crowning of his queen, still in contact with members of Douglas' affinity and Livingston's government.⁷⁵ Since Janet Livingston, Alexander Livingston's daughter, was the mother of John Hamilton, this seems to have been a pro-Livingston act.⁷⁶ Given Black Douglas-Livingston cooperation at court, this grant seems to be entirely in line with the policy Crawford had established early in his career.

Crawford's witness list is also revealing. On it were master James Lindsay prior of Lincluden, 'Glaisteris of Glak', Thomas Bailze, esquires, and Robert Balmanoch, the earl's secretary.⁷⁷ The presence of a secretary on this charter suggests Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, like his great-grandfather, grandfather (and probably his father, as well) maintained a personal household with a degree of bureaucracy.⁷⁸ It is also significant these men who claimed high social status thought it proper to create a titled office, and made sure the officer's name and office were recorded on their charters. Besides his secretary, towards the end of his life, at least, Crawford was maintaining a pursuivant, 'Endure', who drew a pension from Aberdeen.⁷⁹ Although the king maintained several heralds, including Unicorn, Lyon, and Albany, there are no records of other contemporary magnates with heralds in the Exchequer Rolls, though it is possible records of other magnates' heralds simply do not survive.⁸⁰ Maintaining secretaries and pursuivants were surely ways to emphasise the granter's importance and the sophistication of his court and household.

On that same day, 18 June 1449, the new Queen arrived in Leith; her presence in Scotland coincided with great changes within the kingdom.⁸¹ By the end of September, James II had violently removed the Livingstons from their positions in government, in what was surely a carefully planned move.⁸² On 24 June 1449 at Stirling, James II appended his Great Seal to the marriage agreement, an event witnessed by William Crichton chancellor, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, the earls of Douglas, Crawford, and Ormond, and James Master of Douglas, Lord Montgomery and Lord

⁷⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

⁷⁶ *SP*, iv, 347-8, citing 'Hamilton Report 15, No. 10'.

⁷⁷ *HMC* 15.8, 63 no. 128.

⁷⁸ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 23-5; NAS GD16/12/3.

⁷⁹ *ER*, v, 629-30, 639. No evidence for David 1st earl of Crawford's 'Lyndesey' herald, recorded in 1402, exists between 1402 and 1464 when a Lindsay Herald was recorded again (*CDS*, iv, 602; *ER*, vii, 295, 427).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 5, 235, 536-7, 604, and throughout the text.

⁸¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 171; *ER*, v, 380-2; Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 101

⁸² McGladdery, *James II*, 49-50.

Somerville.⁸³ On 3 July, James II married Mary, who was crowned Queen at Holyrood.⁸⁴ Still, a month later, the king's council seems to have remained largely unchanged.⁸⁵

Also in July, at the meeting of the Exchequer, a controversy originating during David 3rd earl of Crawford's career over the earls of Crawford's annuity from Montrose was finally resolved. It appears that from 1437, the Crawford earls had been receiving their fee of £26 13s. 4d., against the wishes of the Montrose customars. From 1443, the sum demanded from the earls of Crawford increased by £26 13s. 4d. each year, while £26 13s. 4d. was recorded paid to the earls of Crawford.⁸⁶ In 1449, Patrick Lindsay, the earls' kinsman, rendered the accounts, with David Spalding, and David and Patrick chose not to charge themselves of the £238 2s. 9d. pending from the previous account from David late earl of Crawford and Alexander current earl, and on John Falconar late customar of the burgh.⁸⁷ From this point on, Alexander received a fee from Montrose of 20 merks, half of the 40 he was due, and no further reference was made to the outstanding amount of money.⁸⁸ It appears Crawford, Patrick Lindsay, and David Spalding were able to cut a deal. His family connections had apparently resolved the problem, and it seems, in the month of James II's wedding, Alexander was still a vital force.⁸⁹

There was still no indication of political change on 22 August, when a group of men, probably chosen by James II, received a six month safe to conduct to negotiate with England over the raiding of May and June.⁹⁰ While the resulting truce, established in the autumn, named Alexander 4th earl of Crawford as a conservator, it named no earls as emissaries in August.⁹¹ Border and Black Douglas interests would have been represented by James Lord Hamilton, named as one of the envoys.⁹² Also among the envoys on the 22 August safe conduct with Hamilton were Alexander Livingston 'justiciar of Scotland', and James Lindsay provost of Lincluden.⁹³ It is clear that

⁸³ Ibid., 102.

⁸⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 171; McGladdery, *James II*, 44-5, 49; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 347-8.

⁸⁵ McGladdery, *James II*, 49.

⁸⁶ *ER*, v, 131, 153, 184, 229, 300-2, 340-1.

⁸⁷ *ER*, v, 340-1.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 378-9, 431, 559.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 336, 340-1.

⁹⁰ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 346; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 334.

⁹¹ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 337-41.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 334.

Alexander Livingston was still a major figure in government, and may have had little warning of his family's downfall the next month.⁹⁴

More notable for his absence, though, was William Crichton. Crichton became a close councillor to James II in the coming years, and it made sense for Crichton to stay with the king. While with him, he could maintain his support and attempt to prevent him from coming under other men's influence. In fact, during Crichton's service to the adult king, he only received one safe conduct to England, and that was not for diplomacy, but for pilgrimage to Canterbury.⁹⁵ That he did not serve as a truce commissioner during James II's majority probably suggests both the high value James II placed on Crichton as a councilor as well as Crichton's desire to stay at the centre of Scottish politics.

Even if James II resented the Livingstons for controlling him while a minor and seizing his mother, the sudden blow against them in September had all the hallmarks of Crichton's planning, with echoes of the Black Dinner, as it entailed sudden capture and subsequent judicial murder of some of the victims. Similarly, the affair's brutal efficiency resembled James I's style of political problem-solving, during whose reign Crichton had cut his teeth. Chancellor Crichton's hand in ruining his old enemies should not be underestimated. In any case, Crichton's desire to settle old scores gelled well with James II's financial motives for attacking the Livingstons.⁹⁶ In addition to this, the marriage alliance James Livingston was concluding with John earl of Ross at that time was probably distasteful to Crichton and James II since it created a threatening alliance between the greatest office-holding family in Scotland and a powerful regional lordship whose relationship to royal authority had been tense.⁹⁷

Sometime before his fall in late September 1449, James Livingston, son of Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander, had arranged for his daughter Elizabeth to marry the young John MacDonald earl of Ross, lord of the Isles.⁹⁸ The 'Buke of the Howlat', written by Richard Holland for Archibald Douglas earl of Moray in the second quarter of 1450, played on the rather timeworn medieval theme of men, or in this case, families, who had risen above their station, ostensibly in reference to the Livingstons.

⁹⁴ McGladdery, *James II*, 49.

⁹⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 367.

⁹⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 53.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; McGladdery, *James II*, 53; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 349-50.

Just as important, though, the work also stressed Douglas' role in service to the king.⁹⁹ Even if James II's and Crichton's perception of the Livingstons did not involve these philosophical prejudices, the marriage clearly posed a threat they wanted to address, especially since the head of the MacDonald family was one of the few men James I had never been able to truly cow.¹⁰⁰ This was a hard reality James II and Crichton could not have missed. As a result of the royal assault against the Livingstons in September, Ross' new wife, Elizabeth Livingston was forced to flee 'till him [Ross] sodanlie and with few personis with her' suggesting the Livingstons' downfall was very much connected to the arrangement of this wedding, and Elizabeth's life or freedom may have been in jeopardy.¹⁰¹

The axe fell on the Livingstons on Saturday 20 September 1449.¹⁰² The Auchinleck chronicler reported that James II's agents arrested James Livingston, Robin Callendar captain of Doune castle, and David Livingston of Greenyards 'with syndry utheris and sone eftir this' Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander and Robin Livingston of Linlithgow the comptroller at the time.¹⁰³ John, not Robin Callander, actually captained Doune castle.¹⁰⁴ The report of Alexander Livingston of Callander's arrest could also be a mistake, since he was probably in England at the time negotiating the truce, and by June the following summer was recorded outside Scotland.¹⁰⁵ These mistakes in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* aside, the brothers James Livingston captain of Stirling and Alexander Livingston (sons of Alexander Livingston of Callander), along with Robin of Linlithgow were held at Blackness, a castle which George Crichton captained.¹⁰⁶ That they were imprisoned at a Crichton castle is further evidence the chancellor was involved in planning this attack against the Livingstons. If the Crichtons hoped to dominate the offices of James II's court as the Livingstons had before, however, this hope was never realised.¹⁰⁷ Although '[p]osts naturally still became available, and associates of particular councillors can be shown to have obtained some' there was never a family with such total domination as the Livingstons had enjoyed due

⁹⁹ McGladdery, *James II*, 53; Marion Stewart, 'Holland's "Howlat" and the Fall of the Livingstones', in *Innes Review* xxvi (1975): 67.

¹⁰⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 53.

¹⁰¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; McGladdery, *James II*, 53.

¹⁰² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172.

¹⁰³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; McGladdery, *James II*, 49.

¹⁰⁴ McGladdery, *James II*, 49.

¹⁰⁵ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 122.

¹⁰⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 49-50.

¹⁰⁷ Borthwick, 'King, Council and Councillors', 125.

to James II's direction of government, which prevented an arrangement like this from being put into effect again.¹⁰⁸

The winter spanning 1449 and 1450 may have proven rather uncomfortable for some Scottish magnates, since peace established on the borders on 15 November allowed James II to turn his attentions to his ambitions within Scotland.¹⁰⁹ It also created opportunities for advancement for men who saw which way the winds of change were blowing. Douglas and Crawford ultimately chose to accept, or perhaps were unable to refuse, gains delivered from the destruction of their former partners, the Livingstons. The peace on the Scottish border coupled with the king's attacks against the Livingstons probably worried Crawford now that his associate, James Livingston, was no longer in central government. He took steps to shore up his relationship with Douglas, whom he probably expected would remain influential with the king. In Dundee, on 14 January 1450, Alexander reconfirmed the indenture concluded some five years earlier with Douglas, regarding Johanna Lindsay countess of Douglas' terce. In the indenture Johanna had relinquished her claim to all but a third of Annandale, which had probably reverted to the king when William 6th earl of Douglas was murdered.¹¹⁰ Despite the presence of a Black Douglas-linked man as steward of Annandale under James II, the king had acted as lord of Annandale on more than one occasion.¹¹¹ Crawford and Douglas were not quick to enter into a joint venture to repossess Annandale. In 1452, though, Crawford's confirmation of this indenture united both magnates, when Douglas finally pushed his right to that lordship, an action that appears to be a part of the famous Douglas-Crawford-Ross bond.¹¹²

While in Dundee, Crawford also dealt with some local business. On 15 January he granted David Fotheringham of Powrie the land of Wester Brighty in the barony of Fern, Forfarshire.¹¹³ The next day, Richard Loyal, bailie of Alexander earl of Crawford, delivered sasine of those lands.¹¹⁴ The Fotheringhams of Powrie were an entrenched Forfarshire family with connections to the Lindsays, Ogilvies, and earls of Angus on record since the 1410s and 1420s.¹¹⁵ The Lindsays of Crawford and the Lovals had

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 346; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 334-7.

¹¹⁰ Borthwick, 'King, Council and Councillors', 145; NAS RH6/321.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ RMS, ii, 393.

¹¹⁴ NAS GD121/3/26 [GD121 removed from NAS.]

¹¹⁵ *Arbroath Liber*, ii, 146; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 59-62, 372-3; NAS GD16/3/12, GD121/3/12, 47 [GD121 removed from NAS]; RMS, ii, 111-3, 1550.

fairly strong connections as well. While Edward I called a Lindsay and a Loyal to serve him in Wales in 1276,¹¹⁶ no surviving evidence shows these families associating again until the 1420s, the same time as the Loyal began associating with the Ogilvies, though these connections could easily be much older.¹¹⁷ Later in 1438, having recently associated with the Ogilvies, Richard Loyal associated not only with James 3rd earl of Angus, but also received a grant from Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford.¹¹⁸ How long Richard Loyal had been Crawford's bailie is unknown.

Just after Crawford made these grants, James II held a Parliament in Edinburgh.¹¹⁹ Crawford's whereabouts are uncertain during this session of Parliament because there is no *sederunt*, and it is impossible to know whether or not he attended. The events taking place in that Parliament held in January and early February 1450 may well have given many important men in the kingdom, especially Crawford, pause for thought and cause for concern. Although Crawford himself might not have been present, the earls of Douglas, Angus, Moray, Ormond, Huntly, and Orkney were, along with William Crichton, John Lord of Lorn, and William Lord Hay.¹²⁰ Probably present, as suggested by documents issued at the same time under the Great Seal were Alexander earl of Sutherland, William Somerville, Andrew Lord Gray, Andrew Abbot of Melrose treasurer and confessor of the king, John Arous Archdeacon of Glasgow the King's cleric, George Schoriswood, and Nicholas Otterburn canon of Glasgow and secretary of the King.¹²¹ At this Parliament James II followed up his initial attack on the Livingstons, forfeiting them and executing Alexander Livingston of Filde, son of Alexander Livingston of Callander.¹²²

This was the first major Parliament with an adult king in almost thirteen years, and it issued more legislation than any Parliament since 1430.¹²³ Even if Crawford and especially Douglas were probably heartened by some patronage of the Black Douglasses at the Parliament, they could not miss the fact James was attacking his enemies for his own personal pecuniary benefit.¹²⁴ James II charged the Livingstons with crimes against his mother, as well as crimes against his own person in a statute concerning

¹¹⁶CDS ii, 83.

¹¹⁷ NAS GD45/16/1961; *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 262.

¹¹⁸ Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 372-3; NAS GD121/3/12 [GD121 removed from NAS].

¹¹⁹ RPS, 1450/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹²⁰ RPS, 1450/1/32-3, A1450/1/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹²¹ RMS, ii, 303-5, 310-2, 314.

¹²² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; RMS, ii, 324; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 124.

¹²³ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 122-3.

¹²⁴ RMS, ii, 308-9; RPS, 1450/1/40. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

rebellion and ‘certane crimes committit agaynis the king [or again his derrest modir of gud mynde]’.¹²⁵ This undoubtedly referred to the Livingstons’ capture of and ‘Appoyntment’ with Queen Joan in 1439.¹²⁶ Besides these personal matters, law and order was a major parliamentary concern, something that ultimately dovetailed with James’ attack on the Livingstons. Certainly at James II’s instigation, Parliament passed laws forbidding those present from doing anything to defend the Livingstons, stating that those who gave any sort of aid to those who were eventually convicted, would be punished themselves.¹²⁷

Several authors have suggested that James’ attack on the Livingstones was motivated as much by financial expediency as political animosity.¹²⁸ First, there was a £930 debt that James II would have had to pay to Henry Livingston of Linlithgow. Second, there were concerns over Mary of Guelders’ intended income. Third, there were general concerns that the Livingstons had been embezzling funds.¹²⁹ Mary indeed received the palace of Linlithgow and its customs, lost by Robert Livingston.¹³⁰ She also temporarily received the executed Alexander Livingston of Filde’s charge, Methven castle, though this was changed for Menteith in the final arrangements for Mary’s income.¹³¹ These actions were indicative of the problems James had securing the £5,000 yearly income for Mary he had arranged with Arnold duke of Guelders.¹³² It should be noted, though, the Methven grant to Mary was switched to Menteith and Doune, and she only received Callander at the end of 1451. She was not quick to benefit from the attack on the Livingstons, in contrast to her teenage husband, who immediately received relief of his £930 debt.¹³³ In the end, James displayed rampant opportunism, having destroyed a prominent faction in government to accomplish his own personal, and wider political ends. If Douglas had any fears he might be next, the grants and confirmations in his favour could have allayed them, though at the same

¹²⁵ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 350; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 122-3; RPS, 1450/1/13. Date accessed: 14 May 2009. The editors of the RPS note the bracketed words are not written in all surviving manuscripts.

¹²⁶ McGladdery, *James II*, 51.

¹²⁷ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 350; RPS, 1450/1/13. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹²⁸ McGladdery, *James II*, 49-52; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 349-50.

¹²⁹ Borthwick, ‘King, Council and Councillors’, 128; McGladdery, *James II*, 49-52; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 349-50.

¹³⁰ J. H. Baxter, ‘The Marriage of James II’, in *SHR* xxv, (1928): 71; McGladdery, *James II*, 50.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 123-4.

time, the king may have been genuinely amicable towards the Douglasses.¹³⁴ Similarly, Douglas may have simply assumed that James' willingness to attack Livingston's faction had no bearing on James' disposition towards Douglas' own family.

When Crawford heard the particulars of the Parliament, he in contrast, was surely less sanguine. Even if there had been real reasons for a breakdown in cooperation between the Livingstons and the Black Douglasses, Crawford must have viewed the attacks on the Livingstons from September 1449 to February 1450 very differently than Douglas.¹³⁵ He had fought for Alexander Livingston at the siege of Edinburgh castle, and would certainly remember their fairly steadfast alliance against Crichton, the murderer of his brother-in-law, to say nothing of the grant Crawford had given to James Livingston.¹³⁶ He probably noticed with no surprise, Crichton's most recent dismissal in Parliament of Thomas Erskine's plea for his father's rights to the earldom of Mar, delaying the decision until James II reached twenty-five, his perfect majority.¹³⁷ Although Thomas had his own reasons for pursuing Mar, he could easily have had Crawford's support in this pursuit as James Crichton of Frendracht, no friend to Crawford, became captain of Kildrummy castle shortly after the Livingstons' fall.¹³⁸ In any case, Crawford's position was seriously weakened, since his regional rival, Huntly, was one of the major beneficiaries of this Parliament, as James II gave Huntly a confirmation of lands in Roxburghshire, Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire.¹³⁹ It is easy to see Crichton's hand here since Huntly was his brother-in-law. Crawford probably expected under the adult James II's government, his life was not about to get any easier.

Another family that suffered at this Parliament were the Dundases. While James Dundas' two surviving associations with Alexander earl of Crawford in 1446 hardly indicate he was a member of Crawford's affinity, both men shared connections to the Livingstons.¹⁴⁰ Archibald Dundas' keeping of Kildrummy castle in the period up to 9 September 1448 provided another point of contact with Crawford's interests in the northeast.¹⁴¹ During James II's attack on the Livingstons, the king also captured and imprisoned James Dundas, Alexander Livingston's brother-in-law. His brother Duncan

¹³⁴ RMS, ii, 292, 301, 308-9, 315-7

¹³⁵ McGladdery, *James II*, 53; Nicholson, *Scotland; The Later Middle Ages*, 352.

¹³⁶ ER, v, 178-81.

¹³⁷ RPS, A1450/1/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹³⁸ ER, v, 463.

¹³⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 340; RMS, ii, 314.

¹⁴⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173; Fraser, *Grandtully*, i, 10-2.

¹⁴¹ ER, v, 306-7.

Dundas, keeper of Restalrig was also captured; both were held at Dumbarton castle.¹⁴² Archibald Dundas was initially uncaptured, and held the tower of Dundas, which James II put under siege. He transferred control of the siege to William 8th earl of Douglas, under whose command the tower of Dundas fell.¹⁴³ Douglas' attacks on the Dundas family may have been a major factor in the alienation of the earls of Crawford and Douglas. Separating Douglas' interests from Crawford's was a coup for James II and Crichton's government, as it essentially meant Crawford could not count on Douglas support against Crichton's promotion of his son-in-law, Huntly.

Quickest to benefit from the Dundas forfeiture was Douglas himself who received grants of Dundas lands prior to his victory over Archibald Dundas on 10 February 1450.¹⁴⁴ Following these incidents, the identity of the captain and keeper of Kildrummy castle is not entirely clear, but James Crichton was paid for serving as keeper and captain of Kildrummy castle and Alexander Crichton for serving as constable and master of works for the same castle for the period between 29 September 1450 and 19 July 1451.¹⁴⁵ The hand-over was clearly swift. In the following May, after Dundas' fall, James II followed up this grant with more land freed up from the Dundas forfeiture, as well as land formerly belonging to James Livingston in a grant to Douglas.¹⁴⁶ Although the Erskines had lost Kildrummy castle and thus most of their leverage in Aberdeenshire, the question of who controlled Kildrummy and, by extension Mar, was apparently still driving issues in Aberdeenshire and in central government. Since two members of the Crichton family now had their hand directly in the affairs of Mar, it is clear that Crichton was still interested in maintaining influence in Aberdeenshire, though now he was using family members as well as Huntly to conduct his business there. Second, it is also clear that despite James II's majority, Crichton must have had a great deal of influence on the king, at least partially resulting from his substantial loans to the king made in 1450.¹⁴⁷

The three estates met in General Council on 4 May at Perth despite the fact Douglas' capture and destruction of Dundas' castle pre-empted the specific reason this council was called; instead, the estates turned their attention to relations with France.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² ER, v, 274; McGladdery, *James II*, 51; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 350-1.

¹⁴³ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; McGladdery, *James II*, 52.

¹⁴⁴ RMS, ii, 316-7; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 124-5.

¹⁴⁵ ER, v, 459, 463-4.

¹⁴⁶ RMS, ii, 357.

¹⁴⁷ ER, v, 393; McGladdery, *James II*, 54. James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews and William earl of Douglas also made substantial loans to James II at this time.

¹⁴⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 126.

Again, Crawford was not recorded attending. He had attended the General Council held on 4 April 1449 at Stirling, and was later present for the Douglas patrimony's regrant at Parliament in the first week of July 1451, but otherwise was not recorded at meetings of the estates, and possibly avoided most of them. On 12 May 1450, Crichton, Douglas, Angus, Patrick Lord Glamis, Andrew Lord Grey along with the churchmen William bishop of Glasgow, John Arous Archdeacon of Glasgow, and George Schoriswod rector of Coulter were recorded at a Parliament beginning on 4 May.¹⁴⁹ With the exception of Douglas, the makeup of the group attending James II in General Council that May was beginning to resemble the group serving him in later years, especially once his wars with the Black Douglasses began. Given James II's strengthening of ties at this General Council and Douglas' recent action against the Dundases, Crawford probably expected this to have been an assembly of men unreceptive to his interests.

Shortly after this General Council in May, Crichton seems to have forced territorial concessions directly from Alexander earl of Crawford. In February 1440, David 3rd earl of Crawford had transferred Kirkmichael, resigned by James Douglas of Dalkeith to William Crichton.¹⁵⁰ Now it was Alexander's turn to be on the wrong end of a resignation: by 11 June 1450 he had resigned Kirkmichael, part of his family's lands since 1377, to James II who then granted it to Chancellor Crichton.¹⁵¹ There are no details of the terms of the resignation in this charter, though Kirkmichael did eventually return to the Crawford inheritance by 22 January 1464.¹⁵² The witnesses to James II's grant to Crichton included the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane, Douglas, Patrick Lord Glamis, Andrew Lord Gray, David Moray of Tullibardine, George Crichton of Carnis Admiral of Scotland, Alexander Napare comptroller, Master John Arous, and Master George Schoriswod, all regular crown councillors, with the exception of Douglas.¹⁵³ It is very difficult to believe Crawford's resignation of this ancient part of his inheritance to a man whose sons and son-in-law were competing for influence in Aberdeenshire by managing Kildrummy castle, is not an indication he had been backed into a corner by Crichton and James II.

¹⁴⁹ *RPS*, 1450/5/1, 1450/5/5. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

¹⁵⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 264-5; *RMS*, ii, 226.

¹⁵¹ *RMS*, i, 590; *RMS*, ii, 361.

¹⁵² *RMS*, ii, 776-7.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 361.

Other evidence suggests that Crawford's enemies at that time apparently took advantage of the new, anti-Livingston atmosphere, and decided to assert themselves in other areas. On 17 July 1450 a Thomas Ogilvy, perhaps Thomas Ogilvy of Clova, began receiving payments for keeping the royal castles of Inverness and Urquhart, the latter being a position from which Ross eventually ousted him violently in March 1451.¹⁵⁴ While David 3rd earl of Crawford had associated with a Thomas Ogilvy in 1442, this earlier association was a one-time occurrence. What is important is that it was one of the first indications of an Ogilvy exercising significant royal offices since the battle of Arbroath. While defeat at Arbroath had clearly not thrown them from Forfarshire politics, they remained uninvolved in national affairs.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, with one exception,¹⁵⁶ no members of the family were recorded as sheriff or sheriff depute of Angus or Forfar until 1450, when Walter Ogilvy and John Ogilvy of Lintrathen were recorded in those respective positions.¹⁵⁷ In the meantime, in 1449, three other sheriffs of Forfar were recorded: John Dougall, Andrew Henderson, and Alexander 'Dwns'.¹⁵⁸ Whether this implies the Ogilvies formally lost the office is uncertain. In July 1446 they had been keen to assert their presence in this office, as Alexander and James Livingston entered into an agreement with Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort where Walter promised to bring Christian Erskine, daughter of the late Sir John Erskine of Kinnoull to James Livingston for marriage.¹⁵⁹ In return the Livingstons would work to get confirmations of Walter's offices of sheriff of Forfar and Banff, and of the lands he held from the earl of Ross.¹⁶⁰ This apparently came to nothing, as James' wife's name was recorded later, as Marion, and the Livingstons do not seem to have maintained any connection with the Ogilvies.¹⁶¹

By August 1450, a Walter Ogilvy, perhaps Ogilvy of Deskford and spouse of Margaret Sinclair, was present at Perth witnessing a Great Seal charter by James II in favour of the monastery of Inchaffray of Perthshire lands resigned by Andrew Toisch.¹⁶² Also at Perth in August 1450, he witnessed a charter by Patrick Lord Glamis,

¹⁵⁴ *ER*, v, 379-80; Alexander Grant, 'The Revolt of the Lord of the Isles and the Death of the Earl of Douglas, 1451-1452', in *SHR*, lx (1981): 170-1.

¹⁵⁵ e.g., *Brechin Reg.* ii, 63-5.

¹⁵⁶ NAS GD121/3/47.

¹⁵⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 7-8; *Brechin Registrum*, i, 146-7, 147-51.

¹⁵⁸ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 197.

¹⁵⁹ NAS GD45/27/106.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Acts of Lords Auditors*, 54.

¹⁶² *RMS*, ii, 382.

in favour of Thomas Gray, Andrew Gray's son, confirmed a few days later at Falkland by James II.¹⁶³ In neither instance was Huntly present at court, nor does surviving evidence suggest the Ogilvies had any serious, ongoing contact with Alexander earl of Huntly or his family.¹⁶⁴

Thus, Thomas Ogilvy's promotion, the recurrence in the records of an Ogilvy sheriff and sheriff depute of Forfar, and the Ogilvys' return to royal court coincides with the strike against Crawford's inheritance in 1450 and Crawford's disappearance from Parliament. This suggests two points. The first of these is that when the Auchinleck chronicler suggested that Alexander 4th earl of Crawford 'held the Ogilvies at gret subjectoun' after Arbroath, he was probably right since up to 1450 the Ogilvies had been out of national politics, and second, that this 'subjectoun' came to an end in 1450.¹⁶⁵ The fall of the Livingstons, and the rise of the Crichtons, old partners of the Ogilvies prior to 1446, probably explains this resurgence.

The Ogilvies were not the only family receiving royal favour at this point, though. In Edinburgh on 8 July 1450 James II confirmed a 1440 grant by Alexander earl of Huntly to Hugh Caldor of lands in Strathbogie in Aberdeenshire, entailed to his son, Alexander Caldor.¹⁶⁶ At the time Huntly's initial charter was granted in 1440, Hugh's wife was an Elizabeth Gordon, possibly Huntly's mother, but she may have died in the interim, as Hugh later married Elizabeth Rait in 1465.¹⁶⁷ If she had indeed died before the date of this confirmation, Hugh may have requested the confirmation because he no longer had a connection by marriage to Huntly's family, though either way, this confirmation confirmed the link between Huntly and Hugh Caldor. While royal confirmations sometimes have little political importance, this one may be an exception since it would have strengthened one of Huntly's relationships in Aberdeenshire at a time when James II and Huntly would have wanted to assert their authority.¹⁶⁸ Since Crichton had been strengthening his position in Aberdeenshire by placing his son in Kildrummy castle, he probably thought it important to support Huntly's interests elsewhere. This confirmation may also be seen in comparison with

¹⁶³ Ibid., 386.

¹⁶⁴ Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin was present as a sworn witness with several other Kinkardineshire men, including an 'Andrew de Setoun' on a document regarding the Bishop of Brechin's rights done at Kincardine on 1 April 1448 (RMS, ii, 495).

¹⁶⁵ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162.

¹⁶⁶ RMS, ii, 370.

¹⁶⁷ RMS ii, 370, 846; SP, iv, 521 asserts Elizabeth Gordon, Huntly's mother, died '16 March 1439' but cites no source.

¹⁶⁸ RMS ii, 370.

the promotion of Huntly's friend, Thomas Ogilvy mentioned above. Taken together, the promotion of the Ogilvies and the support of Huntly helped to provide James II and Crichton with strong allies in the northeast, probably calculated as a bulwark against Ross, and at least as far as Crichton was concerned, against Crawford as well.

Although Crawford's whereabouts during this period are uncertain, his younger brother, Sir Walter Lindsay of Kinblethmont was attending to matters in Forfarshire in the second half of July. At Brechin on 21 July, Walter and a host of men who were mostly Brechin locals or men with interests in Brechin, witnessed a document asserting Brechin's market's rights to trade on Sundays.¹⁶⁹ The main mover in the document was apparently Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen sheriff deputy of Forfar, though the first witness named was Walter Lindsay.¹⁷⁰ Walter surely found at least one friendly face amongst the witnesses, that of David Fotheringham of Poury, whom his older brother had recently favoured with a grant in Forfarshire in January.¹⁷¹ Also, that same day, a very similar group of men came together to witness a copy of several charters of Brechin Cathedral stretching back to William the Lion's reign, done, again, in the name of John Ogilvy of Lintrathen sheriff depute.¹⁷² Walter Lindsay was, again, the first witness, and Fotheringham of Poury was also present.¹⁷³ If Crawford's interests in Forfarshire, despite the Ogilvies' rise, were secure enough he could delegate his brother to manage them, that was clearly not the case in Aberdeenshire.

Crawford's activities on 6 October 1450 may suggest his position in Aberdeenshire was being challenged. On this date he served in his position as hereditary sheriff of Aberdeen, hearing a case between William Rait, allegedly on behalf of the son of Reginald Chene, against Henry Chene.¹⁷⁴ The proceedings were witnessed by John Forbes, Walter Lindsay of Kinblethmont, 'Walter Ogilvy sheriff of Angus', Alexander Douglas and Gilbert Menzies burgess of Aberdeen.¹⁷⁵ Ogilvy probably had connections to William Rait, who was probably related to John Rait, who in 1440, in the weeks preceding the Black Dinner received a grant from James II, presumably at Crichton's urging, of land in Kincardineshire that would pass to Andrew

¹⁶⁹ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 79-80; *RMS*, ii, 382.

¹⁷⁰ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 79-80; *RMS*, ii, 382.

¹⁷¹ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 79-80; *RMS*, ii, 382, 393.

¹⁷² *Brechin Registrum* i, 138-41. It should be noted this charter does not actually say of *where* Ogilvy is sheriff depute, but it is presumably Forfar.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 7-8; NAS RH4/125.

¹⁷⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 7-8.

Ogilvy of Inchmartin upon John's death.¹⁷⁶ The case was regarding Reginald's protest of Henry Chene's lands of Esslemont, though it appears to have come to nothing on account of the fact William Rait could demonstrate no mandate to act on behalf of Reginald.¹⁷⁷ If Walter Ogilvy was present to make sure William's interests were represented, his presence does not seem to have been enough to turn the case in William's favour.¹⁷⁸

This document is striking, partly because of the presence of Crawford himself. This is the first time in surviving record an earl of Crawford was recorded actually serving as sheriff of Aberdeen at court, though it was not the first time an earl of Crawford was recorded bearing that official title.¹⁷⁹ Since Alexander 4th earl of Crawford and his father David had been content to allow Forbes to manage many of their affairs in Aberdeen, even regarding matters of national significance, such as Robert Erskine's claim to the Mar and Garioch earldoms, that Crawford felt a dispute between two relatively minor lords needed a personal touch may imply Forbes was dead. More important, it also implies there was nobody in Aberdeenshire strong enough to be respected as a sheriff depute, and loyal enough to Crawford for him to appoint him to that position. Indeed, the Erskines, Alexander Lord Forbes, and Archibald Dundas were no longer in positions in Aberdeenshire to support Crawford. The challenges presented to Crawford in Aberdeenshire by his old enemies, now resurgent, coupled with the young king's aggressive destruction of the Livingston faction, and Douglas' apparent support of this action, had forced Crawford to keep a close eye on his more northerly interests.

Douglas, on the other hand, clearly felt much more secure through this period. Admittedly, James II's confirmations, grants and regrants to Douglas at Parliament in January and February 1450 could have given him the impression his relations with the king were to remain amicable.¹⁸⁰ That October, probably leaving the earl of Ormond or the Lord of Balvenie in charge of his lands, Douglas left for Rome.¹⁸¹ While Douglas was away, James moved to weaken him. Besides Douglas' departure, there were other reasons why this was a good time for James to move against Douglas. The duchess of Touraine's death may have pitted Douglas' retainers and James II against

¹⁷⁶ RMS, ii, 250.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 7-8.

¹⁷⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 43-4; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1.

¹⁸⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 286-7.

¹⁸¹ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 354.

each other over control of Wigtown and Galloway.¹⁸² In addition, the Duke of Burgundy appears to have stopped the payment of James II's wife's dowry, possibly because her lands were not enough to pay the £5,000 she was due yearly as part of the marriage agreement.¹⁸³ It may be James hoped to use revenues from Wigtown and Galloway, which he now claimed, to help pay the Queen's promised income.¹⁸⁴

The Law Manuscript, a manuscript, containing a chronicle from the early sixteenth century, stored in the University of Edinburgh Library Centre for Research Collections, and partially published in *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, states while the earl was away in Rome James attacked his castles, killed his men and subjugated others at the encouragement of William Turnbull bishop of Glasgow, William Crichton, and George Crichton.¹⁸⁵ Nothing in the Exchequer Rolls shows the royal artillery to have been moved, but James did leave Edinburgh during this period, as he was at Melrose on 4 December 1450, in January 1451 at Lochmaben holding a Justiciary Court, at Ayr on 13 February, and at Lanark (not far from the regality of Crawford) on 16 February.¹⁸⁶ Since the Law Manuscript is not quite contemporary, its assertion James physically attacked Douglas' possessions is questionable since no other evidence suggests this, and it is possible political rather than military action was the king's aim, which the Register of the Great Seal suggests, as it records a series of grants made to southern lords.¹⁸⁷ This was indeed a good time for James II to court Gilbert Kennedy, Robert Colville (whose relative Douglas had previously executed over Auchinleck's murder), and William Somerville.¹⁸⁸ Given Angus' presence alongside James at Melrose in December, as well as William Crichton, George Crichton, and Patrick Glamis', it seems clear Angus must have backed James' plans to weaken Douglas.¹⁸⁹ While the Law Manuscript might be incorrect in recording royal attack on Douglas, its assertion of the involvement of Crichton in motivating the king is probably correct, especially given Crichton's apparent direction of James II's activities in Aberdeenshire.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, Robert Colville, was

¹⁸² McGladdery, *James II*, 57.

¹⁸³ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 355.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.; RMS, ii, 447, 453.

¹⁸⁵ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 125; Law's MS printed in ER, v, lxxxv-lxxxvi n.; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 355.

¹⁸⁶ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 125; ER, v, 521; RMS, ii, 404, 412-7. Note: Between 18 December 1450 and 17 January 1451, the charters of the Great Seal record James II in Edinburgh (RMS, ii, 405-11).

¹⁸⁷ Brown, *Black Douglas*, 289; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 128-9.

¹⁸⁸ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 128-9.

¹⁸⁹ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 128; RMS, ii, 404.

¹⁹⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 288-9.

married to a Crichton of Sanquhar, providing a further link between James' council and a border lord dissatisfied with Douglas.¹⁹¹

Meanwhile, the list of men recorded accompanying Douglas on his pilgrimage to Rome is revealing. With Douglas were James Douglas his brother and heir, James Hamilton, John Ogilvy, (surely Ogilvy of Lintrathen), Alexander Hume, William Cranston, Nicholas Campbell, Andrew Gray, William Lauder, Thomas Cranston, George Haliburton, and John Haliburton.¹⁹² Although it is unsurprising no member of Crawford's affinity accompanied Douglas, it is rather telling one of the Ogilives, newly ascendant, did. This is further underlines the chilly relations between the Black Douglasses and the Lindsays of Crawford.

Crawford's disinclination towards Douglas' goals probably led him to Edinburgh in January, between James II's two progresses south and west, witnessing a crown confirmation, along with Crichton, Patrick Glamis, George Crichton of Cairns, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, John Arous, and George Schoriswod, concerning James of Balbirnie and his wife Katherine's possessions in Fife on 13 January 1451.¹⁹³ No records report Crawford had any connection to James of Balbirnie. He should, though, have possessed Cambo in Fife, and the lands of Auchtermenzie in Fife appear in the Crawford inheritance in 1481 connected to his son, Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermenzie, and may have belonged to Alexander 4th earl's wife, Margaret Dunbar of Cockburn.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, the Balbirnie family also had connections to Forfarshire and the Ogilvies, while Crawford himself appears to have had connections to the lands of Balbirnie themselves.¹⁹⁵ Whether Forfarshire or Fife connections brought Crawford to James' court, his presence was an indication relations between the earl and the crown were improving. For James, the prospect of securing a former Douglas ally was no doubt desirable, and to accomplish this he may have been willing to make some concessions to Crawford. Still, though, the crown had the upper hand since earl Alexander was under pressure in both Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire.

If Douglas had not already heard of James's moves against his allies in January 1451, he probably had by February, when he arrived in England.¹⁹⁶ Then, James was in Ayr, where, on 13 February, he confirmed Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure as head of the

¹⁹¹ Ibid; *RMS*, 417.

¹⁹² *CDS*, iv, 1229.

¹⁹³ *RMS*, ii, 407.

¹⁹⁴ *RMS*, i, 617, 711, 761, ii, 1497, 2339.

¹⁹⁵ *ER* v, 448-50; *Panmure Registrum*, ii, 193-4.

¹⁹⁶ Nicholson, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 354, *CDS*, iv, 1231.

Kennedies, granted him lands in Ayrshire and gave him other offices in the southwest.¹⁹⁷ On the same day he granted John Kennedy land also in Ayrshire.¹⁹⁸ On 16 February at Lanark, James regranted Robert Colville of Ochiltree and his wife, Christian Crichton, daughter of Robert Crichton of Sanquhar land in Roxburghshire.¹⁹⁹ Like his grants and confirmations to the Kennedies, James' regrant to Colville involved land near the earl of Douglas' holdings, and was surely calculated to provide a counter-balance to Douglas' power.²⁰⁰ This Colville grant had special meaning, though, as the Colvilles were already enemies of Douglas, as Richard Colville (whose relation to Robert is unknown) had killed James Auchinleck, one of Douglas' men, on 20 April 1449.²⁰¹

In February and March, James made other grants calculated to win him support against the Black Douglasses. In the last days of February at Edinburgh Walter Scott and Simon Glendinning both received grants in Roxburghshire, and George Crichton of Cairns received land in Dumfries-shire, an obvious attempt to buy the support of men near Douglas' lands.²⁰² On 28 February, James granted William Crichton the lands of Castelaw in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh.²⁰³ A month later, on 27 and 28 March, he granted charters in favour of former Black Douglas associates Henry Haliburton, Patrick Haliburton, and Patrick's wife, Margaret Hepburn.²⁰⁴ On 31 March, at Edinburgh Robert Bickerton of Luffness granted Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, a member of a family opposed to Douglas, half of the lordship of Luffness in the constabulary of Haddington.²⁰⁵ The witnesses to the charter, concluded in Edinburgh, included William bishop of Glasgow, chancellor Crichton, John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, James Crichton of Frendraught chamberlain, George Crichton of Cairns, among others.²⁰⁶ Even if Lord Lindsay of the Byres was not present for James II's confirmation, he was still rubbing shoulders with some of the most important people in Scotland, and probably had some sort of access to James II. Like Crawford, Lindsay of

¹⁹⁷ RMS, ii, 412, 414-6.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 413.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 417.

²⁰⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 57.

²⁰¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, McGladdery, *James II*, 57; SP, ii, 540*n*.

²⁰² RMS, ii, 418-20.

²⁰³ Ibid., 421.

²⁰⁴ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 271, 289; RMS, ii, 435-7.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 438.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. James Crichton was also keeper and captain of Kildrummy castle at this time, though these offices were not recorded on this charter (ER, v, 459, 463).

the Byres, who had previously associated with Douglas was now seeking favour at the royal court.²⁰⁷

Also in March 1451, James II felt some of the repercussions of his attack on the Livingstons. That month, their marriage ally, the teenage John earl of Ross, led raids across Badenoch and the Great Glen, capturing Urquhart and Inverness castles, and destroying Ruthven castle.²⁰⁸ John then granted his father-in-law,²⁰⁹ James Livingston, the keepership of Urquhart castle, probably because James II had approved his marriage to Livingston's daughter and promised James Livingston 'gud lordshipe' and the keepership of Urquhart for three years.²¹⁰ Given the earl's tender age combined with the Auchinleck chronicler's statement that James Livingston, who had

eschapit subtelly fra the king and his counsall out of the abbay of
halyrudhouse and was cummand to the lord for supple and succour,²¹¹

it is quite probable Livingston was heavily involved with John's councillors in orchestrating these events.

McGladdery, who generally accepted Grant's assertion that Ross' raids took place in March, also attempted to date the destruction of Ruthven castle to sometime after 28 April 1451, because James II granted Huntly Badenoch with the keeping of Ruthven castle on that date, and it made no sense to McGladdery for James to grant Huntly a destroyed castle.²¹² However, James II's charter to Huntly could easily be an order to Huntly to take Badenoch *back* from Ross and James Livingston. James II was known to work this way, as he had granted Dundas lands to Douglas in February 1450, well before the Douglas had taken Dundas' stronghold in April 1450.²¹³ Regardless, James II may not have known the exact condition of Ruthven castle on 28 April, and even if the Auchinleck chronicler was not exaggerating the extent of the damage, James II may have expected Huntly to rebuild it. In any case, Ross' activities, probably encouraged by James Livingston, eventually forced James II to make concessions to Douglas, and provided for common cause between Ross and Crawford, who had lost

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 301.

²⁰⁸ Boardman, 'The Burgh and the Realm', 217; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 169; Grant, 'Revolt of the Lord of the Isles', 171; RMS, ii, 442. See the full article (p. 169-74) for a convincing argument, now generally accepted, that these raids ought to be dated to March 1451, and not March 1452, as the *Auchinleck Chronicle*'s dating of '1451 In the month of March' might initially suggest, given medieval dating conventions (Brown, *Black Douglases*, 291-2; McGladdery, *James II*, 62).

²⁰⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*: 'gud fader'.

²¹⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 169.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Grant, 'Revolt of the Lord of the Isles', 169-171; McGladdery, *James II*, 62.

²¹³ RMS, ii, 316-7.

more than Douglas as a result of the Livingstons' downfall.²¹⁴ By alienating Ross and Huntly, and Ross and James II, these raids were a major step towards forming the tripartite Douglas-Crawford-Ross bond in 1452.

According to the Law Manuscript, Douglas returned to Scotland on 7 April 1451, and in response James II immediately raised an army and attacked the Douglas castle of Craig Douglas, receiving its surrender and subsequently destroying it utterly, though this is, probably an exaggeration or mistake on the chronicler's part, since ten days later James II made Douglas a truce commissioner.²¹⁵ Brown suggested it may have been around this time Douglas' allies 'cryit him luftennent' as the *Auchinleck Chronicle* reports, as a challenge to James II's power and attacks against him.²¹⁶ Crawford, meanwhile, was clearly having nothing to do with Douglas. Instead, he was making himself fairly useful to James II. On 10 April 1451, Crawford received an English safe conduct to treat for peace with England.²¹⁷ While Douglas' name was also on this safe conduct, the rest of the names on the safe conduct were close associates of James II: the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, George earl of Angus, William Somerville, Alexander Montgomery, Patrick Glamis, Andrew Gray, David Moray, and Alexander Nairn of Sandfurd were all named.²¹⁸ Douglas was clearly in a corner.²¹⁹

Taken by itself, this safe conduct is not the strongest indicator of Crawford's political goals. Fortunately, several records survive showing Crawford's presence around James II and his familiars that spring. Crawford was probably buying security and national influence at the expense of his long-term goals in Aberdeenshire. On 28 April 1451, he witnessed the previously-mentioned grant by James II at Edinburgh to Alexander earl of Huntly, for his 'gracious service', of the large provincial lordship of Badenoch, with Ruthven castle.²²⁰ The witnesses again included William bishop of Glasgow, John bishop of Moray, William Crichton, Crawford, Alexander Montgomery, Patrick Glamis, John Arous, and George Schoriswod.²²¹ It remains uncertain whether Crawford saw Ross' activities, which this charter was attempting to curb, as a threat,²²² but it does seem, based on the company he was keeping, he was cooperating with James

²¹⁴ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 292.

²¹⁵ McGladdery, *James II*, 58; *ER*, v, lxxxvi n.

²¹⁶ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 290; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 164.

²¹⁷ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 344-5.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *RMS*, ii, 425.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 442.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 291.

II, even if this grant strengthened his own rival, Huntly. If Crawford saw common cause with Ross at this point, there is no indication of it. Despite their mutual connections to the Livingstons, perhaps because he was now in Edinburgh and had seen how thorough the Livingstons' destruction had been, he saw no reason to back an affinity that had fallen from power.

He was again in Edinburgh, on 25 May when he witnessed a grant by James II to Andrew Agnew, the king's squire and familiar, of the office of hereditary sheriff of Wigtown.²²³ Although James II was also trying to calm matters with Douglas, this grant to Agnew was a clear indication he meant to hold onto Wigtown regardless of Douglas' goals.²²⁴ The witnesses were William bishop of Glasgow, John Bishop of Moray, William Crichton, Thomas Bishop of Whithorn, George earl of Angus, Alexander earl of Huntly, Alexander earl of Crawford, Alexander Lord Montgomery, Patrick Lord Glamis, William Lord Somerville, John Arous, and George Schoriswod.²²⁵ It was surely no accident this charter had twelve witnesses, a rather large number. The last charter with so many witnesses was actually that granted at Melrose on 4 December 1450 to John Maxwell of Caldorwod.²²⁶ Most charters granted in the intervening period had between six and nine witnesses, though one, on 12 January 1451 did list eleven.²²⁷ James had surely gathered several important lords to support his attack on Douglas' possessions, and Crawford, again, aligned with James II, Angus, and Huntly. It appears Crawford was in James II's favour, or had at least established a working-relationship with the young king and his councillors. Furthermore, since Walter Lindsay of Kinblethmont was in Brechin on 10 May 1451 attending to business involving Brechin Cathedral, this may suggest Crawford's stay in Edinburgh was of an extended nature.²²⁸ If this is the case, it is strong evidence Crawford wished to retain some influence at James II's court. Crawford had apparently abandoned his earlier relationship with Douglas.

From October 1450 to the end of May 1451, Douglas had compromised his position, and James II, probably at his councilors, William Turnbull and Chancellor Crichton's urging, pursued a policy taking advantage of Douglas' weaknesses resulting from the Black Dinner, and the earl's own absence. Whether or not Crawford's

²²³ RMS, ii, 447.

²²⁴ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 290.

²²⁵ RMS, ii, 447.

²²⁶ Ibid., 404.

²²⁷ Ibid., 406.

²²⁸ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 163-5.

presence alongside James II during this process indicated antipathy to Douglas is uncertain. Surviving records do not indicate any Black Douglas attempt to woo Crawford at this point and, it would have been political suicide for Crawford to have publicly supported a man whom the king was openly seeking to undermine. It was clearly best for him to support James II's policy. Michael Brown went further to suggest John earl of Ross' activities may have been pushing not only Crawford, but also Crawford's old enemy, Alexander earl of Huntly into James II's arms at this time, as Ross had been on the rampage in the area around Inverness and Urquhart in 1451.²²⁹ Admittedly these were royal targets, but the general situation might have made local lords like Crawford and Huntly nervous.²³⁰ While Brown, looking at this situation from Crawford and Huntly's perspective, stressed these men's desire to seek aid from James II, looking at the situation from James II's perspective is also useful. The king probably wanted Crawford and Huntly's friendship at this point as much as they could have been seeking his aid. If James II could bring Crawford and Huntly to some sort of peace in the northeast, this might have helped him to present a united front against Ross and Douglas. Although Brown's observation is useful that Crawford and Huntly could have been concerned about Ross' advances and turned to James II as a result, it fails to account for the most important factor which is that by 1451 Crawford was very exposed since the men he worked with, the Livingstons, Dundases, Forbes and the Douglasses were no longer able or willing to support him. Thus, Crawford seems to have found alignment with James II unavoidable.

Based on the activities of the Parliament beginning on 28 June 1451 at Edinburgh, it appears Crawford's support for the king over the previous few months was the result of difficult negotiation and sacrifices made on both sides.²³¹ James was not holding back as he prepared for Parliament. Eight days previously, he made a grant to Whithorn in his assumed capacity of the lord of Galloway.²³² This was a direct challenge to Douglas, and could have provoked the ire of significant numbers of the political community, something to which the *Auchinleck Chronicle* refers in its statement that the eventual 'accordance' between Douglas and James II at that Parliament was pleasing to 'all gud scottismen'.²³³ In any case, on 6 July, James granted Crawford, his

²²⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 291; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 169; Grant, 'Revolt of the Lord of the Isles', 169-71.

²³⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 291.

²³¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165 states Parliament began 25 June 1451; *RPS*, 1451/6/1, (date accessed: 14 May 2009) records Parliament beginning from 28 June 1451.

²³² *RMS*, ii, 453.

²³³ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 291; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 130.

'consanguineo... predilecto pro suo fideli servicio' ('kinsman... presaid for his faithful service', the lands of 'Calyn' and 'Calendrate' in Perthshire, which James Livingston had forfeited – the same lands Crawford had granted Livingston in March 1446.²³⁴ There can be no doubt about the intent of this grant. James II wanted to erase utterly anything left of Crawford's connection to the Livingstons, and to tie Crawford more closely to the crown. Given Crawford's recent resignation of his far-flung barony of Kirkmichael, this grant may have been calculated to mitigate this loss, and may have been part of a deal between James II and Crawford. Still, Crawford's decision to accept these lands that James II had acquired from the Livingstons through deceit and blood made a firm statement that the Crawford-Livingston partnership was over. With his connections to the Black Douglasses gone, and his alliance with the Livingstons apparently at an end, it appears at this Parliament Alexander 4th earl of Crawford may be viewed as James II's man.

At the same Parliament, from 6 to 9 July 1451, Crawford witnessed Douglas resign his lands to James II, who regranted most of them back to Douglas.²³⁵ It was a move designed to emphasise James II's authority which probably failed.²³⁶ Crawford's presence here underlines his support for James II. While one might speculate whether Crawford was present as a liaison between James II and Douglas, there is no evidence for this, especially since Crawford had seemingly supported James' most recent attacks on Douglas. In any case, on the occasion of this Parliament it was surely his connections to and recent attendance on James II bringing him into the king's inner circle. Several factors were clearly at work in this regrant. First, as mentioned earlier, the king could not abide Ross' excesses in the north, and second, having attacked Douglas politically, if not militarily, he had upset his relationship with that magnate.²³⁷ Although this regrant did not return the earldom of Wigtown and the lordship of Stewarton to Douglas, this was still a major victory for earl William.²³⁸ Douglas naturally was willing to submit to this because James' attack had probably caught him off guard, and he needed to secure at least a temporary settlement with James to strengthen his position. Moreover, with this regrant he received 'a fre Remission of all things bygane to the day forsaid'.²³⁹ 'Douglas had come through a sustained royal attack

²³⁴ RPS, 1451/6/4. Date accessed: 14 May 2009. Also abbreviated in RMS, ii, 465.

²³⁵ RMS, ii, 463-4, 466-71, 475-82; RPS, 1451/6/5-1451/6/11. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²³⁶ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 130.

²³⁷ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 290-1; Grant, 'Revolt of the Lord of the Isles' 171-2; McGladdery, *James II*, 59.

²³⁸ McGladdery, *James II*, 59; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 130.

²³⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 290-1; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165; McGladdery, *James II*, 59.

with a full pardon and a series of eighteen charters issued by the king before Parliament which confirmed Douglas's rights to lands and offices, including a hereditary grant of the wardenships of the middle and west marches'.²⁴⁰ Even if he had to give up Wigtown and Stewarton, given all the pressure James had put on Douglas over the past several months, few ought to have seen the young king as the victor, despite his arrangement of the regrant to look that way.²⁴¹

The witnesses were not identical on every charter, though through the whole process Crawford rubbed shoulders with William Turnbull bishop of Glasgow, John bishop of Dunkeld, chancellor Crichton, Angus, Huntly, William Lord Hay constable, William Lord Keith marshal, Patrick Lord Glamis, and William Lord Somerville. Tanner suggested that, excepting Crawford, these men 'were by and large royal councillors'.²⁴² Tanner's observation is somewhat inaccurate, and probably more informed by Crawford's actions in 1452. Crawford, while never a councillor, was still in James' inner circle. James Master of Douglas, and the earls of Moray and Ormond, the earl of Douglas' brothers apparently did not attend, suggesting Douglas' brothers still did not regard James' government kindly.²⁴³ Admittedly, though, James Master of Douglas had never been at royal court, and since 1449, Moray and Ormond had only been to court and Parliament a handful of times in the first half of 1450.²⁴⁴ Although Tanner suggested they may have feared seizure and execution, the fact William went there himself, and all four of them returned to Parliament in September probably indicates, at least prior to William 8th earl of Douglas' murder in February 1452 they had no such fear.²⁴⁵

Beyond these witness lists, other evidence suggests that, if Crawford never became a regular councillor, he was still in Edinburgh over the summer and an important supporter of James II's plans, at least in the short term. Crawford was involved in diplomacy, James II's council, and probably with the Exchequer. On 5 July, Crawford, along with the bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin and Galloway, the earls of Angus and Huntly, William Somerville, Alexander Montgomery, Andrew Gray, John Lindsay of the Byres, Alexander Nairn, and James Parkle received a safe conduct to go

²⁴⁰ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 291.

²⁴¹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 130.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid., 130-1.

²⁴⁴ RMS, ii, 308-11, 314, 328, 344, 346; RPS, 1450/1/32, 1450/1/33, 1451/1/35, 1451/1/36. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁴⁵ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 130-1.

to Newcastle or Durham.²⁴⁶ Next, after Crawford witnessed the Douglas regrant, on the 12 July, James confirmed a six merk annuity Crawford had made to Alexander Maw, a Dundee burghess.²⁴⁷ On 22 July Crawford was named a conservator of the truce with England with many others.²⁴⁸ On 4 August, Crawford witnessed a royal grant of lands in the earldom of Atholl to Matilda Duncanson, daughter of Thomas Duncanson.²⁴⁹ Other witnesses included William Turnbull, Crichton, Somerville, Glamis, David Moray of Tulibardine, Simon Glendinning, and George Schoriswood.²⁵⁰ The last time Crawford appeared in Edinburgh during this summer was 15 August, when he witnessed a resignation by and regrant to Robert Duncanson of Struan of the lands in the earldom of Atholl, Perthshire, as a reward for their service in the capture 'of the wicked traitor' Robert Graham, who had been closely involved in James I's murder.²⁵¹

While there is still every indication Crawford was associating with James II primarily because he was trusted, Earl Alexander may also have had connections to the people receiving the grants. The Duncansons (Clann Donnchaidh) had been involved in David 3rd earl of Crawford's 1445 raid in Fife, and Earl Alexander may have been promoting their interests at court.²⁵² Besides these local issues with which James II was dealing and the Douglas regrant, the Exchequer was held in Edinburgh from 7 to 29 July, and Crawford may have been involved, even if he was not a named auditor.²⁵³

After mid-August, Crawford essentially disappears from surviving records, coinciding with a sharp improvement in Douglas fortunes, marked by Parliaments in September and October, the first perhaps dominated by the Black Douglas earls, and the second, very favourable to Douglas. Crawford did not appear to participate in either of these. There is a surviving piece of legislation in the Brechin Register dated 24 September witnessed by James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews, William bishop of Glasgow, John bishop of Dunkeld, John bishop of Moray, Robert bishop of Dunblane, John bishop of Brechin, Thomas bishop of Ross, and George bishop of Lismore, William Crichton, William earl of Douglas, George earl of Angus, Archibald earl of Moray, Hugh earl of Ormond, Alexander earl of Huntly, William earl of Orkney,

²⁴⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 347.

²⁴⁷ *RMS*, ii, 483.

²⁴⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 349-54.

²⁴⁹ *RMS*, ii, 490.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 491.

²⁵² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162-3.

²⁵³ *ER*, v, 420, 447-8, 486.

William Lord Hay constable, and John lord of Lorn.²⁵⁴ It is a re-issue of churchmen's right to testament, something which, on its own, did not necessitate a Parliament.²⁵⁵

While Tanner was right to point out the attendance of Huntly and the lord of Lorn might indicate 'the assembly was primarily interested in northern matters' for the purposes of assessing Alexander earl of Crawford's actions, it might be just as useful to notice the presence of the many Black Douglas earls, including William himself.²⁵⁶

While Crawford's absence from a single witness list hardly indicates he did not attend, if he did not, this would be understandable since the Black Douglasses had eschewed Parliaments of which they did not approve. It is easy to imagine Crawford may have chosen not to attend this Parliament dominated by the Black Douglasses on similar grounds, expecting he would be unable to further any of his goals, since his relations with the Black Douglasses were probably not very good at this point.²⁵⁷

Two months later, at Parliament in October 1451 Parliament, James II's attempts to dominate William 8th earl of Douglas collapsed, and he granted him back the earldom of Wigtown and the lordship of Stewarton, which he had attempted to deny Douglas in July. No record shows Crawford attended this Parliament. Those who did attend and witnessed both documents were William bishop of Glasgow, John bishop of Dunkeld, John bishop of Moray, Crichton, Lord Hay, Lord Keith, Lord Somerville, Lord Gray, John Arous, and George Schoriswood; George earl of Angus witnessed only the Stewarton grant.²⁵⁸ James Lindsay provost of Lincluden, formerly of Douglas' affinity, served as one of the lords auditors, all of whom were either unconnected to Douglas, or had left his service.²⁵⁹ Most likely James II made this grant to Douglas because he still felt it was not possible to move against Ross in the north with Douglas hostile in the south and west.²⁶⁰ Both Dunlop and McGladdery speculated as to what Crawford was doing at this point, since he does not appear to have been at Parliament, though both of their opinions were clearly shaped more by their knowledge of Crawford's activities after William 8th earl of Douglas' murder in February 1452, rather than the events just detailed above, which illustrate Crawford's cooperation with, or

²⁵⁴ *Brechin Registrum*, i, 177-81; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 131-2.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁵⁸ RPS, 1451/10/20, 1451/10/21. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁵⁹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 133.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 132.

perhaps even loyalty to central government over the previous several months.

According to Dunlop, if Crawford

was not already in open rebellion he was only biding his time to strike;
and by Candlemas [2 February] all pretense of loyalty was torn away.²⁶¹

Having seen Crawford's actions in the north, Douglas' 'attitude... became of decisive importance'.²⁶² McGladdery, somewhat more cautious, suggested this may be the point when Ross, Douglas, and Crawford entered into their bond, probably all somewhat worried by James II's attacks (whether military or political) against Douglas' lands in April.²⁶³ Evidence dating from January 1452 suggests Crawford's relationship with Douglas and Ross, as well as with the king, may have been more complex than this. Since Douglas had essentially forced James II's hand twice, this probably led Crawford to consider searching for a new political partner other than the king, since James had been unable to effect his own policy, which made him a rather useless partner for Crawford. James II was weak, and although Douglas' influence was rising, Earl William had attacked Crawford's Dundas allies within the past two years. The most attractive figure to Crawford was probably John earl of Ross. He had been defying James with no apparent repercussions and his marriage alliance with the Livingstons could have been very attractive to Crawford, who probably hoped to renew his ties to the Livingstons as well. Furthermore, Ross was a fellow northern target of James II, and probably opposed to Huntly, given the king's grant to Huntly of Badenoch and Ruthven in April 1451.²⁶⁴

Crawford's whereabouts remain obscure until he was recorded fighting at the Battle of Brechin in May 1452. There are a few hints as to his movements, but they raise more questions than they provide answers. On 1 January 1452 James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews, at his episcopal seat made a life-grant to 'the noble man, lord Alexander Lindsay earl of Crawford *'nostro consanguineo carissimo'* ('our dearest kinsman') for his homage and service to the said bishop, of the lands of Balhary (Alyth Parish, Perthshire), 'Blacokmur' (perhaps corresponding to Black Loch in Blairgowrie, Perthshire, near Alyth) and Newdosk.²⁶⁵ The charter named no witnesses. This grant, of which Annie Dunlop was clearly not aware helps lift the 'curtain... [which had fallen]

²⁶¹ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 132.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ McGladdery, *James II*, 61.

²⁶⁴ RMS, ii, 442.

²⁶⁵ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/51.

upon... [Kennedy's] movements for almost a twelvemonth' occurring after the bishop's appearance at Bruges on 3 May 1451.²⁶⁶ This charter not only confirms Dunlop was right to 'safely assume that no frivolous pretext kept [Kennedy] furth of Scotland' during a time of crisis, it also helps to indicate Bishop Kennedy was willing to work with Crawford in January 1452.²⁶⁷ Of the lands granted to Crawford, there is no evidence Balhary was in the possession of the earls of Crawford, but Newdosk and 'Blacokmur', were both possessions of the Lindsays of Glen Esk and Crawford recorded by the second half of the fourteenth century and in the first few years of the fifteenth century.²⁶⁸ Perhaps these lands had been a bone of contention between Kennedy and Alexander, and perhaps figured in David 3rd earl of Crawford's raids into Fife in January 1445.²⁶⁹ That this was a life grant may indicate both Kennedy and Crawford had come to an arrangement not terribly pleasing to either of them. Since it was probably a contentious grant, and happened at a time when Crawford was exploring his various options of cooperation with James II, or Ross, or perhaps even Douglas, it might be interpreted as an offer from James II. Likewise, Crawford may just as easily have forced it from Kennedy, possibly with Douglas' or Ross' help. It should be emphasised at this late point, though, there is no clear indication the tripartite Douglas-Crawford-Ross bond was in effect.

What does appear to be the indication came less than a fortnight later, on 13 January 1452, when 'William de Douglas earl of Wigton and Annandale and lord of Galloway' witnessed a royal grant and a confirmation to the monastery of Paisley.²⁷⁰ While Douglas was at court that January was the only occasion he used the title '*Comes de Wigtoun*' in one of James II's charters, and it is perhaps more than just a coincidence he witnessed no more royal charters before James II killed him in February.²⁷¹ Surprisingly, the placement of '*Dominus*' in his title seems to suggest he was also claiming Annandale as an earldom even if Annandale was only a provincial lordship, like Galloway, though this could have been a result of scribal imprecision as much as

²⁶⁶ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 135.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ RMS, i, 226, 819, 881.

²⁶⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 162-3.

²⁷⁰ RMS, ii, 522-3, Latin text: '*Wil. de Douglas, Comes de Wigtoun et Annandale &c, Dominus Galwidiæ*'. See 'Appendix E' for copies of these charters.

²⁷¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 59.

anything else.²⁷² While James II presumably authorised this title, he and his councilors could not have been pleased it stressed Douglas' possession of Wigtown, which James II had so recently conceded.²⁷³ Besides Douglas' bravado, his string of titles hints at something else. The contest over Wigtown has naturally drawn the attention of historians, since it figures in parliamentary records, but Douglas' claim to Annandale is surely equally as important, since it had to be of great importance to Crawford. Douglas' appearance at court claiming Annandale probably indicated to Crawford he was about to, or had already begun making moves to gain Annandale's possession, one third of which Crawford's sister was intended to receive based on the indenture Crawford had confirmed as recently as 1450.²⁷⁴ It seems, then, c.13 January 1452 would be a probable date for the bond between Crawford and Douglas.

There is further evidence to suggest by mid- to late-January 1452, Crawford, Douglas, and Ross had been driven to form some sort of bond, as they were all members of a disaffected party. Crawford was the key to this bond, as he had connections to both Ross via the Livingstons and more directly to Douglas via his sister's Annandale-terce indenture. James II's destruction of the Livingston family's position in 1449-50 (modern reckoning) probably pushed Ross to attack crown property. This presumably made Ross unwelcome at James II's court. Of course, James II's encroachment on Douglas' power-base while he was on his pilgrimage to Rome had pushed Earl William into two ultimately successful conflicts with James where he first received a regrant of his lands excepting Wigtown and Stewarton, then second, received regrant of Wigtown and Stewarton. It might be easy to see Douglas' claim of Annandale as most offensive to James II, since in the last six months, Douglas had extracted a confirmation of many of his lands, including his two most contentious possessions, that James had hoped to use to pay his queen's income. Douglas seems to have been attempting to further pressure James and enlarge his possessions by claiming Annandale, lands the king rightfully controlled. Douglas had gone from defence to attack.

²⁷² RMS, ii, 522-3. Archibald 5th earl of Douglas appears on a 1431 charter as 'Archibald earl of Douglas and of Longueville, Galloway and Annandale' despite the fact Galloway and Annandale were not earldoms (Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 63-4). This sort of styling is uncharacteristic, as the earls of Douglas were usually described in an unambiguous way as 'lord' of their lordships (e.g., Fraser, *Douglas Book*, iii, 51-3, 54-6, 58, 66-7). NAS C2/3 no. 116 is essentially identical to the printed text, and NAS C2/4 no. 262, seemingly reads '*William comite de Douglas de Wigton et de Anandale domino de Galwidie*'.

²⁷³ Nicolson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 356-7.

²⁷⁴ NAS RH6/321.

Thus Crawford, who had entered James II's circle following the Livingstons' downfall and Douglas' absence on pilgrimage, turned from James II. There were ample reasons for him to do so. The Livingstons were Crawford's allies against Huntly's interests in Mar and Kildrummy, and with their fall, came the end of Dundas possession of Kildrummy. Entering into a bond with Ross and Douglas would, therefore have been quite useful to Crawford at the end of 1451 and beginning of 1452. If Crawford, Douglas, and Ross were together strong enough, to force James II's hand, both Douglas' and Ross' connections had something to offer earl Alexander. If Crawford worked with Douglas to recover possession of Annandale, Crawford's sister, Johanna Lindsay, could receive her terce of Annandale. This, of course, was beneficial to Douglas, as he had just showed his desire to return Annandale to the Douglas inheritance. Furthermore, cooperation between Crawford and Ross could restore Livingston influence to court, and a keeper of Kildrummy castle friendly to Crawford. Naturally, Ross would have been happy to have Livingston influence back at court, as his marriage into the family was surely calculated to get him access to the Livingstons' affinity. If Douglas and Ross apparently shared no immediate, mutual goals, they still were both victims of James II's attacks, and shared common causes with Crawford. Thus, Crawford shared goals with both Ross and Douglas, and each had something to offer the other. James II had attacked each of these earls interests, creating a very powerful disaffected party.

A fortnight later, on 31 January 1452, Crawford's natural son, Alexander, took part in conveyancing at Finavon with a group of men with contacts with Ross and the Livingstons, though all were not amiable, admittedly.²⁷⁵ On that day, Thomas Rossy, son of the late Thomas Rossy sold Alexander Lindsay, natural son of the 'magnificent and powerful lord, lord Alexander earl of Crawford and Lord le Lindsay' his village of Balwylllo (Dun parish, Angus) in the barony of Dun, Forfarshire.²⁷⁶ The next day, Alexander Erskine of Dun confirmed the sale.²⁷⁷ Among the witnesses to the original at Finavon were Walter Ogilvy of Beaufort and Thomas Ogilvy of Clova.²⁷⁸ Thomas Ogilvy was probably present as one of Erskine of Dun's associates, as he witnessed a grant by Erskine of Dun to William Bonare of land resigned by the late Thomas Rossy

²⁷⁵ *Spalding Misc.*, iv, 4-5.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. Text: 'Baluely'

²⁷⁷ Ibid. NAS GD123/35/1

²⁷⁸ *Spalding Misc.*, iv, 4-5.

on 10 May 1451.²⁷⁹ Thomas Ogilvy of Clova could be the Thomas Ogilvy who lost Urquhart castle to the earl of Ross in 1451, and it was perhaps the same Thomas Ogilvy who was present at David 3rd earl of Crawford's residence in Dundee in 1442, so he could easily have been somebody in Crawford's wider affinity.²⁸⁰ In contrast to this, Walter Ogilvy's identity is much more clear, as he had received the land of 'Thanistoun' in Kincardineshire (present day Thainstone in Aberdeenshire?) from Alexander earl of Ross in 1443.²⁸¹ If Crawford had brought Ogilvy of Beaufort into his camp at this point, it made sense, as Ogilvy of Beaufort had sought aid from the Livingstons in a July 1446 indenture to get the land he held from Ross confirmed.²⁸² Curiously, one of the witnesses the grant by Ross in 1443 of 'Thanistoun' was a Walter Lindsay, probably Lindsay of Kinblethmont, Alexander earl of Crawford's brother.²⁸³ If Ogilvy of Beaufort was at Finavon castle, it is difficult to believe he was there without Crawford's assent, and so it appears Crawford was drawing men to his circle who had connections to Ross, and may have been repairing relations with the Ogilvy family.

This charter is, though, the last hint of Crawford's activities and disposition before the murder of Douglas on the morrow of Shrove Tuesday 1452. Given the men involved in this sale, and its location at Finavon, Crawford's castle, combined with Douglas' claim of Annandale, it is very probable the famous bond between Crawford, Douglas and Ross originated in the three weeks before James II and William 8th earl of Douglas' bloody meeting at Stirling.

The only contemporary chronicle source for the events of 21 and 22 February is the *Auchinleck Chronicle*.²⁸⁴ According to its text, Douglas received a 'respite and assouerance' from James II, subscribed and sealed by him and his council guaranteeing Douglas protection when he came to Stirling.²⁸⁵ William Lauder of Hatton, one of Douglas' men who had been on pilgrimage with the earl to Rome brought the 'assouerance' to Douglas and then went with Douglas to Stirling.²⁸⁶ Douglas arrived at Stirling on 21 February, and apparently dealt amicably with James II.²⁸⁷ The next evening's dinner did not go so well. The Auchinleck chronicler reported Douglas came:

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 3-4.

²⁸⁰ NAS GD150/102.

²⁸¹ *Isles Acta*, 61-2.

²⁸² NAS GD45/27/106.

²⁸³ *Isles Acta*, 61-2.

²⁸⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165; *CDS*, iv, 1229.

²⁸⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165.

and dynit and sowpit and thai said thair was a band betwix the said erll
of douglas and the erll of Ross and the erll of Crawford and efter
supper at sevyne houris the king then beand in the Inner chalmer and
the said erll he chargit him to breke the forsaid band he said he mycht
nocht nor wald nocht / Than the king said / fals tratour sen yow will
noucht I sall / and stert sodanly till him with ane knyf and straik him in
at the colere and down in the body...²⁸⁸

The chronicler then named the king's men who followed up James II's attack with violence of their own; Patrick master of Gray literally brained Douglas with a pole axe, while Alexander Boyd, lord Darnley, Andrew Stewart, William Cranston, Simon Glendinning and Andrew Lord Gray proceeded to give Douglas, or more likely his corpse 'a straik or twa with knyffis'.²⁸⁹

Much rides on the accuracy of this passage. Fortunately, there is a great deal of correspondence between the previous passage in the chronicle narrating the events of the previous June 1451 Parliament and the surviving parliamentary record. Likewise, there is correspondence between the description of Douglas' murder in the chronicle and in James II's parliamentary exoneration in June 1452. This all suggests the Auchinleck chronicler is a reliable source for the events (if not the interpretation) of Douglas' murder.²⁹⁰ McGladdery observed the chronicler's precision regarding events surrounding Douglas' murder, noting king's sealing of the document with his privy seal, and his and his councilors' subscriptions. These were signs the chronicler may have been a royal clerk.²⁹¹ Furthermore, the author may have had legal training. As Sellar noted, the chronicler was keen to exonerate James of 'forthocht felony', essentially premeditated murder in late medieval Scottish law.²⁹² The chronicler, in claiming James 'stert sodanly' used the same words to describe the king's actions as did Sir Gilbert Hay in his 1456 *Buke of the Law of Armys*, when describing murder motivated by a surge of

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165. 'Cranston' inferred from 'gremston'. Michael Brown suggested in *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* that this murder 'had no precedent in the frequent conflicts of the previous reign. It surpassed even its closest contemporary parallel, the murder of Duke John of Burgundy[.] (294)' Killings of men who were 'under... assouerance' was not unprecedented in Scotland, as the Auchinleck chronicler reported Thomas Stewart killed Alan Stewart Lord Darnley after he had given him protection, and the next year Lauchlane McClanis and Murthow Gibson killed John of Colquhoun the lord of Luss, also under protection (160).

²⁹⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165; *RPS*, 1451/6/5-1451/6/11, 1452/6/1, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 129-30.

²⁹¹ McGladdery, *James II*, 66.

²⁹² W. D. H. Sellar, 'Was it Murder? John Comyn of Badenoch and William, Earl of Douglas' in *Perspectives on the Older Scottish Tongue: A Celebration of DOST*, Christian J. Kay and Margaret A. Mackay, eds. (Edinburgh, 2005), 132-8.

passion and desire for vengeance, something wrong, but not as reprehensible as ‘forethocht felony’, i.e. premeditated murder.²⁹³

Secondary sources often have taken the Auchinleck chronicler’s assertion this was a ‘crime of passion’ at face value or avoided assessing its accuracy,²⁹⁴ though neither is the best approach. Without corroboration, the possibility this was a ‘crime of passion’ remains simply a possibility. The alternative, that James intentionally killed Douglas, is equally possible, and should be explored. The other evidence of the murder, the 12 June parliamentary declaration stating Douglas had renounced his safe conduct, could have just as easily been meant to cover up a pre-meditated murder as a crime of passion.²⁹⁵ Second, uncritically accepting the *Auchinleck Chronicle*’s account could prove quite dangerous. If its author was close to James, as McGladdery suggested, might he not want to exonerate his master? The legalistic terminology describing the murder Sellar observed could just as easily have been the same sort of ‘whitewash of events’ Tanner claimed the 12 June declaration was.²⁹⁶ In the case of the Auchinleck chronicler, this whitewash would have been designed to cover a premeditated murder. Next, William Crichton is suspiciously absent from the *Auchinleck* chronicler’s record, even though he had significant influence with James, and a fortnight later his kinsman, George Crichton was determined by an assize to have the rightful claim to the Galwegian lands of Preston and Buittle, William 8th earl of Douglas’ death having detached Galloway from the Douglas inheritance.²⁹⁷ The shadow of Chancellor Crichton certainly fell over this murder.

In contrast to the chronicler’s care taken in describing Douglas’ ‘assouurance’ under which he was murdered, he did not describe the nature of the bond at all, although it was ostensibly the cause of Douglas’ murder. A few details can nevertheless be extracted about the bond’s age and nature. First, it is worth mentioning other

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 293–4 made no judgement, instead focusing on the murder’s usefulness for James II; Dunlop, *Life*, 132 stated, ‘No doubt James was carried away by a sudden outburst of unbridled fury...’; McGladdery, *James II*, 69, stated, ambiguously, ‘The murder of Douglas is unlikely to have been premeditated as, had James really desired Douglas death, there were more subtle ways of achieving it. To renege on the safe-conduct, which was an assurance to the earl that no harm would come to him, was a violation of the medieval code of honour which may have outraged contemporaries...’; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 71, 358–9 quoted *Chron. Auchinleck*, and compares the murder to Bruce’s murder of Comyn, which he argued Bruce did because he ‘lost his temper’; Sellar, ‘Was it Murder?’, 137 fairly clearly took the *Auchinleck Chronicle* at face value; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 134–5 quoted the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, and then took an approach comparable to Brown’s, avoiding assessment.

²⁹⁵ RPS, 1452/6/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

²⁹⁶ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 137.

²⁹⁷ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 295.

evidence would have to come to light to suggest the bond was not tripartite, at least as the chronicler understood it, since he wrote ‘thai said thair was a band betuix the said erll of douglas and the erll of Ross and the erll of Crawford[.]’²⁹⁸ Second, McGladdery asserted these sorts of bonds tended not to be hereditary, and the text of the *Auchinleck Chronicle* essentially confirms this, since the chronicler reported James to have said to Douglas, upon his refusal to break the bond, ‘sen yow will nocht I sall’ before killing him.²⁹⁹ The chronicler clearly understood death to bring this sort of bond to an end.

The way the chronicler chose to introduce the bond, stating Douglas came ‘and dynit and sowpit and thai said there was a band betwix’ Douglas, Crawford and Ross may indicate this was the first time news of this bond had come to James.³⁰⁰ Specifically, the words ‘thai said there was a bond’ seem to imply this was a fresh topic. Had the bond been well known to both, one expects the chronicler would have indicated they began discussing the bond without having to state ‘thai said there was a bond’, or perhaps that James would have immediately charged Douglas to break the bond without any introduction.

James’ actions after he killed Douglas were firm. He passed through Douglas’ lands and did his best to secure Galloway now that William’s death had cut it from the Douglas inheritance, and returned to Stirling, the scene of the crime, by mid-March.³⁰¹ James 9th earl of Douglas’ reaction to this murder was forceful, if neither fast nor of immediately discernible intent. He gathered his allies together, including the earl of Ormond, John Douglas of Balvenie, Lord Hamilton and Andrew Kerr, and according to the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, about 600 other men.³⁰² They went to Stirling, perhaps giving chase to James II who had just left the burgh, and burned the town on 17 March 1452, but not before Douglas ‘blew out xxiii hornis attanis apon the king and apon all the lordis that war with him that tyme’ and had William 8th earl of Douglas’ safe conduct dragged through Stirling attached to a horse’s tail.³⁰³ Whether the Black Douglasses felt they were performing a ceremony of *diffidatio*, formally withdrawing their loyalty from James II on the grounds William had been betrayed, as Nicholson suggested, or they were simply indulging in the less intellectually-sophisticated activity

²⁹⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; McGladdery, *James II*, 63.

³⁰⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165.

³⁰¹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 294-5.

³⁰² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 295; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165-6.

³⁰³ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 295; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165-6.

of vengeance, in this case by ransacking the burgh in which the murder took place and slandering the royal killer of their brother, they made a strong statement.³⁰⁴

McGladdery pointed out if James II had been present, with William having been killed, a *coup d'état* may have been an attractive option for the new earl of Douglas.³⁰⁵

At this point, the Auchinleck chronicler's precision fails. He recorded that while James 9th earl of Douglas was attacking Stirling, James II 'was in Perth passand to the erll of Craufurd'.³⁰⁶ A ten day gap exists in the records of James II's activities, between 14 March when James II was at Stirling and 24 March when he was at Edinburgh, so there is no way to corroborate the *Auchinleck Chronicle's* account.³⁰⁷ It would be easy to assume this passage meant James II was racing to attack Crawford, as he could well have been in rebellion. Dunlop claimed it was at this point Crawford 'ravaged the north', though she did not cite any evidence for this.³⁰⁸ Instead, the evidence of Crawford's time at court in 1451 and his recent connections to James bishop of St Andrews, may indicate James II did not necessarily have violence in mind. Furthermore, since no record exists of fighting between James II and Crawford's forces or harrying of Crawford's Perthshire or Forfarshire lands, the king probably had diplomacy in mind. If he was not simply hoping to secure Crawford's support (again), he may have been attempting to determine what Crawford's orientation towards him was. He also could have been personally demanding Crawford support him or face the consequences.

The language the Auchinleck chronicler used also sheds a little light onto the nature of James' 'passand' to Crawford.³⁰⁹ The chronicler used one form or another of the verb 'pass' thirteen times, spread more or less evenly throughout his text.³¹⁰ Excepting the incident in question, nine of the uses are clearly associated with an army raiding while in transit, e.g.,

Item Incontinent the Englishmen war gadderit well till iiii or vc
thousand and come to the marche and thair discordit and passit hame
with ane gret vellany[.]³¹¹

The verb 'pass' was also used in a military context to describe the movement of an army towards or from a point of conflict, e.g.,

³⁰⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165-6.; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 360.

³⁰⁵ McGladdery, *James II*, 76.

³⁰⁶ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

³⁰⁷ Fraser, *Buccleuch*, ii, 44-5; McGladdery, *James II*, 75; RMS, ii, 532.

³⁰⁸ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 133-4, 134*n*.

³⁰⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 162, 165, 166-7, 169-70, 173.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

...[they] remanit thair quhill he was crownit and quhile the forsaid lordis
passit to the castell of werk and sone thai wan that castell and
Incontinent kest it doune to the erd and distroyit it for ever.³¹²

In two other circumstances, 'passit' clearly meant 'went' with no implication of warlike activity, as when James Stewart of Auchingowne's wife traveling under guard of Alexander Cunningham 'passit with him' after her husband was killed, and when 'William lawder of haltoun passit to the forsaid erll William of Douglas and brought him to Stirling'.³¹³ In one circumstance the activity is slightly ambiguous, when

the erll of ergyle Colin Campbell passit in Lorne for the redempcoun of
his cousin John Keir of Lorne... And schortlie this erll forsaid with his
ost come to the Isle of Kerewra.³¹⁴

Thus, while the chronicler appeared to prefer using the term 'pass' in a military context, and almost exclusively used it in the context of strife, his failure to mention an army associated with James II, or any sort of military activity on James' part suggests he did not believe James was moving to attack Crawford or his interests, though it may imply James was traveling with a significant company of armed men, not unlikely if Douglas was pursuing him at Stirling. If the chronicler did intentionally fail to record military action, it would be out of character since he was highly interested in conflict. The *recto* and *verso* of every folio of the *Auchinleck Chronicle* bear record of murder (judicial or otherwise), killing, combat, kidnapping, raiding, sieges, or battles besides the other affairs of church, government and natural disasters. Thus it seems most likely the chronicler was implying James was traveling, probably with an armed company of men, but not that they were raiding or in combat.

If James did communicate with Crawford in March 1452, it was unproductive. Since James had just murdered Douglas, Crawford probably had little reason to trust him, and it is difficult to believe he was not enraged to have lost such an important ally. He was probably concerned about his own future as well, given James' reasons for killing Douglas. If the king had expected Crawford would look past this, he was to be disappointed. Douglas' murder was unlikely to have increased Crawford's faith in James' benevolence. After James' movement towards Crawford, he turned his attention again to the Black Douglasses. By 12 April, James II had destroyed the castle of Hatton

³¹² Ibid., 169. All nine examples of the verb 'pass' in a military context can be found at Ibid., 166-7, 169-70, 173.

³¹³ Ibid., 161-2, 165.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 170.

and killed William Lauder of Hatton, a Black Douglas ally.³¹⁵ Also that April, clergymen William bishop of Glasgow and James bishop of St Andrews made loans to the king, but the only magnates who seemed interested in supporting him were Huntly, Orkney, and Angus.³¹⁶ While Crawford probably expected Huntly to side with James II, he may have been slightly more worried about Thomas Erskine's activities. From 12 April to 5 May, Thomas witnessed twenty-one of James II's charters not only at Edinburgh, but also at Jedburgh, Lochmaben, and Morton castle, as James II moved through Douglas' territory.³¹⁷ While he may have begun attending on James II, initially in the hopes of catching the king at a weak point so he could more effectively push his father's claims to Mar and Garioch, which his father had asserted as recently as September 1451, it seems clear the end result of this attendance was his entry into James' inner circle.³¹⁸

Thomas Erskine's siding with James II may have resulted in Crawford's position slipping further, though either way, his position in Aberdeenshire had to have been severely compromised since September 1449. Regardless, on 18 May 1452, Crawford, his brother John Lindsay of Brechin, his ally James Dundas 'and uther sundry gentill men wele till iixx of cotarmouris' met Huntly 'in the feld on the mure besyd brechyne'.³¹⁹ Huntly, according to the chronicler, was aided by his brother William Seton and 'thre or four [score] of gentill men and v or sex [score] of zemen', and generally had much more support than Crawford 'becaus he displayit the kingis banere and said it was the kingis actioun and he was his luftenend'.³²⁰ Because of these greater numbers, the chronicler stated that Huntly won the battle.³²¹ Very frustratingly, the whole *Auchinleck Chronicle* ends, in the middle of a *folio*, and in the middle of the sentence stating, 'the erll of huntlie held the feld and raid in angus with thre or foure thousand with him and the erll of craufurd[...]'.³²²

Contemporary records corroborate the Auchinleck chronicler's accounts of raiding following the battle, as Walter Carnegie, whose Forfarshire land of Kinnaird was less than four miles from Brechin, apparently complained to James II subsequent fighting between Crawford and Huntly resulted in the destruction of his house and

³¹⁵ ER, v, 606-8; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 360; RMS, ii, 536, 544.

³¹⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 360-1.

³¹⁷ HMC 15.8, 46; RMS, ii, p. 120-3.

³¹⁸ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 201-2.

³¹⁹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Asloan Manuscript, NLS MS. Acc. 4233, f. 123v.; *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173.

charters.³²³ The Aberdeen Guild Court Register also indicates that there was a fair bit of warning, as an ordinance recorded on 21 April 1452 stated that ‘because of perile apperand, the toun sal be stryn[g]thit and fortifiit with’ wallez and strynthez in all gudeli haste’.³²⁴ Although Huntly supposedly won this battle, evidence suggests Crawford could not have been defeated too badly, as he survived a forfeiture the next month and apparently returned to James II’s favour. Indeed, the very fact Huntly never met up with James II, and never received a reward could suggest the Auchinleck chronicler’s account was wrong, and that Brechin could have been an indecisive encounter.

Whether or not the Battle of Brechin should be understood as a national or local event has been debated. Dunlop thought the battle was part of a wider strategy to attack James II’s enemies in the north and south of Scotland, and Nicholson suggested a degree of cooperation between James and Huntly as well.³²⁵ This view is naturally informed, in one way or another, by several chronicle sources, including the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, John Lesley’s *Historie of Scotland*, Pitscottie’s *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, and Buchanan’s *History of Scotland*.³²⁶ McGladdery, on the other hand, felt otherwise. She noted Huntly never joined with and aided James in the south, and also asserted Huntly never apparently received any gift for his services, suggesting this was probably a local matter.³²⁷ Moreover, she argued James would have had no interest in enriching a ‘self-seeking and opportunist’ magnate like Huntly, as this could potentially earn him yet another independent-minded magnate in the north to replace the Black Douglasses.³²⁸ If this was the case, James’ grant of the provincial lordship of Badenoch to Huntly on 28 April 1451 and his transfer to the keepership of Kildrummy castle by 11 November 1451, which remained in effect beyond Alexander 4th earl of Crawford’s September 1453 death makes little sense, as this gave Huntly much power in the north.³²⁹ Last, she suggested animosity surviving from 1446 may have played into the battle, though this is rather unlikely as a major contributing factor, since Crawford and Huntly had recently been associating with each other in James II’s court.³³⁰ In fact, a number of local as well as national factors were actually influencing the men who participated in the battle.

³²³ HMC 7.2, Southesk, 720 no. 30; McGladdery, *James II*, 77, 90 *n*9.

³²⁴ *Abdn. Guild Recs.*, 34, 140.

³²⁵ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 136; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 361.

³²⁶ Buchanan, *History*, ii, 94; Lesley, *History*, 22-3; Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 96-9. No account of the battle of Brechin is mentioned in *Chron. Extracta*.

³²⁷ McGladdery, *James II*, 77-8.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ *ER*, v, 515, 518, 598-600, 652, 656, 658; *RMS*, ii, 442.

³³⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 77.

James Dundas' presence among Crawford's allies at Brechin illustrates how national and local interests were linked in this battle. Since James Dundas' brother, Archibald, had kept Kildrummy castle, its possession was probably a matter at issue, with Huntly the man in possession when the battle was fought.³³¹ James II had forfeited James Dundas and attacked his family in January 1450, and he was out of favour at the time of Brechin, giving him common cause with Crawford.³³² Therefore, Dundas was probably happy to throw his support behind Crawford in the hope of restoring his brother to Kildrummy, (a local matter), though victory in this battle would have also been a step towards returning his family to favour and acquiring remission of his forfeiture, a goal he could only accomplish at the national level.

Furthermore, unlike the battle of Arbroath, the conflict that brought Crawford and Huntly to fight at Brechin had national origins and implications. By January 1446, when Arbroath was fought, Huntly had actively isolated David 3rd earl of Crawford from some of his local and regional supporters, primarily the Ogilvies, while Crawford was using Erskine and Forbes to undermine Huntly in Aberdeenshire. While Huntly may have had support from Crichton in his pursuits prior to 1446, this was clearly not national policy after 1443, when Crichton's opponents, William 8th earl of Douglas and the Livingstons were most ascendant in Scotland. By May 1452, although Alexander 4th earl of Crawford was isolated due to the Dundas' loss of Kildrummy castle in 1449, this was the handiwork of James II and William Crichton, a policy emanating from the centre of Scottish government. Last, the events of March, in which James II apparently attempted to reach Crawford, had almost certainly confirmed James' displeasure with that earl, making Crawford a viable, and now isolated target. If the *Auchinleck Chronicle* is accurate, it is probably no surprise Huntly was able to draw many men to his side.³³³

James II indeed wanted Crawford destroyed. According to the Auchinleck chronicler, the king held a Parliament at Stirling on 12 June 1452 where he attacked enemies, rewarded allies and solidified existing relationships.³³⁴ Foremost among enemies attacked was Crawford, intriguing since Douglas, Ormond and James Hamilton apparently received no punishment despite having nailed a note to the door of Parliament at night revoking their homage to the king.³³⁵ Besides this, James apparently

³³¹ *ER*, v, 525, 518.

³³² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 172.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 173.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 166.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 166.

ignored his problems with Ross. Instead, taking pride of place in this account, James forfeited ‘Alexander Lindsay The erll of Crawford and lord Lindsay bath land lyf and gudis’.³³⁶ Crawford’s support of Ross and Douglas, combined with his apparent refusal in March to support James surely helped earn him this forfeiture, though it requires little imagination to see how James could have felt personally offended that a man who had served him at his court had turned against him. If James II followed procedure, he would have called Parliament on or before 4 May, only a fortnight before the battle of Brechin.³³⁷ Surely Crawford’s forfeiture was a forgone conclusion, and could have even been James’ primary reason for calling Parliament.

If this was so, it makes the Auchinleck chronicler’s comment that Huntly ‘displayit the kingis banere and said it was the kingis actioun and he was his luftenend’ have a new force.³³⁸ Huntly was perhaps attempting to capture Crawford to bring him to Parliament for his forfeiture, or attempting to weaken him to make enforcing the forfeiture easier. While McGladdery argued the raising of the king’s standard was a ‘motif’ previously used for describing of William earl of Douglas’ 1444 attack against the Crichton castle of Barnton, there are a couple reasons this ‘motif’ argument should be reconsidered. First, there are only two instances where the chronicler recorded the display of the king’s banner, and twice hardly makes a motif. Second, regarding Barnton, William 8th earl of Douglas was exploiting the authority of a king in his minority, whereas in 1452 James had full authority to order his vassals and appoint lieutenants.³³⁹ Again, examining the Auchinleck chronicler’s language is useful. Excluding his twelve uses of the word ‘said’ to mean foresaid,³⁴⁰ he used it seventeen times.³⁴¹ He used it to indicate conversation six times,³⁴² the saying of mass once,³⁴³ in the constructions ‘thai said’ and ‘that is to say’ ten times,³⁴⁴ to express collective opinion once,³⁴⁵ to express the text of a document once,³⁴⁶ and last, to indicate a claim (including Huntly’s claim of lieutenancy) four times.³⁴⁷ The first was in reference to an

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173; McGladdery, *James II*, 78.

³³⁸ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173.

³³⁹ McGladdery, *James II*, 77.

³⁴⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 165-6, 169-70, 172.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 161, 165-6, 168-70, 172.

³⁴² Ibid., 161, 165, 168.

³⁴³ Ibid., 172.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 161, 164-7, 169-70.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 170.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 166.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 168-9, 173.

absolution granted under duress by George Lauder bishop of Argyle to Gilbert ‘McLathane’ and Morris ‘McFadzane’ who had attacked and detained the bishop and his men, which absolution ‘said that thai come for na Ill’ which was clearly not the case, given Gilbert and Morris had indeed attacked the bishop. Nevertheless, the document the chronicler described surely said this. The second and third instances were when John earl of Ross

said he had the kingis writ and walx to have the castell of Urquhart for
iii yeris and he said that the kingis awne person gart him marry the said
James’ douchter and hecht him gud lordschipe[.]³⁴⁸

The last instance, of course, is when Huntly ‘said it was the kingis actioun and he was his leftennend’.³⁴⁹

There are a few reasons to take each of these last three claims as genuine. First, there really is no element of sarcasm in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, and for the implication these were false claims to come across requires that. Second, the chronicler was quite accurate about Parliaments, and there is much correlation between the chronicler’s account and surviving acts, suggesting he was a royal clerk.³⁵⁰ Clerk or not, an appointment of Huntly to a lieutenantancy, a royal writ in favour of the earl of Ross to Urquhart castle, and James’ support of Ross’ marriage seems to be the type of information to which the chronicler was privy. Indeed, with such apparently close access to royal documents, one would expect the chronicler would have known if these were false claims, and presumably stated this in his text. Thus, interpreting ‘said’ in these three cases as the chronicler’s record of Ross’ and Huntly’s making claims which explained their actions makes most sense, rather than as a sarcastic element indicating these men were making false or disputable claims.

Besides the forfeiture James pronounced on Crawford, he used other practical methods to attempt to strengthen his position. To protect himself from any potential backlash, on 12 June 1452 Parliament issued a document, surely at his bidding, pronouncing him innocent of Douglas’ murder.³⁵¹ He also belted three earls: James Crichton, having married ‘the eldest sister of Moray’ became earl of Moray, William Lord Hay was created earl of Errol, and he gave George Crichton the earldom of Caithness.³⁵² Taking into account Huntly’s earldom, Errol’s lands and James Crichton’s

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 169.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 173.

³⁵⁰ McGladdery, *James II*, 66.

³⁵¹ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 137-8.

³⁵² *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

earldom of Moray, Crawford found himself surrounded by newly ennobled supporters of the king.³⁵³ Similarly, to shore up his support, he created several Lords of Parliament including the Lords Darnley, Hailes, Boyd of Kilmarnock, Lyle of Duchal, and Cathcart of that Ilk.³⁵⁴ Other men to benefit at the Parliament were Colin Campbell, Alexander Home, David Home, and James Keir.³⁵⁵ He also confirmed all his and his predecessors' charters in favour of St Andrews and allowed Bishop James Kennedy to run its lands as a regality.³⁵⁶ What effect these rewards had is questionable, as the chronicler reported 'men demyt' these grants 'wald nocht stand'.³⁵⁷

Crawford, obviously, did not attend this Parliament, but one surviving witnessed document does suggest James II did have a degree of support, especially from the church, if not from most earls.³⁵⁸ On 14 June the bishops of Glasgow, Moray, Dunblane and Lismore, the Abbots of St Andrews, Holyrood and Dunfermline, George earl of Angus, Chancellor Crichton, John Lord Lorn, William Lord Hay, Duncan Lord Campbell, Alexander Lord Montgomery, William Lord Somerville, George Lord Seton, George Lord Lesley, John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Andrew Lord Gray, John Arous, and George Schoriswood were present in Edinburgh.³⁵⁹ Just after the Parliament, James led a vengeful raid through Douglas' territory; though he probably had much initial support, his army apparently was rapacious, bringing widespread destruction to crops and livestock, probably costing him much support he had recently earned in Parliament.³⁶⁰

By August, James was forced to make concessions to recover his position. Instead of forfeiting the Douglases, which is probably what he had hoped to do, the Parliament meeting on 26 August seemed more concerned with economics.³⁶¹ On 27 August, he forgave Alexander Livingston of Callander, the late James Dundas, the executed Alexander Livingston, and also lifted the forfeiture on Duncan Dundas and James Livingston.³⁶² Archibald Dundas, nine days earlier, had also received a pardon for

³⁵³ McGladdery, *James II*, 79.

³⁵⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ RPS, 1479/10/12; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 136.

³⁵⁷ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

³⁵⁸ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 363.

³⁵⁹ RPS, 1479/10/12. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁶⁰ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166; McGladdery, *James II*, 79-80; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 364.

³⁶¹ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 365; RPS, 1452/1-1452/6, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 138.

³⁶² McGladdery, *James II*, 80-1; NLS Adv. MSS. B 1316-7.

despoiling a ship at Leith, and for everything else he had done.³⁶³ Since James had been unable to enforce Crawford's forfeiture regardless of the outcome of Brechin, he adopted the carrot and the stick approach for dealing with him. James II's stick was granting his queen the earldom of Garioch on 26 August, probably expecting it to put pressure on Crawford in Aberdeenshire by entrenching royal interests there, even if it was also a useful way for the king to provide for his wife's income. James' carrot was his remission to the Dundases, and to some degree his remission to the Livingstons.³⁶⁴ Similarly, the Livingstons' remission was probably aimed at calming Ross, whose 1451 raids were conducted in support of his Livingston in-laws.³⁶⁵ On 28 August, James II made an 'Appoyntement' with Douglas and Lord Hamilton where James 9th earl of Douglas renounced his bonds, and also agreed not to attempt to acquire Wigtown or the lordship of Stewarton.³⁶⁶ He also promised to 'remitt and forgive' James II for killing William 8th earl of Douglas.³⁶⁷ While this may have eased a few of James II's fears about Douglas' communication with England and his pursuits in southwest Scotland, the king could not have been happy, as these concessions underlined his policy failures.³⁶⁸ The king, on the other hand, promised to aid Douglas and help arrange for Douglas' marriage to the Fair Maid of Galloway, eventually granted on 27 February.³⁶⁹ This agreement was 'remarkable' to Dunlop, because it was 'more like a contract between equals than the submission of a rebellious subject to his sovereign lord'.³⁷⁰

McGladdery felt this resulted from the three estates reluctance to justify or ordain direct attacks against Douglas, and indeed these agreements were not concluded in General Council or Parliament, which might have been more agreeable to James II anyway, since he may have felt them easier to disregard when he felt like it.³⁷¹ Tanner observed, though, that Douglas had probably made these arrangements with James II from a strong position, and that the members of the estates who met in this period were all men whom James II had recently supported, and had little reason to oppose

³⁶³ McGladdery, *James II*, 91*n*; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 139.

³⁶⁴ RMS, ii, 592.

³⁶⁵ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 139.

³⁶⁶ Nicolson, *Late*, 365.

³⁶⁷ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 299; Patrick Fraser Tytler, *The History of Scotland from the Accession of Alexander III. to the Union*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1864), 386-7.

³⁶⁸ Brown, *Black Douglases*, 298-9; McGladdery, *James II*, 81.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 82; Nicolson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 365.

³⁷⁰ Dunlop, *James Kennedy*, 142.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 81-3.

him.³⁷² Douglas, while having humiliated the king, had clearly not check-mated him; Douglas' acquisition of Galloway was somewhat mitigated by his loss of allies including Somerville, Hume, Haliburton, and his former secretary, James Lindsay.³⁷³

By March, James II's position had further deteriorated, when he held a General Council.³⁷⁴ Although many men who supported him attended, it cannot be missed that Thomas Lord Erskine was, yet again, arguing for his rights to the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, and in response, Crichton was engaging in more stalling tactics.³⁷⁵ This must indicate whatever good will James had earned from Erskine was now gone, surely a result of the grant of Garioch to Queen Mary. Furthermore, simultaneously, Douglas was meeting with a group of men including his brothers Ormond, John Douglas of Balvenie, James Lord Hamilton, and Andrew Ker, which made a grant in favour of his secretary Mark Haliburton.³⁷⁶ While it was, perhaps sensible for Douglas to be keeping from James' court, and in the short term may have helped to undermine his authority, in the long term, James II was able to use the meetings of the estates to give him authority and gain support for his moves against Douglas.³⁷⁷ It may have been around this time, as well, that James II pardoned Crawford formally, or, at least, by the end of May, when he was named as a conservator of the truce with England.³⁷⁸ Pitscottie asserted Crawford submitted to James II at about this point, when the king was passing through Forfarshire.³⁷⁹ The last time Crawford was recorded alive was the Exchequer dated 4 August 1453, and his death was first recorded in the Exchequer of 13 July 1454.³⁸⁰ This squares well with the Auchinleck chronicler's assertion he died in September 1453.³⁸¹ While it is impossible to know, there is no indication Alexander's loyalty to James II would have been any less changeable than in the past. Had he continued to live, he surely would have been the opportunist he had always been. His son, David 5th earl of Crawford was a minor, who would be unable to oppose Huntly's goals in the north, namely in Moray, Ormond, Strathbogie and around Badenoch.³⁸²

³⁷² Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 140.

³⁷³ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 299-300.

³⁷⁴ RPS, 1453/1, date accessed: 14 May 2009; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 140-1.

³⁷⁵ RPS, 1453/1. Date accessed: 14 May 2009.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.; NAS GD25/1/55; Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 141.

³⁷⁷ Tanner, *Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, 141.

³⁷⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 363-7.

³⁷⁹ Pitscottie, *Historie*, i, 103-12.

³⁸⁰ ER, v, 569, 628-9.

³⁸¹ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 163.

³⁸² Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 303.

Throughout Alexander Lindsay 4th earl of Crawford's career, the changing political circumstances within the kingdom forced him to be constantly adapting to best further his interests. These primarily included the maintenance of an ally in Aberdeenshire, especially at Kildrummy castle, and maintaining influence at the national level when possible. Many matters in question between 1438 and 1446 were still driving Crawford's policy. The competing factions' struggle over Kildrummy castle during David 3rd earl of Crawford's career as well as his son's career, indicates they thought it was key to maintaining influence in Aberdeenshire. Certainly those most influential in central government always were careful to entrust it to an ally, be it Robert Erskine, Archibald Dundas, James Crichton, or Huntly. When the Livingstons were ascendant at court, they favoured the third and fourth earls of Crawford, employing keepers of Kildrummy castle friendly to the Crawford earls' interests. Furthermore, Alexander and his father attempted to improve their position in the kingdom through alliances with the Douglas earls, and found them, at best, unpredictable allies. Last, Alexander and David's opposition to Crichton and his policies, especially respecting Kildrummy castle, and Crichton's negative attitude towards some Black Douglas earls, were constants for which David and Alexander earls of Crawford had to account in their own policy.

The root of this, of course, was the competition between the Livingston and Crichton factions for control of central government. The competition had its origins in James II's minority, and spilled over into his majority, affecting David and Alexander's careers. Even after September 1449, when James was allegedly acting as an adult, the similarities between Crichton's early policy, when he could effect it, and James' policy starting in September 1449, are striking, and probably indicate James was implementing a policy in line with Crichton's goals. This should come as no surprise, as Crichton was a seasoned veteran of politics in Scotland by September 1449, with the blood of a Douglas earl on his hands, while James was merely a nineteen year old boy. It is likely Crichton, who had been wily enough to survive a forfeiture the Black Douglasses and Livingstons had been unable to enforce, was able to wield a significant amount of influence on the young and inexperienced James II.

A few of Crichton's policies stand out particularly that affected the third and fourth earls of Crawford. The most notable was Crichton's opposition to any formal link between the earls of Crawford and Douglas. This was apparent both before and after September 1449. Both earls of Crawford achieved some success in their pursuit of alliances with the Black Douglas earls, and almost immediately following their successes

in these ventures, the earl of Douglas was killed. While the motivations for both of these killings have already been discussed, at this point it is worth observing the apparent urgency with which these alliances were terminated in both circumstances, and that they both brought immediate benefits to Crichton. In the case of the Black Dinner in 1440, the sixth earl of Douglas' death brought Crichton and James Douglas of Balvenie hegemony in government. The eighth earl of Douglas' murder, similarly had to have been intended to make government easier, and as well, it benefitted William Crichton's ally and kinsman, George Crichton, through George's receipt of Galwegian lands.³⁸³ While it would be impossible to assert firmly Crichton planned William 8th earl of Douglas' murder, it would not be too much to suggest that his influence may have led James II to kill Douglas whether in hot or cold blood.

Crichton's goals cannot be entirely separated from James' assault on the Douglasses. For Crichton to maintain influence in government, and for James to exercise control, an imperious magnate like William 8th earl of Douglas was just as much a threat as the Livingstons' possession of offices had been. Besides this, Crichton could have easily harboured a grudge against William 8th earl of Douglas, who partially owed his comital position to the chancellor. Crichton's role in arranging the Black Dinner was clear, and without it, William 8th earl of Douglas would have simply been head of a cadet family rather than one of the preeminent magnates in Western Europe. Douglas' attack on the Crichton castle of Barnton in June 1443 and the subsequent Parliament that forfeited Crichton and his family members was surely the sort of event that would have polarised the Black Douglasses and the Crichtons.³⁸⁴

The second element of continuity between Crichton's goals and James II's after his *de facto* majority was in their mutual desire to attack the earls of Crawford's territory and sphere of influence. David 3rd earl of Crawford, as well as Alexander 4th earl of Crawford had experienced Crichton's interest in their land of Kirkmichael. In 1440, James Douglas of Dalkeith resigned Kirkmichael back to the third earl of Crawford, who granted it to Crichton, but by 1450, Crichton apparently forced the fourth earl to resign it, so he could hold it from the crown. Crichton's marriage ally, Huntly, also played a key role in this, both before and after September 1449. Crichton was apparently very interested in attacking the third and fourth earls of Crawford's position in Aberdeenshire. The marriage of Crichton's daughter to Alexander Seton of

³⁸³ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 294-5.

³⁸⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 161.

Tullibody, later first earl of Huntly was a clear statement of intent since David 3rd earl of Crawford had insulted Seton of Tullibody by canceling his daughter Johanna's marriage to him in favour of her marriage to William 6th earl of Douglas. Likewise, in both James II's minority and majority, Crichton always opposed the Erskines' claim to Mar and Garioch, and their attempts to gain possession of Kildrummy castle. This pursuit seriously threatened Crichton's northern goals, since the Livingstons and Crawford earls, especially the third, consistently supported the Erskines in their pursuits of Mar, Garioch, and Kildrummy castle. It was, therefore, probably displeasing to Crichton to see Archibald Dundas, an ally of the Livingstons, gain the keepership of that castle after Robert Erskine delivered it to the crown, but it is no surprise that after September 1449 his heir, James Crichton, and later his son-in-law, Alexander earl of Huntly kept that castle. About the same time he acquired Kildrummy's keepership, James Crichton was created earl of Moray, another move probably intended to undercut Crawford's influence in the north. Even if James II was acting as an adult, there is no question it had to be Crichton's influence that brought his son, and later Huntly to Kildrummy, and saw William Crichton's son belted an earl.

Despite these points of continuity between David 3rd and Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's careers involving Crichton, Kildrummy, and the Livingstons, Alexander's career was in no way a duplicate of his father's. Although some of his concerns were the same, there was a marked shift in his affinity, both in regards to his peers and his clients, and his ability to participate in central government. Whether or not Crichton was the driving force behind the adult James II, the fact James assumed his majority made much of the difference. James' activity as an adult also meant the third and fourth earls of Crawford's immediate motivations for aligning with William 8th earl of Douglas, as well as the ways in which they aligned with him were very different. Last, although the third and fourth earls fought battles against Huntly, the May 1452 battle of Brechin was in no way a rehash of the January 1446 battle of Arbroath.

Death, and the events of James II's majority wreaked havoc on the affinity David 3rd earl bequeathed to his son. Alexander was happy to use his father's men, including Alexander Lord Forbes, Robert Erskine claimant of Mar and Garioch, through 1449. His support of Forbes is more apparent than of Erskine, as Forbes remained his sheriff deputy as late as 27 October 1448, around which time he probably died.³⁸⁵ When Crawford acted in his capacity as sheriff of Aberdeen in October 1450,

³⁸⁵ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 269-70.

the witness list did include a John Forbes listed first, even before Crawford's brother, Walter Lindsay, who appeared among the witnesses; the presence, though, of Walter Ogilvy 'sheriff of Angus' casts doubt onto whether all the witnesses present were Crawford's friends.³⁸⁶ In any case, there is no surviving evidence Crawford was acting in concert with any members of the Forbes of that Ilk family after October 1448. This is unsurprising since Huntly secured James Forbes allegiance, and Crawford made no attempts to woo James Forbes into his camp.³⁸⁷ It is probably no coincidence there is also no surviving evidence for the main Forbes and Erskine lines acting in concert with each other from 1446 until August 1453 when James Lord Forbes and Thomas Lord Erskine and a host of relatively hardcore supporters of James II witnessed a royal inspection of a charter in favour of the cathedral of Brechin.³⁸⁸

While Alexander 4th earl of Crawford apparently saw usefulness in his connection to Alexander Lord Forbes up to his departure from politics in 1448, his connection to the Erskines is altogether more complicated, partly because no documents clearly spell out the fourth earl's disposition towards them. Given the instruments issued from Aberdeen before 1446 by Alexander Forbes, both Forbes and David 3rd earl of Crawford appear very interested in maintaining a constant policy of support for Erskine's claim to Mar and Garioch. While this support was surely rooted in David's desire to counter-balance Huntly, based on David's constant support of Robert Erskine, he surely felt the best way to achieve this counter-balance was to have a fully recognised Robert Erskine earl of Mar as his ally in Aberdeenshire. The fact Robert would have owed any success in this pursuit to Crawford had to have been another factor in David 3rd earl of Crawford's plan, as it strongly linked the two men.

Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's interest in the Erskines' cause was apparently much more flexible than his father's. The instrument spelling out Robert Erskine's claim via his descent from the ancient earls of Mar to the two earldoms issued in October 1447 bears no Forbes witnesses, though Ingeram Lindsay bishop of Aberdeen's apparent support of the document could possibly indicate Crawford approved of it, though Crawford and Ingeram otherwise did not appear to work in concert with each other.³⁸⁹ Although Crawford was not apparently personally involved in the transfer of Kildrummy to Archibald Dundas, or Robert Erskine's transfer of

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., iv, 340-1, 395-6; NAS GD52/406.

³⁸⁸ *Brechin Registrum*, ii, 91-4.

³⁸⁹ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 197-8.

most of his lands to his son Thomas in September 1448, Alexander Livingston, James Livingston and Robert Livingston's witnessing of the document suggests Erskine still had significant governmental support.³⁹⁰ Crawford did later witness Thomas Erskine's protestation before the three estates claiming the castle of Kildrummy and the earldom of Mar in April 1449.³⁹¹ In contrast to his father David, Alexander 4th earl was most interested in maintaining Livingston support, and supporting their ally, the Dundases, who kept Kildrummy castle in 1448 and 1449. In this way, Alexander's interests were not far off from Thomas Erskine, who, during Alexander 4th earl's career only seemed to use his claim to the earldom as a way to pressure James II at key points.³⁹²

David 3rd earl of Crawford's links to the Livingstons had been useful to him, and had surely allowed him to return to government in 1443. Alexander 4th earl had surely observed this, and as a result decided to make his relationship to the Livingstons of Callander official, as what was probably the first act of his career.³⁹³ Crawford was not alone in thinking a formal relationship with the Livingstons useful, as John earl of Ross acquired the marriage of James Livingston's daughter.³⁹⁴ Douglas, of course, had been working with the Livingstons since 1443 as well, and it is probably no surprise Douglas and James Dundas were present witnessing Crawford's March 1446 grant. Nevertheless, Crawford had a much more adjustable approach to this relationship than Ross, and after the Livingston and Dundas forfeitures, he attended James II's court. Although he accepted back the lands he had granted to James Livingston after the forfeiture, he apparently found James II's murder of his ally, Douglas, more than any connection he had to James II could bear, and rebelled. The presence of James Dundas among Crawford's men at Brechin surely meant Crawford and the Livingstons were working together again. Crawford may have seen provision of support to James Dundas as critical to his policy. Erskine was surely indebted to Crawford for support while he had been holding Kildrummy and asserting his claim to Mar and Garioch. The Dundases, on the other hand, owed the greater deal of their allegiance to the Livingstons who had helped raise them during the minority. By promoting Dundas interests during a crisis, Crawford would have made that family indebted to him.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 196n, 196-7; NAS GD124/1/1, 528.

³⁹¹ *APS.*, ii, 60-1.

³⁹² Ibid., 75.

³⁹³ NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/310.

³⁹⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 169, 172.

What made Crawford's return of support to the Livingstons feasible was the renewal of his relationship with William 8th earl of Douglas. The key to this was William's reassertion of his right to Annandale, which dovetailed with Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's reassertion of his sister Johanna's renunciation of her entire terce of the Douglas estates, except Annandale.³⁹⁵ Since Douglas had forced the king's hand on Stewarton and the earldom of Wigtown, both may have hoped cooperation would allow them to force James II's hand on Annandale. Taking this together with Crawford and Ross' mutual interest in the Livingstons, the three earls tripartite alliance surely appeared quite natural. The result was that, even if Crawford was not the most powerful of the three men, his connections allowed the bond to work in a meaningful manner. While Douglas and Ross were both genuinely disaffected with James II, both Douglas and Ross also shared very specific goals with Crawford, and these would have been the strongest links in the bond.

Crawford's subsequent forfeiture at Parliament in June 1452 stands out largely because Ross and James 9th earl of Douglas were equally justifiable targets for forfeiture. Although it would be tempting to assert James II singled out Alexander 4th earl of Crawford on account of his position within the bond, this would be hard to prove. Nevertheless, Crawford's links to the Dundases, Livingston, and via the Livingstons to Ross, and Crawford and Ross' general opposition to Huntly, were surely manifest to James II, and must have been a significant factor in the forfeiture. Another factor may simply have been practicality. James II and Crichton both appear to have had a fairly passive policy regarding Ross, perhaps because James I had been unable to effect any especial control on Alexander earl of Ross. Furthermore, a forfeiture of Douglas was surely out of the question since the central government had been unable to even break off just two lands from William 8th earl of Douglas inheritance, those of the earldom of Wigtown and lordship of Stewarton. This only left Crawford, whom James II and Crichton probably hoped to isolate even further by the creation of William Hay earl of Errol and James Crichton earl of Moray.³⁹⁶ That Crawford survived this forfeiture unscathed, despite his apparent defeat in battle with Huntly at Brechin, and James II's planting of allies around him surely testifies to Crawford's strength and secure position respecting central government. It may also suggest Crawford's base in Forfarshire was extremely strong, something the *Auchinleck Chronicle* unequivocally

³⁹⁵ NAS RH6/321.

³⁹⁶ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 166.

stated.³⁹⁷ It also underlines James II's impotence, and should be seen in line with the concessions of Wigtown and Stewarton the king made to William and James Douglas, as well as the remissions he was eventually forced to grant the Livingstons and Dundases. Surely the Auchinleck chronicler was correct, when, recording Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's death at Finavon in September 1453, he stated Crawford

held ane gret rowme in his tyme for he held all Angus in his bandoun
and was richt Inobedient to the king.³⁹⁸

Losses in Aberdeenshire aside, the fact he died in his bed at Finavon, and left a strong inheritance to his son David 5th earl of Crawford, who was a minor and who succeeded to his father's estates, stands in stark contrast to his contemporary peers, William 8th earl of Douglas who was murdered, and James 9th earl of Douglas and John MacDonald Lord of the Isles who were effectively forfeited.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 163

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 320; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 370-1, 542.

Conclusion

Between 1380 and 1453, the heads of the Lindsay family, particularly the first four earls of Crawford, were among the most influential figures in Scotland north of the Forth, and figured prominently in national politics. Much like the Douglas family, the Lindsays of Crawford took part in, or were at least touched by, most of the major political events contemporary with their careers. The only exception to this are the thirteen years of James I's personal rule, during which record of Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford is sparse, though it is perhaps a testament to Alexander's strength that James I never attacked him, given his connections to the Albany Stewarts and the men who apprehended James I's elder brother, David duke of Rothesay. Like the Douglas family, who had a defined sphere of influence south of the Forth, in the west and middle marches, the earls of Crawford had a defined sphere of influence, primarily in Forfarshire, but extending to varying degrees, to Aberdeenshire, where the earls were hereditary sheriffs. David 1st earl of Crawford was the most significant crown representative in Aberdeenshire for about fifteen years, but following his death, the second, third and fourth earls never reached such heights. While Alexander earl of Mar lived, the second earl of Crawford cooperated with him, and as a result, probably maintained a degree of influence in Aberdeenshire. After Alexander Seton of Gordon, later earl of Huntly, rose in Aberdeenshire from about 1440, he was a force against which the Crawford earls were only ever able to compete with varying degrees of success. Nevertheless, royal attempts to use Huntly to interfere with Lindsay influence south of the Mounth, the unexpected death of one of the Crawford earls in battle, royal attempts at forfeiture, and excommunication all had little long-term influence on the Crawford earls' sphere of influence in Forfarshire.

As previously stated, the Crawford earls' careers have much in common with the Black Douglas earls regarding their relationship with Scottish kings, governors and guardians, in that those at the centre tended to account for their interests. Similarly, when those in the centre (and localities) failed to accommodate the Douglas and Crawford earls' interests, there was frequently a price to pay in blood. Furthermore, much like the Black Douglas earls and even the lords of the Isles, the earls of Crawford had a sphere of influence largely beyond the reach of kings, governors and guardians. Despite royal attempts to undermine these men's spheres of influence by courting their neighbours, wooing men within their spheres of influence, and subjecting them to the occasional military threat, it was only ever with great difficulty that these kings truly

managed to subvert these magnatial hegemonies. Unlike the lords of the Isles and Black Douglas earls, who are certainly the prime examples of magnatial autonomy in late medieval Scotland, and who both fell to royal assaults, the crown never destroyed the earls of Crawford despite a sentence of forfeiture in 1452, something which perhaps underlines the individual Crawford earls' strength and flexibility.

Brute force always played a significant part in resisting royal attacks. The Douglas earls, the lords of the Isles, and the earls of Crawford all shared an ability to call out formidable bands of men-at-arms, that underpinned their relative local autonomy. For Brown, 'war and lordship' was the key to Black Douglas power; the ability of the Black Douglasses to act as effective organisers of war, particularly against the English, allowed them to maintain an effective affinity. When they were unable to fill this role, their careers faltered.¹ Similarly, the lords of the Isles, also major Scottish magnates with frequently autonomous agendas, are noted particularly for their ability to raise and command powerful military forces, something their descendants were able to do well into the sixteenth century, long after the lordship's forfeiture in 1493. While they were able to do this, they remained a viable alternative to royal authority in their region.² Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan (d. 1405) also had this same ability and it gave him a wide degree of influence in the late fourteenth century. The Campbell chief also had this military-leadership ability, used by the crown.³ The earls of Crawford also had the capacity to call out men-at-arms to support their causes. The first earl did it at Glasclune, the third earl did it twice, once in Fife to raid James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews' lands, and second to fight Huntly at the battle of Arbroath, and the fourth earl called out a band, with, allegedly, sixty 'cotarmouris', again to fight Huntly at Brechin, at what was probably the high point in weeks, or perhaps months of fighting between the two earls.⁴ While no record of the second earl calling out a band of armed men exists, the company he kept towards the end of Murdoch's governorship with the earls of Mar and Buchan, men with known military credentials, suggests the second earl may have had military credentials himself. Indeed, the first and fourth earls recorded

¹ Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 2, 6, 332.

² J. Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles' in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Jennifer Brown [Wormald] (London, 1977), 212, 214, 216, 217-8; J. Bannerman, 'Appendix II: The Lordship of the Isles: Historical Background' in *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*, ed. K. Steer (Edinburgh, 1977), 205, 209-10, 212-3; Alexander Grant, 'Scotland's "Celtic Fringe" in the Late Middle Ages: The MacDonald Lords of the Isles and the Kingdom of Scotland' in *The British Isles, 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, ed. R. Davies (Edinburgh, 1988), 130-2.

³ Boardman, *Campbells*, 332-3.

⁴ *Chron. Auchinleck*, 173.

employment of heralds, and the third's employment of an esquire is certainly a suggestion of a developed military structure.⁵

Furthermore, it is possible at least some of the earls of Crawford may have been in low-level conflict with men raiding from north of the Mounth. When the lands in Perthshire, Forfarshire and Kincardineshire the Lindsays of Crawford are known to have held are plotted on a map, it is clear that many of them lay just on the south side of the Mounth, stretching from Urie near Stonehaven at the Mounth's closest point to the sea, and follow a southwesterly line passing Newdosk (Kincardineshire), Edzell, Fern, Downie, [Earl's] Ruthven (Forfarshire), Meigle and Alyth (Perthshire). The barony of Clova, deep inside Glen Clova through which flows the South Esk, appears to be an outpost within the Mounth, and runs along the southwestern border of Glen Esk, which itself is mostly Edzell's hinterland, stretching into a system of valleys within the Mounth. It is likely some of the Crawford earls, particularly the first and second, may have been responsible for monitoring and policing transit of men in and out of the Mounth, and perhaps mounting armed defence when necessary. This was important, because the line of lands the Lindsays held defended Montrose, Arbroath, Forfar, Perth and Dundee. Edzell castle, the caput of Glen Esk (and to some degree, Newdosk, just northeast of Edzell) guard the exit from a valley system nearest in a straight line from Montrose. Glen Clova (where they held Clova) is the valley nearest Forfar, around which Finavon, Guthrie and Inverarity lay. Megginch and Baltrody lay just outside Perth. Alyth, [Earl's] Ruthven, Meigle and Ballindoch lay on the path to Forfar from the mouths of the valleys of Strath Tay, the River Ericht and the River Isla.

Holding these lands in such strategic positions probably gave the Crawford earls a role similar to the Douglasses along the English border. Even if Highland Scots were (ostensibly) Scottish crown subjects, the Highland raids targeting the cathedral at Elgin and the bishop of Moray in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century surely resonated south of the Mounth, where Brechin Cathedral and Arbroath Abbey lay. What the Crawford earls' relationship with Highland Scots was by the time of the third earl, who employed the Highland Scot Robert 'Reach' of Clann Donnchaidh in his raid on James Kennedy's lands in Fife, is at best, uncertain. On the one hand, it may simply imply that this was a point when relations between David 3rd earl and one Highland Scot were good. Conversely, attitudes towards associating with Highland lords were not always negative, as when Robert Reoch cooperated on this raid for the purposes of

⁵ *CDS*, iv, 602; *ER*, v, 638-9; NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/40.

material gain. This was not out of line with northeastern politics in earlier decades, when Alexander Stewart earl of Buchan and Alexander Stewart earl of Mar were known to have maintained friendly relationships with militarised Highlanders.

The careers of the first four earls of Crawford highlight several features about politics in late medieval Scotland. Their sporadic military exploits, at Glasclune (1392), in Fife (1445), Arbroath (1446) and Brechin (1452) indicate a willingness to use violence as a problem-solving method. The earls' closeness to Aberdeen and especially Dundee, and their house and contacts with burgesses there show the importance of burghal affairs to these men, and may indicate burgh- and burgess-magnate relationships are an important part of politics, at least in northeast Scotland. The earls' apparent decision never to attempt to found a collegiate church may help suggest regional differences in religious practice among Scottish magnates. The most important points that the careers of the first four earls illustrate, though, is how politics worked in late medieval Scotland. The first point was the necessary ability to move fluidly between often conflicting affinities. Although vast territorial, financial and military resources made one a magnate, politics was still extremely personal, and to be successful, a magnate had to marshall these resources in such a way to make his services appear desirable, or extremely threatening, to others in the political arena. The second point, and related to this, is how the regions related to the centre, as those at the centre tended to operate with only short- or medium-term goals, which required magnates to adapt to sometimes quickly shifting political exigencies.

When allowances are made for differing circumstances, it is difficult to say whether the first or fourth earl of Crawford was more successful. David 1st earl certainly had the most honours, the most praise in chronicles, the most chivalric credentials, and the favour of kings, governors, guardians, dukes (domestic and foreign), and earls, and he died one of the premier knights of Scotland. Alexander 4th earl, on the other hand, managed to guide his patrimony, acquired suddenly and unexpectedly, through a reign filled with murders, executions, at the head of which was a youthful, impetuous and avaricious king guided by a hard-line and cunning veteran of Scottish politics, both of whom shared strong ideas about earls who were not firmly within the royal fold. Forfeiture and (apparent) defeat at the hands of royal supporters was no barrier to Alexander passing on his patrimony to a minor son.

In many respects, their careers are quite different: David 1st earl's spanned a quarter century, while Alexander 4th earl's was merely seven years. Generally speaking, David 1st earl was usually friendly with central authorities, while Alexander 4th earl of Crawford had goals more frequently incompatible with the crown. Nevertheless, both demonstrated a marked ability to shift between affinities and respond to shifting political demands, usually emanating from the centre. David did this by riding on the success of the establishment of John earl of Carricks' guardianship in 1384, and was able, again, in 1388 to cut a deal with Robert earl of Fife (who deposed Carrick) in which David was territorially rewarded in exchange for dropping his claim to the northern justiciarship. Three years later, though, David received a special retinue annuity from Robert III's heir, David Stewart earl of Carrick, he helped Carrick pursue his goals in the southwest and, in 1399 was among those (including Robert earl of Fife, now duke of Albany) advising David Stewart now duke of Rothesay in his position as guardian for Robert III. Still, though, Crawford was able to return to Albany's company when Rothesay threatened their various interests.

By all accounts, he had taken actions offensive to the surviving major participants in Scottish politics. David ought to have offended Robert III by supporting his deposition from the guardianship in 1388 and by acquiescing in his son's capture in 1401. Likewise, he ought to have offended Robert earl of Fife/duke of Albany by supporting David earl of Carrick/duke of Rothesay when he became a viable alternative to Fife/Albany. Nevertheless, when Robert III re-asserted his influence in politics in 1404 in the succession crisis in Mar, he apparently chose Crawford to serve as messenger/negotiator and acquire a deal suitable to both men who were pursuing the earldom of Mar: Alexander Stewart who ultimately acquired Mar via marriage to Isabella Douglas countess of Mar and daughter of William 1st earl of Douglas and Mar, as well as Thomas Erskine, who claimed he was the rightful heritor of Mar. Still, though, David 1st earl's activities in support of Robert III were not enough to prevent Albany from granting Crawford the position of deputy chamberlain north of the Forth in 1406, and attending on Crawford at the end of his life.

David's great-grandson's career, shorter and involving fewer twists has a distinctly similar flavour, as he was able to respond to the political demands of James II's minority and majority, using effective associations to keep himself relevant in politics. Initially, Alexander 4th earl's interests were with the Livingstons, Dundases and William 8th earl of Douglas. James II's move to forfeit the Livingston and Dundas

families in 1449 apparently solicited a confirmation made at Dundee, (probably at Alexander's behest), of Johanna Lindsay countess of Douglas' pledge to relinquish her claim to her terce of the Douglas estates, excluding a third of Annandale, in exchange for William 8th earl of Douglas' help in recovering Annandale. This appears to have had little initial affect on Douglas' policies. Politics surely made strange bedfellows following the forfeitures of 1449. Douglas attacked the Dundas family, previously key allies of Crawford. Crawford was abandoned, effectively excluded by James II and Douglas. However, when Douglas went abroad, and James II began working to undermine Douglas for his own personal, largely monetary reasons, Crawford quickly came into the royal fold and worked alongside James II as well as Huntly. This was despite the fact Crawford had previously fought Huntly at Arbroath four years earlier. Crawford then sat by and watched James II pry into Douglas' territory. But after Ross had successfully rebelled against James II, and after Douglas had successfully clawed back the lands James II had tried to acquire, and perhaps wooed Crawford by claiming Annandale on 13 January 1452, Crawford slipped into both Douglas' and Ross' company, forming their tripartite bond, as they all shared connections with the forfeited Livingstons. Although James II found this bond so objectionable he murdered Douglas and forfeited Alexander 4th earl of Crawford, he did not further pursue Crawford when he was unable to enforce the forfeiture, and ultimately pardoned the Livingstons and Dundases, which was probably a concession from James II to Crawford and Ross. Like his great-grandfather, Alexander had been able to ingratiate himself to various factions at, or vying to be at the apex of Scottish politics, in response to shifting, short- and medium-term political objectives emanating from the centre.

The first and fourth earls of Crawford stand in rather stark contrast to the second and third earls of Crawford, whose associations were more static, and fortunes less impressive. The second earl's activities and associations seem fairly constant, even as James I returned from captivity. Prior to May 1424, Alexander 2nd earl's career is marked by cooperation with Alexander earl of Mar, association with Ogilvies and Forbes and accord with Governors Robert and Murdoch Stewart. After May 1424 there was a partial shift in personnel, but interest in Forbes and the Erskine claimants of Mar, as well as occasional contact with Ogilvies continued during Alexander 2nd earl, and his son, David 3rd earl's career. Whatever David 1st earl and Alexander 4th earl had, be it luck, charisma, or some as yet unobserved advantage, David 3rd earl proved far less willing or able to shift between affinities, and accordingly suffered. He was unable to

effect policy without the aid of an earl of Douglas. This is a curious fact, and suggests there was far more to successful Scottish lordship than mere warlordship. According to the Auchinleck chronicler, David 3rd earl appears to have summoned the chivalry of Forfarshire including the Ogilvies, help from Lothian in the form of James Hamilton of Cadzow, and Highlanders in the form of Robert Reoch when he raided the bishop of St Andrews lands in Fife, yet his sphere of influence was far more limited and subject to the fortunes of the Black Douglasses than was his grandfather's or his son's, whose fortunes on the battlefield (at least as they survive in the chronicles) were far less spectacular.

This is largely because of the way kings and most guardians of Scotland ruled. Typically, they had short- to medium-term goals. Some relevant examples are the undermining of Alexander earl of Buchan's influence in the late fourteenth century, or James II's pursuit of the earldom of Mar. To accomplish these goals, the kings and guardians tended to follow the Roman maxim *divide et impera* ('divide and conquer', or more accurately, 'divide and rule'). Most royal goals required a magnate to be undermined or neutralised for success, and fortunately for most kings, there were usually men ready to help in this undermining process. Indeed, they were essential for the king or guardian to proceed. For example, in the 1380s and 1390s kings and guardians promoted David Lindsay of Glen Esk, John earl of Moray, and his son Thomas as men who should resist and undermine Alexander earl of Buchan, though it resulted in attacks on the burgh of Forres and Elgin. Later, during the careers of the second, third, and fourth earls of Crawford, James II and his handler, Crichton, successfully employed Alexander Seton of Gordon in his pursuit of maintaining the earldom of Mar as a crown possession against various suits by Robert and Thomas Erskine in pursuit of their claim to that earldom. This pattern is also visible in James II's stripping of local supporters from the eighth and ninth Douglas earls, as well as the way he pursued acquisition of lands to pay his wife's income, and the way Alexander Seton of Gordon earl of Huntly stripped the Ogilvies away from David 3rd earl of Crawford's affinity to pursue his interests at Crawford's expense in Aberdeenshire.

The result of this sort of short- and medium-term policy meant that frequently goals lost their relevance, and it was practical for magnates to shift affinities to pursue newer, more relevant goals. For example, by 1401, Robert duke of Albany was becoming increasingly less viable as a leader given David duke of Rothesay's rise and expected succession to the throne. Therefore, David 1st earl of Crawford had duly

begun associating with Rothesay, but when Rothesay attacked David's interests in the burghs of Dundee, Aberdeen, and Montrose, violently uplifting burgh revenues, Albany suddenly became a much more useful partner as a competitor to Rothesay. Thus, David 1st earl gave Albany direct support in capturing Rothesay. His grandson, Alexander 4th earl, behaved similarly when he began associating with James II after the king had destroyed the Livingston and Dundas families, and turned on William 8th earl of Douglas while he was on pilgrimage. Similarly, James II's attacks on Douglas from October 1450 made Douglas at least appear a much less viable partner, and support of James II in this may have allowed Alexander 4th earl of Crawford to bend the king's ear regarding Crawford's interests in Aberdeenshire. After Douglas returned from pilgrimage and successfully resisted James II, and claimed Annandale, he became a more viable partner for Crawford, so Crawford supported him, along with John earl of Ross, with whom he also shared goals, and enemies.

Ultimately, the first four Lindsay earls of Crawford remained relevant for most of the period between 1380 to 1453. Several elements combined to make this so. As in all politics, acumen played a part, and the first and fourth earls demonstrated this in abundance, although this alone could not take men to the top levels of Scottish politics, where the Lindsay earls of Crawford indeed were. Perhaps first was their position along the Mounth. From their grouping of lands south of the Mounth, they held a strategic position monitoring, if not outright protecting Brechin Cathedral, Arbroath Abbey, and the burghs of Arbroath, Montrose, Perth and especially Dundee, the last of which was the second most wealthy burgh after Edinburgh in 1400.⁶ They had several ways of dominating this territory south of the Mounth, which meant kings, guardians and magnates had to give them their due. First, they could call up a large body of men-at-arms, and may, at times, have been able to acquire support of some of the militarised Highlanders they monitored just beyond their territory. When brute force was an inappropriate agent, the earls still had access to significant financial resources. Connection to the burgh and customars of Dundee, and the ability to dominate Montrose when necessary suggests the Crawford earls probably had some degree of access to these burghs' revenues, and may have been able to import and export goods on their own account, tax-free. It is easy to imagine these could have been 'services' the Crawford earls provided to their friends as well. More practically, outside of James I's personal reign, they were typically in receipt of around £200 of annuities (more than

⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 613.

Linlithgow's entire income in 1400), primarily drawn from Aberdeen, Dundee and Montrose, that could have been used to purchase support.⁷ Being at the centre of such a tight unit, linking strategic location, military capacity, and financial resources gave the Crawford earls an ability to remain relevant through the vicissitudes of Scottish government, and the ability to play at the highest levels of Scottish politics and maintain a degree of local autonomy when these resources were employed proficiently.

⁷ Ibid.

Appendix A: Personal Business of the First Four Earls of Crawford

David Lindsay 1st earl of Crawford and Lord of Glen Esk

Below is a list of grants, conflict resolutions and battles in which David 1st earl of Crawford was involved, either as the prime actor, or as an interested and influential party. The dates given in all appendices are new style, in which the year changes on 1 January.

For all tables below, a * next to a city indicates land conveyancing, letters written, or court cases presided over by an earl of Crawford.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1389 October 27	Inverness	Helps resolve dispute between earl and bishop of Moray	NLS Adv. Ms. 34.4.10, <i>f.</i> 103r-v.; <i>Moray Registrum</i> , no. 169
1390 March 5	Perth	Walter Stewart of Brechin and David advises Euphemia countess of Strathearn in confirmation of grants by Malcolm Drummond to David Murray	<i>Inchaffray Liber</i> , xlvi-xlix no. 31
1391 March 9	*Dundee	Grant of £20 annuity to Walter Ogilvy sheriff of Forfar	NAS C1/10, no. 2; RMS, i, 819
1392 [January 18?]	Dundee/ Glasclune	Rides from Dundee on news of advancing cateran army, fights, and is injured at Glasclune	University of Edinburgh Library MSS 27, <i>f.</i> 232v.; <i>Chron. Wyntoun</i> (Laing), iii, 58-9
1394 April 2	Arbroath	Witnesses, with two other Lindsays and others, a convention between burgh and monastery of Arbroath	NLS Adv. Ms. 34.4.3, <i>f.</i> 26r-v.; <i>Arbroath Liber</i> , ii, 40-2
1396 September 25	Perth	Arranges 30 v. 30 clan fight with Thomas earl of Moray	<i>Chron. Bower</i> (Watt), viii, 6-11
1398 April 21	Perth	Robert III creates David Lindsay earl of Crawford	<i>Chron. Bower</i> (Watt), viii, 12-3
1400 December 20	Brechin	Indenture between Crawford and Thomas Erskine regarding possession of earldom of Mar	NAS GD124/7/3
1401 May 18	Dundee	Witnesses with others, John Erskine of Dun grant Carcary to Walter Ogilvy.	Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> ii, 502-3 no. 53
1401 November 6	*Aberdeen	Makes a grant in favour of church of Aberdeen	<i>Aberdeen Registrum</i> , i, 203-5

Date	Location	Event	Source
1402 January 1	Paris	Pledges to serve Louis duke of Orléans for life with 3 knights, 6 esquires and 12 archers for 1,000 francs yearly	NLS Acc 9769, Personal Papers, 75/1/1 and 75/1/4
1402 December 1	Kildrummy	Witnesses, with others, Isabella Douglas countess of Mar grant William Camera of 'Fyndoun' the land of Wester Ruthven, earldom of Mar.	NAS RH6/220
1403 March 18	Kildrummy	Counsels Isabella Douglas countess of Mar, with others, inc. bishop of Aberdeen, to restore lands to the church of Aberdeen	NLS Adv. Ms. 16.1.10, f. [pencil] 115r-v. <i>Aberdeen Registrum. i, 207-8</i>
1403 December 13	Dundee	Witnesses with others, Henry Duncan grant Walter Ogilvy both parts of Easter Fingask, Perthshire	NAS GD16/24/170
1404 May 26	Aberdeen	Witnesses (named first) with others, John Oggiston grant Walter Ogilvy Kynbred and Breky, Forfarshire	Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> ii, 505-6 no. 57
1405 January 2	*Dundee	Writes a letter to Henry IV regarding the seizure of a ship of St Andrews	Hingeston, ed., <i>Royal and Historical Letters... Henry IV</i> , 3-5
1406 March 15	Perth	Begins serving as deputy chamberlain North of the Forth at the Exchequer	NAS E38/137; <i>ER</i> , iii, 613
1406 November 11	Dundee	Witnesses, with his half-brothers, and others, Archibald 4 th earl of Douglas confirm to Walter Ogilvy several lands in the barony of Lintrathen.	NAS GD16/3/5
1406 December 10	*Dundee	Establishes four masses at the altar of St George in the parish church of Dundee	NAS C1/11, nos. 4-7; <i>RMS</i> , i, 877-80
1407 February 12	*Dundee	Grants his son, David, the land of Newdosk and a 40 merk annuity from the burgh of Montrose	NAS C1/11, nos. 8-9; <i>RMS</i> , i, 881-2

Alexander 2nd Earl of Crawford

Below is a list, primarily of grants, made by Alexander 2nd earl of Crawford.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1407 August 12	*Dundee	Resigns the land of 'Kekisflat' in Panmure, Forfarshire, to William Maule	<i>Panmure Registrum</i> ii, 186
1410 December 10	*Dundee	Presents Andrew Ogilvy clerk of Dunkeld to the canonry and Lethnot Prebendary of Brechin Cathedral	<i>Brechin Registrum</i> , i, 29
1413 January 1	*Dundee	John Lindsay of Waughope resigns his annuity of Brichty, Forfarshire to Crawford. The resignation's location suggests Crawford was present.	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/27
1414 May 18	*Brechin	Grants several lands, not yet identified, to Alexander Skene	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , ii, 44-5n
1414 September 14	Scone	Affixes his seal, along with Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus, to a grant to St Michael of Scone by Robert Logan of Restalrig	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/27A; <i>Scone Liber</i> , 163-5
1421 June 4	*Dundee	Grants John Ramsay of 'Kernok' several lands in Clova, Forfarshire	NAS GD16/2/1
1421 December 13	*Dundee	Entails his unentailed lands to his son, David, and is provided with a confirmation by Murdoch Duke of Albany	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/29/1
1423 October 16	*Dundee	Grants William Lindsay of Rossie lands in 'Ballynbreich', sheriffdom of Fife	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/30
1424 February 20	*Dundee	Transfers 'Glascorey' in Glen Esk (Glascorrie, Glenmuik, Tullich & Glengairn parish, Aberdeenshire) from Duncan Scot to his son, William	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/31
1424 June 20	*Dundee	Grants Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen lands of 'Halyhardis', Perthshire.	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, C2/198

Date	Location	Event	Source
1427 August 10	*Dundee	Confirms Thomas Rattray's grant of 'Tulymurcho' in Alyth, Perthshire to Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen	NAS GD16/12/3
1429 April 23	*Dundee	Establishes masses at the altars of St George and St Leonard at parish church of Dundee for his and his wife Marjory's souls	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/33; <i>Brechin Registrum</i> , ii, 20-3
1432 May 31	*Finavon	Grants Alexander Forbes the keepership of Strathnairn and its castle, sheriffdom of Inverness, as well as the office of depute of the sheriff of Aberdeen, all for life	NAS GD52/1044; <i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iv, 393n
1432 December 9	Fern	Involved with Walter Stewart earl of Atholl, justiciar north of the Forth, in arranging a perambulation determining the boundary between Fern and the land of the cathedral of Dunkeld	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/35/1-2
1437 February 12	*Dundee	Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnok resigns a £10 annuity to Crawford drawn from Kinblathmont, Forfarshire, held of Crawford	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/36
1438 August 24	*Dundee? (David Aberkedor provost of Dundee was a witness.)	Grants Richard Loyal and Elizabeth Douglas his wife the land of Muirhouse in Inverarity, Forfarshire	NAS GD121/3/12 [GD121 removed from NAS]
1438 October 25	*Dundee	Grants David Ogilvy Kinneff and its castle, and other Kincardineshire lands	NLS Acc 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/39

David 3rd Earl of Crawford

Below is a list, primarily of grants, made by David 3rd earl of Crawford. His *acta* as Master of Crawford have been excluded.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1440 February 26	*Edinburgh	Grants William Crichton the barony of Kirkmichael, Dumfriesshire	NAS C2/3 no. 138; RMS, ii, 226
1441 April 15	*Finavon	Confirms his father's grant of Kinneff, etc. to David Ogilvy	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/38
1442 September 1	*Crawford's place of residence in Dundee	Henry Douglas of Loch Leven requested that Robert Stewart of Lorn and Patrick Graham absolve him of an obligation to David Stewart of Rosyth, which Robert did, in the presence of Crawford	NAS GD150/102
1442 September 6	*Dundee	Grants 'Dilecto Consanguineo et Scutifero nostro'('beloved cousin and our squire') Philip Lindsay the western half of all his lands between the waters of 'Tedy' and 'Lynrycht' in the lordship of Glenesk, resigned by Alexander Barclay	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/40
1443 April 8	*Dundee	A letter to Alexander Forbes, requesting he restore goods to David Scrimgeour of which Scrimgeour had been despoiled.	NAS GD52/63; <i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iv, 43-4
1443 April 29	*In the chapel of the mansion of the earl of Crawford in Dundee	Alexander Douglas brother of Henry Douglas of Loch Leven appeals to Rome against James bishop of St Andrews on account of James despoiling some of his rights.	NAS GD150/14k
1445 January 23 (The chronicler asserts that this raid occurred exactly one year before the battle of Arbroath, which he dated 23 January 1446)	Land of the bishopric of St Andrews in Fife	Crawford and the Ogilvies apparently led a raid attacking the bishop of St Andrews' lands.	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 111v.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1445 August 9	*Charter unavailable	Confirms a charter by Alexander Sutherland lord of the castle of 'Dufhous' to Richard Loyal of Ballumbie, of the lands of 'Ledbothy' in the barony of Inverarity, Forfarshire	NAS GD121/3/12 [GD121 removed from NAS]
1445 October 30	*Instrument damaged/ location lost or unrecorded, but probably Dundee	Indenture between William 8 th earl of Douglas and Jean Lindsay, David 3 rd earl of Crawford's daughter, in which she resigns all her claim to her terce of William 6 th earl of Douglas' lands, except a terce of Annandale if it can be recovered	NAS RH6/321
1446 January [23?]	Arbroath	Mortally wounded at the battle of Arbroath; his son, Alexander, who becomes 4 th earl of Crawford assumes command and wins the battle. Crawford dies by 31 January. As revenge, the Lindsays of Crawford attacked the Ogilvies' interests.	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 111v.

Alexander 4th Earl of Crawford

The list of Alexander 4th earl of Crawford's *acta* below also includes a few events, such as his forfeiture, and James II 'passand' through Perth to reach Crawford, which shed light on his disposition within Scotland.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1446 March 26	*Stirling	Grant to James Livingston, heir of Alexander Livingston, of Calindrate and Grenok in Calyn, dominion of Menteith, Perthshire	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/310
1447 July 12	*Aberdeen sheriff Court	Crawford, as sheriff of Aberdeen, and his deputy Alexander Lord Forbes appear at Aberdeen	<i>Maitland Misc.</i> , i, 379
1449 April 4	Stirling	Present at a General Council and witnessed a protestation by Robert Erskine regarding the possession of the earldom of Mar and Kildrummy castle	RPS, 1449/1. Date accessed: 17 May 2009
1449 June 18	*Stirling	Grant in favour of John Hamilton, brother of James Lord Hamilton, of lands in Crawford-Lindsay in excambion for Wester Brichty in Forfarshire	<i>Hist. MSS. Commis., Report</i> XV, Part VIII, 63-4, no. 128.
1450 January 14	*Church of the Friars of Dundee	Confirmation of indenture between William 8 th earl of Douglas and Jean Lindsay, David 3 rd earl of Crawford's daughter resigns all her claim to her terce of William 6 th earl of Douglas' lands, except a terce of Annandale if it can be recovered	NAS RH6/321
1450 January 15	*Dundee	Grant in favour of David Fotheringham of Poury of Wester Brichty in Fern, Forfarshire	NAS C2/4, no. 70; <i>RMS</i> , ii, 393
1450 June 11	(*)Stirling	James II grants William Crichton Kirkmichael in Dumfriesshire, which Crawford resigned. Date and location of resignation not provided; perhaps Crawford was present to resign it	NAS C2/4, no. 35; <i>RMS</i> ii, 361

Date	Location	Event	Source
1450 October 6	*Aberdeen sheriff Court	Presides at a contest between Henry Cheyne on one part and William Rait procurator of Reginald Cheyne on the other, regarding possession of the land of Essilmund, finding in favour of Henry's possession	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iii, 7-8
1451 July 6	Edinburgh	James II grants Crawford lands of Calyn and Calendrate in earldom of Menteith, Perthshire, that James Livingston son of Alexander Livingston forfeited	NAS C2/4, nos. 146, 216; RPS, 1451/6/4. Date accessed: 17 May 2009. (Crawford's presence for grant confirmed by RMS ii, 463)
1451 July 12	*initial charter probably at Dundee	Royal confirmation of a grant by Crawford to Alexander Maw burgess of Dundee of 6 merks for the time of his life from Crawford's Dundee annuity	NAS C2/4, no. 223 RMS ii, 483
1452 January 1	St Andrews	James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews grants Crawford 'Balhary', 'Blacolemur', and mentions 'Neudusk' for Crawford's homage and service.	NLS Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds, B/51
1452 February 21	not applicable	James II murders William 8 th earl of Douglas for forming a bond with Crawford and Ross	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 114r.-v.
1452 March 27	not applicable	James II is 'in Perth passand to the erll of Craufurd'.	NLS Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 115r.
1452 May 18	Brechin	Crawford fights, and apparently loses a battle at Brechin against Alexander Seton earl of Huntly	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 123r.-v.
<i>post</i> 1452 May 18	Kinnaird Castle	Destroys part of Kinnaird castle as revenge against Walter Carnegie, son of Duthac Carnegie on account of their decision to support Huntly at Brechin	Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> i, xxxiii
1452 June 12	not applicable	Forfeitted of life, lands and goods at Parliament in Edinburgh	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 115r.-v.
1453 May 30	not applicable	Crawford appears to have reconciled himself to James II, as he was involved in diplomacy with England on this date.	<i>Rot. Scot.</i> , v. 2, 363-7.

Date	Location	Event	Source
1453 September	Finavon	Dies at Finavon	NLS MS. Acc. 16500 (<i>Auchinleck Chronicle</i>), f. 112r.-v.

Appendix B

1. Lindsay Connections to Robert II: Charter Witnessing, etc., 1371-1382

Date	Event	Location	Source
26/March/1371	Alexander Lindsay swears fealty to Robert II with many lords and churchmen	Scone	NAS PA5/4 'Liber Niger', f. 58r-v.; RPS, A1371/2. Date accessed: 17 May 2009
27/March/1371	Alexander Lindsay and James Lindsay append seals to declaration establishing John Stewart earl of Carrick as heir to the throne	Scone	NAS SP13/10; RPS, A1371/4
30/March/1371	Alexander Lindsay witnesses royal charters	Scone	NAS GD25/10; RMS, i, 558
19/April/1371	Alexander and James Lindsay witness a royal charter	Renfrew	NAS GD124/1/ 522, 1023
4/May/1371	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Edinburgh	Fraser, <i>Eglinton</i> , ii, 10
13/June/1371	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	St Andrews	NAS C1/2, no. 4; RMS, i, 431
17/June/1371	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Edinburgh	NAS C1/5, no. 4; RMS, i, 559
2/July/1371	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS MFilP/ C2/1, no. 303; RMS, i, 399
30/'Marii'/1372	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Scone	NAS C1/4, no. 7; RMS, i, 529
29/March/1373	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Scone	NAS GD18/1
3/April/1373	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Scone	NAS GD124/1/ 416; RPS, 1373/2
4/April/1373	James Lindsay appends seal to entail of the Scottish Crown to Robert II's children. Note: The manuscript source, NAS SP13/11 is in very poor preservation	Scone	NAS SP13/11; RPS, 1373/3. Date accessed: 19 May 2009.
24/Aug./1373	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Stirling	NAS C1/2, no. 64; RMS, i, 491

Date	Event	Location	Source
22/Oct./1373	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Dunfermline	Fraser, <i>Colquhoun</i> , ii, 279
1374 x 1379	Alexander Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Dunfermline	NAS GD121/3/21
9/January/1374	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Edinburgh	NAS GD124/1/1123
24/February/1374	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	RMS, i, 492
24/April/1374	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Edinburgh	Fraser, <i>Pollock</i> , i, 132-3
16/June/1374	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Aberdeen	<i>Aberdeen Registrum</i> , i, 114
2/January/1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 73; RMS, i, 628
28/March/1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Dunfermline	NAS GD3/1/10/22
26/Aug./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 74; RMS, i, 629
5/Oct./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Linlithgow	NAS GD18/3
12/Oct./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD3/1/7/7/1
8/Nov./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Scone	NAS GD124/1/1054
11/Nov./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Scone	NAS GD124/5/1
30/Nov./1375	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS C1/5 no. 8; RMS, i, 563
17/Jan./1376	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Stirling	NAS GD39/1/8
22/Jan/1376	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Methven	NAS GD39/1/9
8/Sept./1376	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	Menzies, <i>Menzies</i> , 91
9/Feb./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD112/1/4

Date	Event	Location	Source
14/June/1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 106; <i>RMS</i> , i, 661
30/June/1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness two royal charters	Dundee	NAS C1/5, no. 101; <i>RMS</i> , i, 656
26/Aug./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Kindrochit	NAS C1/5, no. 103; <i>RMS</i> , i, 658
16/Oct./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Dunkeld	NAS C1/5, no. 109; <i>RMS</i> , i, 664
22/Nov./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Linlithgow	NAS GD124/1/418
3/Dec./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Stirling	NAS C1/5, no. 105; <i>RMS</i> , i, 660
31/Dec./1377	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	St Andrews	Fraser, <i>Douglas</i> , iii, 25-6
6/March/1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Edinburgh	NAS C1/5, no. 110; <i>RMS</i> , i, 665
21/April/1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Rothesay castle	NAS GD124/1/ 1124
20/May/1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Dunfermline	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Coll.</i> , 233
16/July/1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	<i>RMS</i> , i, 690, 778
25/July/1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	<i>Chron. Bower</i> (Watt), vi, 64-7
20/Oct./1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Scone	NLS Ch. 1361
22/Oct./1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Scone	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iv, 376
26/Dec./1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Arbroath	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , ii, 66-7

Date	Event	Location	Source
31/Dec./1378	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Arbroath	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iv, 113-4
2/Feb./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD45/16/2320
9/April/1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Rothsay Castle	Fraser, <i>Douglas</i> , iii, 362-3
13/July/1379	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Kindrochit in Mar	Fraser, <i>Douglas</i> , iii, 28
28/Aug./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Kindrochit in Mar	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iii, 181
4/Sept./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	<i>Caithness Recs.</i> , i, 167-8
30/Sept./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 117; <i>RMS</i> , i, 672
24/Oct./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Kylwenyn'	Fraser, <i>Melville</i> , iii, 13
17/Dec./1379	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD45/16/3041
28/Jan./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD45/16/2321
24/Feb./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Edinburgh	Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> , ii, 490-2
15/May/1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Edinburgh	NAS C1/5, no. 91; <i>RMS</i> , i, 646
20/May/1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Methven	NAS GD12/5
4/June/1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Edinburgh	NAS GD12/39
16/June/1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Dundee	<i>RMS</i> , i, 631
13/July/1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Kincrochit in Mar	Fraser, <i>Southesk</i> , ii, 479-80
11/Aug./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Inverness	<i>Aberdeen Registrum</i> , i, 111-2

Date	Event	Location	Source
3/Sept./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Glenprosen	<i>Panmure Registrum</i> , ii, 178-9
31/Oct./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Glenprosen	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , ii, 43-4
6/Dec./1380	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Edinburgh	<i>Yester Writs</i> , 28-9
27/Sept./1381	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Kindrochit	<i>Paisley Registrum</i> , 206-8
10/Oct./1381	James and Alexander Lindsay witness two royal charters	Edinburgh	Fraser, <i>Buccleuch</i> , ii, 12-3; Fraser, <i>Douglas</i> , iii, 30
15/Nov./1381	James and Alexander Lindsay witness a royal charter	Ardstanchell'	Fraser, <i>Eglinton</i> , ii, 16
5/Feb./1382	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Perth	NAS GD45/16/534
14/Feb./1382	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Methven	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , iv, 84-5
25/June/1382	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Edinburgh	RMS, i, 806
26/July/1382	James Lindsay witnesses a royal charter	Unrecorded	Fraser, <i>Keir</i> , 200-1

2. Lindsay Connections to Royal Government: Grants, Confirmations and Offices, 1371-1382

Date	Event	Location	Source
19/Sept./1371	Robert II confirms James Lindsay's grant to John Maxwell of Peblesshire lands	'Kylwynnyne'	NAS C1/2, no. 24; RMS, i, 451
20/April/1372	Robert II granted James Lindsay the dominion of Wigtown, excepting the barony of 'Carnysmul'	Perth	NAS C1/4, no. 5; NAS MFilP/C2/1, no. 318; RMS, i, 414, 527
8/June/1372	Robert II grants Alexander Lindsay the thanage of Downie, Forfarshire	Perth	NAS MFilP/C2/1, no. 307; RMS, i, 403

Date	Event	Location	Source
20/Aug./1373	Robert II grants James Lindsay 'Nova Foresta' in Galloway, resigned by Walter Leslie	Perth	NAS C1/2, no. 19; <i>RMS</i> , i, 446
11, 18/Feb./1374	James Lindsay recorded as sheriff of Lanark, justiciar north of the Forth and Exchequer auditor	Perth	NAS E38/71, 73; <i>ER</i> , ii, 418, 428, 434-5, 437
6/April/1374	Robert II grants Alexander Lindsay 'Baltrody' [Pitroddie, Alyth Parish], Perthshire	Perth	NAS C1/2, no. 62; <i>RMS</i> , i, 489
16/Oct./1374	Robert II grants Alexander Lindsay Cambo, Fife	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 62; NAS C1/6, no. 30; <i>RMS</i> , i, 617, 711
2/Feb./1375	Robert II confirms Alexander Lindsay's grant of the free tenement of 'Baltrody' [Pitroddie, Alyth Parish, Perthshire] to Margaret Abernethy countess of Angus	Perth	NAS C1/5, 57; <i>RMS</i> , i, 612
3/Feb./1375	Robert II grants James Lindsay Aberbrothy, the castle of 'Inverucuche' and other lands in Alyth, Perthshire	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 55; NAS C1/6, no. 24; <i>RMS</i> , i, 610, 705
17/Feb./1375	James Lindsay recorded as Sheriff of Lanark, justiciar and Exchequer Auditor. Alexander Lindsay recorded as justiciar, and paid £233 6s. 8d. from King	Perth	NAS E38/76; <i>ER</i> , ii, 455, 457-8, 463
25/April/1375	Robert II granted Alexander Lindsay Finavon with right of advocation of its church and the office of forester of Plater	Perth	<i>RMS</i> , i, 618, 712
16/Sept./1375	Robert II grants James Lindsay Aberbrothy, the castle of 'Inverucuyche' and other lands in Alyth, Perthshire	Perth	NAS C1/5, no. 75; <i>RMS</i> , i, 630
27/Dec./1375	Robert II grants Alexander Lindsay a 100s. annuity from Crail and 10 merks from the fermes of Forfar to pay for the second tiends paid to the prior of Restenneth.	Edinburgh	NAS C1/2, no. 71; <i>RMS</i> , i, 498
5/March/1376	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor; Note: manuscript source faded and damaged.	Perth	NAS E38/79; <i>ER</i> , ii, 469

Date	Event	Location	Source
4/Jan./1377	Robert II confirms a charter of Robert I granting James Lindsay Kirkmichael, Dumfriesshire, in regality	Methven	NAS C1/5, no. 35; <i>RMS</i> , i, 590
28/Jan./1377	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor	Perth	NAS E38/81; <i>ER</i> , ii, 510
4/Feb./1377	James Lindsay recorded as sheriff of Lanark, and Robert II pays him £100 as gift from Aberdeen	Perth	NAS E38/81; <i>ER</i> , ii, 522, 525, 532-3
8/March/1378	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor	Dundee	NAS E38/82; <i>ER</i> , ii, 569
21/March/1379	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor; Note: manuscript source very badly faded	Dundee	NAS E38/85; <i>ER</i> , ii, 588
April/1379	Alexander Lindsay paid £90 17s. 2d. for service as Justiciar, James Lindsay's expenses as auditor paid, £24 13s. 4d. Note: MS badly damaged	Dundee	NAS E38/84; <i>ER</i> , ii, 620, 623
26/Jan./1380	Robert II grants Alexander Lindsay a £40 annuity from Aberdeen	Methven	NAS C1/5, no. 93; <i>RMS</i> , i, 648
3/Feb./1380	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor; Note: Manuscript source partially faded	Aberdeen	NAS E38/88; <i>ER</i> , iii, 1
14/Feb./1380	Alexander Lindsay paid £106 13s. 3d. for service as Justiciar north of the Forth, James Lindsay paid £20 for service as sheriff of Lanark, and £40 for expenses as Exchequer auditor	Aberdeen	NAS E38/87, E38/87A (copy); <i>ER</i> , iii, 28, 30-2
13/May/1380	Robert II confirms James Lindsay's grant of Chamberlain-Newton, Roxburghshire, to William Lindsay of the Byres	Holyrood, Edinburgh	NAS C1/5, no. 81; <i>RMS</i> , i, 636
31/Oct./1380	Robert II confirms Alexander Lindsay's grant of lands in the Barony of Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeenshire to Alexander Strachan and his wife Christiana, daughter of David de Anandia	Glenprosen	<i>Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations</i> , ii, 43-4
7/March/1381	Robert II gives David Lindsay a £20 from Dundee	Edinburgh	NAS, E38/90A; <i>ER</i> , iii, 47

Date	Event	Location	Source
14/March/1381	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor, repaid for a loan he made to the king, paid £20 for service as sheriff of Lanark, paid £46 13s. 4d as expenses as Exchequer auditor, Alexander Lindsay paid £80 5s. for his fee (probably as Justiciar north of the Forth)	Edinburgh	NAS E38/92A; <i>ER</i> , iii, 649, 652, 655-6
1/Jan./1382	Robert II grants James Lindsay overlordship of the lands of Ley, Cartland and Foulwood and of Bondington, Lanarkshire	Edinburgh	NAS C1/6, no. 15; <i>RMS</i> , i, 696
26/Feb/1382	James Lindsay recorded as Exchequer auditor	Perth	NAS E38/92; <i>ER</i> , iii, 62
10/March/1382	James Lindsay paid £20 for service as sheriff of Lanark, & his expenses as Exchequer auditor paid, £46 13s. 4d.	Perth	NAS E38/91; <i>ER</i> , iii, 77, 82-3

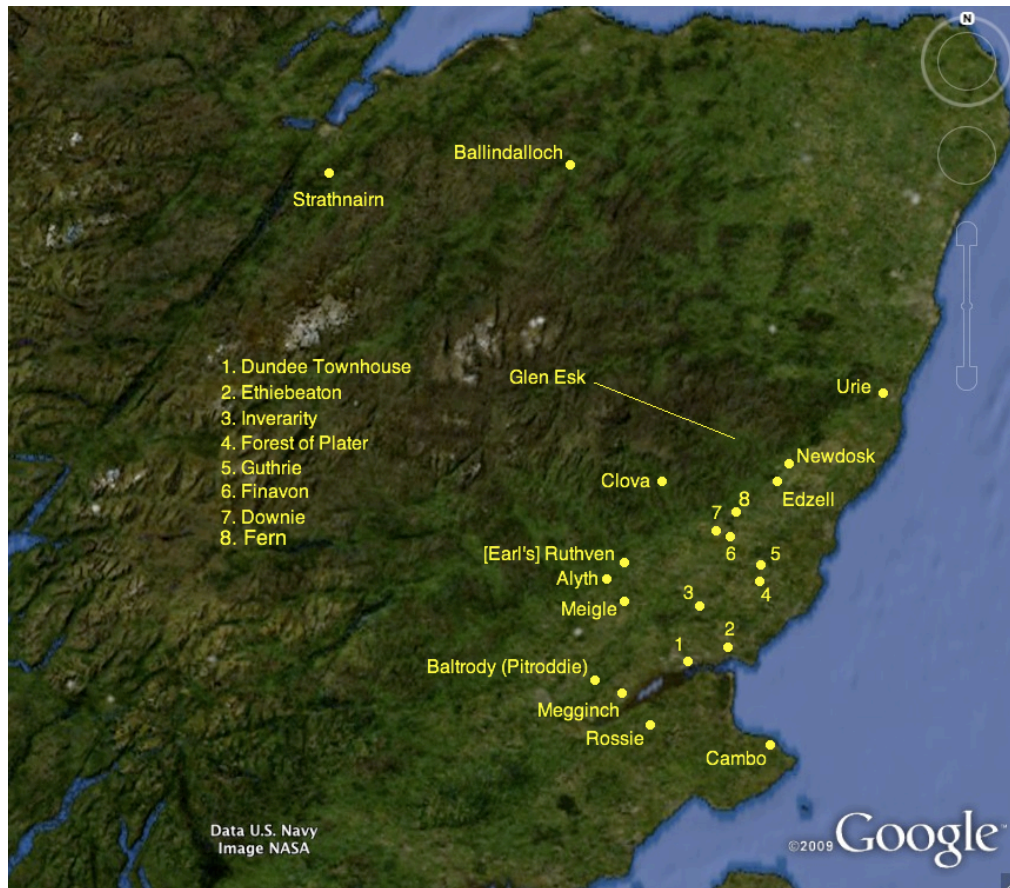
Appendix C: Maps

1. Lindsay Lands, 1380-1453



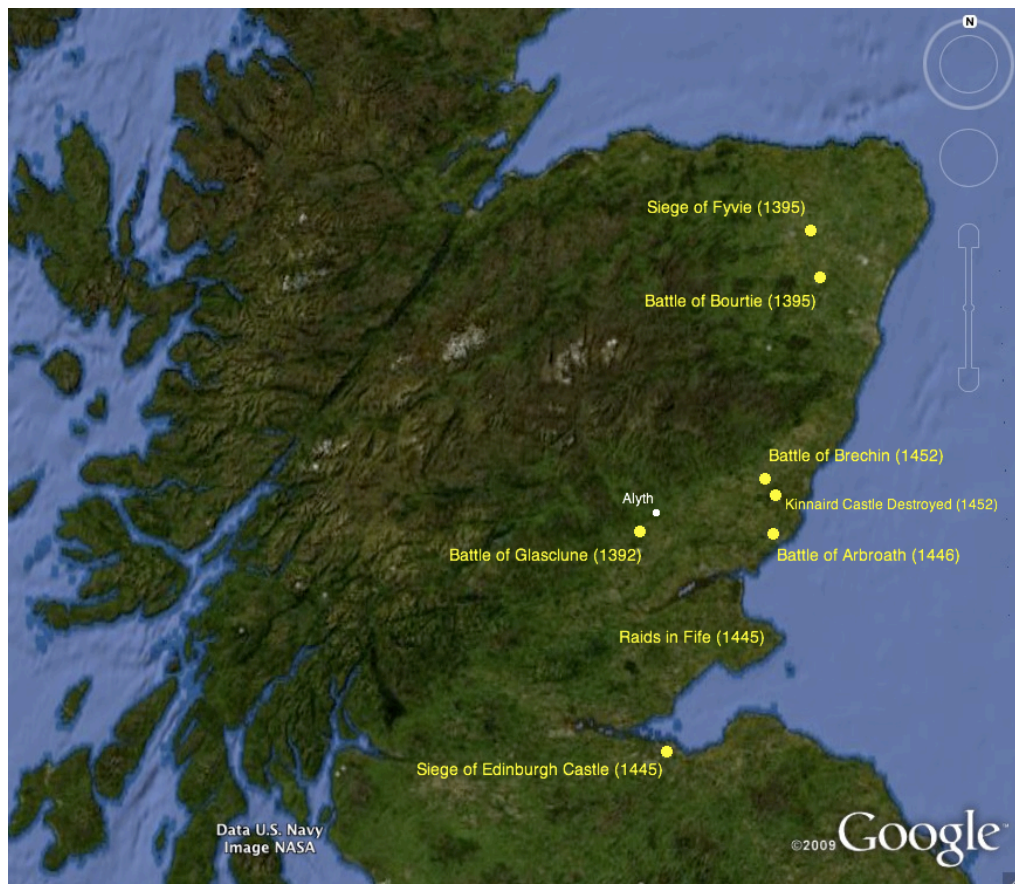
This map identifies most of the lands the Lindsays of Glen Esk and Crawford held between 1380 and 1453. It is not a snapshot of any particular moment.

2. Lindsay Lands in Banffshire, Fife, Forfarshire, Kincardineshire, and Perthshire

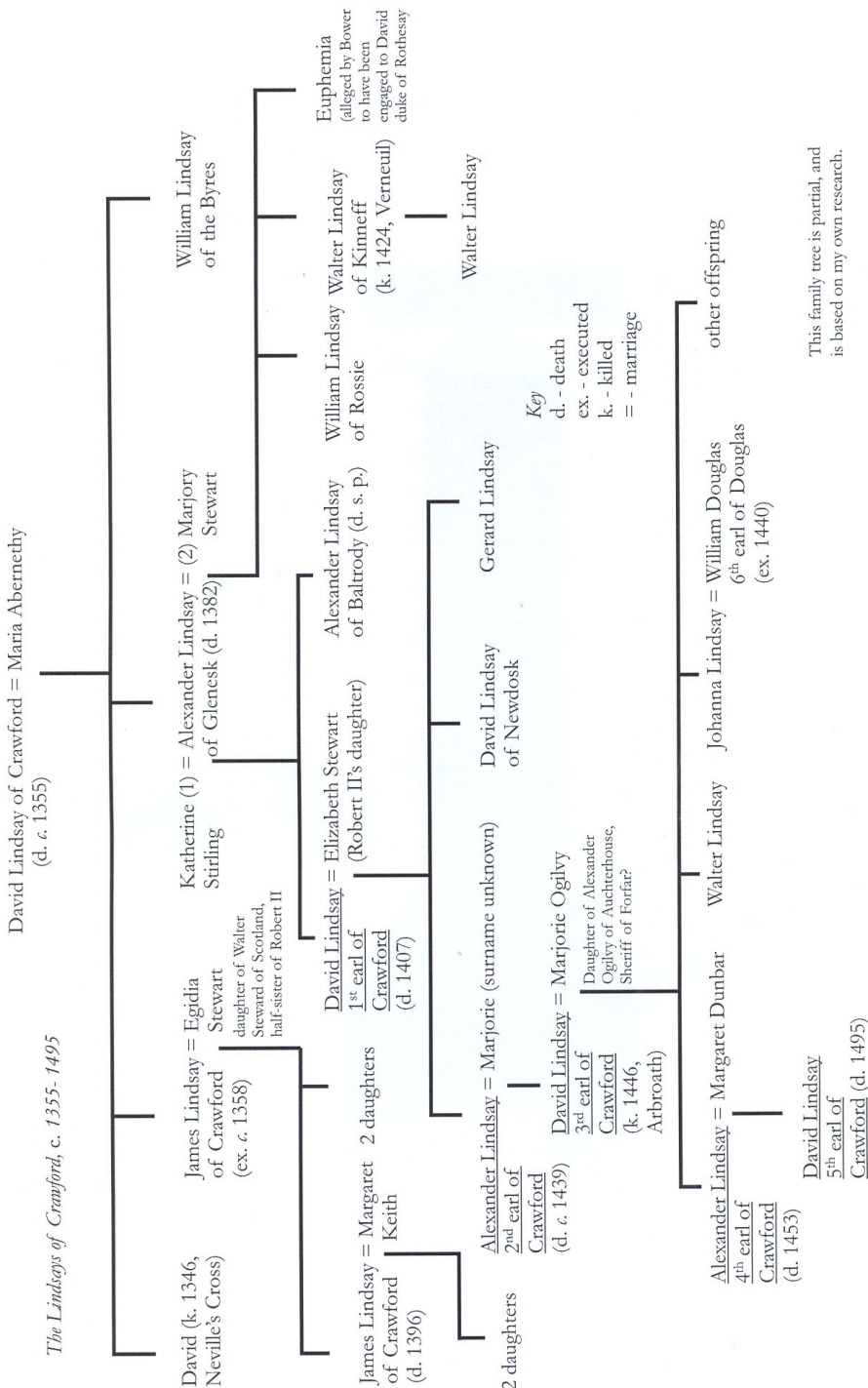


This map focuses on the Lindsays' lands in Banffshire, Fife, Forfarshire, Kincardineshire, and Perthshire, held between 1380 and 1453. As above, this is not a snapshot of any particular moment.

3. Sites of Lindsay Battles



Appendix D: Family Trees



This family tree is partial, and is based on my own research.

The Extended Douglas Family, 1330-1491

James Lord of Douglas 'The Good Sir James' (k. 1330) ≠ Archibald 'the Grim' 3rd earl of Douglas (d. 1400)

Archibald 4th earl of Douglas (k. 1424, Verneuil) = Margaret Stewart Robert III's daughter

James 'the Gross' Lord of Balvenie, 1st earl of Arundale, 7th earl of Douglas (d. 1443)

Mary marriage arranged to David duke of Rothesay

James 2nd earl of Douglas and Mar (k. 1388, Otterburn) (1) = Malcolm Drummond (k. 1402) (2) = Alexander Stewart earl of Mar (by right of wife) (d. s. p., 1435, hence Erskine claim to Mar earldom)

Isabella countess of Mar (d. 1408)

James 1st earl of Douglas and Mar (d. 1384)

Archibald 5th earl of Douglas (d. 1439)

William 6th earl of Douglas (ex. 1440) = Johanna Lindsay David 3rd earl of Crawford's daughter

James 3rd earl of Douglas (d. 1446)

James 4th earl of Douglas (d. 1463)

William 2nd earl of Angus (d. 1437)

George 4th earl of Angus (d. 1463)

Archibald, earl of Moray (k. 1455, Arkinholm)

James 9th earl of Douglas (d. 1491)

William 8th earl of Douglas (k. 1452, Sirling by James II) = Margaret 'the fair maid' of Galloway daughter of Archibald 5th earl of Douglas

James 1st earl of Douglas (d. 1384)

James 2nd earl of Douglas (d. 1388)

James 3rd earl of Douglas (d. 1446)

James 4th earl of Douglas (d. 1463)

James 5th earl of Douglas (d. 1489)

James 6th earl of Douglas (d. 1513)

James 7th earl of Douglas (d. 1542)

James 8th earl of Douglas (d. 1567)

James 9th earl of Douglas (d. 1590)

James 10th earl of Douglas (d. 1611)

James 11th earl of Douglas (d. 1633)

James 12th earl of Douglas (d. 1654)

James 13th earl of Douglas (d. 1675)

James 14th earl of Douglas (d. 1696)

James 15th earl of Douglas (d. 1717)

James 16th earl of Douglas (d. 1738)

James 17th earl of Douglas (d. 1759)

James 18th earl of Douglas (d. 1780)

James 19th earl of Douglas (d. 1801)

James 20th earl of Douglas (d. 1822)

James 21st earl of Douglas (d. 1843)

James 22nd earl of Douglas (d. 1864)

James 23rd earl of Douglas (d. 1885)

James 24th earl of Douglas (d. 1906)

James 25th earl of Douglas (d. 1927)

James 26th earl of Douglas (d. 1948)

James 27th earl of Douglas (d. 1969)

James 28th earl of Douglas (d. 1990)

James 29th earl of Douglas (d. 2011)

James 30th earl of Douglas (d. 2032)

James 31st earl of Douglas (d. 2053)

James 32nd earl of Douglas (d. 2074)

James 33rd earl of Douglas (d. 2095)

James 34th earl of Douglas (d. 2116)

James 35th earl of Douglas (d. 2137)

James 36th earl of Douglas (d. 2158)

James 37th earl of Douglas (d. 2179)

James 38th earl of Douglas (d. 2200)

James 39th earl of Douglas (d. 2221)

James 40th earl of Douglas (d. 2242)

James 41st earl of Douglas (d. 2263)

James 42nd earl of Douglas (d. 2284)

James 43rd earl of Douglas (d. 2305)

James 44th earl of Douglas (d. 2326)

James 45th earl of Douglas (d. 2347)

James 46th earl of Douglas (d. 2368)

James 47th earl of Douglas (d. 2389)

James 48th earl of Douglas (d. 2410)

James 49th earl of Douglas (d. 2431)

James 50th earl of Douglas (d. 2452)

James 51st earl of Douglas (d. 2473)

James 52nd earl of Douglas (d. 2494)

James 53rd earl of Douglas (d. 2515)

James 54th earl of Douglas (d. 2536)

James 55th earl of Douglas (d. 2557)

James 56th earl of Douglas (d. 2578)

James 57th earl of Douglas (d. 2599)

James 58th earl of Douglas (d. 2620)

James 59th earl of Douglas (d. 2641)

James 60th earl of Douglas (d. 2662)

James 61st earl of Douglas (d. 2683)

James 62nd earl of Douglas (d. 2704)

James 63rd earl of Douglas (d. 2725)

James 64th earl of Douglas (d. 2746)

James 65th earl of Douglas (d. 2767)

James 66th earl of Douglas (d. 2788)

James 67th earl of Douglas (d. 2809)

James 68th earl of Douglas (d. 2830)

James 69th earl of Douglas (d. 2851)

James 70th earl of Douglas (d. 2872)

James 71st earl of Douglas (d. 2893)

James 72nd earl of Douglas (d. 2914)

James 73rd earl of Douglas (d. 2935)

James 74th earl of Douglas (d. 2956)

James 75th earl of Douglas (d. 2977)

James 76th earl of Douglas (d. 2998)

James 77th earl of Douglas (d. 3019)

James 78th earl of Douglas (d. 3040)

James 79th earl of Douglas (d. 3061)

James 80th earl of Douglas (d. 3082)

James 81st earl of Douglas (d. 3103)

James 82nd earl of Douglas (d. 3124)

James 83rd earl of Douglas (d. 3145)

James 84th earl of Douglas (d. 3166)

James 85th earl of Douglas (d. 3187)

James 86th earl of Douglas (d. 3208)

James 87th earl of Douglas (d. 3229)

James 88th earl of Douglas (d. 3250)

James 89th earl of Douglas (d. 3271)

James 90th earl of Douglas (d. 3292)

James 91st earl of Douglas (d. 3313)

James 92nd earl of Douglas (d. 3334)

James 93rd earl of Douglas (d. 3355)

James 94th earl of Douglas (d. 3376)

James 95th earl of Douglas (d. 3397)

James 96th earl of Douglas (d. 3418)

James 97th earl of Douglas (d. 3439)

James 98th earl of Douglas (d. 3460)

James 99th earl of Douglas (d. 3481)

James 100th earl of Douglas (d. 3502)

James 101st earl of Douglas (d. 3523)

James 102nd earl of Douglas (d. 3544)

James 103rd earl of Douglas (d. 3565)

James 104th earl of Douglas (d. 3586)

James 105th earl of Douglas (d. 3607)

James 106th earl of Douglas (d. 3628)

James 107th earl of Douglas (d. 3649)

James 108th earl of Douglas (d. 3670)

James 109th earl of Douglas (d. 3691)

James 110th earl of Douglas (d. 3712)

James 111th earl of Douglas (d. 3733)

James 112th earl of Douglas (d. 3754)

James 113th earl of Douglas (d. 3775)

James 114th earl of Douglas (d. 3796)

James 115th earl of Douglas (d. 3817)

James 116th earl of Douglas (d. 3838)

James 117th earl of Douglas (d. 3859)

James 118th earl of Douglas (d. 3880)

James 119th earl of Douglas (d. 3901)

James 120th earl of Douglas (d. 3922)

James 121st earl of Douglas (d. 3943)

James 122nd earl of Douglas (d. 3964)

James 123rd earl of Douglas (d. 3985)

James 124th earl of Douglas (d. 4006)

James 125th earl of Douglas (d. 4027)

James 126th earl of Douglas (d. 4048)

James 127th earl of Douglas (d. 4069)

James 128th earl of Douglas (d. 4090)

James 129th earl of Douglas (d. 4111)

James 130th earl of Douglas (d. 4132)

James 131st earl of Douglas (d. 4153)

James 132nd earl of Douglas (d. 4174)

James 133rd earl of Douglas (d. 4195)

James 134th earl of Douglas (d. 4216)

James 135th earl of Douglas (d. 4237)

James 136th earl of Douglas (d. 4258)

James 137th earl of Douglas (d. 4279)

James 138th earl of Douglas (d. 4300)

James 139th earl of Douglas (d. 4321)

James 140th earl of Douglas (d. 4342)

James 141st earl of Douglas (d. 4363)

James 142nd earl of Douglas (d. 4384)

James 143rd earl of Douglas (d. 4405)

James 144th earl of Douglas (d. 4426)

James 145th earl of Douglas (d. 4447)

James 146th earl of Douglas (d. 4468)

James 147th earl of Douglas (d. 4489)

James 148th earl of Douglas (d. 4510)

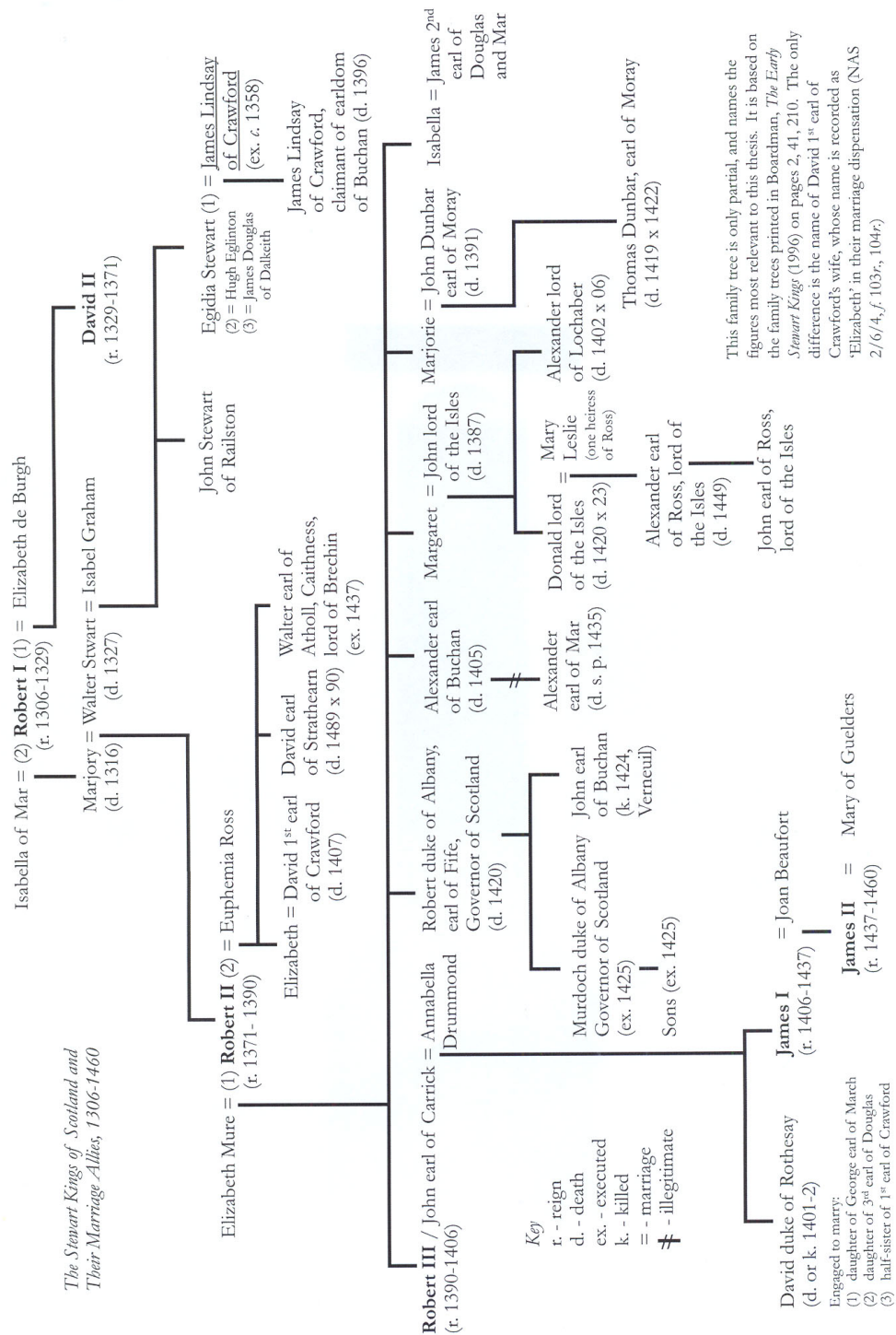
James 149th earl of Douglas (d. 4531)

James 150th earl of Douglas (d. 4552)

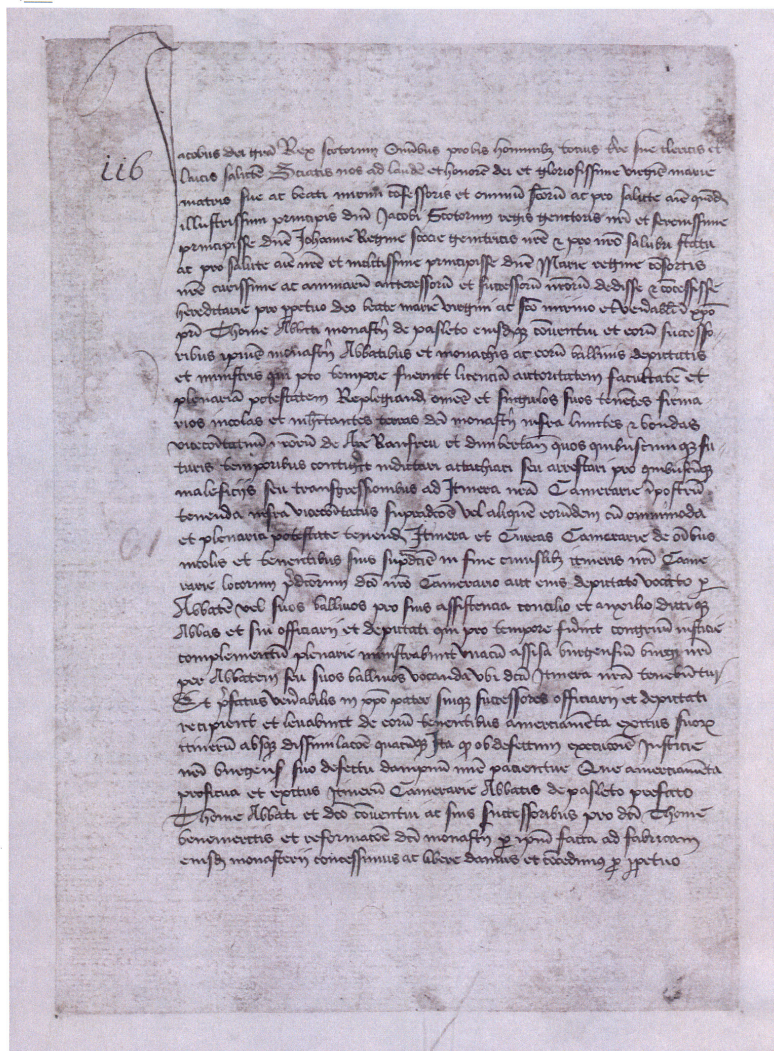
James 151st earl of Douglas (d. 4573)

James 152nd earl

This family tree is only partial, and names the figures most relevant to this thesis. It is based on the family trees printed in Michael Brown's *The Black Douglasses* (2000), on pages 32, 80, 98, 228-9.

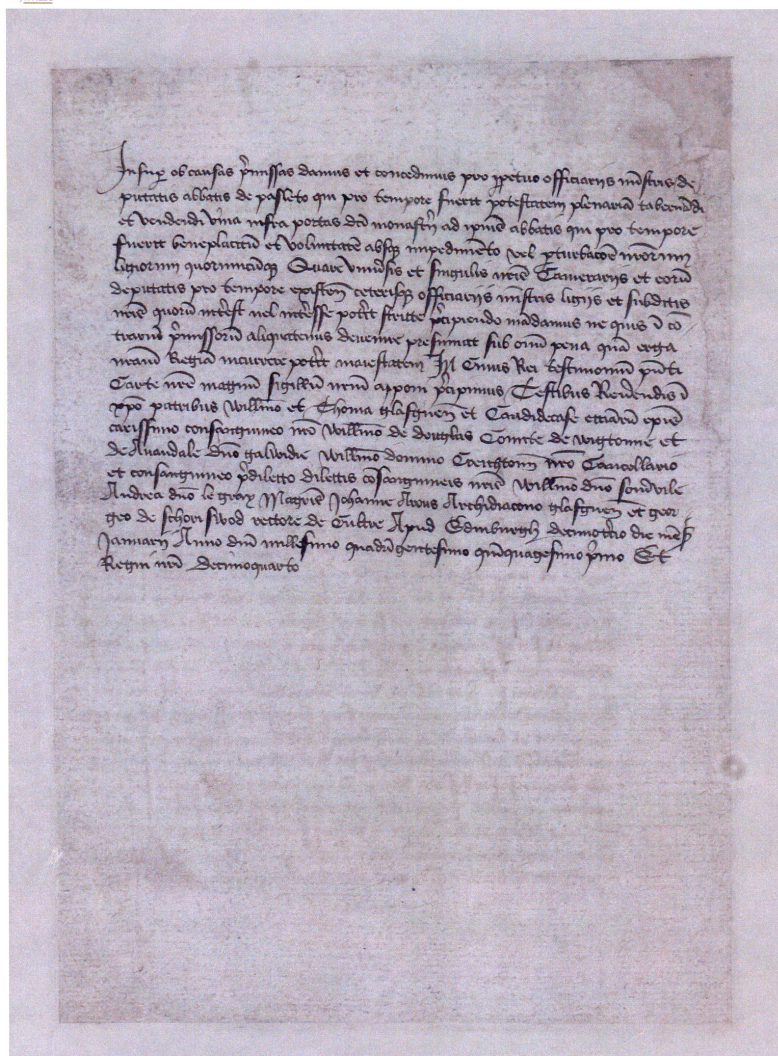


Appendix E: Charters Related to William 8th Earl of Douglas' Claim of Annandale



NAS C2/3, no. 116

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NAS C2/3, no. 116

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C2, Great Seal Register (Registrum Magni Sigilli)
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GD12, The Deeds of the Swinton Family of Swinton, Berwickshire
GD16, Papers of the Earls of Airlie
GD18, Papers of the Clerk Family of Penicuik, Midlothian
GD25, Papers of the Kennedy Family, Earls of Cassillis (Ailsa Muniments)
GD39, Earls of Glencairn
GD44, Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon (Gordon Castle Muniments)
GD45, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie
GD52, Lord Forbes
GD112, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments)
GD121, Papers of the Steuart of Fotheringham Family of Pourie, Fotheringham, Murthly and Strathbraan (Murthly Castle Muniments) [These documents are removed from the NAS.]
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GD124, Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie
GD150, Papers of the Earls of Morton
GD185, Papers of the Abercromby Family of Forglen and Birkenbog
GD188, Guthrie of Guthrie MSS
GD198, Papers of the Haldane Family of Gleneagles, Perthshire
GD205, Papers of the Ogilvy family of Inverquhar
GD212, Maitland Thomson's Notebooks
PA5, Manuscript Collections of early Scottish laws etc
RH1/2, Transcripts and photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers
RH1/6, Photocopies of Erroll Charters
RH2, Miscellaneous Transcripts Etc. Volumes
RH4, Microfilms (General Series)
RH6, Register House charters, 1st series
SP13, State papers

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Acc. 9769, Crawford Papers, Scottish Deeds
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Adv. Ms. 34.4.3
Adv. Ms. 34.4.10
Adv. Ms. 34.6.24
Adv. Ms. 35.6.13
Adv. Ms. 36.6.24
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