

The Scottish Nation of Merchants in Bruges

**A contribution to the history of medieval Scottish
foreign trade.**

by

W. H. FINLAYSON

ProQuest Number: 13838106

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 13838106

Published by ProQuest LLC (2019). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Contents

Preface	Page I
Chapter 1: Introduction	
(i) The problem	1
(ii) Previous work on the subject	6
(iii) Scottish exports	10
(iv) Geography of the Zwin Estuary	17
Chapter 2: Prior to 1302 (The Battle of Courtrai)	24
Chapter 3: 1302-1384 (To the coming of the Burgundians)	46
Chapter 4: 1384-1465 (To the ab- dication of Philip the Good)	66
Chapter 5: 1465-1472 (The troubles under Charles the Bold)	108
Chapter 6: Anselme Adornes	128
Chapter 7: 1472-1603. (The last stage of the Staple)	145.
Chapter 8: Scottish settlements in Bruges.	174.
Chapter 9: Conclusions and suggest- ions for further study.	195.
Bibliography	208.

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Facing Page
Fig. 1 Scottish monuments in Bruges (from Gerard's plan, 1562)	I
Fig. 2 The Zwin estuary	17.
Fig. 3 Scottish monuments in Bruges (shown on modern map)	171 174.
Fig. 4 The Carmelite Church and the Chapel of St. Ninian	176.

Appendices.

Appendix A.	214.
Appendix B.	220.
Appendix C.	227.
Appendix D.	234.
Appendix E.	240.
Appendix F.	244.
Appendix G.	250.
Appendix H.	254.



Map of Amsterdam, showing streets, canals, and buildings. The map is divided into two sections by a horizontal line. The top section shows the city center with a large canal and several churches. The bottom section shows a more densely built-up area with many smaller streets and buildings. Various streets are labeled in Dutch, including 'Nieuwe Markt', 'Vroch Markt', 'Groote Markt', and 'Nieuwe Markt'. There are also numbers 1 through 11 and letters A, B, C, D, E marked on the map.

Streets labeled include: Baet Strade, doudshoek, Corten Stijf Land, Nieuwe Markt, Lange Strade, Jacobine Strade, de medische Strade, Vroch Markt, Groote Markt, Nieuwe Markt, and others.

Numbers 1 through 11 are marked on the map. Letters A, B, C, D, E are also marked.

Figure 1.

Part of the plan of Bruces by Mark Gerard (1562),
to show places connected with the Scottish Nation there.

It is to be regretted that the part shown lies on the
intersection of four sheets, the more so since the photo-
graphic reproductions of these do not fit.

1. De Schottendyk, 1291.
2. St. Winian's Aisle, 1366.
3. De Schottenbrug, 1388.
4. De Schottenpoort, 1407.
5. St. Andrew's Altar, 1462.
6. Schottestraetkin, 1550.
7. De Schottenplaetz, 1750.
8. House "called Scotland", Crommenwale, 1453.
9. St. Maertins Plaets, 1470.
10. Inghelschestraet, 1550.
11. Molenmeer, 1575.

Besides the above, Fischer speaks of a house called
Scotland existing in 1367, but not trace of this can be found

Preface

Between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries there is record at Bruges of a Scottish Quay, a Scottish Square, a Scottish Bridge, two Scottish Streets, and sundry houses "called Scotland". From 1366 until its destruction in 1578 there was in the Carmelite Church a chapel of St. Ninian, kept up by the Scottish state, and in the mid-fifteenth century there was a wealthy private confraternity of St. Andrew, the members of which were burgesses of Bruges of Scottish birth, meeting in the church of St. Giles. The first and second items were still in the common speech as late as 1750. The existence of such landmarks would seem to argue a connection closer than that envisaged by Davidson & Gray,⁽¹⁾ who consider that Bruges was only occasionally the seat of the Scottish merchant staple. Enquiry at Bruges itself in 1944 and 1945 supported the revised view. The feeling seemed to be that the Scots were a fairly important nation on the Bourse there, and that their

(1) Davidson & Gray, The Scottish Staple at Veere, London, 1909.

exports were much more important to the trade of Flanders than were those of England, which dealt with Bruges only on a restricted scale.

Reference to the Bibliography will show that, Scottish Records apart, the main authorities of this thesis are continental. Scottish studies have, it is feared, been quoted only to be differed from. The case of Davidson & Gray has already been mentioned. ⁽¹⁾ Rooseboom is in general nearer the mark, but his account is very scrappy, and is marred by various inaccuracies. It is to be noticed that both of these authorities were primarily concerned with the Scottish settlement at Campvere, and tacitly assume throughout that what applied to the staple in Zealand in the sixteenth century and later was equally true of the Middle Ages. Since the modern theories of the eclipse of Bruges are based on her inability to adapt her methods to the changed conditions of the Renaissance it will be seen that this theory is doubtful from the outset. Further evidence of its inadequacy will be adduced in the thesis.

The thesis is based primarily on an exhaustive

(1) Rooseboom M.P., The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands, The Hague, 1910.

search of the printed records of Bruges, and of our printed Scottish records. They have been supplemented by manuscript sources, studied in photographic reproduction. These originated in the archives of Bruges, and in a transcript of Burgundian origin in the Library of the University of Göttingen. The catalogue of the Archives du Departement du Nord at Lille has also been consulted.

Secondary material consists of papers from Belgian and German historical revues, again studied in photographic reproduction. Of all this material very little has been used by Scottish historians, and the few references that were found have had to be carefully rechecked, as in the light of new information a different interpretation has often had to be placed on them.

It was early noticed that the great events of Scottish History had little reflection in the history of the Scottish Staple, which was much more sensitive to happenings in France or Burgundy. Accordingly, in dividing the period of the thesis into chapter headings, events of Continental importance have been preferred to Scottish ones.

I hereby declare that this thesis has been compiled by me from the sources outlined above, and given more fully in the Bibliography, that it is my own unaided work, and that it is my own composition.

.....

C H A P T E R I(1) The Problem

Consideration of the enormously greater volume of English trade has bred in many Scottish historians a respect that amounts in many cases to an inferiority complex. It is a change, therefore, to find in the history of Bruges a case where the Scottish trade was enormously more important to the Flemings than was the English. We may compare a paragraph of Davidson and Grey with one taken from a letter to the writer by the present town's archivist, Remi Parmentier: "Bruges at this time enjoyed an enviable pre-eminence among the cities of the Low Countries. It was the clearing-house both for the Hanseatics of the North, and the traders of Venice and Spain. It was the seat of the English Merchant Venturers, the market for the hides and furs of Russia, Scandinavia and Scotland, for the drugs and spices of the East, for the silks and wines of France and the Mediterranean. In such a world emporium the trade of Scotland must have seemed insignificant."

(1) Op. cit. p. 128.

Hear now Monsieur Parmentier:

"Votre décision d'étudier l'étaple écossais a comblé un de mes vieux rêves. Seule parmi les nations importantes sur la bourse de Bruges, l'Ecosse manque son historien. Une longue connaissance des sources d'archives m'a laissé l'impression que l'Ecosse a joué au point de vue économique un rôle bien plus important que les anglais."

The reason is not far to seek. The foundation of Flemish trade, especially in the period prior to the Hundred Years War, was built up on their cloth industry. From the days of Edward I onwards, wool was a bargaining weapon in the hands of the English kings, and a quarrel with them meant an embargo on the wool supplies, and
(1)
immediate industrial unrest.

The answer obviously was to have an alternative supply, if possible, of the same long staple wool as the English. Such a supply could be obtained from Spain or Scotland. Further, the Scots had no ambitions towards entering the arena as a manufacturing nation, in competition

(1) Pirenne: Histoire de Belgique, Vol. 2.

with the Flemings. Bruges rigidly debarred English cloth from its markets. Antwerp, on the other hand, welcomed it, and made various commercial agreements with the English. The rôle Antwerp chose for itself was that of market, without attempting to sell any of its own goods. It was this policy that proved the more adaptable in the long run, and was probably one of the main reasons for Antwerp taking the lead from Bruges in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Much of the trouble in understanding the term "staple" arises from the fact that the English use of the word is generally taken as the standard. In reality, the English staple was an exception to the Hanseatic, (by far the most important), the Spanish, the Portugese, the various Italians, and all the other nations that frequented the Grand'Place of Bruges. As we might expect, the Scottish staple resembled these continental models much more closely than it did the English. In fact, from the point of view of these others the English mode of trading can scarcely be termed a Staple at all, being a dictatorial method of concentrating foreign trade in one town under Royal surveillance.

Other staples were agreements, more or less freely negotiated, between the governments of the countries concerned and the Council of Bruges that, in return for various privileges, the merchants of that state would bring their goods to Bruges and to no other town for sale. The staple was observed as far and no farther than the contracting parties were able to enforce its observance. There were Scots, Spaniards, Hanseatics, trading in Antwerp, Middelburg, Veere, Brouwershaven, Bergen-op-Zoom, Dordrecht, and doubtless as many other places, in direct contravention of the staple contracts which their countries had made with Bruges. In its stronger days the Hansa could get its merchants back; in its weaker days it could not, and I have never heard of a Scotsman having any great respect for a central authority which could not enforce itself, and which touched his pocket.

Such departures from the letter of the staple contract were recognised and tacitly approved of, though official changes of staple were another matter. Thus, although it was agreed in 1407 that Bruges should be the sole port

(1)
for Scottish trade the Duke of Albany and the Count of
Holland were making an agreement in 1416⁽²⁾ to continue
trade in harmony. Again, in 1425 the Duke of Burgundy
raised no objection to the Scots quitting Bruges, and the
charter given to the Scots in that year speaks again of
their being free to continue trade with Holland and Zea-
land, especially with the town of Middelburg. It is hoped,
however, to show that in this case there were political con-
siderations to cause the Duke to depart from the normal prac-
tice of forbidding merchants to change their staple.

(1) Vide infra, Appendix A.

(2) Rooseboom, Appendix 18.

(ii) Previous work on the subject

There are two works in which the Scottish trade with Bruges is mentioned, though in neither of them is it the principal subject. The books referred to are:-

J. Davidson and A. Grey: The Scottish Staple at Veere.
London, 1909.

M. P. Rooseboom: The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands.
The Hague, 1910.

The former book is referred to in Rooseboom's preface, from which it is evident that the two studies were made independently, and that they are not related. In their bibliographies the former authors claim to have referred to Gilliodts's "Cartulaire de l'ancien Estaple de Bruges", and to the same author's "Inventaire des Archives de la Ville de Bruges". Rooseboom includes only the Cartulaire in his authorities.

That the question of the Scottish relations with the Flemish town is not the main reason for the first book is implicit in the title, and that Rooseboom is not greatly interested in the Scottish Staple in Bruges may be gathered

from his summarising the years 1295-1473, the limits he assigns to the Bruges staple, into a first chapter of 26 pages, out of the 236 of which the book consists, (up to 1676).

It is evident from the outset that for Rooseboom "the Netherlands" means the present kingdom of that name, and that despite his Edinburgh M.A. he is a Dutchman. He makes errors in Flemish history, and in Burgundian history where this does not affect the Netherlands, and while his Scottish history is accurate enough, except for one error, which might be a typographical one (James II for James III,
(1)
p.22), he has not the background to realise the importance of Anselme Adornes for the solution of the problem of the end of the Boyds. He could not have gone very deeply into the organisation at Bruges when he says (p.10) that Monseigneur de Guistelle, the proprietor of the customs of Bruges, was "probably the Governor or Lord Provost of Bruges".

It is distasteful to criticise adversely a previous author, but the criticism may be finished here by

(1) Though it is perpetuated in the Index.

pointing out that while Davidson and Gray give comparatively little information, what they do give is scrupulously accurate. Rooseboom, on the other hand, has constantly to be checked. His fault is generally overcredulity. He copies other people's errors a trifle uncritically. Three examples may be quoted,

(1) In one of the pages of the Ouden Witten Bouck may be seen a marginal pencilled note of Gilliodts's, in which he translates "le penultime jour de Novembre" as "30 Novembre". The same error occurs in Rooseboom, App. 10.

(2) Rooseboom Apps. 8 and 9 are dated by him prior to 1359, though the Duke of Burgundy is referred to as Count of Flanders, which, of course, he only became in 1384. The error is copied from the catalogue of the Archives du Nord. The Archiviste-en-Chef there readily admitted the error when I took the matter up with him.

(3) In 1469 Sir Alexander Napier was going to and from the Low Countries as Scottish Amb-

assador. One letter at Middelburg concerning him, dated simply "LXIX", was in error placed⁽¹⁾ in the bundle 1550/1579, and Rooseboom assumed that another Alexander Napier was at Middelburg exactly a century after the first, thereby introducing a non-existent chapter into the Scottish relations with that town.

While in general Davidson and Gray is impeccable, errors in interpretation are not wanting there, too. For example there is the statement (p.116) that Edward III commenced the Hundred Years War to accommodate the Flemings, who were displeased with their count. This is completely at variance with the account given by Pirenne, and will not, in fact, bear examination, since Edward's first act was to cut off supplies of wool, and blockade the Flemish ports, thereby causing intense industrial unrest among the labouring classes, who worked on a day to day basis.

(1) Smit: Bronnen, I,ii, p. 1024, footnote 3.

(iii) Scottish Exports

Study of the imports from Scotland in the archives of Bruges adds little that is not already known from our own Exchequer Rolls. The earliest reference mentions (1) Scotland as an exporter of wool, leather, cheese, and mutton fat (sui). The mutton fat is peculiar, as being the only animal food stuff mentioned, though woolfells and hides would seem to indicate a large number of animal carcasses to be disposed of, and the over-populated area of Flanders, which was importing grain from the Baltic, and fish from Norway and Scotland could probably have used large quantities of Scottish salt meat.

There is no doubt that the main Scottish export, as far as value went, and importance to the home trade of Bruges, was wool. Gilliodts names Scotland as the main (2) source of wool, though large quantities came from Spain and from England, whether brought from England by the

(1) Gilliodts, Etaple, i, 19.

(2) Ibid, vi, 26.

Hanseatics, or from Calais by the Brugeois themselves. There seems to be an impression that Scottish wool was inferior to the English in point of quality, but this does not seem to have affected its value in Bruges, where it was rated very highly indeed, and in fact, there appears no reason why the breeds of sheep on the two sides of the border should be different. The number of sheep in Scotland, though inferior to England, was none the less considerable. ⁽¹⁾ Burnett from data supplied in the Exchequer Rolls puts the number in the mid-fourteenth century at above one and a half millions. The matter is referred to more fully in chapter 2.

The measure of hides is invariably the last, ¹² dozen, so that there must have been an extensive cattle-rearing industry. It is to be remembered that raw hide was the poor man's armour, but the varieties imported from Scotland included the finer varieties, - vellums, parch-
ments, and skins for glove-making - which in 1520 included, ⁽²⁾ "schotsche scaepvellen, schotsche bretvellen." Scotland

(1) Exch. Rolls, II, lxxxix.

(2) Gilliodts: Memoriaux, I, 136.

was also noted as producing the finest pelts of small animals, martens, badgers, and the like, finer in quality than those the Hansa brought from Russia.

Pearls from the fresh-water mussel were another valuable commodity, though these ranked in value below (1) the finer oriental pearls, and it was forbidden to mix the two varieties elsewhere than in large jewels. There is one other commodity, on which the writer has tantalisingly little information, and can only put forward what he has without further comment. In a correspondence with the doyen of the historians of Antwerp, the Abbé Prims, now retired, and a very old man, he made reference to Scotland having been noted on the Antwerp Bourse for "golden drapes for the confection of liturgical paraments". Further letters on my part failed to get an amplification of this statement, and there the matter rests. We know that there was considerable exploitation of the gold in the Leadhills area in the reign of James V, but in view of the chronic shortage of specie both in Scotland and England, it looks

(1) Macpherson: Annals of Commerce, I, 555.

extremely improbable that any quantity of the metal was used for export. Flanders imported a considerable amount of lead, both as ore and as metal from Britain, but Belgian writers seem to show that it came from England. There is quoted in "Historical Documents, Scotland, 1286 - 1306 Vol. I" an authorisation for the Earl of Douglas to export a quantity of lead ore from his mines in the Isle of Man. The destination of the cargo is not stated.

Thus far Scotland's strength and weakness has lain in the fact that her exports were of primaries, raw materials and foodstuffs. We come now to her almost sole manufactured product - the so-called white or grey cloths. Here again, the Scottish authority is the preface to the Exchequer Rolls, where the subject is gone into in some detail. Under Vol.IV, p.cxxiii, we read: "While the finer woollen and linen fabrics were imported, there was a coarse quality of woollen cloth made in the country which was in considerable demand in foreign markets, and the duty now enforced on it added considerably to the revenue. The cloth exported is generally described in the

customs accounts as white, but on some occasions as grey.⁽¹⁾
 About £3,000 worth must have been exported yearly, and
 the annual yield of the tax during this reign (James I)
 averaged nearly £200. The rate sometimes appears in the
 ordinary customs accounts, but was oftener, in the more
 considerable burghs of export, returned by a separate off-
 icer, known as the "custumar of woollen cloth."

The Bruges records enable us to amplify this to
 a considerable extent. One of the most valuable privi-
 leges of the Scottish merchants was the right to bring in
 Scottish cloth, unfulled and undyed, apparently the meaning
 of "white" or "grey", for them to be finished off in Bruges,
 and subsequently re-exported. The whole process was clear
 of any import duty, but of course, sale in Bruges was for-
 bidden.⁽²⁾ The document referred to gives an interesting
 reference to Scottish students at foreign universities in
 the fifteenth century. It seems to be the general opinion

- (1) The colour and texture were probably not dissimilar
 to those of a home-spun blanket.
- (2) The whole process is described in the document which
 the Council of Bruges prepared in April, 1469;
 Rooseboom, App. 26, Gilliodts, Inventaire, vi, 39.

that, taking advantage of the fact that all students were clerks, the Scottish student departed for abroad with the mediaeval equivalent of a toothbrush and a clean pair of socks, and existed there with little or no resources at all.

This picture must be true for a certain number of cases, but this document makes it clear that Scottish students at the Universities of Cologne, Louvain and Paris, were in the habit of receiving supplies through the Scottish staple at Bruges. While the regulation anent the cloth, forbade anything else being done with it other than sending it back to Scotland, an exception was made in the case of cloth in parcels sent "Filiis, parentibus et amicis studentibus in universitatibus Parisiensi, Coloniensi et Lovaniensi. It was, however, to be understood by the students that they were not to sell or otherwise negotiate with the said cloth!

The raw Scottish cloth, exactly as imported, was the common clothing of the poorer classes in Flanders. For this reason it was always excepted from Sumptuary Laws, and

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 314 (1497)
 Etaple, v, (Tonileu i), 274. (1592)
 Ibid. , 302. (1599).

if the Dukes of Burgundy forgot they were not long in being reminded that it was not in the public interest to treat the Scottish cloth in the same way as the English, which, of course, set out to compete in the same markets with the Flemish article.

In chapter eight mention is made of the "Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken" edited by the present archivist, Remi Parmentier. I extracted a list of the Scotsmen who appear in its pages (it is given in Appendix H), and submitted the list to Monsieur Parmentier. The point that took his notice was the large number of tailors, and he asked for my opinion why this should be such an attractive trade for Scotsmen seeking their burgess tickets in Bruges. The only explanation I can see is that the Scots knew the "feel" of their own cloth, and that if you were a poor man in Bruges in the middle ages, and looking for a suit, the chances were that you would find it in a Scot's tailor shop.

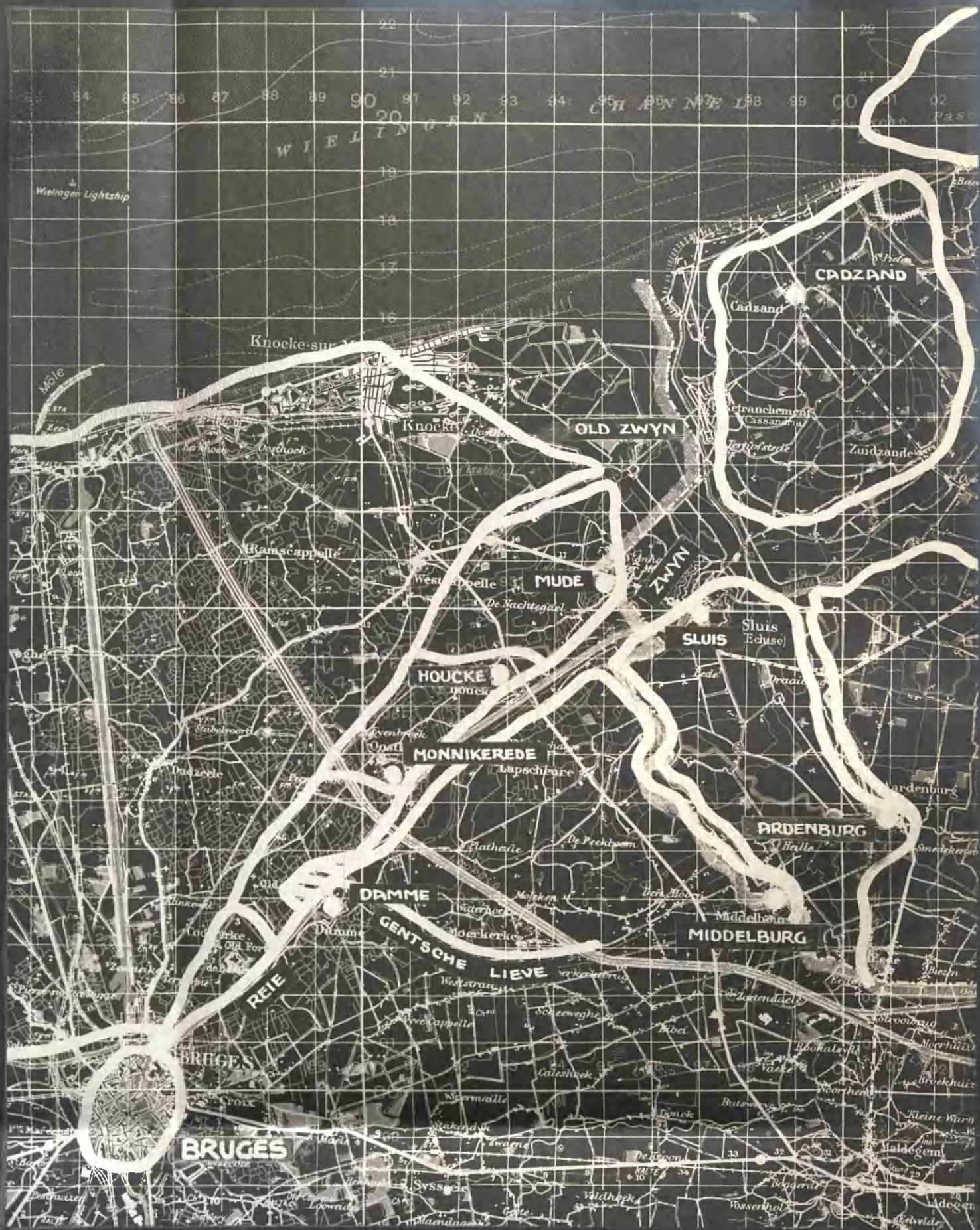


Figure 2.

Bruges and the estuary of the Zwin at the close of the thirteenth century.

The outline from De smet's "Geschiedenis van het Zwin" enlarged and superimposed on a GSGS 1/100,000 map of the area.

(Negative photostat).

(iv) The Geography of the Zwin Estuary

The history of Bruges is the history of the Zwin. In her heyday, the ships of the world sailed up it to the town, and when the Zwin silted up the glory of Bruges departed. This is not the same thing as saying that the one was the cause of the other. The causes of the eclipse of Bruges were many and complex, and there would appear to be no agreement yet as to the main factors. It is universally agreed, however, that the explanation that it lay in the silting up of the old waterway over-simplifies the question. The silting of the Zwin, the opening of the Easter Scheldt, the economic rise of Brabant were all factors, but Goris's suggestion looks at the moment the most probable, namely that Bruges's inability to adapt her methods to the changed economic conditions of the Renaissance sealed her doom.

The Zwin, called at first the Zincafal, was an invasion of the sea which occurred in the fifth century. It was composed of two arms. Of these the western, or Old Zwin,

(1) Goris: Colonies septentrionales à Anvers, et le Commencement de la Capitalisme moderne.

was used at first in preference to the eastern, into which the Reie, the river of Bruges, discharged itself. Van Werveke discussing the causes of the fall of Bruges says, "L'ensablement du Zwin ne date pas d'hier". It began with⁽¹⁾ the creation of the estuary, and the Old Zwin, which carried all the traffic through the formative period of Bruges's history was the first to suffer. So much so that by the end of the thirteenth century it was nothing more than a narrow canal, linked with the other, and more fortunate arm by three canals. All traffic now went by the other arm. It was not without its own troubles, being subject, though more slowly, to silting. Further, the River Reie was not suitable for taking ships up to the heart of Bruges. To get over this the little river was provided with barrages every two miles or so. But the trouble was in the estuary itself, and soon the latter would not take ships of the capabilities of the river.

The solution adopted was to construct a great dam, or better, a dock, where cargoes were transferred to barges,

(1) The tendency to silt persists at the present time, and the modern port of Zeebrugge is only kept open by constant dredging.

which took them to the heart of the town. At this point arose the town of Damme, the true port of the Zwin. It is important to realise that all this had taken place a clear century before our first record of Scottish trade with Bruges. The conclusion is that these first records are not primitive, but take us 'in mediasres'.

The people of Ghent decided to link their town with the Zwin, and between 1262 and 1269 was dug the narrow, winding canal, of which a vestige remains today, variously called the Gentsche Leie, or the Gentsche Lieve. The canal is of a certain importance to the thesis, as it can be shown that it was up the Lieve that Scottish cloth passed to Ghent in the sixteenth century, and while the greater part of Ghent's wool supplies came from England, search of the town's archives might reveal purchases of this or other commodities from Scotland. These, of course, would, in terms of the Staple Contract of Bruges, pass through the Bruges bourse.

Mention may be made at this point of Map 2 attached to this chapter. Belgian books contain only

sketch maps, and these, though no doubt sufficient to one who knows the country intimately, give a foreigner little idea of the changes that have taken place in the region. Accordingly De Smet's map of the Zwin at the end of the thirteenth century was enlarged to the necessary scale, and superimposed on a British Army 1/100,000 map of the area. The scale of this is, of course, 1 cm. to 1 km., about 2/3 inch to a mile. The map was shown to a well-known Scottish historian (Dr. G. P. Insh), who remarked, "Now I understand how there could have been a sea battle off Sluis!"

Only towns of major importance, and those which feature in the chapters which follow have been included, though most of the towns and villages to be found at the present time were in existence at this early date.

From Damme down to the mouth of the estuary were towns or villages all having to do with the trade of the Zwin. Damme still exists - a dead town in the true sense. (It is important to realise that Bruges never 'died'. She suffered eclipse in the fifteenth century, but Gilliodt's Cartulaire de l'Ancien Etaple de Bruges goes on without a

break to the eighteenth century). Damme died when the Zwin silted up. She owed her origin to the waterway, and when it was no more there was no other reason for the town's existence. The same is true of the other towns on the Zwin. Houcke is a small hamlet, St-Anna-ter-Muiden, the old town of Mude, scarcely even that - a few houses huddled round the great church of the mediaeval town, which gives it its name. Monnikerede has gone without trace, an important enough little place in its day, under the control of the schepens (échevins) of Bruges.

A mile or so away from St. Anna, across the polder, as once the two towns faced each other across the waters of the estuary, stands Sluis, founded about 1280, and once a serious rival to Bruges. In fact, it was only by imprisoning their count in Sluis that the Brugeois succeeded in reducing their rival to impotency. Sluis was the natural place for ships coming to Bruges to make their landfall, and the merchants of the latter town soon found that unless the activities of the people

of Sluis were curbed, there was no good reason for foreign traders to come to Bruges at all. After the escapade mentioned above the rights of Sluis were restricted very considerably, but the Brugeois never managed to secure complete recognition of their rights. In the mid-fifteenth century the Scots kept some kind of official representative, (1) or Consul, in Sluis.

The records of Damme are intact, though the town does not have an official archivist. Such of the archives of Houcke and Monnikerede as exist are housed in the Archives de l'Etat at Bruges; but if there is anything appertaining to Scotland in them it does not appear from the printed catalogue. Sluis took a considerable amount of punishment in the late war, and a great part of the archives are believed to have gone, in the same way as did the records of Ypres in 1914. At Sluis were housed the surviving archives of Middelburg (Flanders) and Ardenburg. The archives of Sluis are not at the moment, I believe, open to the public. Smit makes no reference

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 43.

to the archives of Sluis anywhere in his work.

Search of these three sources might give some information on the part played by the Scots in the Zwin estuary. They are known to have cut out English ships in the harbour at Sluis, bringing a sharp remonstrance from Bruges for the escapade.

The Bruges archives contain three stray records
(1) from Mude. All of them, strangely enough, refer to the town of Perth, and are of legal squabbles in the fourteenth century between the Scottish merchants on the one hand, and the magistrates of Mude and the merchants of the German Hansa on the other. Where there are these three there should be more, though it is not clear where we are to look for them.

(1) Gilliodts: *Etaple de Bruges*, i, 256, 257.

C H A P T E R 2

Prior to 1302. (The Battle of Courtrai).

In a disastrous fire on the 15 August, 1280, which gutted the Halles, the entire archives of the city of Bruges, which were housed in the Trésor in the Belfry were destroyed.⁽¹⁾ There is, therefore, no written record of the commercial relations of Bruges with any other country prior to this date, and this, coupled with the complete lack of any Scottish records prior to the fourteenth century, makes it difficult to say much about the Scots in Bruges prior to this time.

That the Scots were there is, however, a certainty. In 1284, for example, a certain Grotebire was sent to the King of Scots with letters, and in 1291 one

(1) The fire originated in the wooden belfry, which topped the stone tower. The falling bells smashed through the roof of the chamber in which the archives were housed, and these then became the prey of the flames.

Egidio Ram was sent to negotiate about obtaining peace. In this same year comes the first mention of the Schot-tendyk, now called the Quai Ste. Anne, the Street of the Scottish merchants.

The error which, in my opinion, pervades Davidson and Gray's work is their assumption that the Scottish merchant navy was an insignificant factor prior to the War of Independence. To assume this makes Scotland an exception to all other European countries. It must be borne in mind that 1300 is a fairly late date in the history of Bruges. By that time she had reached, and even to some degree passed, her zenith. All the important foreign colonies were already in place, and as has been seen in the previous chapter the main modifications to the Zwin and the Reie had taken place. By the end of the thirteenth century, in fact, the trade of Bruges had passed from the active stage to the predominantly (1) passive. Pirenne is quite clear on this point:-

(1) Pirenne: Histoire de Belgique, i, 265.

"A curious thing and one that has not been sufficiently remarked on: as Bruges became the great market of the west, in equal measure she lost her mercantile fleet In thirteenth century Flanders as in present-day Belgium, the importance of trade bore no relation to naval
 (1)
 power. The London Hansa came into existence to distribute goods from the Mediterranean countries, and to collect the British wool and other raw materials. It was otherwise, though, when the English and the Hanseatic fleets began to be par excellence the means of transport. Much less numerous than their rivals, the Flemish fleet had to give way little by little. The final blow

-
- (1) The "London Hansa" referred to in the above passage is, of course, the Flemish, not the Teutonic. It was gradually suffering eclipse in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and both Pirenne and Van Werveke, noting the Flemish Red Hall in Berwick seem of the opinion that at the time of the sack this trading post was something of a survival. At this rate the failure of Berwick to recover its former importance may owe something to this changed Flemish mode of trading.

was probably the outbreak of hostilities between the Countess Margaret of Flanders and the English, which seems to have been a series of naval engagements, at the end of which the Flemish fleet was practically non-existent. In any case, by the end of the thirteenth century the lesser Flemish ports no longer had any fleet, and Flemish commerce had become passive instead of active. When wealth was coming to them there was no need to go out to seek it."

Not only were all the important foreign colonies in place when our story commences, but concessions to the merchants in the matter of privileges were in a much more advanced state than previous Scottish authors have assumed. There is considerable misunderstanding of the "privileges of the German Hansa", which were to be so important to the Scots in the agreement of 1407. It is most convenient to
(1)
summarise Pirenne on this point.

(1) Pirenne: loc.cit., 1, 265.

The privileges of the Hansa were agreed between the German merchants and the Countess Margaret in 1252, and became the standard for all foreign colonies. They were extended to the merchants of Poitou, Guyenne and Gasconne in 1262, and to the Spaniards in 1280.

The terms are as follows:-

1. A code was drawn up for the hire and payment of "courtiers" or "maekelaeren", the burgess agents of the inn-keepers, whose job it was to put one foreign merchant in touch with another.
2. Customs charges were fixed at a reduced rate.
3. Merchants' rights were assured in the case of shipwreck.
4. Merchants were not to be arrested for debts where they were not the principal debtors, nor imprisoned where they could find a guarantor.
5. They were to be administered solely by the echevins (schepens) and cases were to be brought to trial within the week.
6. No loaded ship could be seized save upon a legal plaint.
7. If anyone were wounded in a fight with a member of the crew of a vessel, the master of that vessel should remain at liberty.

8. To guarantee the impartiality of the echivins they were forbidden to take on duties associated with the receipt of customs.
9. If war were to break out between Flanders and any town of the Hansa only the merchants of that town were to be affected, and they were to have three months' grace to get their affairs cleared up, and should be permitted to leave the country without let or hindrance.

This is as far as the evidence goes; the fact that Flemish commerce had, by the time the Scottish and Bruges records start, reached a passive stage, and that there were already sufficient Scottish merchants in Bruges for a street to be called the Scotsmen's Quay. If the the Scots did not take their own goods to Bruges, who did? Fraser Tytler and Cunningham have pointed out that the Scots, in contrast to the English, who welcomed foreigners coming to their country to trade, preferred to supply a colony of resident merchants located abroad. Further proof of this can be seen in the colonies in the Baltic ports described by Fischer.

(1) Fraser Tytler: History of Scotland (1864), i, 268 seqq.
Cunningham: S H R, vol. 13.

Another advantage of the Scottish colony abroad was that it enabled the Scottish merchant to claim that his goods were the property of another nation. My only concrete evidence of this is from the sixteenth century, but the principle is equally applicable to all periods. In the case noted (in Smit) a ship bound for Veere with goods from Scotland was seized by an English man-of-war. The magistrates of Veere put in a claim for the restoration of the ship and cargo, on the grounds that although the cargo was admittedly of Scottish origin, it was now the property of burgesses of Veere, with which the English were not at war. Apart from the paucity of evidence, it is difficult to decide whether Scottish merchants would reap any benefit by becoming burgesses of Bruges. As opposed to the policy of Venice, which forbade trade between foreigners, Bruges traditionally forbade its own burgesses to engage in trade, their rôle being that of intermediaries.

(1) But note form 7 of the complaint of 1387. (p. 74)

Whether a merchant would be permitted to enjoy dual nationality is doubtful.

As has already been said, documents older than 1280 are almost completely lacking, and the only matter remaining to be discussed is the Treaty of 1293, between the Count of Flanders, Gui de Dampierre, and John Balliol. If the view is taken that Scottish trade with Flanders followed the general lines of other countries it seems improbable that this can be the first treaty made between the Flemings and the Scots. Evidence will be adduced to show that it cannot be considered as forming a treaty complete in itself.

This interesting old relic, the first concrete evidence of Scottish commercial activity, has recently turned up in an obscure Belgium museum, that of Mariemont, after being lost for more than three quarters of a century. It has been the subject of a paper by Professor Paul
(1)
Bonenfant. The Belgians knew its contents only from a

(1) Bonenfant: Bull. Comm. Roy. d'Hist., 1945, pp. 54, 55.

summary, but strangely enough there was a Scottish trans-
 cription of it. ⁽¹⁾ In this work it is described as having
 recently (1870) been in the Chambre des Comptes at Lille,
 where it was then no longer to be found. The same tale
 is told of several other Scottish documents. This theft
 seems to be unknown at Lille, where all losses are att-
 ributed to the period of the Revolution, when many docu-
 ments were sold to raise foreign capital, and others used
 to make cartridges. However the document got there, it
 would seem that in the interval it has been in the collec-
 tion of Sir Thomas Phillips.

It has hitherto been assumed that this is a
 complete treaty and that the paucity of privileges shows
 that there was little or no Scottish trade with Flanders
 at that time, the Scots being, therefore, grateful for
 whatever grants the Flemings would make to them. In the
 writer's view the existence of the "Schottendyk" disproves

(1) Historical Documents, Scotland 1286-1306, Edinburgh,
 1870. I, 389.

this, The treaty was really an event in a rather sordid little story, being the outcome of a marriage which in happier circumstances might have been productive of many benefits to both Scotland and Flanders. I refer to the marriage of Prince Alexander, son of Alexander III, to Margaret, daughter of Gui de Dampierre.

The "Ifs" of history are notoriously unprofitable material for a historian, but a child to the Flemish marriage would have meant no War of Independence, and no interruption of the tide of prosperity the country was enjoying under Alexander III. Instead all it produced was the treaty of 1293, and the affair of the Flemish dowry, which casts a shadow on the fair name of a prince whom the Belgians justly consider one of their heroes.

Arrangements for the wedding of Alexander, Prince of Scotland, son of Alexander III, to Margaret, daughter of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, began some time in 1281, as on the 4th of December of that year Guislain de Mortain, seigneur de Rumes, and Bernard, doyen de l'église de Messines, procureurs de Gui, Comte de Flandres, writing

(1)
from Roxburgh, set forth the terms of agreement made with Alexander III, King of Scots.

(2)
By a second letter of the same date Alexander himself declared that the bride should have an annuity of 1300 marks on the customs of Berwick, together with 200 (3) merks raised on the rents of Linlithgow, but that if the betrothal did not take place before the feast of St. Michael following the arrangements were null and void. This clause, together with the fact that the count had sent messengers to the Scottish court show that the King of Scots was not the inferior party to the marriage.

On the same date there are two other acts, both from Alexander III to the Count of Flanders, and printed (4) by Reiffenburg. By the first of these the King of Scots

(1) Reiffenberg: Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur etc. i, 80.
Archives du Nord, B 403/2, 316.

(2) Archives du Nord, B 403/2, 323.

(3) A.P.S., i, 448.

(4) Reiffenberg: Op. cit. i, 177 and 179

assured the Count of Flanders that the children of the marriage would succeed to the throne of Scotland if Prince Alexander should predecease his father. The other is a promise to repay half of the dowry to Gui de Dampierre if his daughter should die childless before the age of 22 years, (she was then 10). No mention is made of the eventuality of the bridegroom dying, which is, in fact, what did happen. One can only assume that the idea never occurred to Alexander III, himself in the prime of life, with his country on the crest of a wave of prosperity.

On the 11th of November, 1282, Alexander assured the Count of Flanders that the delays which had occurred should not prove any impediment to the arrangement already made for the marriage, which was celebrated at Roxburgh on (1) the day of the Assumption, 1282. (2) The impression left by all these acts is that the Flemings were as anxious as the Scots that the marriage should take place, but that they were prepared to spare no pains to assure the legality of

(1) Reiffenberg, Op. Cit. p. 182.

(2) Fleming: The Flemish Influence in Britain, p. 64.

the financial arrangements.

2 months / The bridegroom survived the marriage only a few months, and the child widow went back to her own people. Now the omission in the wedding contract became apparent. By it the Scots were bound to pay a child of 11 or 12 an annuity of £1,000 for the term of her natural life, and that without any corresponding advantage to themselves, for there is no mention of commercial treaties among the various letters connected with the marriage.

Then in 1285 it was decided to marry Margaret to the count of Guelder, and a bull of Pope Honorius IV was obtained giving assent to the marriage. (1) Technically the dowry lapsed if the widow remarried, and a rather strange stratagem was adopted to ensure that the Scottish goose should continue to lay its golden eggs. (From this point the story may be taken up in Historical Documents, Scotland, 1286-1306.)

(1) de St. Genois: Inventaire des Comtes de Flandre.

(2) Archives du Nord. B 403/2, 682.

Margaret ceded the dowry to her father (April, 1286) for the sum of 1500 marks sterling, i.e. one year's purchase. The rights to the Scottish dowry were now given back to Margaret and her husband as security for certain arrears of her new dowry. The marriage then took place, and the said arrears being paid in the following month, Margaret conveyanced the Scottish money back to her father. In July of the same year in the name of Margaret an agent was sent to the Scots to collect the money. This messenger would not seem to have met with much encouragement, for on the 21 March, 1287, we find Pope Honorius IV intervening in the matter to direct the Bishop of Durham and the Provincial of the Dominicans in England to press for payment.

The crowning insult to Scotland, however, came in January, 1288, when the Count of Flanders arranged a marriage between his second daughter, Beatrice, and Hugh, Count of Chatillon and St. Pol, and used the Scottish annuity of his elder daughter Margaret as part of the dowry of her younger sister. The arrangements are very complicated. Briefly, if the St. Pols predeceased Margaret, the

annuity reverted to the Count, failing whom, his heirs.

The next letter in the Historical Documents is an inspeximus by the Bishop of Tournai, dated Sept. 1289, "faisons savoir a tous, et especialement a~~s~~ gouverneurs du royaume d'Escoche" of the matter of the previous paragraph. This letter is apparently to be taken with another of the same date in the Archives du Nord,⁽¹⁾ which the writer has not seen. It is described in the catalogue as "Projet de procuration de Gui, Comte de Flandre, pour toucher le douaire de sa fille, Marguerite".

It is, therefore, apparent that the Scots were not sending the dowry punctually (it was due annually on Aug. 1st). At this point in the Historical Documents volume comes a gap of three years, for the next entry is dated May, 1292. The gap may be bridged by letters in the Archives du Nord, thus described in the catalogue:-

"B 400/2,869, 5,332, 5,358, 5,948, 6,106. 1288 to 1330. Documents concernant indirectement le dit douaire."

(1) Archives du Nord, B 403/3,087 bis.

Whatever had happened in the interval Count Gui was apparently no nearer getting his annuity of £1,000 in anything like reasonable time. He therefore took the step of selling the goods of Scottish merchants in Flanders, in order to recoup himself. The writer has little in- (1) formation on this practice, which according to Nicole Sevrin had been recognised since the beginning of the twelfth century, and its use was carefully regulated by law. Edward I had his own observers, Rasse de Gavre and Roger de Ghistelle, (presumably a member of the family owning the Bruges customs). These informed him that the value of the goods seized from the Scottish merchants and sold amounted to £1,459:8:0.

This method of recouping himself could not be considered other than a temporary measure, for the magistrature of Bruges would not be long in resenting the interference with their trade, nor would the Scots keep coping

(1) Sevrin: *Rélations politiques et économiques entre la Flandre et l'Ecosse jusqu'à la fin du XIV^e siècle*. *Rev. belge de philologie et d'histoire*, t.XXVI, p.812. (This article has not yet appeared, but the writer is in correspondence with Mlle. Sevrin.)

to the county of Flanders (Dordrecht was doing her utmost to supplant Bruges about this time).

Gui accordingly addressed himself once again to the Pope, and again the Bishop of Durham was ordered to intervene. In the meantime, Gui, to soften the blow that he had every reason to believe was about to fall on the Scots, accorded them the treaty of 1293, on July 15th of that year. Considering the privileges of the Hansa, which had been granted upwards of forty years previously this was not much of a treaty, and the suggestion is made that it cannot be considered as such, nor as having any meaning apart from the circumstances related above.

It states fairly baldly that for four years from the 1st of August following, Scottish merchants might go about their business in the County of Flanders, and that neither they nor their goods would be arrested for the debts of others, save only of the king. The last clause has an ominous sound. The treaty was to begin and end on the 1st of August, the date for the payment of the annuity.

The hearing of the claim of the Count of Flanders

took place before the Bishop of Durham, and judgment was given on November 9th. The verdict, of course, was a foregone conclusion. Both the Pope and the king of England were on the side of the count of Flanders. The Scots defence was that Margaret had not sworn fealty to the king of Scots before her departure, though since Alexander III⁽¹⁾ had himself paid the annuity for 1285 this argument would not seem to have had much force.

The bishop's decision is obviously a political one, designed to hurt the feelings of both parties as little as possible. Margaret was to appoint a proxy who should take the oath for her to John Balliol, after which the annuity and arrears would be paid. And paid they seemingly were, but the signing of the Franco-Scottish Alliance and the subsequent flight of Balliol put an end to the count's scheme for easy money.

Independently of the quarrel with the Scots, Gui

(1) Archives du Nord. B 403/2,682

de Dampierre had been resisting the French king with the determination that has caused him to be considered a hero in Belgium. While nominally vassals of the king of France, the counts of Flanders were virtually independent. Of late, however, Philip IV had been making increasing demands, these culminating in the occupation of the chief cities of Flanders. We may, therefore, distinguish a short but definite period, in which the Scots became the most favoured nation. This period will commence with the signing of the Franco-Scottish Alliance, and close with the Battle of Courtrai on the 11th of July, 1302, or more properly with the massacre of the French on the 19th of May preceding, which has come down to history as the Matins of Bruges, which was the curtain-raiser to the Golden Spurs. Some details will be found in the second volume of Historical Documents Scotland, 1286-1306, mentioned above.

On March 3rd, 1295, Philip IV ordered the suspension of all commercial intercourse between Flanders and

England, Scotland, and Ireland. The text forbids the export of victuals, horses, arms or any other material to the enemies of the kingdom. On the tenth of May following the Count was informed by his overlord that the latter did not consider the Scots his enemies, and that they should be allowed to bring their wares into Flanders free of the usual duty. Four Scottish merchants were sent to the Count to let him know the King's wishes in the matter.

It was soon apparent that these special favours to the Scottish merchants were being resented by other members of the trading community of Bruges. On July 14th of the same year the Count received further details from his French overlord. The bailiff of Amiens was to guard the interests of the Scots. Their privileges, however, were not meant to be derogatory to the merchants of Florence or Siena. Of the wool that these merchants brought in, one third, one thousand packs, was to pay duty. The other two thirds were to have the duty rescinded as had

been accorded to the Scots. One can imagine how the Count relished this loss of revenue. If the amount of remission to the two parties is taken as being roughly equal, we are given a rough idea of the extent of the Scottish wool trade at the time. Another letter from Philip to Gui, bearing the same date, made it clear that the goods of Scottish merchants were under the protection of the King of France, and in return for favours given the Scots, the king promised to take the count's part against the Count of Blois. In spite of this there would seem to have been some seizure of Scottish goods, for on June 23rd, 1296, came a peremptory demand for the restitution of certain goods, the property of Scottish merchants "seized by you and your men".

John Balliol renounced the Franco-Scottish Alliance on the seventh of July, 1296, but it is not clear that this meant the end of Scottish favour, for on the 29th of August of that year the French King ordered the release of further Scottish goods seized in Flanders. This consisted of wool and hides, the property of the Earl of Buchan, and were intended to pay the expenses of

the ambassadors of the King of Scots, so that the French action need not have been as altruistic as it at first seems.

The writer has not found among the documents he has examined any to parallel the well-known letter of Wallace and Moray to the Hansa, but it is not to be supposed that having sent emissaries to the great German merchant confederation they were behind in getting into touch with the great trading city of the Low Countries. In any case, this period of independence was short.

3
C H A P T E R 2

1302-1384 (To the death of Louis de Male).

The preceding chapter was brought to an end with the Matins of Bruges, as marking the end of Scottish prosperity in Bruges under French favour. At home, however, the War of Independence was still raging, and the fortunes of Scotland as a nation were at a low ebb.

The statement has frequently been made that English policy was to destroy Scottish trade and prosperity, and to reduce Scotland to complete economic subservience to England. There is, however, evidence to show that, in the early stages at least, the English hoped to take Scotland over with as little damage as possible, and that to this end they gave every encouragement to controlled Scottish trade, while endeavouring to prevent the patriots getting supplies of food and arms from abroad. The main source is the Foedera, where there are so many references that they will not be referred to individually.

"Documents Relating to Scotland, 1286-1306",

Vol. II, quotes an instruction as early as 1296/97, confining the right to export goods to those ports which had a cocket. The town of Kirkcudbright which was without one was to get one at once. Sailors were to swear on oath that they were not carrying letters. Merchants of Lombardy "to whom the passage has been forbidden, and so is still", were forbidden to come into the country. At ports which had no cocket great care was to be taken that no person carrying letters left the country.

Flanders was the natural arsenal of Scotland, both then, and for a long time thereafter. Bruce's main needs were control of productive areas and access to ports. It is interesting to view his campaigns with this in mind. It may be asked how the Scots paid for the goods they imported. The answer would seem to be in wool. Of the Scottish sheep farms very much less is known than of the English, but from the beginnings of the Exchequer Rolls wool is seen to have been the most important export. Later in this century, during the wars of David II's minority, it was possible for the editor of the Exchequer

Rolls to work out that the sheep population must have exceeded one and a half millions. The matter is dealt with more fully later in this chapter. Moreover the sheep is an animal which is not easily exterminated by man, and is little affected by neglect. A practical sheep-farmer of the writer's acquaintance gave it as his opinion that a depleted but healthy stock would in the course of a few years re-establish itself in numbers approaching those of the "natural carrying capacity" of the land.

While on the subject of healthy stocks we may
(1)
note that Knighton in two places speaks of pestilence among the sheep population of England. The first of these outbreaks, said to have been imported from Spain, raged for 28 years from 1274, and destroyed the entire flocks in many parts of England. The second was raging in 1313.

In 1302 the Flemings, by winning the Battle of Courtrai, had definitely held back the menace of France,

(1). Knighton, *Historia*, pp. 46, 106-7.

but they were unable to exploit their advantage, for the hero-count, the aged Gui de Dampierre, was in French hands. By 1304, the king of England had changed sides, and was promising aid to the French king against the Flemings, one condition being that the Scots should be banished from the French dominions. Then in 1305 Gui de Dampierre died, and in the new count, Robert de Béthune, King Edward found that he was dealing with a very different personality. Count Robert was a firm believer in the policy of his twelfth century ancestors, whose acumen had built up Bruges into a world market.

To a peremptory threat that if the Scots were not banished from Flanders the English would expel all Flemish traders, Count Robert replied that while it was not his wish to encourage rebellion he had no power to forbid the entrance of traders going about their lawful business, as the policy of Flanders had always been one of neutrality.

This was the first of a whole series of such attempts, but none of them moved Count Robert from his

ideal of strict neutrality. Not until Edward III confronted the weakling, Louis de Nevers, did the English get a promise that the Scots should be driven out. This was in 1322.

At first it would seem that the English resented anyone other than themselves robbing the Scots. In 1308 Hanseatic traders, taking of the troubled state of the country, committed some depredations. Edward, hearing that they had gone to the Zwin, followed them there, and requested the magistrates of Bruges to do justice upon the offenders. As the initiative passed to the Scots, however, anyone who ~~should~~ aid him against them was a friend of Edward II. In 1316 he learnt from intercepted letters that the Genoese were offering to hire ships to King Robert the Bruce for use in the English war. His first reaction was to complain bitterly, but finding that the galleys were available to him too, he hired five of them in the following year.

These prohibitions were not to the good of English trade, for Foedera notes (1318) that Flemish

merchants were afraid of coming to English ports for fear of molestation, and in 1322 Edward noted that the Flemings inclined rather to the Scottish side than the English. The magistrates of the towns written to at various times - Bruges, Damme, Nieupoort, Dunkirk, Ypres, and Malines - were more accommodating in their promises, but, in view of the fact that the request had to be repeated, it is questionable whether their promises went beyond the paper stage, the more so since an embargo, such as the English demanded meant loss of trade to themselves.

The first references to trade with the Low Countries in the Exchequer Rolls come with the preparations for the marriage of the future David II. From our point of view the drawback of the Rolls is that only the Royal imports are given, and that the destination of the exports appears but rarely. With this proviso in mind we may see that the purchases abroad of King Robert the Bruce were frequently, though not always, made through the agency of the numerous Fleming traders who did business in Scotland.

In connection with the wedding arrangements two missions were dispatched, one under a Fleming called Peter the Machinist, the other under one Thomas Charteris. In neither case is the venue named. Bruges is, however, mentioned several times in the course of the volume. The preface, page cxxxvii, works out that about one-fifth of the Scottish export trade appears to have been in the hands of foreigners, with probably a higher proportion at Berwick. No mention is made of any Flemish-sponsored organisation there or anywhere else in Scotland.

The tomb for King Robert came from Paris, but travelled via Bruges, probably along well-defined trade routes, and because the direct route by sea was considered too hazardous. "Et operario tumbarum, pro naulo dictarum tumbarum, et pro expensis suis de Paris vsque Brugs, et in⁽¹⁾ Anglia et alibi vsque Dunfermelyn. xij li. vij s. iiij d.

The Zwin estuary makes a brief appearance in one of the most poignant stories in Scottish history. I quote

(1) Exchequer Rolls, i, 214.

from Froissart:

"And when the springing time began Sir James Douglas purveyed him of that which pertained to his enterprise, and took his ship at the port of Montrose in Scotland, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluys, to hear tidings to know if there were any nobleman in that country that would go to Jerusalem, to the intent to have more company, and he lay at Sluys the space of twelve days, or he departed, but he would never come aland, but kept his ship....."

Robert the Bruce's death brings us at once to the wars of David II's minority, and to the question of their effect on Scotland's foreign trade. The statement is frequently made, without authority being quoted, that at the end of these the country was in a most impoverished state. The writer has never seen any reasoning to controvert the
(1)
views of the editor of the Exchequer Rolls, who says:

"The customs accounts enable us to form an idea of the number of sheep in the country-----
In 1378-79, a year below, not above, the average, the conclusion seems justified that the numbers of sheep exceeded a million and a half, being more than half the number reared in 1814, when the population

(1) Exchequer Rolls, i, 214.

was certainly more than double. It is impossible with the data which these accounts afford us to maintain that the wars of David II's minority abridged the material resources of Scotland to the extent that is generally believed."

It is certainly difficult to controvert the views of such an authority, as the Exchequer Rolls are almost the sole authority for Scotland's economic standing in these early times.

That a certain amount of Scottish trade went on throughout these wars seems evident from an independent source. About 1340 a Bruges schoolmaster compiled a French-Flemish ~~phone~~ book under the title of "Le Livre des Métiers". An English translation was published by Caxton in 1483, and reprinted subsequently. The writer knows of the book only from notes given him by the City Archivist, Monsieur Remi Parmentier. The latter has (1) supplied the names of two works of reference, but the writer has not succeeded in securing microfilms of these.

(1) A. Bulletin de l'Institut historique de Rome. 1925. pp. 125, 127.

B. J. Gessler: Le Livre des Métiers de Bruges et ses Dérivés. Brussels, 1931.

In any case it seems probable that the only satisfactory procedure will be the study of the original work in the 'Royale' in Brussels on a subsequent visit.

According to Monsieur Parmentier, Scotland is mentioned at least twice. The first reference is to an innkeeper called Olivier patronised by the merchants of Germany, Spain, and Scotland. All these countries dealt in wool, and the reader may compare this with the details anent the activity around the Pont des Carmes area given in chapter 8 of the present work. Of the other reference, my informant says simply, "Scottish wool is mentioned."

We now come to the period of the commencement of the Hundred Years War, and some little discussion of Edward III's strategy is necessary, as it had an undoubted bearing on Scottish trade with Bruges. The Count of Flanders, Louis de Nevers, was nothing more than an instrument of French policy, and as much was becoming more and more estranged from his people. Edward decided to make use of this fact, and his preliminary work was to

assure himself that the Lotharingian princes would be neutral in the matter. The most powerful of all, his father-in-law, William, Count of Holland, he could depend on, and Brabant he bought over with the promise of the English wool staple, then at Bruges. The others held aloof for reasons of self-advancement. This done he blockaded the Zwin, cutting off all supplies of wool from Flanders. The living conditions of the artisan class of weaver were squalid in the extreme, and its members lived on a day to day basis. The consequences of unemployment were not long in showing themselves, and soon the country was ravaged by bands of hungry workless.

In this extremity was the opportunity of the pro-English party, chiefly centred in Ghent, with its leader, Jakob van Artevelde. The count fled the country, never to return. Edward III now entered Flanders in the guise of a liberator, and representatives of the Four Members swore fealty to him as lawful heir of Saint Louis in the Vrijtagmarkt in Ghent. The English king then

went back to England for supplies, and on his return the Battle of Sluis was fought, in which the entire French fleet was destroyed.

Van Artevelde was a commoner, and it soon became apparent that he was far more dependent on Edward than Edward was on him. From one cause and another he became more and more unpopular, and finally he was murdered in Ghent in July, 1345. In the following year the Count, Louis de Nevers, died at Crécy and David II, King of Scots, was captured at Neville's Cross.

The position of the Scottish merchants in Bruges could not have been comfortable, but they seem to have endured it for the first few years. It is apparent, however, that preparations were in train to remove the staple if necessary to Middelburg. How the change-over took place is somewhat obscure, especially as the matter was complicated from the Bruges side by international complaints of Scottish piracy.

The Act of the Scottish Parliament dated 12 November, 1347, tries to give the impression of

spontaneity and righteous indignation. It states that the goods of Scottish merchants in Flanders (Bruges is nowhere mentioned by name) have been confiscated, and the merchants banished, "Cuius tamen bannicionis penitus ignoramus." As a reprisal, therefore, the goods of Flemings in Scotland were seized, and their owners banished in their turn. The other act, bearing the same date sets out that there should be a Scottish Staple in the town of Middelburg in Zealand. It is obvious that this must have been contemplated for some time.

This is the first example of the Scots using Middelburg as a bolthole from troubles in Flanders, but though later movements to the Dutch town were successful, (1) it seems that this one was not. Smit contains no references to this incident other than recording the Act of Parliament cited above. On the other hand the records of Bruges show that the Scots were not long in sending ambassadors to that city. Two deputations seem to have

(1) Smit: Bronnen, i, 1, p.257.

been sent; the first, on the 24th of April, 1348, was from the towns of St. Andrews and Cupar, Fife, and managed to reach an agreement about reparations for a ship of the (1) Hansa, captured by them, and taken to Scotland. There remained the wider question of losses suffered by the Flemish merchants, and to settle this Adam Thor was sent by the four chief towns of Scotland, Aberdeen, Dundee, St. Johnstoun and Edinburgh. He agreed to abide by the (2) decision of the magistrates of Bruges. This Adam Thor was a merchant of Edinburgh, and on David II's return was made Master of the Mint, and in 1357 was one of the rep- (3) resentatives of Edinburgh in Parliament.

The death of Louis de Nevers brought to power Louis de Mâle, a firm believer in the traditional policy of neutrality. At first he had to go quietly. Despite the Civil War being waged against the weaver faction,

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 207, and Inventaire, i, 502.

(2) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 207, and Inventaire, i, 503.

(3) McPherson: Annals of Commerce, i, 560.

whose only stronghold was in Ghent, where the Black Death was raging, the English and their sympathisers were still a power in the land. The Count watched his step. He did not himself recognise Edward, but he left his subjects free to do so, should they so wish. By this manoeuvre he created, in the words of Pirenne, "une neutralité ambiguë, mais singulièrement avantageux."

Gilliodts speaks of the agreement being made in 1348 with the Hansa, but Pirenne says that the Hansa took over the administration of German trade with Bruges in 1356. At any rate the Germans disagreed with the authorities in 1358, and proposed to shift, as had been done before to ^{Ar}Ardenburg. The Count, however, let it be known that all other Flemish ports were closed to them, and the Hansa removed instead to Dordrecht. The international situation being somewhat improved, the Count resolved to try to bring a greater number of merchants to Bruges. From Ghent on the 26th of February, 1359, came a letter thus described in the Catalogue of the Archives du Nord at Lille:-

B 513/8,621 Lettres par lesquelles Louis de Male, comte de Flandre, accorde des privilèges aux marchands anglais et écossais qui amèneront leurs laines dans la ville de Bruges, avec plusieurs autres pièces non datées concernant ces privilèges.

The writer regrets that he knows of these letters only as Leica negatives. Their existence has been missed by Gray and Rooseboom, who knew only of the subsequent agreement of the 29 November, 1359.

(1)

Rooseboom found a note in Gilliodts, quoting the Hansisches Urkundenbuch, where the Scots in the same November were complaining that payment was delayed, that they could not have justice, that unjustifiable charges were made against them, and that the inn-keepers were a surly lot, and their accommodation execrable. On the strength of this passage, for he gives no other references to the H.U., Rooseboom quotes it in his list of Authorities. It does not seem to strike him that the treaty of November of that year cannot mark the opening of the staple, as

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 233.

there must have been merchants for some little time to experience the indignities complained of.

The terms of the treaty of 1359, five in number, are given in Appendix C, and may be summarised as follows:

(1) That the Scots might come and go in Flanders in freedom so long as they kept the staple of their merchandise there, and kept to the Laws, paying the wonted customs.

(2) That no merchant or his goods could be arrested for the debts of another, save where he was precisely named as principal guarantor.

(3) That no-one who could produce or find bail was to be imprisoned for a crime which did not touch life or limb.

(4) That the goods of others in the possession of one condemned to death were not to be confiscated.

(5) That in the case of trouble breaking out between the two countries the Scots merchants were to have the space of thrice forty days to depart with their goods without let or hindrance.

It is interesting to compare these terms with those granted a century before to the merchants of Germany.
(vide supra, Ch. 2.)

The Scots for their part, were quite pleased to be on good terms with the authorities at Bruges, for it seems evident from the Exchequer Rolls that it was through Bruges that the money was to come for the payment of the king's ransom. "In the burgh accounts for 1359 the whole triple custom is retained in the hands of the custumars for the payment of the second instalment of the ransom: and it appears in the debit side of their accounts for 1360. In the last-named accounts large payments are made from the triple custom to John Mercer, agent in Flanders, for the payment of the ransom..... The second yearly instalment was paid, not in accordance with the treaty, on St. John's Day, 1359, at Berwick, but at Bruges on three different dates, the second and third of which were October 30th, and December 23rd, 1359, payment being made by John Mercer and Walter Hog, representing (1) David to John Walewyn as agent to the English king."

(1) Exchequer Rolls, ii, xli.

We now come to a quarter of a century, 1359 - 1384, in which there is little or nothing to record, and since in these cases 'no news is good news', we may assume that the Scottish colony, settled, apparently round about the Church of St. Giles, lived contentedly enough until the next crop of complaints broke out with the coming of the Burgundians in 1384. Gilliodts, both the Inventaire and the Etaple, are complete blanks, except for the squabbles between Perth and Mude, mentioned above.

The Exchequer Rolls, vol. III are equally useless to us, and all that may be gathered from what remains of Vol. II is that John Mercer, a burgess of Perth, and probably one of the richest men in Scotland, who has already been mentioned in connection with the payment of the ransom was "seemingly employed in a political mission in Flanders in 1366." The date is that of the foundation of the Confraternity of St. Ninian in the Carmelite Church,

(1) See Chapter 8.

(2) Exchequer Rolls, II, xlii.

and the mission may have been connected with this, in which case the writer is in error in chapter 8, q.v., that the confraternity in question was not in its inception peculiarly Scottish.

CHAPTER 41384-1465.

In 1384 Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, died. The old County of Flanders "gaed wi' a lass", for his daughter, Marguerite de Mâle, had married Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and the date has the historical importance of marking the beginning of the expansion of that Duchy to take the place of "the Middle Kingdom", or Lotharingia, a process which came near its fulfilment with the wars and machinations of Philip the Good, and which failed under his son, Charles the Bold, when another "lass", Mary of Burgundy, carried the possessions of Burgundy to her husband, Maximilian of Austria.

It is important to realise that to the Scots Middelburg was still a "bolt hole" both from the Brugeois and from the wars of Burgundy, and that it remained so till 1433 when Philip the Good dispossessed Jacqueline.

(1). Except, of course, the original Duchy, which returned to the French crown under Salic Law.

Thereafter, go where they liked to trade, they were still in Burgundy, and the Dukes of that Province were averse to foreign settlements changing their location as the result of local quarrels.

It is an *idée fixe* of Davidson and Gray that the Scottish Staple was at all times a fixed and immutable thing, and that one record of the Scots being at Middelburg meant that they had all forsaken Bruges. It is this that leads them to say (p. 137): "It is unfortunate that the obscurity which hides the movements of the Staple in the fifteenth century makes it difficult to determine the nature and character of the agreements made at this time. The idea involved in the Staple port necessarily demanded that the town chosen should enjoy the monopoly of Scottish trade. This conception indeed was established at a very early date. (At this point is quoted an extract from Gilliodts: *Cartulaire*, i, 364, dated 1388, which is not such an early date where the trade of that town is concerned). It is, however, very probable that although this was doubtless involved in the various agreements, the condition of

exclusiveness had not at this time acquired the importance later attached to it."

The exclusiveness of the staple only existed in so far as the two contracting parties could enforce its observance on the merchants, and the Scots were never notable for their respect for central authority. The Hansa, itself, a much more powerfully organised body commercially than the Scots, had difficulty in enforcing (1) observance of the Staple contract, and it is noted that whenever there was a change of Staple, illegal but flourishing colonies broke off. Thus, the last wandering of the Hansa in 1457 led to the formation of such trading centres at Malines, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Middelburg, and Veere, and the German merchants, having built up a trade there, refused flatly to return to the fold.

The disruptive effect of changes of Staple affected adversely the revenues of the rulers, and was further bad for trade in general. You cannot do business

(1) van Werveke: Bruges et Anvers, p. 38.

with merchants if you do not know where to find them from year to year. The movements of the English Staple are scarcely within the compass of this thesis, but there seems little doubt among the authors I have read that they had an ill effect on English trade. Moreover, unlike the Scottish or the Hanseatic, the English Staple was obligatory, and a royal monopoly.

That unnecessary movements of Staple were opposed by both the Counts of Flanders, and the Dukes of Burgundy there is abundant evidence. Returning again to the history
(1)
of the Hansa in Bruges we find that the German colony removed in 1280 and in 1307 to Aardenburg, where they remained for some years. In 1358 they had another quarrel with the authorities at Bruges. At this point the Count of Flanders (Louis de Male) intervened, and let it be known that they might not go to any other town within his dominions. The Germans retorted by going to Dordrecht in Holland. They went to Dordrecht again in 1388, but in 1451, by which time

(1) Van Werveke: Op.cit. pp. 37/38.

Philip the Good had become ruler of both towns, they found that escape, too, cut off. This time they went to the Bishopric of Utrecht, a most unsuitable town for their trade. Even there they found no peace, for Philip had his eye on Utrecht, as one of the few towns in the Low Countries not under his rule. He succeeded in having one of his numerous natural children (Pirenne with some justification calls him "un amateur de femmes"), appointed to the see of Utrecht, and the luckless Germans were herded back to Bruges. There is, therefore, no justification for the picture envisaged by Davidson and Grey, of the Scottish Staple, like a will-o'-the-wisp flitting from one town of the Low Countries to another. The rulers would not have permitted it, and the adverse effect it would have had on Scottish trade would have compelled the Scots to adopt a more sedentary mode of existence. Besides, the references to Scotland in the publications of Gilliodts show that the greater part of Scottish trade was carried on in Bruges, while the occasional references in Smit, Part I, show that there was a small number of merchants who did not respect

the Staple contract, but who dealt where they were best suited. The statement of the Dutch chroniclers, that after the marriage of a daughter of James I to one of the Van Borselens, the Lords of Veere (1444), there was always some connection between the Scots and that town, is very probably correct. The Van Borselens never lost touch with the Scottish court, sending the Kings of Scots presents, one time of a lion, another of horses, and in 1510 James IV made Henry Van Borselen Conservator of the
(1)
Scottish Privileges.

Whether the change of régime in Flanders was a general sign for many of the foreign colonies to attempt to get an improvement in their privileges I have not been able to discover. It would seem, however, that the Scots, who had been fairly quiet since 1359, were discontented with the treatment that they were receiving in Bruges.

(1) Reg. Sig. Sec. 1488-1529, 2016.

Rooseboom's Appendices 8 and 9, to which ⁽¹⁾the impossible date of "before 1350", are almost certainly to be placed between 1384 and 1387, and certainly before 1394. There is a third document, apparently the first in the series, still to be found in the Archives du Nord, and missed by Rooseboom.

This letter, which the writer knows only as a Leica negative, is quite a short one, and is addressed, according to the catalogue, by the merchants of the Scottish nation, to whom is not stated. The position is, admittedly, unsatisfactory, but the alternative to putting it at this period is to regard it as isolated, for there are no other pieces to relate it to.

If the above reconstruction is correct, the negotiations were taken up on a higher level, namely between the King of Scots and the Duke of Burgundy. The latter, who would still be, figuratively, feeling his way referred the eleven points of the Scots' complaint to the

(1) Archives du Nord, B 513/7,671. "Sans date, vers 1350".

College of Bruges, or to some other competent local authority. Complaint and answer are given point by point in Rooseboom, apps. 8 and 9. These may be summarised here:-

1. That Scots should be free to come and to stay in Flanders at their pleasure. Reply, Granted.
2. That an arrested Scot should hear the charge against him and be permitted to defend himself. If convicted he should have forty days to get out, and that if he were condemned to death that the goods of other merchants in his possession should not be confiscated. Reply, granted, it being added that it was not the custom to confiscate the goods of others.
3. That no Scottish merchant be arrested for the debts of another, save where he was the principal guarantor. Reply, Granted.
4. That no Scottish merchant should be imprisoned where he could find sufficient surety. Reply, granted, provided the case was a civil one, and not a criminal one.
5. That Scottish merchants should have their own weighhouse for their own use, and that the weighman be bound to keep his hands off the beam until the two parties be agreed, and that if the weighman be found at fault that he be dismissed upon the call of the merchants. Reply, that it was not the custom to give each nation a separate weighhouse, and as for dishonest weighmen, if a complaint were made two échevins would be sent to see fair play.

6. That merchants should not be held responsible after a sale had been concluded, and that no claim be allowed for bad packing, which had not been made beforehand. Reply, that the Scots were to be on the same footing as merchants of other nations.

7. That if a Scottish merchant sold goods to a burgess of Bruges, and a day of payment was agreed on, that the said burgess be held bound to pay on that day. Reply, granted.

8. That the statements of the inn-keepers and their servants should be believed at the Customs House, and that merchants should not be charged over this amount. Reply, that very many frauds had been committed in prejudice to His Grace's customs, but that otherwise the old ways should continue. (His Grace, of course, is not of Burgundy, but of Guis-telles.)

9. That no loaded ship should be arrested, unless the property of the debtor. Reply, granted.

10. That the Scots be given rights in the town area of Bruges, and in the waters of Sluis. Reply, that these rights were largely traditional, and not written, so that it would be difficult or impossible to give a general reply, but that a specific declaration would be made on each case.

11. That the Scots should not be arrested for carrying arms by day or night, unless found to be abusing the privilege. Reply, granted, such being the general custom.

The discussion, therefore, was on the whole favourable. The Scots had not succeeded in getting their own

weighhouse (the question of weighhouse procedure would merit looking into, but would have to be done on the spot), and their plea in favour of the inn-keepers had failed, but the explanation was reasonable enough, and the same seemed to be the case for the rights at Bruges and Sluis, so the next thing was to get a formal statement of these things in writing in a charter from the new regime.

(1) Rooseboom's blind acceptance of an impossible date has prevented him seeing that the treaty of 1387 is in effect the ratification of this discussion. The treaty, to be found in identical terms in the Archives du Nord, and in the Göttingen papers, which probably derive from the former, is in five articles, covering numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, of the previously tabled articles, in addition to which it was added that if the Scottish merchants, in going about their business by day or night, met the watch, they were to

(1) Vide supra p. 8.

be allowed to pass, they, their goods, and their arms, without let or hindrance.

As a treaty the document of 1387 does not get the Scots much further forward. It promises little more than that the merchants should have common justice. Of the troubles at the weighhouses there is no mention. Most significantly of all there is no confirmation of earlier privileges, though this may well be on a separate document, of which we know nothing. At all events the Scots did not consider it satisfactory, and continued to press for the other points of the earlier declaration. Two ambassadors were sent from the Scottish court to the Burgundian court. These ambassadors were Johannes Remorgny and Guillielmus de Camera. Of the former I can find out nothing. De Camera, (Chalmers or Chambers), was presumably Lord Findon, who was custumar of Aberdeen from 1406 to 1422, when his son, another William, took over from him. The Exchequer Rolls, Volume 4, mention quite a family of De Cameras. These two had more success, and two charters survive, the first as a vidimus in the docu-

ments concerning the agreements of 1407. (See Appendix C.) This is a restatement of the agreement of 1359, with a guarantee of any other privileges granted prior to the present charter.

The restatement of previous rights was after all a routine matter, and the work of the ambassadors is rather to be seen in the other agreement. It is apparent here, as it will be apparent in the arguments of 1469 that the authorities of Bruges had little power over the rights of the proprietors of the Customs, should these prove intractable. Rooseboom, Appendix 12, is a more valuable document than he appears to recognise. On the back is a note headed "Lacort consenty par monseigneur de Guistelle aux marchands d'Escoce sur les demandes quilz requiert audit Seigneur." These represent presumably the maximum that the negociators had managed to gain from that gentleman. The Scots were still not to have their own weighhouse, but could weigh their goods at the Customshouse, at the English weighhouse, at the Spanish weighhouse, or if it pleased them better at the crane. (Most of these places may be picked out on Map 3.)

By the second clause the mode of complaining against sharp practice by the weighman was to be as before; that two "échevins" should be sent for, and if the weighman were found to be at fault he should be dealt with according to the laws of Bruges. It was further stated that there was to be no delay in dealing with the demands of the Scottish merchants.

The agreement on the other side is between the Scottish ambassadors and the Council of Bruges. It accounts for most of the outstanding points of the previous complaint. Its nine clauses are as follows:-

1. No merchant to be arrested or condemned on the type of information "vulgariter dicitur bedrach". (The writer has been unable to find the meaning of this).
2. No merchant to be arrested who could find caution.
3. No merchant to be arrested for the debts of another, save where he was the principal guarantor.
4. Having bought wool, etc., the buyer should be bound to respect the terms of the purchase.
5. That the town would see that the Scots were paid for their goods "as is the law and custom of the town."

6. That if a bale were opened by the customs, and no fraud found, that the expense of closing the bale should be at the charge of the customs.
7. That no loaded ship could be arrested for debt, save where it was the property of the debtor, and even then not if the master of the ship could find security.
8. That the Scots should use the English weigh-house, where they would be dealt with expeditiously.
9. That the weighman would keep his hands off the balance till the parties were agreed.

Philippe le Hardi died in 1404 and Marguerite de Male in 1405, when Jean sans Peur succeeded to the Dukedom. Before this, however, an agreement between the English and the Flemings on the 29 August, 1403, boded trouble for the Scots in Bruges, for by this treaty these countries promised that neither would help the enemies of the other, viz. the French and the Scots.

Scottish ambassadors came over again in 1407. The writer's theory is that the abortive closure of the staple in 1346, had placed the Scots in an ambiguous position, for such a closure might be held to forfeit any rights, which the Scots had held prior to this date, and

which were not covered by the treaty of 12³59. It is, at any rate, evident that the Scots wanted their position clarified on two points, namely to secure an official spokesman in Bruges, and secondly to get a codification of the right and privileges of the Scottish nation.

The most complete account of the negotiations is given in the old Bruges cartulary, *Alte Witten bouck*, which is not yet in print. Photostats were made of these, and the transcriptions are given in Appendices A-D. One of them, the ambassadors' own account of their mission, is to be found in the Göttingen papers, Fol. 340 ro. & vo. and 341 ro. Rooseboom, curiously enough, has the first (1) (2) of the four, and quotes another in translation from Yair but lacking the ambassador's account is unable to give the true explanation of the mission.

(3)
According to themselves then, the ambassadors,

(1) Rooseboom, *Loc. cit.* App. 15.

(2) Ibid. App. 14.

(3) Appendix B.

"Walterus (Stewart) senescalli miles, (he was viscount of Perth), Wills de Lawedre, utriusque juris licenciatus, archidiaconus Laudone, Johannes Gill et Johannes de Lethe, scutifer" were sent by Albany in consequence of the "miserarii, dampnatorii, transgressioni et violentarii", which the Scottish merchants in Flanders had been suffering "infra limites et fluxu maris Flandrie" from the Old Enemy of England "et alios, ipsius Regni Scotie inimicos" in contravention of the liberties and privileges of the said merchants.

Their terms of reference were to discuss with the Duke or his accredited representative, and with the councils of the principal towns of Flanders, means for putting an end to the aforesaid injustices. Lawedre, whose name causes the copyists considerable trouble, has justified his claim to be a licentiate in both laws, and the letter is packed with legal jargon, so much so as to be almost incomprehensible in places, which curiously enough makes it more human.

They quote in support a letter of Albany's.

This gives the additional information that Gill and de Lethe were both clerics, being canons of St. Andrews and Aberdeen respectively. Further, it seems that William De Camera was intended as a member of the party, though his name does not appear again in the documents.⁽¹⁾ Their task was to be the ratification and extension of the privileges of the Scottish Nation by discussion with the Duke and the representatives of the Four Members.

They apparently saw the authorities at Bruges first, for the Duke's grant of new privileges (App. D) is said to be given "a lhumble supplicacion de noz bien amez les bourgmestres et echevins de notre ville de Bruges". This is dated from Ypres on the 12th of April. The other charter (App. C), which is simply a copy of the charter of 1359, as renewed in 1394, is dated from Bruges in May. The Scots' letter, already referred to (App. B), is dated from Bruges in May. The Scots' letter, already referred to (App. B), is dated from Bruges on the 11th of May, and

(1) He had just become customar of Aberdeen. Vide supra.

the charter from the town of Bruges (App. A) is dated the same day.

As has been said Rooseboom knew the text of the Duke's charter only from Yair's translation. Having the original text we can see that his interpretation of the passage concerning the new office of Conservator is faulty. Yair reads: "Item, that the said merchants may have certain commissaries, who shall be appointed by us, to whom we shall give power and authority, to prosecute, require, demand, or defend, the goods of these merchants, and subjects, for and against all, +----- providing the said commissary or procurator shall have a sufficient commission from the King of Scotland, so to act; and that he shall be obliged to produce the same to us or our council." From this Rooseboom, justifiably enough, infers that in the beginning The Conservator was nothing more than an official of the Burgundian administration. The original, however, reads as follows: "Item, que lesdiz marchans puissent avoir certains connuz qui sera auctorisez de nous et au quel nous donnons pouvoir et auctorite de pourseuire

demander et defendre les biens diceulx marchans et subgiez vers tous et contre tous ----- pourvu que le dis commis ou procureur ait commission souffissomt du roi d'Escoce pour ce faire et qu'il en face deuement appois a nous ou a notre conseil."

It thus appears that the commissioner was to be in the first place the spokesman of the merchants, and that, having received the approval of the King of Scots he was to present himself at the Burgundian court to receive his authority. This is a conception of the office which more directly leads to the Conservator becoming the agent of the Convention of Burghs.

The College of Bruges was not behind in granting further privileges, once their Lord had spoken. It appears that the troubles had caused the virtual closure of the Bruges staple, and that the Scots had forsaken their colony in the St. Gillis Doorp (See Ch. 8). Gilliodts⁽¹⁾ notes that the emissaries received their expenses for the

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, v, 302/303 (footnote).

time that they spent in the town "the time that they came complaining of the misdeeds that were done against them, contrary to their privileges and ancient customs", and further for promising "so to influence the aforementioned governor of Scotland as to ensure that the aforementioned merchants with their goods should again take up their residence in the Sint Gillis Doorp, where they resided formerly, and also that they should hold their staple here within the town for all time to come; one thousand crowns, amounting to £3,000 parisis."⁽¹⁾

The College of Bruges was, therefore, anxious to secure the return of the Scots colony. As has been said the two main points of the Scots desires were codification of their rights, and the obtaining of an official spokesman for the Scottish Nation. Throughout the Bruges

(1) "So vele te doene an de vors. gouverneur van Schotland, dat haerlieden vors. coopliede met haerliedder goede weder soude gaen licghen vp St. Gillis Doorp, waer sy plaghen te licghene ende ook dat zy haren stapel tallen daghen hier binnen der stede houden soudentich croonen te xl. gro. elke croone; daer comt vp iij^m lb. p."

charter mention is made of the rights enjoyed by the merchants of Germany. This, in the writer's submission, means less the actual privileges of the merchants of the Hansa, than the grant of privileges made out for these merchants in 1252 (vide supra Ch. 2), which had become the standard table of privileges for all the foreign colonies. The writer has found nothing to justify the statement of Davidson & Gray (p. 123) that "the treaty of 1407 at once aroused the jealousy of the Costerlingen". In view of the fact that these authors regard Scottish trade as insignificant, it would be strange if the mighty Hansa deigned to notice the humble Scots being guaranteed conditions not worse than those they had enjoyed for upwards of a century and a half.

The amount of trouble and expense that the Brugeois went to at this time would seem to show that the
 (1)
 Scottish imports were of considerable importance to them.

(1) Fischer: The Scots in Germany, pp. 13/14, shows indirectly that the Scottish wool trade with Bruges was of considerable importance to the merchants of the Hansa at Bruges. In 1412, to punish the Scots for their acts of piracy it was proposed by the Diet of the Hansa Towns at Luneburg to interdict all commerce with Scotland. This caused an outcry from the Hanseatic staple at Bruges, "where the cloth of Scottish wool is mainly manufactured".

But to return to the Bruges charter - in addition to their guarantee that the Scots should not be treated worse than the merchants of Germany the Brugeois accepted at once the idea of the Scots' spokesman, calling him "le conservateur". Therein they state that he shall be "auctorise par mon-seigneur le Duc". They accept that he is to be received, heard and honoured by them. Finally they repeat that the weighman is to hold his hands from the beam until the parties should be agreed on the transaction. The weighman was to be sworn in before he took up his position, that he would do justice equally to buyer and seller.

The next nine years were uneventful, but quite a lot happened in 1416. In the first place the Scots and the Hansa were at loggerheads, perhaps the reason for Davidson & Gray's statement. Gilliodts, however, makes it clear that the reason was Scottish piracy, which was causing considerable losses to the Hansa. The place chosen to settle the dispute was Bruges, and we may note that one of the Scottish ambassadors was William de Camera.

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 517.

A fortnight later the Scots were back, this time in the rôle of the injured party, and apparently were threatening to withdraw from Bruges, for the College (1) was much disturbed. The matter is very complicated, and is inadequately summarised in the two references given below. It seems, however, to have run somewhat as follows: Scots pirates under one Captain Dufour had seized certain ships of Malines loaded with wool. The Malinois had taken their complaint to the Duke's heir, the Count of Charolais (later to become Philip the Good, one of the best friends Scotland ever had on the Continent.) The young lieutenant had somewhat inadvisedly granted (2) letters of marque against the Scots, as the result of which ships of Malines seized three Scottish ships loaded with wool off Sluis. This was in direct contravention of the treaty of 1407, and the Scots said so very pointedly. They said further that if they failed to get satisfaction

(1) Gilliodts, Inventaire, v, 302/303 (footnote).

(2) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 519.

from the Duke they would take the matter to the Parlement of Paris. The Duke's first action was to get both parties to promise that they would accept his decision. The incident would seem to have made a deep impression on the young Philip, and may be considered as the germ of the celebrated Hundred Years Treaty, signed in 1427. Philip himself became Duke in 1419.

The king of Scots, James I, was at this time a prisoner in England, and kept perpetually short of money by his uncle, the Duke of Albany. The king accordingly addressed himself to the new Duke of Burgundy, asking permission to levy customs on Scottish ships arriving in Flanders. The Duke gave the necessary permission on the understanding that he should retain 10% of the money so raised. The King of Scots consenting thereto, the
(1)
system was put into operation.

England was the traditional friend of Burgundy, and the manner of the death of Jean Sans Peur could not

(1) Archives du Nord, B 1602, fol. 83.
B 570/15, 430
B 1603, fol. 32

inspire Philip with any feelings of friendship towards the French Royal House, though he never forgot that he himself was of the French Blood-Royal. It was not, according to Pirenne, friendship for France that caused him to be concerned at that country's weakness after Agincourt. He had seen enough of the English to have a very good opinion of their organising ability, and he felt that it was preferable to have a weak France for a next-door neighbour than a strong England, who once they had their conquest organised might prove a menace to the new Lotharingia, which it was Philip's aim to build up in the Low Countries. His need was, therefore, to keep the English from the throats of the French until that unhappy country should have a chance to recover. It could not be done openly, for to help the French was as distasteful as to counter of his ally England. Philip presumably knew the worth of the Scottish fighting man, and perceived that Scotland held the balance of power in the matter. To aid Scotland was to strengthen the Franco-Scottish Alliance, and to reduce the number of men England had available for service overseas.

James I came home in 1423, and found the relations between the Scottish government and the Brugeois in a sorry state. Cases of piracy had caused the issue of further letters of marque, and the Scots, who were supposed to send emissaries to discuss the matter had not, (1) in fact, sent them, so that the letters of marque continued in operation.

James's reply was swift and to the point. He meant to stamp out piracy as part of his general policy of pacification, but his government had been slighted in Bruges, and they should make amends. He closed the Bruges Staple in March, 1425 and transferred all its trade to (2) Middelburg. The immediate reaction was to send emissaries from Bruges, to endeavour to have the order cancelled. One of them, according to Fordun was Jean de Metteneye, mentioned (3) in 1426 as "Hoste des Escossois". The other was Meester

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 554.

(2) A.P.S. ii, 7, cap. 6.

(3) Gilliodts: Etaple, i, 560.

Boudin van den Poele, a cleric, who in the Accounts for
(1)
1426/27 received his expenses for an absence of 184 days.

The king remained adamant until he saw that he was in a very strong position for bargaining, when he sent William de Liberton, a burgess and former provost of Edinburgh, as ambassador. The latter received the sum of £5
(2)
expenses from the town. His mission was, of course, first and foremost to the Duke, and as has been pointed out earlier, it was to the latter's advantage to give the Scots as many privileges as he could.

The result is the treaty of 1427, which was to be a milestone in Scottish foreign policy for many a day. It is significant that on this occasion there is no agreement with Bruges, enlarging the Duke's privileges. His Grace had said everything there was to say.

The terms may be considered under two heads, the commercial and the political. In the former group

(1) Gilliodts, Inventaire, iv, 485.

(2) Ibid., vi, 530.

come permission to return to Sluis under stress of weather without the incurring of extra penalties, permission for a ship loaded with perishable goods to sell these if delayed, upon payment of the usual dues, reduced taxes at Damme (the Duke's customs), and permission to bring their raw cloths to be dyed and fulled in Bruges. All former treaty rights were renewed, and if by chance they had to be revoked, the Scots were to have a year to remove themselves.

The "political" clauses declared that the Duke and the Four Members would do their best to satisfy all those who had been injured by the Scots since the date of the king's return. A cargo of wool captured by the Scots, and claimed by the English was to remain with the captors. Further, if the Scots were attacked on the sea, and succeeded in capturing their adversary, they were to be permitted to bring the prize into the harbour of Sluis, where it was to be free from all search or duties. Although no nation is mentioned this can only mean the English, and we can see that a Scottish ship with a damaged

prize was at last to be given a chance to refit her before the long sail back to Scotland. An English privateer damaged in a fight, or with a damaged Scottish prize, was near his own ports, but a Scot far from home, was in much worse case. Now the positions were made more nearly equal. For a faithful ally of England Duke Philip was behaving in a very strange manner.

Rooseboom has come in for a certain amount of adverse criticism in this thesis, but a case arises where⁽¹⁾ I must vindicate him. Professor Hannay says that Rooseboom prints the 1427 treaty "with important omissions". The inference is that he omits any clauses dealing with the hundred years in which letters of marque might not be issued against the Scots. Rooseboom does seem to be ignorant of this treaty, for he never mentions it, but the writer has checked Rooseboom's version (from Register House, Edinburgh) with the three texts found in the Gottingen papers, and only minor variations have come to light. To call these "important omissions" is an exaggeration.

(1) Hannay: A study in reformation history. S.H.R. xxiii, 20 seqq.

The origin of the century's freedom from letters of marque is something of a mystery. It may in fact be doubted whether it existed as more than an understanding between the two parties. The most interesting among the Göttingen papers is fol. 332r^o-335v^o. This is printed here as Appendix ^FG. From the latter part it is apparent that it was being used in the negotiations for the renewal in 1527,8,9. In such a case one might expect the Scots to use their strongest documentary evidence, the more so since as we shall see, *infra*, the rulers were not too well inclined to them.

The document in question begins with an *inspeximus* by Bruges of the *inspeximus* by the Four Members of the treaty of 1427, which is found at Register House, and which is quoted by Rooseboom. This is followed without a break by a second *inspeximus* by the Four Members of a letter of the Duke's, dated from Leyden the same day as the treaty itself. This letter, which must have been of considerable contemporary importance, states merely that various towns and cities of Scotland had complained

that they were being arrested on their way to Flanders, and otherwise interfered with. The letter directs that the merchants of Scotland are not to be molested on their way to the markets of Flanders. This is little more than a slight amplification of the promise of 1407 that the Scots were to come under the Duke's protection as soon as they entered Flemish territorial waters. There is nowhere any mention of the privilege lasting for a set time.

(1)
Balfour-Melville has said all that there is to say on James I's use of his ransome fund, payable in Flemish money at Bruges, as an account to meet all contingencies. It is also evident from the same author and from the Exchequer Rolls that this king received the money for his frequent missions to Rome from Bruges.

Apart from these things the only matter to be gained from Gilliodts is fairly routine stuff; in 1434 the Hansa complained to the Four members that Martin Wynnenberch had arrested a Scot, who had stolen money from him. "He was taken away to appear before the King of Scots

(1) Balfour-Melville: James I, King of Scots, passim.

as though Mude were not a town with law of its own" (the Scots must have been very confident to flout the conventions thus); 1441, Alexander de Sutonne, dominus de Gordon, set off on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and before leaving, lodged valuables with a Florentine banker at Bruges. He died at Rhodes, and a Bruges religious house, to whom he had left money, was applying to the banker for payment. One last thing we may mention - the great cannon of cast brass, called the Lion, which was to burst and kill James II - was bought in Flanders about this time.

We are, therefore, on safe ground for the rest of the reign of James I, and for the beginning of the minority of James II. Thereafter, we come to a period (1) which is inadequately summarised in Gilliodts. Whatever material there is on the matter is still in Ms. in the Archives. All that can be gathered is as follows: in (2) 1446 the Duke of Burgundy was writing to the Four Members,

(1) Gilliodts, Inventaire, v, 297.

(2) Gilliodts; Inventaire, v, 281.

reviewing the moneys he was prepared to forego in order that certain injured parties might be recompensed. He reminded them that on no account might letters of marque be issued against the Scots. The letter would seem to have been initiated by a letter of the King of France, calling the Duke's attention to a decision of the Parlement of Paris, and speaking of the visits of certain "notable ambassadors", who had visited the Duke two years before. In March ambassadors of the King of Scotland were given a great banquet by the Council of Bruges.⁽¹⁾ In September of the same year the same or other ambassadors⁽²⁾ were in Bruges again. Their number included the king's sister, who was given a splendid reception.

According to Gilliodts, whose notes on Scottish history, however, are not always to be trusted implicitly, the aim of the visit was to gain the help of Bruges in a war which Livingstone contemplated against England. No

(1) Gilliodts: *Inventaire*, v, 297.

(2) Ibid. 299

indication is given as to the outcome of the negotiations. Early in 1448 Scottish ambassadors were back again in Bruges. The aim this time, according to Gilliodts⁽¹⁾ was to gain an extension of the treaty of 1427. Whether or not this was so, it is more likely that the marriage of the young king was the main subject. Material in the Göttingen papers and the Archives du Nord make it clear⁽²⁾ that the account given by nineteenth century historians is not the correct one. This story was that the Scots went to France to renew the Franco-Scottish Alliance (it was renewed in December, 1448), and as a secondary aim were to seek a French wife for their king. No French princess was available (a fact they ought to have known), and the French king advised them to ask the Duke of Burgundy, who produced Mary of Guelders. Burnett doubted⁽³⁾ the story, noting from the Exchequer Rolls that there was a knight of Guelders at the Scottish Court as early as

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, v, 299.

(2) Göttingen papers, fol. 31^o ro - 321 ro. Dated Brussels, 1 April, 1448.

(3) Exchequer Rolls, v, lxxiii.

July, 1447.

The material from the sources named makes it clear that the marriage was not the result of any such hit-or-miss arrangement, but was part of a well-laid scheme, which, it is the submission of this thesis, was aimed at keeping England off France. As the details of the Royal wedding cannot be considered within the scope of this thesis, the writer has not attempted to follow the matter up. The material available is as follows:-

(1) The Göttingen manuscript, dated at Brussels, 1 April, 1448, apparently the first tentative arrangements, to be ratified within six months at a meeting to be held in Bruges.

(2) Archives du Nord, B 427/15,853 and 15,853 bis. Dated at Stirling 6 May, 1448, authorisations given to Crichton, John, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas de Otterburn, as ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy to treat of the king's marriage to Marie, or any others Crichton might choose in the houses of Burgundy, Guelder or Cleves, and of the marriage of the King's sister, Margaret, to Albert, Duke of Austria.

(3) Archives du Nord, B 308/15,876. Dated at Stirling, 25 June, 1449. Ratification by James II of the treaty concluded in his name at Brussels on 1 April, 1449, in consideration of his forthcoming marriage to Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders.

(4) Archives du Nord, six documents dated from 1448 to 1450, dealing with the said marriage and the dowry.

(1)

In addition to the foregoing MacPherson speaks of a treaty of perpetual alliance made between the Scots and all the territories under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy. He gives the reference, M.S. Bib. Harl. 4^o37, V, iii, ff. 5b. 11a. The writer has, however, no further information on the matter, and it is strange that if this were an improvement on the treaty of 1427, that the latter should persist at a later date.

The marriage of James II to the Duke's neice set the seal on Scotland's position as a most favoured nation. The Exchequer Rolls, Vol. vi, show the extent of the arms imports from Flanders at this time. "It was probably by a provision of this parliament (1456) that a tax was raised from the burghs and a loan from the burgesses to provide for the national defence, and to pay for the embassy sent to France.....All we know of this tax and loan is derived from an interesting account of them, chiefly in Flemish money (computed as exactly three times the value of the money of Scotland)

(1) MacPherson, Annals of Commerce: i, 666.

..... The amount spent was about £275 Flemish
 ... The remainder of the money, £126.4.0½, went on
 materials of war, including 8000 lbs of iron, 988
 lbs of saltpetre, 1,600 lbs of sulphur and two barrels of
 of charcoal, besides two Hamburg barrels of tried gunpowder,
 cord and ropes, canvas, and 1,500 arrows and arrowheads." (1)
 (2)

Later in the same work we read, "... the accounts
 for 1458 and 1459 indicate that, the peace at home and
 abroad notwithstanding, the defence of the country was not
 neglected. The king's attention to artillery is shown by
 frequent entries of expenditure connected with bombards
 (two of which were sent by the Duke of Burgundy), and for
 iron, arrows, lances, a tent for the king, etc..."

It is obvious that for the Duke's purposes, as
 well as for the happiness of his niece and her husband,
 it was essential to crush all opposition to the central
 authority in Scotland. As well as the two bombards noted

(1) Exchequer Rolls, vi, xlv.

(2) Ibid. lxiii.

above, the editor of the Exchequer Rolls notes frequent mention of a particular piece of ordnance referred to as "the king's great bombard". The query is put forward, whether this gun may not be Mons Meg, and on other evidence it seems probable that it is.

(1)

The writer, in the Scottish Historical Review, put forward the theory that Mons Meg was a present from the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, to James II. Briefly the argument is that comparison of the measurements shows that Mons Meg and the Great Cannon of Ghent, called Dulle Griet, are identical in construction and proportions, the latter being one quarter larger throughout. The Belgian cannon bears incised on its back the Cross of Burgundy, and the Insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good. This cannon is also known to have been made prior to 1452. It is also shown that the cannon for the armament of the fleet which brought Marie of Gueldres to Scotland were of forged iron. The theory is that Mons Meg may be regarded as the prototype

(1) Finlayson: Mons Meg, S.H.R., October, 1948.

of Dulle Griet, and provisionally dated to 1449 or 1450. It is also noted that Train, the Galloway archaeologist, speaking of the legend that the gun was made locally by one Macmin, to whom the king gave the estate of Mollance, says that 'Mons' is a corruption of 'Mollance'. The writer suggests that 'Mollance' in its turn may be a corruption of 'Malines'.

The statement is also made that there may be some clues to be found in the Accounts of the Duke of Burgundy, the originals of which are in Lille. It is apparent, however, from correspondence that I have had with the chief archivist there, that no work has been done on these registers, which are completely uncalendared. Copies of them exist in Brussels, in the Archives Générales du Royaume, and it is evident that some work has been done on these, as the archivist of Malines was able to tell me that he had heard tell of "very secret missions" of Philip the Good to Scotland. The Belgians regard this period as of great importance in the history of Scoto-Belgian relations. I quote from a letter received from Professor

Paul Bonenfant, of the Chair of History in Brussels, to whom I had sent an off-print of the article on "Mons Meg", referred to above. "Elle (la note) dépasse l'interêt local, car elle soulève à nouveau la question, trop peu étudiée, des relations entre les rois d'Ecosse et les Ducs de Bourgogne". In my article I had accepted the statement of Fraser-Tytler and others, that the Duke was in Edinbrugh for the wedding. Professor Bonenfant points out that there is no mention of this in Van der Linden's Itinéraire. Dr. Agnes Mure Mackenzie has pointed out that the assumption of the Duke's presence rests on the statement that he was one of those "who gave assent to the marriage".

Through this period, then, we are not to look for trouble in the relations between the Council of Bruges and the Scottish Nation of merchants there. Indeed, the only note of Gilliodts belonging to this time is one in

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 118.

which the Scottish Conservator, Etienne Anguis, in 1461, had a decision doubted by one, Andre Boubra. The Council of Bruges upheld the Conservator. Scots names from the (1) "Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken" show that between 1450 and 1465 no less than 26 Scots took out their burgess papers at Bruges.

This was the period of the building of the great headquarters of the different merchant confederations, familiar to us in the pages of "Flandria Illustrata", and it is apparent that the Scots were determined to have one as good as their neighbours'. The Scotillepoorte in the St. Giles quarter was unsatisfactory, and they proposed a new one in the north-east corner of the Place St. Martin. (2) Duclos speaks of the new headquarters being built in 1470, but it must have been planned before the troubles treated of in the next chapter, which seem to have broken out in 1465.

(1) See Appendix G.

(2) Duclos: Histoire de Bruges, p. 554.

The Scottish House is not shown in "Flandria Illustrata", and it was demolished in 1619 at the time of the building of the new Jesuit church, (now l'Eglise de Ste. Walbruge). The matter is gone into more fully in Chapter 8, where it is shown that Duclos's assumption that the Scottish house occupied the site of the church is improbable. Were this not so it would be tempting to regard the large building which Gerards shows at the corner of the Hoorenstraat (see frontispiece) as a representation of the headquarters of the Scottish Nation.

CHAPTER V1465 - 1472

The years 1465-1472 are easily the most difficult in the history of the Scottish Staple at Bruges. Even the year of the beginning of the troubles is a mystery, beyond that they began prior to the Duc de Charolais, (Charles the Bold), taking over the reins from his father, Philip the Good, that is, prior to 1465. Rooseboom has failed to appreciate this fact, and his reconstruction of the period is, in consequence, faulty. ⁽¹⁾ Smit has corrected several of Rooseboom's errors, but his account, though an improvement on Rooseboom's is unfortunately based on too few authorities. He is, of course, only concerned with the Middelburg angle of the affair. There is more to be

(1) Smit, Bronnen, I, 2, pp. 1011, note, 1018 note, 1019' note, 1024 note.

(1)

(2)

gained from Stirum, but Stirum is concerned only with his hero, who ceases to be concerned with the Staple in the beginning of 1470, unless his visit to Scotland in 1471 (see next chapter) has an indirect bearing on the Staple. Of this there is no proof, and the fact that he was executing an important commission for the Duke of Burgundy would seem to preclude that he was acting for Bruges at that time.

Rooseboom has several documents from the Lille archives, but he misses one of the most important for this period, namely the confirmation by Charles the Bold of the privileges of 1427. In spite of collecting all the records that I can find, including some that have not to my knowledge been reproduced before, one major mystery remains; why James III should find it necessary to issue two letters opening the staple, in practically identical terms, one dated 20 May, 1470, the other 30 June, 1472.

(1) Stirum, Anselme Adornes, article in *Messenger des Sciences Historiques*, Tome XCIX (1881).

Rooseboom's explanation that there is an error of date in the second one is too naïve to merit serious consideration.

It seems to have been a characteristic of the Bruges authorities that they paid little attention to complaints from trading nations, but that after these complaints had produced the inevitable rupture they would go to extreme lengths, often at great cost, and make the most abject apologies in order to secure the return of trade. (1) It is one such apology which gives us the story of the beginnings of the trouble in 1465 or earlier.

According to this, the Scottish Nation was already complaining of the conduct of the tax-farmers of the Duke of Burgundy at Damme, and of the Count of Marle, who had inherited the rights of the Count of Ghistelless, at some time prior to the death of the old Duke. These complaints had failed to get any response from the College of Bruges. The Scots had then sent messages to the Four

(1) Rooseboom, Appendix 26.

members, and to the late Duke, all to no avail.

Complaints at home led to the vice-admiral of the kingdom, Alexander Napier of Merchiston, being sent out. He met with no more success, and his recommendation was seemingly for the closing of the Staple, for in January, 1467, the Scots were forbidden to deal further with Bruges or the Zwin ports, being given until the following August (1468) to complete their business there. Until arrangements should be made by the Scottish parliament, they were to use Middelburg, but this they were to consider a temporary measure.

There is one provision which has been generally misunderstood. It was permitted to carry staple goods to Bordeaux and La Rochelle. Davidson and Gray are of the opinion that the idea behind this was to improve relations with France, in which case why was the Staple never placed on French soil? Rooseboom states that the reason was that a war was about to break out between France and Flanders, and that the Scots were showing that they favoured the French. The war between France

and Burgundy did break out, it is true, in 1471, but Middelburg was involved as much as Bruges in the matter, so the reasoning is obviously false. The explanation, was, I feel, far simpler.

It was not the custom of the French wine-merchants to deal on their own door-steps. Had they done so they would certainly have been cut out by middlemen carrying wine to the Bruges market. (1) The method they adopted was to rent great warehouses at Damme, to which wine was carried in bulk and stored. Samples were then taken up the Reie to Bruges, and the purchases collected by the customer on his way out. If, therefore, the Scots forsook Damme, some arrangement had to be devised for obtaining wine, an important question to those who made the laws.

(1) There was apparently some attempt on the part of irregular merchants to transport wine out of Flanders, and either their actions angered the legitimate dealers or their wares were unsatisfactory, for by an Act of the Scottish Parliament (ii., 24, c. 11.) the Scots were forbidden to buy in Scotland wine of the Flemings of the Dam.

Notice was served on Bruges of the Scots' intention, for the ~~Act~~^A of the Scottish parliament is to be found in the Bruges archives. At last the College was stirred into action. The last few years had shown the weakness of the position of Bruges, where the Zwin was almost daily seen to be more and more useless, and the fair of Antwerp was attracting so many of the foreign colony of Bruges, that the lawcourts of the latter town were suspended for the period of the fair, there being no call for them. The affairs of the Scottish Staple at Bruges were wound up on the 12th of August, ⁽¹⁾ 1468, and in the accounts for September we find one, Jan van Huerne being sent to the Duke (Charles) at Brussels to see about getting the Scots back. He was followed a little later by Jan Coolbrant, who was to ask His Grace "to end a state of affairs so prejudicial to the town".

(1) Gilliodts, Cartulaire, ii, pp. 199-200

The Belgians, who in four and a half centuries have not lost their distrust of Charles's motives, see political considerations everywhere in this chapter. It is rather difficult to see how these could have begun the troubles, as Stirum and De la Coste would seem to imply, nor, though it be admitted that Louis XI was a very cunning man, that he could have made any capital out of the troubles of Scottish merchants.

It was otherwise, though, when the trouble had started, and the help of the Duke had been solicited. That worthy was now able to turn affairs to suit his own ends, which involved neutralising so far as lay within his power the Franco-Scottish Alliance. He seems at once to have given encouragement to the Bruges envoys in the matter, for shortly after (no date, but within the month), Christopher Zwandyn went up to Brussels to collect letters of safe conduct for the town's envoys to the Scottish court.

The two envoys were Anselme Adornes and Jan Metteneye. The latter was a member of the family whose

fortunes had been connected with the Scottish trade since
 (1)
 the days of David II or before, and which had been named
 "hostes des escossois", and had stood surety for Scotsmen
 taking out their burgess papers in Bruges. ~~(See p.)~~

Adornes was a young patrician of a family of
 Genoese origin. He was a noted athlete, skilled in the
 arts, had been in the service of both the Dukes, and was
 at that time "hoofdman" of one of the districts of Bruges.
 It is obvious that Metteneye was the practical man, versed
 in all the problems of Scottish commerce, the man to talk
 to the Convention of Burghs, while Adornes was the diplomat,
 to deal with court and parliament. The agents were at
 Calais on the 29th September. Adornes was carrying letters
 from the Four Members to the Chief Towns of Scotland, and
 in addition had a letter from Bruges to Newcastle.

(1) "Before 1361 David had pledged a portion of the
 Crown Jewels to Paul of Metteneye, a Flemish
 merchant": Exchequer Rolls, II, xlvi note.

(1)

According to a letter of Napier's to the magistrates of Middelburg, written some time between August 26th and October 12th, 1468, the closure of the Bruges Staple had been approved at a meeting of the Convention of Burghs held on the 26th of August. This Napier claimed to be the result of his advice, and on showing the letters he had received from the magistrates of Middelburg. He informed the latter that a Parliament was appointed for the 12th of October, when among other matters the Staple question would be discussed. He promised to speak for Middelburg, and gave the advice that they should write to the principal burghs on the matter. The letter was to be carried by one, Robert Coldon or Coyden, a burgess of Middelburg. It is thus apparent that the Scottish envoy was working for Middelburg, and another letter quoted by Smit gives the reason for Napier's interest, which was not altruistic. Napier had, in fact, been paid 500 crowns, with the promise of a further 200 for every year that the Scottish Staple should remain in

u 122
(1) Smit: Bronnen, II, 1, pp. 1018-1019.

Middelburg. This letter will be discussed more fully infra.

Middelburg took Napier's advice about addressing further letters to Scotland, and sent Coldon back with letters to Edinburgh. He wrote from Scotland on October (1) 20th, 1468 to say that their letters had been duly delivered to the King, his Chancellor and Treasurer. He had not sought a reply, "quia fuerunt plures ambassitores in patria ad presentacionem regis predicti et dominus Alexander Napar, miles, venturus est in partibus vestris, et ipse stat pro vobis et negociis vestris in omnibus, The ambassadors were, of course, Metteneye and Adornes, and Napier's new journey was because they had succeeded in having the question of the Bruges Staple reopened.

Little seems to have been accomplished on this first journey to Scotland except that the Scottish authorities agreed to reopen negotiations regarding the return of the Scottish merchants to Bruges, and Napier was sent

(1) Smit: Bronnen, II, I, p. 1019.

back to hear the proposals of the College. It is also evident that the Scots were disposed to drive a hard bargain. The agenda for this conference can be given with considerable confidence. There was the amount of dues at Damme and Bruges, and the conduct of the tax-farmers there; misconduct by the Duke's Water-bailiff at Sluis; troubles encountered at Nieupoort (not specified); and a clarification of the position of Scottish cloth entering Flanders.

In their new mood of accommodation the Bruges authorities were willing to go as far as lay within their power with the Scots. Unfortunately, they had no authority to make any changes in the taxes legally due to the Count of Marle, though the Duke of Burgundy, for his own ends, had appointed "Meester Steuin pensionnaris van der Natie van Schottland", and "Alexandre Bouckele, Schotman poorter
(1)
van de stede van Brugghe", both Scots by birth, to act in his interest. The former acted for the Duke throughout

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, Vol. 6, p.32

the negotiations in Flanders, the latter carried important letters from the Duke to the four chief towns of Scotland. The position of the town in the matter of altering the taxes was explained to Napier, who declared himself to be incompetent to make any decision in the matter, without first returning to Scotland to get the necessary authority. Adornes was sent with Napier to advise the Scots of the Bruges point of view. He must have returned before Napier as he was present with Matthiew van Huerne, Christopher van Themseke, and Matthieu van der Linde at Aardenburg to welcome the Scottish envoys.⁽¹⁾

This time Napier did have the necessary authority to negotiate, and Bouckele or Aboukel was appointed to assist him. The Duke's interests were to be looked after by the Bishop and the Provost of Tournai. The Bruges College had decided to resort to counter-bribery of the Scottish envoy, and had promised Napier 800 crowns for his help in the matter. As we shall see, the money from Middelburg was

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 26.

in arrears, and the Scottish envoy accordingly turned his coat. The Brugeois could not at this period do anything without a haggle, (they had tried to get out of paying the wife of Adornes £123 8/- for his expenses. (1) She, however, took the case to court, and got the award). Napier, accordingly, whose position could not have been comfortable agreed on the 7th of June to accept 300 crowns "en deduction des 800 promis...pour ses travaux et despens en la poursuite du retour des marchans d'Escoce", in consideration of which he promises "qui'il sollicitera tant et tellement comme ambassadeur de son souverain seigneur le Roy que jcellui Roy consentira et mandera a tous les marchans d'Escoce venans pardeca que doresenavant jiz seront tenuz de mener entre autres leurs cuirs, peaulx, et laines, en la ville de Bruges pour y tenir leur estaple".

Some advances were made during this series of talks, and Bruges issued the "peccavi" notice, already referred to, admitting that the troubles were their own fault. They expressed their desire to have the Scots

(1) Gilliodts: Cartulaire, ii, 199-200.

Staple "pour tousiours et jamais, ou moins par vng long
(1)
temps and offered to pay the "petit congie et les degrez
ou passage", that is, the dues of the Duke of Burgundy at
Sluis, for four years, or alternatively the sum of £20 for
the repair of the Scots Chapel. The demands of the Comte
de Marle, however, proved a stumbling-block. This was not
the first occasion on which Marle's rights had caused
trouble, and the town had already bought up some portions.
Marle's rights were valued in 1549 at 92,000 gold crowns.

The Scots went back home for further instructions,
and were seen off by Huerne, Adornes and Theimseke at
(2)
St. ~~Mer~~. The duplicity of Napier now becomes apparent.
Instead of going back to Scotland, he made for Veere, where
he put up with the Duke, Van Borselen, whose grandmother had
been a princess of Scotland. Borselen wrote on Napier's
(3)
behalf to the Council of Middelburg.

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vol. 6, p. 41.

(2) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 28.

(3) Smit: Bronnen, I, ii, 1024.

See 116
From this letter it is apparent that Middelburg had paid Napier 500 crowns down, with a promise of a further 300 for every year that the staple should remain at Middelburg. Of this last sum Napier had not received more than 100 crowns. The Duke invited the magistrates to come to Veere to talk the matter over with him. Having sold his influence to Bruges, Napier was trying to get his back money out of Middelburg. The accounts of the treasurer of Middelburg for 1470 show that the burgomaster and other officials did go to Veere on this errand, and received 10 gr. expenses. There is, however, no indication of the outcome of the meeting. The letter of the Duke's, dated "den 8en dach in Julio anno LXIX" was inadvertently placed in the bundle 1550/1579, and led Rooseboom (p. 76) on a wild goose chase.

The Scots appear to have realised at this point that they had struck as good a bargain as they were likely to get. The Duke of Burgundy was friendly, perhaps too friendly, and if the Count of Marle was intractable they had the promise of the Brugeois that they would give the

Scots legal help if the agents of the Count should prove troublesome. The Duke of Burgundy, on a visit to Bruges in March, 1469/70, renewed the Scots privileges of 1427.⁽¹⁾ The Staple was accordingly reopened by royal decree on 20 May, 1470.

It is at this point that we begin to run into difficulties. So far the story, if complex, has been free from blind alleys, and there are no documents whose nature is in the least doubtful. The next document, dealing directly with the staple is another opening by James III, dated 3rd June, 1472, in precisely the same terms as the first. The intermediate period contains no documents relevant to the question, and there is no notice of the staple having been closed in the interval. Rooseboom's explanation that one of the documents has an error in date is scarcely satisfactory.

(1) Archives du Nord, B 1694, fol. 36ro/37vo,
Göttingen, fol. 304ro/306vo,
See Appendix E

Two documents may give a clue to the true explanation, whatever it is. The first is a renewal in March, 1460, by the Duke of the regulations of the Staple (1) of Bruges, dating from 1304. One term of the charter forbids the importation from that time forward of Scottish cloth, except for the cheapest kinds, kerseys, and the like. The white and grey cloths are also excepted, They formed the main clothing of the poorer members of the population, and later were the sole exceptions to the Sumptuary Laws. As it stands the regulation looks like a grave infringement of the Scottish rights as restated in the Duke's proclamation of the same month. It may be that the Scots were endeavouring to start an industry in finer cloth in imitation of the English, and that they came under the same ban. The evidence as it stands is insufficient.

The other reference is even more of a mystery.

(2)

Gilliodts says, "Charles comptaient beaucoup sur les

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 12.

(2) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 32.

escossais. Pour reserrer l'alliance il leur avait reconnu
 la Franchise de l'alun, dont ils faisaient un grand trafic
 sur notre place. (C. 1471-72. Fo. 58, no. 4, 59, no. 5,
 110, no. 2). Il avait chargé un bourgeois de Bruges,
 écossais de naissance, d'une négociation importante pour
 le roi et les quatre chef-villes du pays; il avait reçu
 magnifiquement leurs députés."

The Scottish trade in alum seemed to be something new. As the Scots were having their cloths dyed in Bruges, and did not seem to be doing a trade in finished leather it seemed most probable that they were exporting alum of Scottish origin, which for some reason was not mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls. In such a case they were about the only Christian source of alum, for the date is earlier than the establishment of the works at Tolfa in the Papal States, and of Massaron in Spain. An alternative was that the Scots had a merchant navy capable of penetrating the for-

(1) The term "franchise" implies that the Scots bringing alum into the country were to be free of all duty connected with such import.

(2) "C" is apparently an abbreviation for "Complex".

bidden lands of North Africa. Either way it looked an exciting question, and the Professor of Geology at Leeds, Dr. W. Q. Kennedy, D.Sc., F.R.S., spoke of it as one of the earliest examples of a "strategic mineral".

I wrote to Monsieur Remi Parmentier on the matter, and his answer brought the whole house of cards tumbling about my ears. There was an unfortunate error in the references. Some of them did not exist. Others did, but had nothing to do either with Scotland or alum. Monsieur Parmentier went through the entire accounts for 1471/72, but found nothing to justify Gilliodts's statements. There did seem to have been an embassy to the Duke at St. Omer, complaining about the price at which the English were selling their alum, and another to the English at Louvain, to find out the exact conditions and prices at which they were ready to dispose of their alum. There was, however, not a word connecting Scotland and alum. There, then, the matter rests for the present. I am loath to think that such an astute and, in general, careful worker as Gilliodts has made these statements

entirely without foundation. At the same time his sources, whatever they are, are not known to the two archivists at presently at Bruges.

r/ It seems certain that the great alum workings in the Huxlet district, and in the Campsies were eighteenth century ventures. If the Scots were bringing alum from the musselman countries their monopoly did not last long, for with the openingoof the Tolfa project the Pope put a ban on the use of saracen alum, and accorded the monopoly of dealing in this important mineral to Antwerp. There is said to be considerable information on this subject in (1) a German paper, but I have not succeeded in finding a library which has it, and which can supply a microfilm of it.

(1) Von der Ropp: Zur Geschichte des Alaunhandels im 15ten Jahrhundert. Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1900, pp. 117-136.

CHAPTER 6

Anselme Adornes

(A summary of this chapter under the title "The Boyds in Bruges" was published in the Scottish Historical Review for October, 1949.)

The name of Adornes has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, but many of his adventures, while important for Scottish mediaeval history, are not directly connected with the Staple. They have accordingly been collected here.

As has been said Adornes made his first acquaintance with Scotland in 1468 when he came as the emissary of Bruges in the matter of the Staple. Foreign commentators have missed the point that the king, James III, was a minor, and that it was the time when the fortunes of the Boyds were in the ascendant. No record exists of the time when Adornes received the knighthood and the lands of ^{Cortachy}~~Cortachy~~ (Cortachy) but that it was prior to the king's marriage is proved by

the snobbishness of the Flemings, who begin at once to refer to him as Mer Anselmus Adornes, or Anselme Adornes, Sire de Cortuy, and by a mutilated entry in the Register of the Great Seal.

(1)

This entry which lacks both beginning and end, and is dated provisionally 1475, but in the Index 1477(?), appears to deprive Adornes of the Conservatorship, "quia ipse Anselmus in alio regno oriundus est, et pro aliis causis". As, however, he was Conservator at the time

(2)

of his death, either the deprivation was never put into effect, or it was rescinded by an Act of which we have no information.

The first act named above speaks of the original grant of the Conservatorship being made in the king's minority, "REX - licet in minore etate constituit Anselmo Adornes, militem, conservatorem privilegiorum nacionis sue (Scocie) infra ~~d~~ominia Ducis Burgundie". Out of the

(1) Reg. Mag. Sig. ii, 1475.

(2) Ibid. ii, 1548.

two visits prior to 1469, therefore, Adornes got a knight-hood, the Conservatorship, and the lands of Cortachy. All of these he must have gained through the good offices, or with the goodwill, of the Boyds. This fact is important for what will come later.

There is some doubt as to a Scottish order that Adornes held. De la Coste calls it the Order of St. Andrew,⁽¹⁾ and in this he is followed by De St. Genois,⁽²⁾ though the latter is probably copying from the former. On the other hand Stirum calls it the Order of the Unicorn,⁽³⁾ and gives the further information that the jewel was torn from Adornes's neck by his murderers, and a representation is to be seen round the neck of the effigy in the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges. It is not recorded when he received this, and in view of his favour with James III it may have been at this point or later.

(1) De la Coste: Anselme Adornes, Sire de Cortuy, Brussels, 1853.

(2) De St. Genois: Anselme Adornes, article in Vol. I of the Biographie Nationale. (In G.U. Library).

(3) Limbourg Stirum: Anselme Adornes, article in Messager des Sciences Historiques, Tome XLIX, (1881).

The end of the story of the Boyds has always been a mystery to Scottish historians, and it is apparent that Ferrerius, Buchanan and Bellenden have been doing no more than retailing stories that were current in their time. Buchanan, for example, speaks of a magnificent tomb erected for Arran by Charles the Bold. Such a monument is unknown at Antwerp. That rumours about the Boyds were current in their own time may be seen from the reference to the Earl of Arran in the Ex-⁽¹⁾chequer Rolls, where in July, 1471, the Steward of Kirkcudbright referred to "Quondam Thomas Boyd, Comes de Arran". The vital link in tracing the story of the Boyds was Adornes, and the Belgians discovered the solution in their researches into the history of this man. Rooseboom quotes De la Coste as an authority, but it is apparent that he did not give much attention to him, otherwise he would not have made the indefensible statement that Adornes was a Scot. It is also evident that

(1) Exchequer Rolls, Vol. VIII, pp. 40-41

he did not have the Scottish background to recognise the importance of Adornes's connection with the Boyds.

A plan to recover the Holy Places from the Infidel had been in the mind of Philip the Good, but nothing had been done about it. The idea was revived by his son, Charles, who elaborated plans for a preliminary survey while Adornes was completing his work in Scotland. On his return he learned that he was to lead the expedition.

Before he left (a short time before, according to the Belgians), two unexpected guests were announced at his house in Bruges, the Hôtel de Jerusalem. These were Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, and his wife, Mary Stewart, the sister of the king of Scots. It is to be remembered that Mary of Gueldres and Charles the Bold were the same age to within a few months, and that they had been brought up together at the Burgundian court at Brussels. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the daughter and namesake should throw herself on the

mercy of her mother's childhood playmate. It would seem that Charles made an appeal on behalf of the (1) fugitives to James, but without success. Two things are, I think, to be taken from this; first that the king knew his sister's whereabouts, and, knowing Charles and his temperament, must have known what use would be made of her and her husband. On the other hand, Arran, realising that the councillors of the king were his own personal enemies, and that his chances of seeing his homeland were remote, had ^{he} less compunction in falling in with Burgundy's schemes.

Having given the fugitives shelter in the Hôtel de Jerusalem, and having, presumably, put them in touch with the Duke, Adornes departed on his "pilgrimage". He left Bruges on the 19 February, 1470, returning on the 14 August, 1471. He cannot, therefore, be held responsible for the Boyds' doings in Bruges.

(1) Archives du Nord, B 864/23,827, dated 14 February, no year.

That the Boyds were welcome visitors may be judged from the fact that at the christening of Mary Stewart's first child, a boy, which took place in the Church of St. Donat, in Bruges, the godmother was the Duchess of Burgundy herself, who before her marriage, had been Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. The latter was at this time in the hands of the Earl of Warwick. The Duke secured his release, and he came to Bruges, where he lodged with the Comte de Groothuuse, whom he afterwards made Earl of Winchester. Edward left Bruges some time before the return of Adornes. The last person to come to Bruges was Lord Boyd, Arran's father.

The main point of contact between Charles and his brother-in-law was their common hatred of Louis XI. The declared aim of Charles was the destruction of France, and of Louis XI, who had declared about 1464, "Charles est fou, ou peu s'en faut". Whether the remark was known to the Duke of Burgundy or not, it was uncomfortably near the mark, for when war with France did break out in 1471

Charles was a complete monomaniac. His policy since he had taken over from his father, as Comte de Charolais, in 1465, had been the exact reverse of that of Philip, who had never forgotten that he was of the French blood-royal. Charles, on the other hand, had declared that he would rather see France ruled by five kings than by one. Such a policy involved a change in the Burgundian dukes' attitude towards the Franco-Scottish alliance. As has been said, Philip's policy had been to underwrite Scottish military strength, so that the English had fewer effective men to put into the struggle against France. Charles's policy, on the other hand, was to involve Scotland in as many troubles at home as possible, so that she became less of a brake on English military ambitions in France. He would not be slow, then, to appreciate the potentialities of the Boyds, who probably had a following among the nobles of Scotland.

When Adornes got back to Bruges, the plan, whatever its details were, was ready to be put into execution. Father William Knollys, Preceptor of Torpichen and Treasurer

of the kingdom, had been in Bruges in 1469, abundantly
 (1)
 supplied with money, and De la Coste speaks of the Prior
 of St. Andrews as having been there in 1470, and there
 were, of course, Napier and Boukele, so the Duke was
 presumably well enough informed about conditions in
 Scotland.

Adornes's orders were to take the princess
 back to Scotland. At her request, to show her gratitude
 to the Adorneses for their kindnesses, Mevrouw Adornes
 was to be of the party. The Boyds, father and son, were
 to go as far as the Scottish border, where they would wait
 until the outcome of the mission was apparent. The strange
 little party, The Princess Mary, Adornes and his wife, and
 the two Boyds, father and son, with attendants, numbering
 according to the Duke's letters of safe conduct, twenty
 persons, left Calais on the 4 October, 1471.

As soon as the party landed in England, Arran,
 (2)
 who was carrying a letter from the Duke to Edward IV,

(1) Exchequer Rolls, VII, p. 658 etc.

(2) According to de St. Genois and Stirum there is a
 tradition that the contents of this letter had to
 do with an impending invasion of Scotland by the
 English.

left the others, who continued on their way north to the Scottish border, where they left Lord Boyd. He was an old man, and died shortly afterwards at Alnwick. Alnwick was the European headquarters of the Carmelite order, and remembering that the Scottish Chapel in Bruges was in the Carmelite Church, there may be some connection between them.

James III seems to have seen through this "fifth column" at once, and imprisoned his sister. Her subsequent adventures are well known. No blame seems to have been laid on the Adorneses, who were well received at the Scottish court. Anselme was carrying a copy of his journal of his tour through the Holy Land. This journal was printed, and a copy is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is dedicated to James III, as the writer's patron. The Belgian chroniclers declare that he gave James a résumé of the political and other considerations attaching to the projected Crusade. Thereafter he took his wife on a tour of their

(1)
 Scottish possessions in Forfarshire. Poor Marguerite van der Bank was not long to survive this trip. She died soon after her return to Flanders, and is buried in the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges, the family church of the Adornes clan.

This completes the association of Adornes with the Boyds. It is interesting to notice that the date is borne out by the Paston Letters. The well-known eulogy of Arran in these has been dated from internal evidence as either 1470 or 1472. Arran was certainly in England in the latter year, and at this time seemingly was reading "The Siege of Thebes" to console himself for the loss of his wife.

The accounts of Stirum and De la Coste are not altogether satisfactory. Neither quotes the authority on which they base their story. In the case of De la Coste, (himself a descendant of Adornes), he would appear

(1) These possessions were added to by an entry in the Register of the Great Seal, vol. ii, dated 18 April, 1472. The lands, significantly enough, come from the Boyds' forfeited possessions.

to use only the private archives of that family. The writer has not managed to get any information on these, which supply some details on what were virtually the last days of the Scottish Staple in Bruges. Stirum supplements these with others, which, he declares, were not available to the earlier author. Some at least are the works of Gilliodts van Severen.

Arran remained in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, and rose high in that service, for Molinet⁽¹⁾ records him as one of nine chiefs of staff of the Duke, lodged with His Grace in the monks' dormitories at the siege of Neuss in 1474. There is nothing impossible in the story of Buchanan, except that the magnificent monument he describes does not seem to be known at Antwerp.

The Adorneses remained some little time at Edinburgh, where the king was preparing the second reopening of the Staple. This was published on the 31

(1) Molinet: Chroniques, Tome I, Ch. I.

May, 1472. On the 10th of June following, Adornes was given the commission of Conservator, with extensive privileges. Whether Adornes made a good Conservator is a moot point. There were certain advantages in the appointment, and corresponding disadvantages. Stirum prints one letter from the king to his conservator. It is curiously in key with what we know of the character of James III. It begins with a request to see that the merchants of Portugal who had robbed Scottish merchants on the high seas were made to give restitution, and the conservator was bidden take the matter to the Duke of Burgundy if necessary. The letter ended with a request that the Conservator would see to it that the bearer, one Johne Brovne, should get instruction in the lute.

Charles the Bold was still toying with the idea of a Crusade, and sent Adornes to Persia in March, 1474, (new Style), to sound the king of that country about the project. The entry in the Register of the Great Seal already referred to, depriving Adornes of his conservatorship may, therefore, refer to this time. Adornes had not

gone far, however, when he learned that he had been preceded by envoys from Venice, who had had no success. He accordingly returned.

In September, 1475, Adornes was appointed joint first burgomaster of Bruges. According to Stirum it was a post not without its dangers, as the signs of the town's degeneration were plain for all to see, and there was discontent everywhere. Charles's military policy, which had involved the Flemings in considerable expense without any corresponding advantage, had never been popular in the country, and his death in 1477 was the sign for outbreaks all over Flanders. When his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, made her "joyeuses entrées" into the Four Members, she was greeted with the spectacle of the remains of her father's councillors, who had been executed a few days previously. Adornes was arrested with others, although there was against him only the general charge of having been high in the councils of the departed Charles. Nothing came out at his trial, and the verdict was the equivalent of

Not Proven. No penalties were imposed, but he was declared unfit to hold any further public office during his lifetime. Thereafter he disappears quietly from the Belgian scene, and the Belgian authorities have no clue as to his further movements. For the solution we have to go to the Exchequer Rolls, where we read that (1) half of a rent at Linlithgow was cancelled from "festum Sancti Martini, videlicet adventum domini Ancelmi Adornes", and the year is 1477.

According to Stirum, Adornes became governor of Linlithgow, Along with a bishop, whose name is unfortunately illegible in my microfilm of the article, he (2) resolved about the end of 1482 to make a last attempt to reconcile the king and his brother, the Duke of Albany. Before trying this, he set out on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Obserdleton, at Coldstream. There

(1) Exchequer Rolls, VIII, 512.

(2) The word appears to be Lachanensis, but this gets us but little further forward, as the remainder of the footnote says that the author is unable to identify the see.

he spent the night. Before morning, however, a troop of 18 knights and 200 men broke into the monastery in search of him. Adornes was murdered, his body stripped, and the insignia of the Order of the Unicorn torn from his neck. The murder is blamed on Alexander Seton Gordon, and Stirum notes with regret that though he was responsible for above thirty such affairs he died in his bed. It is also mentioned that the old Flemish chroniclers speak of the murderer as Sander Gardin, so that there may be further details to be gathered.

The corpse was taken to Linlithgow, where the heart was removed and embalmed, and now lies under the effigy with Meffrouw Adornes in the Jerusalemkerk in Bruges. The effigy of Adornes, as has been said, carries the jewel of the Scottish order round its neck, and on the left breast there is a hole to represent his murder.

(1) This man was a younger son of the first Earl of Huntly, and it is a strange fact that on 26 December, 1482, he received from James III a free grant of the lands of Abergeldie, thus becoming the founder of the Gordons of that house.

(2). The Jerusalemkerk is seen, numbered 17, in the north east corner of fig. 1.

Monsieur Remi Parmentier, the town's archivist, has spoken to me of a will of Adornes with Scottish witnesses, but I have been unable to find this. (1) A copy of the will he made before leaving for the Holy Land has been (2) published but this contains no details of Scottish interest, except for the provision that the Archbishop of St. Andrews was to have his best sapphire, the jewel to be taken to him by one of Adornes's sons, and that money for masses for his soul was to be given to the Carthusians at Perth.

To the Belgians Anselme Adornes is of considerable interest as one of their earliest travellers. It is apparent that besides the interest he has for us in connection with the Staple in its last stages, he will feature prominently in any study made of the foreign policy of James III. It is also apparent that there must still be a considerable amount of material in private archives.

(1) The will, however, does exist somewhere in Bruges. Stirum mentions it, and says that it was written on the 7 December, 1482, a few days before his death. He is said to have expressed the desire in it to be buried in Linlithgow.

(2) Biekorf, Tome XXXVII, (1931), pp. 225-239.

C H A P T E R 71472 - 1603

(The last days of the Scottish Staple at Bruges, and the attempts of the Brugeois to recover the Scottish trade.)

There are two "classical" explanations given of the eclipse of Bruges in the late fifteenth century. The first is that it was the natural outcome of the silting up of the Zwin, but, as Van Werveke has pointed out, the astute merchant-princes of Bruges had plenty of time to see this eventuality coming, and it is not to be expected that they were incapable of displaying an ingenuity at least equal to that of their thirteenth century forebears. The other explanation is that Maximilian humbled the great city after he had been shut up there in 1488, at the instigation of the men of Ghent. This explanation is palpably false, for Bruges was far down the slope when Maximilian drove out the foreign colonies, and in any case several of the Italians were back in a few years when the

trouble blew over. It is, however, true that Antwerp made the most of her chances at this period and never crossed Maximilian. As has been said, (supra Ch. 1), all these and other explanations have a certain truth, but to put one of them before another is to over-simplify what is an extremely complex problem.

The Germans call Bruges "Brügge, du schönste", which is very true, whereas the French, who are better judges of beauty, call her "Bruges la morte", which is false. As has already been said, Bruges never "died", and the sixteenth century is a record of determined men fighting in vain to regain the ground they had lost. Bruges was still a centre of trade for many a long day after 1488. Andrew Halyburton had a house there, and did considerable business in the town. The Scottish Conservator had his agent in Bruges, even though he himself generally resided in Middelburg. And when in 1472 Veere declared for William the Silent, and it looked as if Veere were no longer a centre for trade, if indeed it were not sacked by the Spanish soldiers, it was to Bruges,

in the Catholic South, that the Conservator and the factors moved.

There is no indication when the Scots left Bruges, but the probability is that it was a gradual ebbing rather than an exodus. The view has been expressed all through this thesis that the Scottish staple depended for its success on the way the merchants were satisfied, and that the authorities had little power to force the hand of a merchant who preferred to deal elsewhere. It has also been shown that changes of staple had a most disruptive effect, and that merchants who left were unwilling to return and thus abandon the new clientele that they had built up.

The probability is that those merchants who left Bruges in 1467, remained where they had settled, in Antwerp, Middelburg, or Veere. It is unfortunate that as a result of the famous sack of Antwerp known as "The Spanish Fury" we know so little of the history of that town at the period when it was expanding most rapidly.

The Scots were in all these places, and in

Bergen-op-Zoom, and other Dutch Ports. (1) We have Smit's
 (2) authority for it that about this time, while a considerable portion of English goods were still carried by foreigners the Scottish merchant fleet, or to be more exact, the Scottish-owned merchant fleet, was capable of carrying most of that country's exports.

There is one thing on which we must be most careful. For centuries the name Flanders had stood for commercial supremacy. It was so no longer. Just as we Scots have become used to the loose term "England" as meaning the whole island, so must we realise that the use of the word "Flanders" during the sixteenth century may mean any part of the Low Countries. (3)

(1) Smit, Bronnen: ii, 1, passim.

(2) Smit, Bronnen: ii, i, p. VI. "De Schotsche scheepvaart stond sterker dan de Engelsche."

(3) This is the sense of the term "Flanderis" throughout the earlier pages of the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs. E.G., Vol. I, p. 133: "In the pairtis of Flanderis, ather in Zeland, Holland or Brabantt."

We left the Scots apparently settled once again in Bruges. It is apparent that they were far from content, though Gilliodts's Estaple shows that the Brugeois were faithfully keeping their part of the bargain, paying the custom at Sluis, and seeing to the repair of the Scottish chapel in the Carmelite Church. Owing to the inaccurate dating of both Davidson & Gray and Rooseboom at this point there is less evidence than these authors thought, but on one point there is no doubt. This is the instructions given to Napier, who in 1472 was sent by the king to the Duke of Burgundy.
 (1)
 This letter is clearly dated.

There is a curiously querulous tone about this dispatch, and remembering that James was making a fourth in a game for very high stakes, with three hardened gamblers, Charles the Bold, Edward IV, and Louis XI, one gets the impression that the poor king of Scots was being consistently outplayed. In the present case he had been

(1) National Manuscripts of Scotland, Vol. II, no. 76.
 Printed Rooseboom, App. 32.

talked into signing a truce with England, which he knew would not be popular in Scotland. All he had gained in return was the promise that Charles would not in terms of the treaty force him to make war on his father-in-law, the king of Denmark, a somewhat remote eventuality.

In an attempt to reassert himself, he reminded his "dearest cousing and confederate" that the terms of the Scottish agreement with the rulers of the Low Countries were that they might choose their staple where they would. In James's own words "that ar sumpart grevit in thare privilegis in the toun of brugis and nocht sa wele tretit be thame as breudis suld be na as that ar tretit quhen thai cum." The first months of the staple in Bruges, therefore, were not too satisfactory. It is probable that the Scots were sensible of the worsening of the town's position during the period they had been absent. Matters were probably not improved by a partially absent conservator (Adornes), and his arrival in Scotland in 1477 made his tenure of the office more farcical than ever.

There was some idea of shifting the staple about 1476/77, but the only evidence of it is a letter of the magistrates of Edinburgh to those of Middelburg, dated 20 March of the latter year. It will be noted that the Conservator was Adornes, and that he was still resident in Bruges. The plans, whatever they were, had miscarried owing to the death of Charles, and James, wisely enough, was apparently taking no steps till he saw the reactions of the new régime. Charles had had an embassy in Scotland, and the Scots were getting ready a return visit to try for additional privileges, and get redress for damages sustained.⁽¹⁾

(2)

An entry in the Exchequer Rolls shows that the Scots were still in Bruges in 1478. It also shows that the direct approach for wine, spoken of earlier had not been abandoned, and that the king was not above a bit of speculative dealing with his wares. The passage reads

(1) Acts, James III, c.90.

(2) Exchequer Rolls, viii, 547.

as follows:-

"Et eidem (Alexander Lesly de Wardris) de custuma duarum lastarum correorum propriis regis missarum in Franciam et Flandriam super adventura regis pro vino, de quibus intrantur in libris pro una lasta cum dimedio, et altera dimedia lasta restat in Brugez, pro qua receptor Lesly respondebit. ~~lx~~ ii. vij s."

(1)
Curiously enough there is another reference, which may explain why half a last was left behind in Bruges, and note ^A an accident which befell the king's ship on the way home. MacPherson notes that a carvel belonging to the king of Scots was captured off Cadzant "in Flanders" in 1478 by a vessel belonging to the Earl of Gloucester. A glance at map no. 2 will show that at that time Cadzant was on an island, but that it had always been a part of the province of Zealand.

This is, significantly enough, the last reference to Bruges in the Exchequer Rolls. That some of the Scottish merchants were still in Bruges in 1483 is apparent from the wording of a resolution of the council

(1) MacPherson: Annals of Commerce, i, 696.

(1)
 of Bruges that messengers should be sent to Middelburg to try to induce those Scottish merchants who had not returned to the town (i.e. Bruges) to do so. The messengers numbered three, and they were absent nine days, so that it must have been a fairly serious errand.

The next significant date would be 1488, when Maximilian drove the foreign colonies out of Bruges. The Scots, like the others would be forced to move, and the most likely explanation is that they never returned as an organised trading body. At home there would be a certain confusion, following the death of James III, and the merchants abroad would be free from whatever supervision there had been up to that time. The situation remained confused for some time, and in 1492, the Scots had to ask Maximilian for particulars of the staple "gyf
 (2)
 ony sic there be".

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 240.

(2) Aberdeen Council Records, i, 57.

All through the sixteenth century we have evidence of a close friendship between Edinburgh and Middelburg, and of the influence of the former being used to aid the cause of the latter. Smit: Bronnen, ii, I, shows very clearly that James IV shared this high opinion of the Zealand town. There is in the archives of Middelburg a whole series of appointments of Conservators. The first and most famous of these was the merchant, Andrew Halyburton. The fact that he was a trader on his own account, and the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence produced by Cosmo Innes ^{has} ~~have~~ led Davidson & Gray (1) to doubt whether in fact he did hold the office. Smit leaves no doubt on the matter, producing James IV's letter of authority, dated 14 August, 1500. It is to be noted that Halyburton found Bruges a useful place in which to dispose of wool, for merchants from the Flemish cloth-making towns still came to the market there. Halyburton had a house in Bruges, was in correspondence with Philip

(1) Smit: Bronnen, ii, I, p. 107.

Gualterotti, a merchant prince of Bruges, and had his agent there.

Halyburton held the Conservatorship till 1508,
 when he was succeeded by one John Francis⁽¹⁾, who held office,
 however, for only two years, when he was succeeded by Henry
 de Borsalis, (i.e. Van Borselen), one of the Veere family.⁽²⁾

It is not within the scope of this thesis to pursue further the list of Scottish Conservators to be gleaned from Smit. Enough has been said to show that from the end of the fifteenth century onwards the centre of gravity of Scottish trade had shifted from Flanders proper to the ports of Holland and Zealand (and, of course, Antwerp, which was in Brabant). Nor did the Brugeois ever regain the bulk of Scottish trade, though they expended much time and money they could apparently little afford. (On one occasion they had to raise the necessary cost by means of a loan).

(1) Smit: Op. cit., p. 151.

(2) Ibid. p. 173, quoting the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, 1488-1529, 2016.

That Bruges was still a factor of some importance
 (1)
 is shown in Feb. 1519/20, when according to the Edinburgh
 Burgh Records The Lord Governor (Albany) represented to the
 Town Clerk and the Community of Merchants of Edinburgh that
 he thought it expedient that there should be a Staple in
 Flanders whither the Scots might resort. He asked them
 which of three towns, viz. Campvere, Middelburg or Bruges,
 they preferred as most convenient. The choice fell on
 Middelburg. There seems no doubt that Albany's motives
 were suspect, and that he was playing some deep game of
 his own. That need not concern us here, but in 1526
 Parliament overturned the arrangement, which had in the
 meantime received the approval of Edinburgh, Aberdeen,
 Stirling, St. Andrews, Perth and Dundee. The ruling was
 that "the pretendit consent had been obtained by circum-
 vention of our sovereign lord and his lesayge", and that
 such was contrary to the commonweal of the realm, and

(1) Hist. MSS. Com. 11, 1, 106. (1911).

(1) Edinburgh Burgh Records, i, 195.

detrimental to the burghs and their merchants." Parlia-
 ment, therefore, in spite of having previously approved⁽¹⁾
 of the scheme to have a staple and residence of Scots
 merchants at Middelburg, overtuned⁽²⁾ the project, and
 restored "full licence and liberty to all merchants to pass
 with their ships and goods where they thought most profit-
 able." To the other reasons for the downfall of Bruges,
 therefore, we must add the disinclination of some at
 least of the merchants to be tied down to a single port
 in the changing economic conditions of the Renaissance.

The action of the Scottish parliament of 1522,
 supra, may have been the reason for Bruges sending messen-
 gers⁽³⁾ to the Duchess (Margaret of Parma). These messengers
 carried copies of the old Scottish privileges, and were to
 urge her that she should not consent to the Scots setting
 up a staple elsewhere to the prejudice of the city of

(1) Smit: Op. cit. ii, 1, p. 286. (1522).

(2) Ancient Laws, ii, pp. 58, 65.

(3) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 556.

Bruges. Legally, the Brugeois would seem to have had a very weak case, for, as James III had reminded Charles the Bold in 1472, it was set down specifically that the Scots might establish their staple wheresoever they liked in the Burgundian possessions. In any case, if the Brugeois could not get the Scots to come back to Bruges when the Staple was there it is unlikely that they would succeed now. At any rate, nothing came of
(1)
it. In 1428 James V wrote to Margaret of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries, complaining of the losses and harm caused to Scottish trade by the vessels of the Emperor. This brought the invitation that he should restore to Middelburg the rights and privileges that had been taken away. James was reaping the results of Albany's perfidy.

It was an anxious time for James V, as the Hundred Years Treaty had run out, and the Scots were anxious to secure its renewal. The treaty was renewed

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 592.

at Malines on the 13 April, 1529, and the ratification by the Scots is dated 25 May, 1531. The whole matter is dealt with by Professor Hannay in the paper already referred to. There is a considerable amount on this subject in the Göttingen papers, but it adds little to what is already known.

In 1535 the ever-watchful Brugeois heard that there might be a marriage between the King of Scots and the daughter of the Duchess of Vendôme. Now the duchess had certain rights on the Bruges customs, and obviously if she could induce the Scots to bring their staple back to Bruges it would be to her advantage. Accordingly, (1) on the 16th of October a deputation was despatched to the King's prospective mother-in-law to point out this fact to her, and to solicit her help in the matter. Unfortunately for the plan, ingenious as it was, the marriage did not take place, and once again the efforts and money of the College had been wasted.

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple v, (Tonlieu i), 132.

Though the Scots had no staple in Bruges there must have been a certain number of Scottish merchants there, as the Conservator, John Moffat, whose son normally acted as his deputy, appointed James Watson, a Scot by birth, and a burgess (poorter) of Bruges, to be his deputy in that town, and to act for him in all matters of consular jurisdiction. The date is the 26 November, (1)
1540.

In 1545 the College of Bruges made another attempt to capture the Scottish trade. Leonard Casembroot and Gabriel de la Coste were sent on a mission (2) with an extensive selection of samples of articles made in Bruges to the court of the Queen of Scots. Like all the others this proved an expensive failure, on this occasion because the envoys were shipwrecked on the coast of England, and had their goods taken away from them. They had many adventures before getting back to Bruges,

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 698.

(2) Gilliodts: Etaple, ii, 7, 14.

as they recount in a most graphic report to the College. It was on this occasion that the finances of the town were unable to stand the expense, and a loan had to be raised to pay the cost of the abortive expedition. ⁽¹⁾

In 1560 the College hit on their idea of advertising the town by having an artist prepare a map for circulation abroad. In 1562 appeared the plan of Marcus Gerards, part of which is used in Map 1. The artist was bidden make the canals broader than they were in reality, "ter fine dat men mercken mach de goede navigatie". ⁽²⁾

⁽³⁾
Fischer, presumably from German sources, since there is nothing on this in Gilliodts, says that in 1564 the Governor of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, "under the pretext of danger from the plague, prohibited the

(1) Ibid, 19.

(2) Schouteet: Marcus Gerards, 33.

(3) Fischer: The Scots in Germany, 18.

import of wool from Scotland to Flanders. The staple was, consequently, transferred from Bruges to Emden." It seems probably^{l.} that Fischer has been deceived by the term "Flanders" spoken of above.

For the next few years there is little save renewed strictures on Scottish pirates, but it is apparent that a certain amount of legal trade was still being done. In 1574 there is an indirect reference to the Scottish cloth, which, as has been said, was free of all duty, as it formed the clothing of the working classes. Regarding a complaint from the merchants of Germany that they had been interfered with at Balgeroucke, on the Lieve from Damme to Ghent, Gilliodts says that there had been a similar complaint from the Scots concerning their cloth. The collector was bidden not to interfere with the passage of the Scottish cloth.⁽¹⁾

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple v, (Tonlieu i,) 214.

In 1577 there is evidence that the Scots had some merchant shipping engaged in the coastwise trade. In that year two Scottish merchants whose ship had been wrecked off Sluis testified that she was their property, and that her cargo had been figs, raisins, prunes, and barrels. She had been bound from Bordeaux to Bruges.⁽¹⁾ It is interesting that Sluis was still a port at this date.⁽²⁾ A regulation of the Convention of Royal Burghs gives the duty to be paid on goods exported to "Deip, New Hewin, Caleis and Riwir of Sowine." The context, unfortunately, does not make it clear whether "Sowine" is Seine or Zwin.

It is probably that these last events are connected with the departure of the Conservator and factors from Veere in 1572. They came to Bruges, and seemingly stayed there for a year or two till it became

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple, iii, 260.

(2) R.C.R.B., ii, 65.

evident that Veere's declaring for William the Silent was not going to lead to the immediate sack of the town by the Spaniards. When their confidence had been restored the Scots returned once more to Campvere. This fact, and there being no records at Bruges or in the ⁽¹⁾ Reports of the Convention of Royal Burghs, has led Rooseboom and Gray to suppose that there was little trade done, and that Bruges was not to be compared with Veere as a staple port. I have a feeling that the matter is more complicated than that. The conservator did not go to Bruges from choice, and there is nothing to indicate that his presence in a town made that the official staple. Nevertheless, as representative of the King and the Burghs it was up to him to remove himself from a Catholic town as soon as it was safe to do so. There is another consideration; the date coincided with the high tide of the Counter-reformation, and evidence is not wanting that agents of ~~B~~propaganda based on Douai were using the Low

(1) A few references of this time, discovered by the archivist Monsieur Parmentier, are printed in Appendix G.

Countries and the Scottish Staple as a bridge to get
 (1)
 into Britain.

At Dunfermline they are of the opinion that the bones of Malcolm Canmore and of his wife, St. Margaret, are still in their tomb in the Abbey, but what purported to be the head of the Saint was exhibited in
 (2)
 Antwerp Cathedral in 1597 and passed to Douai, where it remained till the French Revolution, when it was lost. The bones of Malcolm and his wife are supposed to be in the Escorial in Madrid, though a search half a century ago failed to find the tombs.

In St. Michael's Church in Ghent is a gold reliquary containing a spine from the Crown of Thorns, once the property of Mary, Queen of Scots. Finally, in St. Andrew's Church in Antwerp is an authentic medallion

(1) In 1474 there had been a proposal before the Convention of Burghs (Records, i, 26), to transfer the staple to Calais. Meanwhile, those merchants dealing with Holland and Zealand were to be forbidden to go to West Flanders.

(2) Papebroeck: Acta Sanctorum, ii, 339-340.

portrait of Mary, probably the original from which the Blairs portrait was painted. The portrait was gifted by the Queen to one of her ladies-in-waiting, Elizabeth Curle. This lady's nephew, Hyppolitus Curle, son of another lady-in-waiting, Barbara Moubray, and brought up in Antwerp as a Jesuit, was one of the chief agents of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland.

From the records of Veere as given by Rooseboom it is evident that the Scots were troubled by people claiming at one time to be Scottish subjects, at another Spaniards. In other words, Veere, like any other town with a minority enjoying extra-territorial privileges was a changing-house for espionage, in this case mainly religious espionage. Not having anything in the nature of an M.I.5 the Scots adopted a strange measure. The conservator was to ensure that ractors, skippers and merchants were regular in their church attendance. It is doubtful whether this proved much of a deterrent. The foregoing has been treated in some detail as support

for the view that, commercial considerations apart, it would have been most distasteful to the Scots to have had their official seat in a Catholic town when there were Protestant contenders for the honour.

(1)

The following extract dated 24 December, 1576, from the Edinburgh Records shows that the regent, Morton, must have been fairly well content with the choice of Bruges as a place of business. As usual, Edinburgh was intervening in favour of her friends in Middelburg. The passage reads:-

"The baillies and counsail and maist pairt of the merchantis ordanis Dean of Gild Adam Foulertoun, (six names follow) and dyveris otheris of the merchantis as they sall think gude to pas the morn and reson with my lord regentis grace concerning the stapill menit to be transported to Bruges and to repoirt ansuer the next consail day."

No report was submitted, but on 12 February, 1577, the Convention of Burghs debated a letter from Edinburgh dated the preceding 18 December, concerning the necessity of choosing a staple town in Flanders,

(2)

(1) Edinburgh Council Records, iv, 55.

(2) R.C.R.B. i, 51.

Antwerp, Bruges, Veere, Berry (~~B~~ergen ?) or another.

A commissioner was appointed to go with the Conservator, and on the 18 July following the choice of Veere was approved.

This thesis is only concerned with the activities of the Scots in Bruges, and it is evident, therefore, that it can only give a partial view of Scottish commercial activity in the sixteenth century, when Bruges saw only part of our trade, and when, in fact, trade with Catholic Flanders must have been under the disapproval, if not the ban, of the Church. The trading difficulties were twofold, as may be seen from an entry⁽¹⁾ in the Records of Bruges. The date is 1599, and the Scottish merchants in Bruges, in concert with the magistrates of the city were requesting the removal of a 5% tax imposed on Scottish cloth, the usual reasons being given. The request was granted providing the Scots "did not trade with the rebel provinces of Holland and Zealand."

(1) Gilliodts: Etaple v, (Tonlieu i), 302.

There was a way of evading the powers of the conservator, who ruled over the merchants in the name of the king and of the Burghs throughout the whole of the Low Countries. This was to ship goods to Calais, whence they were carried throughout the Low Countries, Bruges, according to Rooseboom, being one of the chief centres of this trade.

James VI did not like the look of things, and in 1599 suggested to the Convention that they would be better to settle in Calais till the prospect in the Low Countries was more favourable. This the merchants refused to do, saying that there was no other place as suitable to their needs as Veere. James, apparently was not content to let the matter rest there, and in spite of the fact that he assured Prince Maurice of Orange that it was not his intention to change the staple from Veere, provided various evils were rectified, he had a rival conservator of his own, as well as the official one, who was Sir Robert Denison of Mountjoy.

As far as Veere is concerned I have nothing to add to Rooseboom (p. 127), and as these activities have nothing to do with the subject of the thesis I have not pursued them further. The matter may be summarised by saying that both Denison and Prince Maurice were afraid of the staple being moved, and that the former in a letter to the latter spoke of using his influence, not only with the king, but with "les grands mignons de la cour". The existence of the rival conservator does not seem to have (1) been suspected, and Rooseboom has missed the passage in Gilliodts, which if it does not completely clear up the mystery, goes a long way towards explaining what the king intended.

On 17 July, 1602, before the Council of Bruges appeared, one Captain James Colville, "presently resident in Calais", bearing a letter from the King of Scots.

- (1) Gilliodts: Etaple, iii, 359.
- (2) The Convention of Royal Burghs (R.C.R.B. ii, 146), knew of Colville's activities at Calais, for on the 7 July, 1602, at Ayr, we read, "The quhilk day the commissionaris being convenit, gewis powir and/

This lamented the losses suffered by the Scottish merchants trading to "Flanders and elsewhere", and ascribed them to their not having a conservator "resident in Bruges, Nieuport or elsewhere", to protect their ancient privileges - wherefore the king appointed him, Colville, conservator. Colville now petitioned their Highnesses to ratify the appointment.

These gentlemen, having taken into consideration the personal qualities of Colville, and the ancient privileges of the Scots "resident at Bruges and at Veere", agreed to recognise him as conservator, providing that no Scot should go to the rebels of Holland and Zealand without an authorisation from Colville.

Calais had been clear of the English for half a century, and it may be assumed, though of course the matter

-
- (2) From previous page.
 commissioun to the borrowis quha sall happin to con-
 wene at Edinbrugh the xv day of Julij in the conventioun
 of the estaitis to be haldin thereat, to trawail with
 his maieste and all vther persouns neidfull for dis-
 chargeing and annulling of the giftis purchest be
 Captane Iames Coluill for exerceing of ane pretendit
 office of conseruatore at the towne of Caleis, and for
 exacting of certane impostis and dewtis of all schipis
 and guidis arryuing there"

would have to be checked, that the French had endeavoured to preserve some of the tracks laid down by merchants in the town's two centuries of association with the English Staple. The Scots, though protestants, were in good odour, and the area was clear of the religious wars. An officer of the Scottish crown with the rank of conservator was clearly to the state's advantage. Moreover, since Calais was not technically in the Low Countries, the jurisdiction of such an officer would not clash with that of the Conservator at Veere, and the Burghs, however much they might grumble, had no redress.

The obvious thing would be that such an officer, based on Calais, should have agents resident in Bruges and other Flemish ports. The mystery is why Colville was sent to Bruges. Without, so far as one can see, bettering his position, he came at once into the territory of the Conservator at Veere.

The full text of the letter might give some information. There may be something in the Archives of Calais. In any case the date is within a few months of

the Union of the Crowns when King James VI found he had bigger interests than a rivalry with the Convention of Royal Burghs. The latter, we may suppose, were left free to pursue the economic policy that seemed best to them.



Fig. 3 MODERN MAP OF BRUGES, SCALE 1/2,500. about
1" to 66 yds., or 25" to the mile
TO SHOW SCOTTISH LANDMARKS IN BRUGES.

1. Schottendyk, 1291
2. St. Minian's Aisle, 1366
3. Schottenbrug, 1389.
4. Schottenpoort, 1407.
5. St. Andrew's Altar in St. Giles, 1462.
6. Schottestraetkin, 1550.
7. House called Scotland, St. Maertins Plaetse, 1453.
8. Inghelschestr., 1550.
9. Molenmeer, 1575.

C H A P T E R 8Scottish Settlements in Bruges.

(See maps nos. 1 and 3).

The key to the complicated canal system of Bruges lies in the reconstruction shown on map no. 3. A canal, actually the Reie, now running underground ~~ran~~ from the present Place Van Eyck, along the line of the Quai de la Grue and Place de la Grue, and south, skirting the Grand'Place to rejoin the canal running past the Wool and Fish Markets. There was thus in the Middle Ages an internal "ring" in the canal system of the town. In this lost portion of the ring were found the Customs buildings, the crane, claimed as one of the Seven Wonders of the Mediaeval World, and the Water Hall, into which the barges sailed with their cargoes.

As already explained, cargoes, which had been transferred to barges, came up the canalised Reie, and entered the town at the Porte de Damme. They proceeded

along the Quai de la Potterie till they came to the Pont des Carmes. There there was a parting of the ways. Barges belonging to the city, loaded with wool, which had not to pay dues to the Seigneur de Ghistelless went straight on to the Wool Market, lying on the east side of the Place du Bourg. All other barges turned right at the Pont des Carmes, so as to pass the customs, after which they were free to proceed to any of the warehouses lying on the banks of the canals.

It is thus apparent that the Pont des Carmes area was a strategic one, especially for the wool trade, and it is significant that besides the Scots two other nations, both important importers of wool, were associated with this area. These were the Spaniards, commemorated in the Quai and Rue Espagnol, and the Hanseatics, whose headquarters were in the Place des Orientaux. Oosterlingen - men from the east - was the traditional name for the merchants of the Hansa at Bruges.

Bruges records only begin in 1280, by which time all the important foreign colonies were settled in the town. In 1291, we have the first evidence that so

many Scotsmen were settled along the right bank of the Reie that this district was called De Schottendyk, the Scotsmen's Quay. The name Schottendyk persists at intervals in the town's accounts until the building of the Church of St. Anne in 1500, when the official name of the street would seem to have become the Quai St. Anne. The name of the long departed merchant colony, however, remained in the common speech for a much longer period, as the name is given as an alternative in Marc Gerard's plan of Bruges, to which the names were added about 1750.

There are no further references to Scottish settlements in the town prior to the first closure of the Staple, which, as has been pointed out, was probably abortive. The next important event is the establishment of the Confraternity of Our Lady and St. Ninian in the Carmelites' Church in Bruges in 1366. The Deed of
(1)
Foundation has been published, and there is no indication that it was in its beginnings in any wise an official

(1) Weale: Obituaire de l'Eglise des Pères Carmes. Ann. Soc. Emul. Bru. Tome I, (1800), pp. 153 seqq.



Figure 4.

The old Carmelite Church in Bruges.
 (Enlarged from Mark Gerard's plan.)

The chapel against the north aisle of the
 nave is the Scottish Aisle.

chapel of the Scottish Nation. St. Ninian was a disciple of St. Martin of Tours, and his cult was not peculiar to Scotland. Be that as it may, "Sanct Rynane's Ile" soon became the official place of worship of the Scots in Bruges, and the chaplain thereof was appointed by the king. Grants were made for meeting his wages and expenses by the Parliaments of James II and III, and the Council of Edinburgh gave orders that merchants who "frauchtis a schip owtewart sall give a sek fraucht to Sanct Rynane's Ile in Brugis", this to be complemented by a "tun fraucht to Sanct Geillis wark" on the homeward journey.

As might be expected from its position the Carmelites' Church was the church of the dock quarter, and of the foreign merchants. The English, the Spaniards, and the Hanseatics all had their confraternities here. (As regards the English it is to be remembered that the Carmelites were an order of English foundation, having

(1) 1467 c 4 and 1487 c 15. APS, II, pp. 87 and 178.

(2) Edinburgh Council Records, I, pp. 5, 66/7.

been founded, as far as Europe is concerned, at Alnwick in 1240. For the others, as has been said, it was the church nearest their colonies in the town of Bruges.)

The Bruges monastery was built in 1268, and lasted until 1578. Records of the confraternities are scanty, but none is known to be older than the Scottish. The aims of the Scottish confraternity, as set forth in the Deed of Foundation are those normally to be found in Mediaeval religious societies. One low mass was to be said daily, and on two occasions, the third day of Pentecost, and on the Anniversary of the Death of St. Ninian the Prior and monks of the monastery were to celebrate High Mass in the Scottish Chapel. Members of the confraternity desiring to be buried in the chapel might have their wish granted, providing that they left their goods, or a part thereof, to the monastery.

In addition to the foregoing the Obituary notes that the 4th of September was to be set aside for the celebration of Requiem Masses for the souls of persons

of the Scottish Nation who had died at Bruges. The entry in the Obituary closes with "Longo tempore non fuit observatus. Requiescat (sic) in pace."

Troubles in the Scottish staple were reflected in the state of the Scottish Chapel. One of the conditions of the agreement of 1469⁽¹⁾ was that the Council of Bruges was to give £20 "for the repair of the Scottish Chapel there."⁽²⁾ Smit shows from the archives of Middelburg that there was some trouble in 1488 over the Scottish chaplaincy, doubtless not unconnected with the troubled state of the country.

On 1 March Andreas Russell arrived with letters from the magistrates of Edinburgh. These stated that the Chapel of St. Ninian was in a disgraceful condition, with its vessels and other furniture removed. These things were blamed on Adam Ferne and John Thane, and Russell was sent with the Royal authority to put the matter right.

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, vi, 41.

(2) Bronnen, II, i, 12, 15.

On the 25th of October following Adam Ferne presented his letters of introduction to the magistrates. These were signed by Archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews and James Lindsey, rector of Inchbrick. No mention is made of the state of the chapel, but Ferne is said to have the approval of king, parliament, and burghs.

There is no indication who came off best in the matter, but there was a new chaplain by 1494, in which year the scribe of Edinburgh Town Council was writing: ⁽¹⁾

" and at thai caus to be insert therintill (the charter party) specially the sek fraucht of the schip above fyve lastis of guids and under that birth of half sek fraucht to thair chaplaine of St. Ninianes altars in Bruges and at the samyn be payit now to Mr. James Wawane thair present chaplaine of the samyn for hys tyme, ... "

By the end of the fifteenth century Scottish trade with the Zwin had decreased considerably, but the Altar of Saint Ninian continued to be a Scottish respons-

(1) Edinburgh Council Records, i, 66; 67.

ibility. An official chaplain continued to be provided, though he seems at times to have neglected his duties.

(1)
In July, 1526, the Lords in Council heard a claim by Alexander Fotheringhame, "callit chaplaine" of St. Ninian's Aisle for payment of money due to him. Most damaging evidence was brought against him by skippers of Leith, who stated that no services had been held "thir sevin yeire bigane", and that the vestments, relics, chalice and other jewels had been removed.

Despite this, Fotheringhame must have held the office till his death, though it is admitted in the reference just given that the staple had been removed. In (2) 1578 the Privy Council confirmed William Thomson in the chaplaincy, vacant by the death of Alexander Fotheringhame. This was the very year of the demolition by the Bruges magistrates of the Carmelite Church, so that Thomson was the last Scottish chaplain of the ancient Saint Ringan's Aisle in Bruges.

(1) Acts of the Lords in Council, III, 248; 250.

(2)

From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, the commercial centre of the Scottish traders seems to have centred on the district round the Church of St. Giles. In 1388 Gilliodts notes a bridge called "De Schottenbrug", but there is no internal evidence serving to identify it. Duclos identifies the Schottenbrug as the present Pont des Augustins, and says further that the name lingered long in the common speech. The town's archivist, Remi Parmentier, for reasons which will become clear later, inclines rather to regard the bridge to the west of the Pont des Augustins as the true Schottenbrug. This bridge is presently called Le Pont de la Tour, De Torenbrug, but was earlier called Sint Gillis Nieuwbrug. The street now called Goudenhandstraat, Rue de la Main d'Or, was in its beginnings Sint Gillis Nieuwstraat.

In 1407, in return for the handsome bribe of £3,000 parisis and their expenses, the Scottish envoys promised to induce the Scottish traders to return "vp St. Gillis Doorp, waer sy plaghen te lighene". In

modern Dutch the word Dorp means a village, but in the fifteenth century it seems to have been usable for a partly built up part of a town. There is at the present time a St. Gillis Dorp Straat, east of the church, but whether this is the exact area of the late fourteenth century Scottish merchant colony, I have not sufficient data to decide.

From Lange Raam Straat to Ster Straat at the present time runs a short street called Schottinen Straat, literally the street of the Scottish Women, rendered into French as ^{La}Rue Ecossaise. Originally this street continued to the Gouden Hand Straat, but the southern half has long been built up. In its original form it was called Schottenpoort. Poort is another of these words which has to some extent changed its meaning. Originally it had the same force as the Scots port, a gate. From this the word came to signify the enclosure of which the gate was part.

The original Schottenpoort, then, was a narrow

street or vennel, closed at either end by a gate. The exact function is not clear; the archivists suggest that Scottish families may have owned the property, that goods belonging to Scottish merchants may have been stored there, that the Scottish consul may have resided there, or that if the Scottish Nation owned a weighhouse, (a doubtful point, as I have tried to show), it may have been there. We have an excellent picture of the little street with its two gates in an unpublished document from the Bruges archives, printed here as Appendix G, (1).

The name Schottenpoort was not long in degenerating into the meaningless Schotillepoort, though the (1) memory of the gates persisted. Gilliodts quotes a document of 1558 which speaks of it in these terms "Straetkin daer wil en poorte stont ghenamt de Schotillepoort", (A little street where formerly there was a gate, named the Schotillepoort.) It is from the form Schotillepoort presumably that we get the rather incongruous Schotinnen Straat.

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, Introd. 502.

(3). De bekenne Pastors o Sh. Gillis kerk te Bragge

pp XIX, XX.

(1)

In 1462, it is recorded that there was in the north aisle of the church of St. Giles an altar to Saint Andrew, kept up by "Schotsche Courtenaers". The latter word normally means the burgess agents who put one merchant in touch with another. The archivists are astonished that there should be enough of these of Scottish origin to form a confraternity. It was no poor organisation, either, for they possessed a number of costly, if rather undistinguished, relics. There was the inevitable fragment of the True Cross, a morsel of the Column of the Flagellation, some of the Oil of St. Andrew, (a phial of this is the most costly relic in St. Andrew's Church in Antwerp at the present time), and others. The list of relics is given in an Afsaats-brief dated 1511, at which time they were lying in the

(2) ~~(1)~~ At the present time there is preserved in the Eglise de Jerusalem, (See Ch. 6), a relic of the True Cross. This was the family church of the Adornes family, and it will be remembered that Anselme Adornes was Conservator of the Scottish Privileges from 1469 to his death in 1483. The writer has been unable to find whether or not these two relics are identical.

Lady Chapel of the Church. The confraternity was disbanded some time before 1530, for on the 11th of September of that year the vacant altar was handed over to others.

Besides the Schottenpoort in the St. Gilles quarter there was in the mid-sixteenth century another small street called Schottestraetkin. It is mentioned (1) only once, and that incidentally, in a passage, mentioned, but not quoted in full, by Gilliodts. This is printed here as Appendix G, (ii). From it the Schottestraetkin seems to have run from the Hoog Straat south to the (2) present Quai du Rosaire. It is probably that it did not continue to exist long, but was soon built over.

Houses "called Scotland" (gheheeten Schøtlant) are numerous, but the details are scanty, and it is often impossible to locate them with anything like certainty.

(1) Gilliodts: Inventaire, Introd. 519.

(2) A glance at Map No. 3 will show that the Schottestraetkin was strategically placed for the Wool Market, which lay on the east side of the Place du Bourg.

(1)

Fischer speaks of such a building existing in 1367, but he gives no details or authority, and I have been unable to find any references to it whatsoever. It is, of course, possible that Fischer's authority is German.

Reference has already been made to the St. Martens Plaetse, which down to 1750 was called De Schotten Plaetse in the common speech. Duclos quotes the tradition that this is due to the Scottish commercial headquarters being located there, but in a letter to the writer, the present archivist, Monsieur Parmentier, writes: "On dit communément que la maison Schotlant était le siège du consulat écossais à Bruges, mais je n'ai jamais vu la preuve de cette assertion." Duclos, apparently quoting the same story, says further that the Scottish consulate was built in 1470, and demolished in 1619 at the time of the building of the Jesuits' Church (now St. Walburga's). This he, himself, takes to mean that the Scottish headquarters occupied the site of the church, but unless

(1) The Scots in Germany, p. 1, footnote.

there were two or even three houses all called Scotland existing within a radius of fifty yards it is clear that the house "called Scotland" was at the corner of the Hoorenstraat and the Koningenstraat, formerly called De Crommenwale. Appendix G (iii) shows that such a house, or house and land, situated on the corner of the Crommenwale, and belonging to the charity of Notre Dame, existed⁽¹⁾ in 1453, and elsewhere, the date being 1580, the house is referred to simply as being in the Crommenwale.

A house "called Scotland" is spoken of as standing on the east side of the Inghelschestraete in 1550, near the English weighhouse. The relevant passage is here printed as Appendix G (iv). How this street, so far from the English headquarters in the St. Jans Plaetse, came by its name, and how the English, who did little direct trade with Bruges, came to have a weighhouse, are mysteries that I have not succeeded in solving. Finally,

(1) Gilliodts: Les Registres des "Zeestendeelen".
Ann. Soc. Emul. Bru.T. XLIII, (1893), p. 59.

in the course of a letter from the archivist, he spoke of yet another "maison dite d'Ecosse", existing in the Molenmeer about the end of the sixteenth century. No other details are given, and the existence of the house is not, so far as I can find, mentioned by Gilliodts. The site is not far from the original centre of Scottish trade in Bruges, the Quai Ste . Anne, the ancient Schottendyk.

Parmentier's 'Indices op de Brugsche
Poorterboeken'. (See Appendix H).

This important source-book, the work of the present town's archivist, was published in 1938. It consists of six alphabetical lists, which summarise the manuscript books giving the names of the new burgesses (poorters) for most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We have four lists, covering the final half century of what Pirenne called 'activité fébrile', then a list covering the onset of the period of decline, and lastly a list showing Bruges as a town of secondary importance. In all 12,915 names are covered in the period 1418-1588.

It is unfortunate that no sort of analysis of the origins of the new burgesses had been attempted, and it will be obvious that the present sketch has had to be very considerably simplified. There was a very large area which looked towards Bruges as its metropolis, and which supplied the bulk of its immigrants. The boundaries of this area must of necessity be a matter of choice, but the formal one of the Low Countries plus those territories speaking one or other of the dialects of Low German, Platt Deutsch, Dutch, Friesian, or Flemish, was found to serve very well. This area, it was proved, supplied rather more than 98% of the new burgesses. The limits were not entirely satisfactory, for they meant that the otherwise small High German group was reinforced by six Brunswickers, from a few miles on the other side of the Porta Westfalica. It seems, however, that this method of reducing the problem to workable proportions is one entirely suitable for this thesis.

The remaining 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ % (221 names), is divided among nine nations, France, Scotland, England, Ireland, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece. Even shorn of her north-eastern province, France accounts for 114 of these. Of the remaining 107, 57 are Scottish, leaving 50 to be divided among the remaining seven nations. Even more remarkable is the distribution of female burghesses. These are quite common among the names of 'home' origin, but the 'foreigners' can only show 15 or 16. Of these 1, possibly 2, is French, 1 English, and 1 Italian. The remaining 12 are from Scotland. There is an important by-law of Bruges to be borne in mind at this point. This stated that if a female poorter married anyone born out-with the Burgundian dominions she thereby forfeited her burghess rights. With this exception the rights of a burghess were inheritable; the children of a poorter being themselves poorters.⁽¹⁾

Enrolment as a burghess was necessary before setting up in any sort of business, however humble. We thus find old clothes merchants and all kinds of

(1). The mother of Boukele (p. 118) was probably Scottish.

menial occupations in our lists. The favourite Scottish trade, for some reason, seems to have been that of tailor. The explanation has already been put forward that, in the fifteenth century Scottish cloth was greatly favoured under the treaty of 1427, and formed the clothing of the poorer classes in Flanders, and that for this reason, since Scottish tailors knew the 'feel' of their own cloth, they were the most likely people to become tailors in Bruges.

So far as they can be identified the birthplaces of these burgesses are on the east coast. As might be expected Edinburgh comes first with 11 names. 'Edinburgh' seems to have been such a familiar name in fifteenth century Bruges that the usual {uut Schotlant' is frequently omitted. This causes a certain confusion with Aardenburg, and Appendix H (i) may in consequence be anything up to half a dozen names short, since all doubtful cases have been omitted. Perth, uniformly called 'Sinte Jansston' comes second with 7 names, Aberdeen third with 5 or 6. Gaelic makes its solitary appearance in this rather polyglot thesis in the place of birth of the writer's

namesake, VINLAUSZUENE. The Finlaysons were a Deeside clan, and KNOC-EN-BLEU probably represents some unidentified Aberdeenshire place-name.

The number of persons seeking their burgess ticket annually gives a fairly accurate picture of the commercial strength. There are, of course, wide variations - a year which produced only a handful of burgesses will be followed by one in which several hundred were admitted. Broadly speaking, however, the drop begins about 1460, and double figures are reached in 1477. The fall goes on for the next eighty years, and single figures begin to appear in 1556. The period 1588-1603 contains only 92 names, none of them Scottish. Several Englishmen were, however, found, and it is perhaps worth recording that while an occasional Scot was found for the remainder of the roll (to 1788), the Englishmen outnumbered them by at least five or six to one. It is not within the terms of reference of this thesis to examine the matter, but the question may be put forward, why the

English only became interested in Bruges as her power waned, at which time the Scots, like many other nationalities, were abandoning her.

A Poorterboek on the same lines as those of Bruges existed for the town of Sluis, covering the fifteenth century, and in 1944 the archivist of that town was preparing a list of the names shown. His notes, together with the originals were lost in the destruction of the town during the fighting to clear the mouth of the Scheldt in the summer of 1944.

ooo0ooo

C H A P T E R 9Conclusions and suggestions for further study.

The position of Bruges in the commercial and diplomatic life of north-west Europe in the Middle Ages was unique. Due to the absence of any universal system of international credits diplomacy was dependent on commerce to an extent that we find hard to realise today. Bruges, the changing house of the world for goods, was often the most convenient place for diplomats to meet. The same arguments apply to most other forms of international intercourse. Examples have been given how pilgrims travelled via the Zwin. Douglas's ships, bearing Bruce's heart, lay for a time off Sluis, and his descendant's well-known expedition in 1450 to Holy Year at Rome brought him first of all to Bruges.

(1) Exch. Rolls, v, lxxxiv.

Bearing these things in mind it is easy to see how difficult it would have been for Scotland completely to ignore Bruges as centre for her trade. Other towns might provide a convenient locus for the exchange of goods; only at Bruges could one be certain of obtaining foreign currency. To the many causes of the downfall of Bruges one must add the spread of letters of change, valid in many countries. The process is fully described in the work of Goris already referred to.

It follows, therefore, that a full investigation of the relations, commercial and other, of Scotland with Bruges will be necessary for the complete understanding of our country's foreign policy. It is undoubtedly true that the major factor of that policy was the necessity of keeping out of the clutches of the English, but there were other factors too, and these not infrequently were played out at Bruges. One may cite the example of the perpetual complaint of the Hansa against Scottish piracy.

At the moment there would seem to be in Belgium a renewed interest in Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy,

whom Pirenne and Cammaerts both refer to as "the founder of modern Belgium". His was undoubtedly the influence that brought the Hundred Years War to a close, and his policy may be taken as marking the end of the traditional alliance with England against France. (The renewal under Edward IV and Charles the Bold was due to a completely new set of circumstances.)

We in Britain are of the opinion that Joan of Arc was sold to the English by the Burgundians. Actually, the Maid was captured by the Count of Luxemburg, who was obliged by the rules of war to hand his captive to what-
(1)
ever person would pay the ransom demanded. Had the Dauphin done so he would have got her back. Certainly, the incident provides no satisfactory evidence that Philip was pro-English and anti-French in 1427.

Professor Paul Bonenfant, of Brussels University, in a recent letter to the writer, claims to have discovered

(1) The matter is discussed fully, and on the whole dispassionately, in J. Calmette: *Les Grands Ducs de Bourgogne*. Paris, 1949, which has, unfortunately, come to hand too late for the writer to do more than to confirm these views in a general way.

certain documents which tend to show that in the mid-1420's Philip was considering conquering France for himself. It must be remembered that his claim to the throne was as good as that of the king of England. Certainly, it has long been recognised in Belgium that the Treaty of Arras was signed in a spirit of revenge for his father's death, while the Treaty of Troyes was a dispassionate realisation that peace with France was the most advantageous policy for him.

In these matters the part taken by Scotland was entirely passive, as it generally is by countries which hold the balance of power. It is none the less important to the history of Scotland. The whole of our country's story during the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century were coloured by the interest of Burgundy. The marriage of James II, for example, was no chance matter, as the nineteenth century Scottish historians thought, but part of this same story.

That the wayward genius of Charles the Bold had its effect on the life of James III has, it is hoped, been demonstrated, and it is significant of many things that the

solution of the old mystery of the Earl of Arran and his wife lay in private archives in Bruges.

Examination of this source of Scottish history can only be undertaken with confidence when the commercial activity, on which it was based, is known in some detail. This study has, accordingly, confined itself fairly strictly to this aspect, doing no more than indicate the presence of other problems when they appeared. The search for further sources of information will have to go further than the town archives of Bruges, and the search may be long and difficult. Some of these possibilities may now be considered.

Suggested Sources

Belgium:	Bruges,	Archives communales. Archives de l'Etat.
	Damme.	
	Ghent,	Archives Communales.
	Brussels,	Archives Générales du Royaume. Bib. Royale. Mss. Printed work on Ypres.
	Malines,	Archives communales.

Holland, (All collections are run by the state.)

Middelburg.

Sluis.

The Hague.

Germany, Hansisches Urkundenbuch,
Hansarecesse,
other Hansa source books.
(These are probably to be found in the "Royale").

France, Lille.

Calais.

Britain, British Museum, (including the catalogue of
the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips).

H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

Neither Gray nor Rooseboom has realised that in Belgium there are two independent series of archives, the Archives Communales, and the Archives de l'Etat. The former, which admittedly is the more important, is the only one which has been employed in any investigation to date. Briefly, the Archives de l'Etat exist for the preservation of records which are, quite literally, nobody else's business, records of vanished ecclesiastical or civil administrations, and the like. There is one

depôt in each province. By definition they will include the lost towns of the Zwin estuary, and the fourth of the "Members" of Flanders, the Franc of Bruges. In addition it is not, I understand, unknown for records, which are properly the affair of the "Communes" to find their way into the "Etat". This is said to be particularly the case at Bruges. Superficially, the Archives de l'Etat do not seem to contain much of Scottish interest, but it would probably be necessary to enlist the aid of the archivists, as the presence of much material might not be at once apparent.

There is said to be little remaining of the records of Mude, Hoeke and Monnikerede, and what there is is to be found partly in the "Etat" at Bruges, the rest in the Archives Generales (q.v.) at Brussels. A certain amount is left at Damme, which, however, does not have a full-time archivist.

Mynheer Goosens, the town's archivist in Mechlin (Malines) admits that Scottish wool was employed in the cloth trade there, but is unable to give me any definite information on the matter. Previous workers

in this field have apparently regarded the Scottish trade as forming part of the town's relations with England. In much the same way the archivist at Ghent can give little help, though Gilliodts has been quoted as showing that the Lieve was used in the sixteenth century for carrying Scottish cloth to Ghent.

Much more is to be hoped for in the Archives Generales du Royaume in Brussels, which seem to be a sort of super-Etat. The archivist^e-en-chef there agreed that he had a great deal of Scottish interest, and offered the services of an assistant to help a searcher. The "Générales" contain duplicates of the Comptes Générales of the Dukes of Burgundy, the originals of which are in Lille. If a theory already put forward by the writer is correct, these may contain the receipts for Mons Meg, forged in 1450. The Bibliothèque Royale, also in Brussels, may also provide much of importance. There is a collection of Mss., though the curator of this does not consider that there is much in it relating to the present subject. Of more importance is the collection of transactions of

archaeological and historical societies. Since mediaeval times the Belgian has been addicted to learned societies, (witness the *Chambres de Rhétorique*), and there are countless societies up and down the country devoted to historic and archaeological research. The transactions of these would probably yield much of value.

The importance of the weaving towns of West Flanders belongs to an earlier period than that of those of East Flanders. The great days of Ypres were passing just when those of Bruges were beginning. The records of Ypres might, therefore, throw an interesting light on Scottish trade in the thirteenth century. Of these records all that remains is some nine or ten printed volumes, the originals having perished in 1914. These, too, are to be found in the 'Royale'.

In Holland one does not find the dichotomy of part of the Archives being run by the town, and part by the state. Two towns are probably of importance to Scotland, Middelburg (Walcheren) and Sluis, both in Zeeland. The writer was told by the Rijksarchivier at

the former town, Dr. Unger, that a copy of his "Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van Middelburg" (Sources for a History of Middelburg), is to be found in the Library of Edinburgh University.

Sluis is the archival tragedy of the late war as Ypres was of the earlier one. During the operations to clear the mouth of the Scheldt the town was almost entirely destroyed. The archives had been stored, supposedly in safety, in the cellars of the Hôtel de Ville, but when the latter was burned to the ground they, too, perished. The only hope is that something may have been preserved in the General State Archives in the Hague, or in Utrecht.

Mention has already been made of the importance of the trade of the Teutonic Hansa, and numerous "Urkundenbücher" exist, the best known being the "Hansisches Urkundenbuch" and the "Hansarecesse". All these are to be found in the 'Royale', but the transactions of the various historical societies devoted to the Hansa are there only in part. Some are, I am told, to be found in the Library of the University of Ghent.

French archives are to be found in the chief town of each Departement. Lille, therefore, is likely to contain the records, not only of the Burgundian régime, but also of Calais. Use of the photographic facilities in France, however, is hampered by a law that two copies "de format lisible" must be returned to the archives for each negative made.

As has been noted in the preface the authorities upon which this study has been based have been almost wholly continental. It was felt that there was little chance at this late hour of finding much of value among the more obvious British authorities. At the same time it was obvious that when the study had progressed a certain way, details which had earlier been meaningless might acquire a new significance. Such, for example, were the lists of Customs Dues, preserved in ^{4.M}~~8.M~~, General Register House in Edinburgh. The same depot will probably furnish a considerable amount of material, but an intensive search will probably have to be made on the spot, as there is little apparent in the printed catalogue.

The other depot of archives is the British Museum. Two valuable indications have been discovered. The first concerns the Treaty of 1449, described by MacPherson ~~on page~~. According to the photography department of the museum this is a large item, ~~extending to~~. It will probably yield considerable information concerning the Scots-Burgundian Alliance, and may clear up the mystery of the origins of the Hundred Years Non-Aggression Treaty. There is probably more of a similar nature to be culled from the Catalogues.

The other matter, which is probably to be studied in the British Museum Ms. room as well, concerns the collections of Ms. belonging to Sir Thomas Phillips. (1) According to De Ricci, Phillips began to collect about 1820 and continued till his death in 1878. Agents bought widely on his behalf on the Continent. Reference to

(1) De Ricci: ~~English Collections~~ of Books and Mss. 1530-1930. Cambridge, 1934.

page 32 will show that the Scots-Flemish Treaty of 1298 was in his possession at the time, and he may well have possessed other portions of the Lille spoils.

The collection has been coming on to the market in bits and pieces since 1878, generally at Sotheby's, but according to Ricci "the hard core" of the collection still remains intact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (E) denotes an extract from the unpublished records made by the archivist.
- (M) denotes that the student had a microfilm made of the extract.
- (P) denotes that photostats were made of the Mss., which are unpublished.

Manuscript sources

(1) City Archives, Bruges

- (P) Ouden Witten Bouck, ff. 169 ro - 171 ro.
- (E) Chambre pupillaire, registre des biens pupillaires de la section de St. Nicholas, 1439 - 1484, p. 182.
- (E) Ibid, section de St. Jean, 1439 - 1472, fo. 144 vo, no. 4.
- (E) Registre de Jean van Overdyle, 1550 - 1552, p. 463.
- (E) Sixteenth century m. registers entitled OVERLEG, DIVERS.

(ii) Library of the University of Göttingen.

- (P) Hist. 657/xvi, fol. 304 ro - 306 vo.
- fol. 332 ro - 335 vo.
- fol. 340 ro - 341 ro.

Printed Sources, British.

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.

Register of the Great Seal.

Register of the Privy Seal.

Acts of the Lords in Council.

Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Vols. 1 and 2.

Historical Documents, Scotland, 1286-1306, 2 vols.

Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Vols. 1 and 2.

Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, Vols. 1 and 2.
(R.C.R.B.)

Bain: Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.

Rotuli Scocie.

Rhymer: Foedera.

Printed Sources, Continental

Gilliodts-Van Severon: Inventaire des Archives de Bruges,
1288-1497.

Bruges, 1871-78, 7 vols.

Table analytique by E. Gaillard, 1885.

Memoriaux de Bruges, Brussels, 1890,
2 vols.

Cartulaire de l'Ancien Etable de Bruges,
Bruges, 1904-06, 4 vols.

Grand Tonlieu de Bruges, Bruges, 1909

Printed Sources, Continental (continued)

Reiffrenburg, Le Baron de: Monuments pour servir à l'histoire
des provinces de Namur etc. Brussels,
1844-54, 6 vols.

Smit, H.J. : Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van de Handel met
Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, 1150-1585,
The Hague, 1928-42, 4 vols., 3 issued.

Parmentier, R.A., : Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken,
Bruges, 1938, 2 vols.

Biographie Nationale. Published by the Academie royale des
sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts
de Belgique. Tome I (1866), article
on Anselme Adornes. (There is a
copy of this work in Glasgow University
Library. It contains part of the
story of the Boyds.)

Reviews, BritishScottish Historical Review.

Vol. xiii. Cunningham: Differences in economic
development between Scotland and England.

Vol. xxiii. Hannay: A study in Reformation
history.

Baxter: Scottish source material
in German libraries.

Vol. xxvii. Finlayson: Mons Meg.

Vol. xxviii. The Boyds in Bruges.

Revue, Continental.Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges (Bruges)

Gilliodts: Registres des "Zestendeelen", Tome XLIII,
(1893).

(P) Weale: Obituaire du Couvent des Pères Carmes, Tome L,
(1900).

Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archeologie, (Brussels).

(M) Gillman: Ancient Connection between Scotland and
Flanders, Tome L, (1865)

Messenger des Sciences Historiques, (Ghent, discontinued).

(M) Stirum: Anselme Adornes, Tome LXIC (1881).

Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, (Brussels.)

Bonenfant: Actes conservés au Chateau de Marlemont.
(1945).

Zeitschrift für des gesammte Handelsrecht, (Stuttgart)

(M) Ehrenberg: Makler, Hostelier und Börse in Brügge vom
xiii zum ~~xvi~~ ~~xxxxx~~ Jahrhundert. Tome xxx.
(Year?)

Biekorf, (Bruges)

(M) De Poorter: Een testament van Anselme Adornes, Tome
XXXVII, (1931).

Histories, British

Fordun: Scottichronicon.

Fraser-Tytler: History of Scotland, Vols. 3 and 4

Histories, Continental.

Froissart: Chroniques.

Molinet: Chroniques, Tome 1.

(M) Barente: Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne. Brussels,
1838, Tome 2.

Pirenne H.: Histoire de Belgique, Brussels, 2nd edition,
1902, Tome 2.

Miscellaneous Works, British.

MacPherson: Annals of Commerce, vols. 1 and 2. Edinburgh
and London, 1805.

Innes C.: The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton. Edinburgh 1867.

Fischer Th. A.: The Scots in Germany, Edinburgh, 1902.

Davidson and Gray: The Scottish Staple at Veere, London 1909.

Rooseboom: The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands, The Hague,
1910.

Balfour-Melville: James I, King of Scots. London, 1936.

Miscellaneous Works, Continental.

(M) De la Coste: Anselme Adornes, Brussels, 1855.

(M) Rembry: De bekende pastors van St. Gillis Kerk te Brugge, Bruges, 1890-96.

Häpke: Brügges Entwicklung zur mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt. Berlin, 1908.

Duclos: Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs, Bruges, 1910.

Goris: Etude sur les Colonies marchandes septentrionales à Anvers, 1488-1567. Louvain, 1925.

De Smet: Geschiedenis van het Zwin, Brussels-Antwerp, 1939.

Schouteet: Marcus Gerards, schilder en graveur, Bruges, 1941.

Van Werkeke, Bruges et Anvers, huit siècles de commerce flamand, Brussels, 1944.

APPENDIX AGuden Witten Bouck. fol. 169

A tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront
ou orront, bourgmestres eschevins et consert de la ville
de Bruges salut:

Comme pour cause daucunes complaints et
doleances que les marchans du royaume descoco qui de
leurs biens denrees et marchandises avoient accoustume
de hanter et frequenter le pays de flandres avoient
faictes a tres hault et puissant prinche le duc dalbanie
gouverneur du dit royaume descoco ycellui due et les
autres seigneurs du grand conseil du dit royaume descoco
eussent envoys perdevers notre tres redoubte seigneur et
prinche monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne comte de Flandres
et perdevers les bonnes (?) gens de la ville de Bruges
nobles et discrettes personnes Mess. Gautier-Aelbart
chanoine vicompte de Perth maistre Guille de lawbedre
licentie en loye et ~~en~~ archiviacre de Loudon Jehan Gille
et Jean de Methe ambassadeurs du dit gouverneur et royaume
descoco affin dempetrer et obtenir de notre dit tres

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169, second page

Redoute seigneur et prinche et des bonnes gens de la dite ville de Bruges reformation daucuns poins esquelx lesdiz marchans se disoient avoir este grones contraire de leurs privileges et les anciennes coustumes du pays et aussi poin de notre dit tres redoubte seigneur et de la dite ville obtenir et avoir declaration daucuns poins et articles esquelx par amonture les dits marchans doubtoient trouver aucune ou empechement pour le temps avenir. Savoir faisons que en greigneur declaration des privileges bonnes coustumes et usages des dessusdits marchans descoco lesquelx nous voudrions adiez favorablement traitter en tous leurs affaire savons pour nous et noz successeurs bourgmestres eschevins et conseil de la dite ville de Bruges tant que en nous est sans preiudice toutes voies de la noblesse de notre dit tres redoubte seigneur a yceulx marchans et subjectz descoco frequantans de leurs biens denrees et marchandises la dite ville de Bruges et y tenans entierement leur estaple accorde les poins qui sensuient Premier, si aucun advient aux dessus dits marchans et subjectz descoco sur lestrom et jurediction de Flandres

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169. third page

la ville de Bruges fera toute la greigneur diligence
 quelle pourra sans fraude affin que lesditz descoco
 ainsi endommagiez puissent estre restituez de leurs dits
 ainsi et par la maniere quelle feront (sic) se le cas
 fust advenu a ses propres bourgeois. Item, feront les
 diz de Bruges tout leur diligence les diz marchans
 et subgiez descoco ses biens et marchandises quilz ameneront
 ou feront venir dedans le zwin ne seront pas arrest ou du
 dit zwin et port de lescluse plus molestez ou oppressez
 que les marchans dalllemagne frequentans le pays de Flandre
 ou autre.

- 3/ Item, que nulz des diz marchans ou subgiez descoco pour
 quelque delit civil ou criminel quon lui pourra imposer
 ne sera trait ou impose de la loy de la dite ville de
 Bruges ou en ycellui port de lescluse plus que les marchans
 dalllemagne frequentans le pays de Flandre ou autre.
- 4/ Item, que les dits marchans et subgiez auront ung con-
 servateur de leurz privileges auctorisie par notre dit
 tres redoubte seigneur, lequel pourra poursuir pourchassier
 requerre et deffendre les biens desdiz marchans et subgiez
 et leurs (illegible) et actions en ladite ville de Bruges

Ouden Witten Bouck. fol. 169,

vers tous et contre tous et que le dit conservateur sera illecq bien honorablement et favorablement traittie en tout ses affaires et besoignes.

- 5/ Item, que lesdiz marchans et subgiez du dit royaulme descoco feront des payements des denrees et marchandises quilz acheteront en la dite ville de Bruges crens aungsi et par telle maniere comme font les marchans dallemaigne et dautres residans dans la dite ville.
- 6/ Item, que dezdits marchans et subgiez descoco en la vente ou achat de leurs denrees et marchandises ils feront ou pourront faire en la dite ville de Bruges sans lon fera tel droit et foy en la dite ville comme lon fera aux marchans dallemaigne ou autres.
- 7/ Item, que lesdiz marchans et subgiez pourront achater en la dite ville de Bruges de vivres et aultres leurs necessites aungsi liberalement que les marchans dallemaigne et dautres nations quelconques.
- 8/ Item, si par le dit conservateur ou par aucun ou aucune desdiz marchans ou subgiez complainte vient aux bourg-

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169. fifth page

mestres eschevins et conseil de la dite ville daucuns
exces ou oultrages^ffaiz aux dis marchans ou subgiez descocce
par aucuns ^ecourtiers ou laboureurs les dessusdis bourg-
mestres eschevins et conseil puniront ou feront punir les
dis courtiers ou laboureurs de leurs diz exces tellement
quil soit exemple a tous aultres.

9/ Item, que le peseur de la ville de Bruges fera tenir de
mains et pres de la balance jusques a ce que lachateur et
vendeur soient daccord de leur prix, et que le dit peseur
fera tenir de jurer a la premiere institution de bien
prenre ou exiger aucune chose fors seulement son droit
anciennement deu et accoustume.

10/ Item, si aucun desdiz marchans ou subgiez pour cause
daucune angression quil puist avoir commis ou permettez
civilement contre aucune transgression ou ordonnances^fde la
dite ville de Bruges que pour la premiere fois tel marchand
ou subgiet pourra pourgier^fde la dite calaigne pour son
trement et en estre quite.

En temoing de ce nous avons fait sceller ces lettres du

Ouden Witten Bouck. fol. 149, sixth page.

scel aux causes de la dite ville de Bruges fais et
donnees lan de grace mil quatre cens et sept le xime
jour du mois de mai.

APPENDIX B

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. First page.

(This is identical with Gøtt. fol. 340, ro & vo and 341 ro.)

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis, Walterus senescalli miles Wills. de ~~lawedre~~ utriusque juris licenciatus Archidiaconus laudone Johannes Gill et Johannes de Lethe scutifer conciliarii illustris principis et domini Ducis Albanie Comitis de Fyf et de Menteth et gubernatoris Regni Scotie, salutem in domino salutari.

Cum miserarii dampnatorii transgressioni violentarii mercatorious subditis et incolis regni Scotie tam per quosdam Flandrie incolas ipsiusque domini ducis Burgundie comitus Flandrie subditos tamper Anglicos ipsius regni Scotie inimicos et alios infra limites et fluxu maris Flandrie contra libertates et privilegia dictorum mercatorum et subditorum dicti regni Scotie petrarum et illatorum nostri niste et iidem mercatores et subditi regni Scotie pretendebant. Supradictus illustris princeps dominus dux Albanie dicti regni gubernator ad deliberacionem magni

Ouden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v.

consilii dicti regni volens reipublicae ipsius regni prout
 docuit proinde decrevit per suas litteras patentes magno
 sigillo in cera glauca sigillatas inpendenti nos intro-
 mittere favore statuere et ordinare suos et dicti regni
 ambassadores commissarios et deputatos speciales
 nos p...ntandum coram serenissimo principe et domino
 duce Burgundie comite Flandrie ad quem conferendum tract-
 andum et gardandum in (?) eodem dicte domino Duce seu
 ipsius commissarius ac etiam in cōsulibus et villarum
 Flandrie principalium seu ipsorum commissariis et deputatis
 super reformatione reparatione et emendis supradictorum
 dampnorum transgressorum inuiarum et violentiarum subditis
 et incolis predicti regni Scotie fiendis necnon ad tract-
 andum et accordandum (Gutt. has concordandum) ipsius domini
 gubernatoris et socius (?) regni predicti eodem domino duce
 comite Flandrie ac aliis supradictis de et super confirm-
 atione approbatione et ratificatione privilegiorum et
 libertatorum supradictorum mercatorum et subditorum regni

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. Third page.

Scotie necnon privilegiorum amplificationem addic... et
melioracionem obtinenda prout ex inspectione commissionis
supradicti potest. appere

Cuius tenor de verba ad verbum subsequitur:

Robertus filius regis Scotie dux Albanie comes de Fyf et
de Menteth ac gubernator regni Scotie, Universis presentes
litteras inspecturis salutem in domino.

Universiti vere notum facimus quod nos de cir-
cumspectione fidelitate probitate industria et experta
diligentia dilectorum et fidelium consilia nostrorum
discretorum virorum, Walteri, Senescalli militis con-
sanguinei nostri, Mgr. Willi de Lawedre in utraque iure
licentiati, archdiaconi Laudone, in ecclesia Sancti Andrae
et ecclesiarum Aberdonensum et Moraivensum canonici Johannes
Gille et Johannes de Lethe et Wille De Camera scutiferorum
ad plena confidentes ipsos facimusque constituimus et pre-
sente ordinamus ex deliberatione regni consilii qualis
nostros et dicti regni ambassadores commissarios
et deputatos speciales dantes et accedentes eisdem eorum
quatuor aut tribus plena potentatem libera et generalem

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. Fourth page

ac speciale mandatum ad coram pertinentia
 serenissimi principis domini ducis Burgundie et comitis
 Flandrie et ad conemendum conferendum, tractandum et con-
 cordandum cum eodem comino duce seu ipsis commissarios
 aut deputatos ad hoc sufficientem potestatem
 ac etiam cum consulibus ac villarum Flandrie prin-
 cipalum, videlicet, Gauden, Bruggen Ypren ac franci officii
 territorii Flandrie seu commissarios et deputatos
 super reformatione reparacione et emendis dampnorum trans-
 gressiorum iniuratum et violentiarum subditis et incolis
 regni Scotie mercatoribus eiusdem tam per illos
 de Flandria ipsius domini ducis subditos quam per Anglicos
 ipsius regni inimicos et alios infra limites et fluxu maris
 Flandrie pperatorum et indebite illatorum contra diversas
 libertates et ipsis mercatoribus regni Scotie per presentem
 et alios ancessores ipsius domini ducis comitis Flandrie
 cum matura deliberatione antiquitatus concessis prout ex
 tenore ipsorum privilegiorum apparere potuit evident necnon
 ad tractandum et concordandum nostro et regni

Guden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. Fifth page

Scotie andri cum eodem domino duce comite Flandrie et
 aliis supradictis de et super ipsorum confirmatione app-
 licatione et ratificatione habendis privilegiorum et liber-
 tatum praedictarum ipsorum amplificatione
 addic... et melioracione obtinendis et generale omnia et
 aingula faciendum tractandum concordandum et firmandum
 atque circa promissa seu eorum ~~exp~~editione vel
 oportuna fuerint otia si mandatum exigant magis
 et gratum habentes et habituri duci
 ambassadores et nostri seu ipsorum quatuor aut
 tres fecent in promissis ut aliquo promissorum.

In cuius rei testimonio presentis litteris
 sigillum quo in officio gubernatoris regni
 praedicti apponi prece... apud Perth in consilio generali
 ibidem celebrato. Vicesimo die mensis Junii anno domini
 millesimo quadringentesimo sexto et gubernatoris nostre
 anno primo. Sub signate per gubernatorem regni et consilium.

Scire fecimus nos virtute commissionis supradicti
 gubernatoribus et ville Brugense in qua predicti
 mercatores regni Scocie sua residentia et stapulam mercature
 hactenus tenere consuendi ville ac

Ouden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. Sixth page

aliarum villarum principalium predictae patrie Flandrie
 tale convenisse et tractasse quod de omnibus gravaminibus
 dampnis transgressionibus iniuriis violentibus et oppression-
 ibus supradictis mercatoribus et subditis regni Scotie per
 incolas patrie Flandrie predictae qual.....que illatis
 usque in diem presentem dicti mercatores regni Scotie et
 nos dicti regni nos tenemus de dicta ville Brugen
 ac de aliis membris patrie Flandrie predictis pro bene
 pacificatis placatis et quietatis et ideo virtute commis-
 sionis predicti ac tradite nobis stapulam mer-
 catorum dicti regni continuamus confirmamus et approbamus
 de manendam decrevimus et ordinavimus in prefata villa
 Brugense.

Mandantes et percipientes districte auctoritate
 qua supra omnibus dicti regni mercatoribus et subditis
 quatinus contra presentem nostram ordinationem nequaquam
 faciant aut quolibet attemptare.

In cuius rei testimonium nos **W**alterus Senescalli
 miles Willi Lawedre Johannes Gill et Johannes de Lethe

Ouden Witten Bouck. fol. 169v. Seventh page

predicti presentes litteras sigillis nostris propriis
sigillavimus et roboravimus. Datum anno domini millesimo
quadringentesimo septimo. Die undecimo mensis Maii.

APPENDIX COuden Witten Bouck, Fol. 170. First page

Jehan Duc de Bourgogne etc. Savoir faisons a tous presens et avenir: Nous avons fait veoir et visiter par les gens de notre consert certaines lettres donnees et ottroiees par feu notre tres chier seigneur et pere Mons. le Duc de Bourgogne etc qui dieu pardonnt ^(sic) aux marchans du royaulme descoco voulons venir et ~~et~~ frequenter en notre dit conte de Flandres scellees de son scel en las de soie et cire vert contenans la forme qui sensuit: Philippe filz du roy de France, Duc de Bourgogne etc. Savoir faisons a tous presens et avenir que nous avons fait veoir par pere en dieu notre ame et feal chancellier levesque darras certaines lettres donnees et ottriees par feu notre tres chier seigneur et pere le comte de Flandres cui dieu pardonnt (sic) aux marchands du royaume descoco voulans venir et frequenter en notre dit conte de Flandres contenant la fore^m qui sensuit:

Nous, Louys Conte de Flandrs etc. faisons savoir a tous que nous pour commun et evident prouffit et multi-

Quiden Witten Bouck, Fol. 170. Second page

plication des marchandises par lesquelles notre pays de Flandres est le plus soustenu afin que mieulx en son amende et avons par bon avis et consent et par nature deliberacion consenti et ottroie consentons et ottroyons pour nous et pour nos hoirs a tous marchans du royaume descocce veullans venir et frequenter notre dit pays de Flandres en privilege et en franchise les poins et articles qui sensuient:

Premierement, que les dessus diz marchans et chacun a pliu tant et si longuement que ilz tenront le staple de leurs marchandises en notre pays de Flandre puissent venir eulx leurs biens varles et mesmes franchement et paisiblement dedens notre conte et pays de Flandre den paiant a nous et autres leur droit tonlieu et autres vedenances accoutum anchienement.

- 2/ Item, que nuls du royaume descocce ne leurs biens quelconques soient arrestez en maine aucune ne detenez pour debte ne obligation quelconque ou les devant diz marchans en leurs propres personnes par noms et surnoms ne se sont obligiez comme principaux ou comme pleiges.

Ouden Witten Bouck, Fol. 170. Third page

- 3/ Item, quon ne puist aucun marchand du royaume descoce prendre ne tenir person de maiffent aucun qui ne touche vie ou membre par einsi que le marchand ou marchans qui le fait auront fait aient tant de biens que pour amender ledit meffait ou puissent faire bonne souggissant seurte damender ycel meffait a nous et a partie.
- 4/ Item, sainsi estoit que aucun marchand du royaume descoche feist aucun fait ou il deust de droit perdre vie et avoir et il eust entre mains avoir aucun appartenans a autres marchans qui ne feust mie sien en quel lieu quil feust que les dits marchans a cui ledit avoir appartenait nous douient enfourmer souggissaument ou a nos gens a ce deputez que lesdiz biens que ledit malfaiteur aura eu entre mains soient leurs propres sans fraude et malentien et la dite information faict a la quel nous devons recevoir ils peuvent par congiet de nous ou de notre receveur pouris temps mettre main a leurs diz biens et les exploittier leurs propres.

Lesquels privileges et articles dessus expressez

Guden Witten Bouck, Fol. 170. Fourth page

nous avons consenti et accorde as dessusdiz marchans du
 royaume descoche. Savoir tous autres privileges
 franchises et libertez de noz devanchiers ou de nous a
 quiconque ce sont donne avant la date de ces lettres et
 jusques a votre voulente et rappel et ou cas que pour
 occasion aucun les pleust a rappeller a nous et a noz
 successeurs si avons consenti et accorde pour nous et
 noz hoirs as dessus marchans que ilz aient espace de trois
 fois quarante jours ensiuans lun lautre de vendre et
 exploittier leurs biens et de vindier notre dit conte et
 pays avecque leurs biens et marchandises sauvent sans arrest
 ou empechement aucun de nous ou dautres en paient leurs
 redevances et droitures.

Par le tesmoing de ces lettres scellees de notre
 scel. Donnees a Gand le penultime jour du mois de Novembre
 lan de grace mil ccc cinquante et neuf.

Ainsi signe par monseigneur et son conseil ou
 quel estoient Mons. de Guistelle Mons. de Maldegheam, vous(?)
 Jean de le Fairhille receveur de Flandres et plusieurs
 autres.

Ouden Witten Bouck, fol. 170v.

Lesquelles lettres dessus transcriptes et tout le contenu en ycelles nous qui les avons agreeables a l'humble supplication des marchans dudit royaume descosse frequentans a present notre dit pays et conte de Flandre et pour contemplation de noz bien amez bourgmaistres et eschevins de notre ville de Bruges qui sur ce nous ont humblement supplie avons louee gree ratiffie et approuvie louons greons ratiffions et approuvons et que le teneur de ces presentes de grace esp... et certaine science confermons si donnons et mandement a noz bailli et escoutete de Bruges et a tous noz autres justices de notre dit conte de Flandres ou a leurs lieuztenans presens et avenir a chacum deulx sicome a lui apprenda que lesdiz supplians facent souffrent ou laissent jouir ou oser paisiblement de notre dit arace (?) selone la tenour des dites lettres sans leur faire ne souffrir estre fait en ce aucun destourbier ou empechement au contraire. Et que de sont ferme chose et estalbe a tous jours, mais nous avons fait mettre notre scel a ces presentes. Sauf en autres notre droit et en toutes.

Ouden Witten Bouck, fol. 170

Donne a Lille au mois daoust lan de grace mil
ccc quatrevingt et quatorze. Ainsi signe par Mons. le
Duc. a votre relation (?) Damel (?) visa collon est faite
aux lettres origin aux cy transcriptes le iiij^e jour
daoust lan mil iiij^{xx} et quatorze par mons. Damel. les-
quelles lettres dessus transcriptes et tout le contenu
en ycelles nous qui les avons . a lumble supplication
des marchans dudit royaume descosse frequentans a present
notre dit pays et comte de Flandres et pour contemplacion
de noz bien amez bourgmaistres et eschevins de notre dit
ville de Bruges qui sur ce noussont humblement supplie,
avons loue gree ratiffie et approuve louons greons ratif-
fions et approuvons ce par la teneur de ces presentes. et
grace especial et (two words inserted) consermons.

En sermons et ⁿmadement a noz bailli et escoutete
de Bruges et a tous noz autres justices de notre dit conte
de Flandres ou a leurs lieux tenants present et a venir et
a chacun deulx a lui appartiendra, que lesdiz suppliants
facent souffrent et laissent jouir et oser paisiblement de

Ouden Witten Bouck, fol. 170

notre grace selone la teneur des dites lettres sans leur faire ne souffrir estre fait en ce aucun destourbation ou empechement au contraire, et que ce sont ferme chose et estable a tousjours mais nous avons fait mettre notre scel a ces presentes. Sauf en autres choses notre droit et lautrin (?) en toutes.

Donne en notre ville de Bruges dessusdit au mois de may lan de grace mil cccc et sept. Pat mons. le Duc. et notre relation J. de Saules collon est faict "visa".

APPENDIX D

Ouden Witten Bouck, fol. 170v.

Jehan Duc de Bourgogne etc. Savoir faisons a tous presens et avenir que nous pour le bien commun et evident prouffit multiplication augmentation et . de la marchandise de notre pays de Flandre par lesquelles notre dit pays est le plus gronde et soustenu en estat, et pour le bien sustentation et gouvernement du peuple dicelliu avons par bon conseil advis et . de liberation et a lumble supplicacion de loz bien amez les bourgmaistres et eschevins de notre ville de Bruges et pour contemplacion diceulx consente ottroye et accorde consentons ottroions et accordons pour nous et pour noz hoirs a tous marchans du royaume descocce quiouldront venir et frequenter doresenavant notre dit pays de Flandre en privilege et en franchise les poins et articles cy apres declairez et qui sens:

Premierement, que les dessusdz marchans et chacun deulx puissent venir eulx leurs biens et mesmes et amener leurs denrees et marchandises franchement et

paisiblement dedens notre conte et pays de Flandres sans aucun . ou empechement en payent a nous et le droit tonlieu et autres . accoustumes, et aussitot quilz sont arrivez ou entrez en zwin a lescluse ou en autre port en notre dit pays de Flandre nous les avons prins et retenuz et prenons et retenons par ces presentes en notre sauve et espal traude et protection.

- 2/ Item, que lesdiz marchans et subgiez dudit royaume descoco ditost quilz seront arriviez et entrez dedens ledit port du Zwin ou es meres dicellu puissent obtenir prendre place a terre en tel lieu que bon leur semblera et plaira moyenant ce que ilz ne chargeront ne dechargeront de leurs nefs ou vaisseaulx aucuns avoirs ou marchandises sinons aux denrez et lieux accoustumes excepte tant seulement vitailier pour la sustentacion des maroiners et marchans et des neis ou vaisseaulx.
- 3/ Item, que lesdiz marchans et subgiez en chargeant et dechargeant leurs biens et marchandises de leurs dits nefs et navires puissent icelles nefs et navires mettre coste a coste au dehors des estaques en tel nombre que bon leur semblera et dedens icelles uisques au nombre de quatre et non plus.

- 4/ Item, Se il avenait que lesdiz marchans leurs navires et biens se feussent partiz de notre dit pays de Flandre et de la mer dicelliu et apres par fortune de temps ou autre cause survenant leur . . . retour dedens ledit port et ilz vouldissent oultre leur premiere charge mettre ou changier en leurs dits nefz et navires autres marchandises faire le pourront en payant de tout lavoir estant en icelles nefz et navire ensemble de la dite . . . ainsi quil est . . . et accoustume estre fait journelement de tous autres marchands venant et frequentans audit lieu et aussi quilz puissent mettre de leur nef en lautre pour eulx decharger partir de leurs biens se ilz se sentoient trop chargiez sans yceulx vendre et sans porter prejudice au droit destaple de Bruges.
- 5/ Item, que lesdiz marchans puissent avoir certains connuz que sera auctorisez de nous et au quel nous donnons pouvoir et auctorite de poursieure demander et defendre les biens diceulx marchans et subgiez vers tous et contre tous selone les articles et poins contenus en ce privilege et aussi selonc les lois et coustumes dicelliu pays par toutes les villes et pors estens dedens notre pays de Flandres et aussi en noz autres pays estans en dehors dicelliu notre pays de Flandres. Pourvu que le dit commis

que ledit commiz ou ou procureur ait commission souffissent du roi descoce pour ce faire et quil en face deuement appois a nous ou a notre conseil.

6/ Item, voulons ou cas dessusdit que le dit commiz soit favorablement et aimablement traittie et receu en ce quil aura a faire et poursieuir pour la dite cause emis tous noz justices et subgiez et les loiz de notre die pays et que on lui face droit et raison a la meilleure expedition que faire se pourra selone les estatuz que seront fais sus ce par ledit roy descoche painsi quilz ne soient preiudiciables a nous a noz diz pays ne contre les ordonances estatuz fais et a faire en yceulx.

7/ Item, se ou temps avenir advient que aucun marchand et subgiet du royaume descoce feust calengiez par aucun de noz officiers de notre dit pays de Flandres pour cause daucunes coustumes ou ordonnances faittes ou a faire par nous ou par les loiz de notre dit pays nous voulons que ledit marchand et subgiet soit aussi . que sont communement les autre marchans frequentans en notre dit pays.

Lesquelz previleges et articles se deuant declairez et expressez nous avons consenti occroye et

accorde aux dessusdiz marchans du royaume descoche sauve tous autres privileges franchises et libertez de noz predecesseurs ou de nous a quelconque se sons donne avant de ces lettres.

Et ou cas que pour aucunes causes pluest a nous ou a noz successeurs rappeler ce present privilege nous avons consenti et accorde pour nous et noz hoirs aux dessusdiz marchans quilz aient espace de trois fois quarante jours ensuiant lun lautre de vendre et exploittier leurs biens et de vuydier notre dit conte et pays avecques leurs biens et marchandises sauvement sanz arrest ou empechement de nous en payant leurs debtes redevances et droitures et se es choses dessusdits ou en aucun dicelles

. ou en temps avenir aucune obscurte ou plus yvant declaracion nous refuons a nous et a noz successeurs contes ou contesses de Flandres linterpretacion declaracion et determinacion dicelles. Si nous donnons en mandement par ces presentes a noz bailli et escoutete de bruges a noz bailliz de leue et de lescluse et a tous noz autres justices officiers et subgiez de noz dis pays et conte de Flandres ou a leurs lieutenans presens et a venir et a chacun deulx sicomme (?) a lui apprendre que lesdiz marchans descoche facent seuffrent et laissent joir et

oser paisiblement de ce privilege selone la forme et teneur contenu et declarez en ycelliu sans leur faire ne souffrir estre fait en ce aucun destourbier ou empeschement au contraire. Lequel privilege nous voulons durer jusques au rappel de nous ou de noz successeurs contes et contesses de Flandres sauf tousiours la dilacion des trois quarantaines dessusdites. Et afin que ce soit chose ferme et estable a tous jours nous avons fait mettre notre scel a ces presentes. Sauf en autres choses notre droit et lautrir (?) en toutes. Donne en notre ville dypre le douzain jour d'avril lan de grace mil cccc et sept. Par Mons. le Duc vous (?) present. J. de Sauls "visa".

APPENDIX EGöttingen Mss. Folio 304.

Charles par la grace de Dieu Duc de Bourgogne
 etc. Savoir faisons a tous presens et avenir que comme
 les subjectz de tres hault et puissant prince notre tres
 chier frere et cousin le roy descoce nous ayent presente-
 ment fait remonstrer quilz obtinrent du feu notre tres
 chier seigneur et pere que Dieu absoille ses lettres
 patentes scellees de son grant scel en laz de soye et
 cyre verd.

*Philippe dux Burgundie -----

The text which follows on pp. 304 ro & vo, 305 ro &
 vo, is identical with the well known Register House,
 Treaties, Burgundy, No. 1.

Et combien que puis aucun temps enca les dits
 remonstrans loccasion daucuns tors et griefz quilz disoient
 et maintenoient avoir este faiz en notre ville de Bruges
 et ailleurs en notre pays de flandre aux marchands de la
 nation descoce qui paravant tenoient et faisoient leur
 Residence en notre dite ville.

Les dits marchands descoco se soyent departiz et absentez de cette ville et ayent tenus par certaine espace de temps et jusquis a present leur residence en notre ville de Middelbourg en Zeelande. Tuteffois au moyen de certains appointements unisez et conceuz entre les gens et ambaxteurs du dit roy descoco notre cousin et remonstrans du contentement de ceulx de notre ville de Bruges les marchans de la dite nation descoco ont este et sont contents de retourner en notre ville de Bruges pour y faire et tenir doresenavant leur residence tout ----- quilz faisoient avant leur^u dit departement. Et nous ont humblement fait supplier que moyennant leur dit retour il nous plaise leur confirmer et ratiffier les dites lettres de notre dit feu seigneur et pere dessus-transcriptes. Pourquoi nous les ----- dessusdits confidences et sur icelles en bon advis et mesure (sic) deliberation de concert inclinans a la supplication des dits remonstrans avons moyennant ce que dit est leur gret ratiffie confirme et approuve, longons greons ratiffions confirmons et approuvons de notre certamercance (?) auctorite et gre ----- par la tenour copis les dessusdites lettres de notre feu seigneur et pere cydevant transcriptes. Voulons et ottroyons de notre

dit grace que . . . et marchans de la dite nation descoco tant en general que en particulier apres leur dit retour en notre dite ville de Bruges foyssent plainement paisiblement et entierement du contenu en ---- dites lettres et de tous les points articles et privileges declarez selon leur forme et tenour. Sans contradiction quelconque. Si donnons un mandemene a noz amez et ----- les gens de notre chambre de consert de Flandres a notre bailli de Bruges et du franc a notre bailli du Dam aux bourgmestres et echevins de nos villes de Bruges et du Dam et a tous nos autres justiciers officiers subgectz leurz lieutenantz presentz et advenir et a chacun deulx en droit soy que de notre presente grace ratiffication confirmation et approbation et de tout le contenu en cestes ilz faicent souffrent et laissent les dessusdits remonstrans et marchans de la dite nation descoco joyr et ---- plainement paisiblement entierement come dict est sans leur faire mettre ou donner ne souffrir estre fait mis ou donne aucun destour bien ou empres gement au contraire. Car ainsi nous plais--- Et afin que ce soit chose ferme et estable a tousjours nous avons fait mettre notre scel a ces presentes. Donne en notre ville de Bruges ou mois mars. Lan de grace mil quatre cens soixante neuf avant pasques. Ainsi estoit

escript sur le reply. Par mons. le duc. et signe gros.
 Et estoit les dites lettres scellees en cyre verde en laz
 de soie rouge et verde.

APPENDIX F

Library of the University of Göttingen. Hist. 657/xvi,
fol. 332 ro - 335 vo.

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis vel
audituris bourgimagistri scabini et consules ville
Brugen in Flandria salutem: Notum facimus nos anno
domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo octavo die
vicesima prima mensis julii vidisse legisse ac diligenter
inspexisse ducis litteras patentes sigillis ad causas
villarum Gauden, Brugen et Ypren necnon sigillo venerandi
in Christo patris et domini dei abbatis Sancti Andree
juxta Bruges sigillatas in cera viridi et duplicibus
caudis sanas integras non abolitas non abrasas nec in
aliqua . suspectas sed ad prorsus vicio et suspitione
varentes tenores sequuntur continentes. et est tenor
prime littere talis:

"Universis.....

"What follos^W to the end of fol. 334vo. is an exact
copy of the treaty of 1427 as preserved in Register House,
Edinburgh, viz. an Inspeximus by the Four Members of the
Duke's treaty.

It is at once followed, without a break by another
Inspeximus, this time of a letter of the Duke's, of which
the text follows.)

Universis presentas litteras inspecturis vel
 audituris burgimagistri advocatus scabini et consules
 villarum Gauden Brugen et Ypren ac territorii franci
 officii Flandrie salutem: Notum facimus nos vidisse et
 diligenter inspexisse . patentes litteras sigillo illustris
 principis ac metuendissimi domini nostri domini ducis
 burgundie comitis Flandrie sigillatas in cera rubra et
 duplici^{bus} cauda^{is} tenorem qui sequuntur continentem in hec
 verba:

Philippus dux Burgundie etc. Universis presentes
 litteras inspecturis salutem: Ad nostram pervenit noticiam
 quod nonnullae regni Scotie civitates et ville per varias
 convenciones et parta collegiatim et in . et non particul-
 ariter sub propriis . . et habitatores . cum aliis initus
 et inita ad aliqua facienda vel implenda sunt obligat unde
 non solum ipsarum cives et habitatores verumetiam ceteri
 quod plures eiusdem regni mercatores et subditi dictam
 patriam nostram Flandrie mercantialiter et aliis frequent-
 are capiam dictam obligationem pretextu si adeundam patriam
 nostram accident arrestari iumpadiri vel aliis perturbari
 forundunt.

Quare nos volentes patriam nostram Flandrie

predictam per mercatores et alios quoscumque licite et libere frequentari ad requestum quatuor membrorum dicte patrie nostre Flandrie condimus per presentes mercatoribus et aliis dicti regni Scotie habitatoribus quibuscumque quod ipsi tam . quibus separatim cum rebus et mercibus suis licitis ad dictam patriam nostram Flandrie libere accedere possunt. In ipsaque morari stare et negociare ac eam eundo et redeundo mercanrialiter et aliis frequentare. Absque hoc quod pretextu dictam obligationem sic ut premittitur in rei et collegiatim per dictas civitates et villas antedatam . cum aliis quibusvis factarum seu contractarum possint inibi in personis vel in bonis arrestari impediri in . vel extra aut alias quovismodo perturbari.

Gentibus nostri consilii necnon supremo balivo ceterisque officiariis et legislatoribus predictae patrie nostre Flandrie districtae . ne contradictam concessionem nostram quam illesam observare volumus aliquid attemptent seu a quoque quovismodo attemptari permittant. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigilli nostri fecimus appensione muniri. Datum in villa de Leyden in Hollandia

die sexta mensis decembris anno domini millesimo
quadragentesimo vicesimo septimo. Sic signatum per
dominum ducem ..

De quarum litterarum continentia et tenor congratulari nos in quatum nos tangit de speciali licentia et beneplacite prefati metuendissimi domini nostri omnia et singula in eisdem suis litteris contenta observare et adiuplere ac observari et adiupliri procirare promittimus inconcusse.

In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillo ad causas prefatarum villarum Gauden Brugen Ypren ac venerabilis in Christo patris ac domini domini abbatis Sancti Andrie juxta Brugis pro nobis de franco sigillo-commune non habentibus fecimus roborari.

Datum anno¹domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo septimo die xvij mensis decembris. Nos autem burginagistri scabini et consules ville Brugen supradicti quod vidimus testamur et in . visionis testamentum presentes litteras super. per modum trans. confectas fiori fecimus et sigilli ad causas prefate ville Brugen munim. roborari.

Datum anno et die superius primo declaratis.
Subscriptum. Hec est vera copia principalis contracta

sigillata sigillo ad causas ville dicte Bruges in omnibus
cum originali concordum nil addit vel mendo copia collationat
Per me legandrum scott scribam consilii notum publicum sub.
signo et subscriptione manualibus . Delegand Scott.

(Up to this point the ms. has been continuous and
in Latin. It now continues after a small space, but
in the same handwriting, and in French.)

on cost /
Lambassadeur (du roy) descoco desire et requiert
oultre les articles garantis ottroyez et dessus escrits
comme suit:

Premierement pour autant que provinces de
Zelland Holland Brabant Flandres et Malines sont main-
tenant appartenantes seulement a lempereur qui furent
paravant divises et a divers princes appartenans, Je
desire les marchans du roy descoco hantans et frequentans
marchandises de pardeca quilz soient fraincg et quittes
pour le payement dune toll et coustume pour chaque (?)
fois quant ilz viennent pardeca allant et venant.

Secundement, je desire que les marchans et
subgiez du royaume descoco allant et venant pardeca soient
aussi fraincgz et libres en toutes . comme sont
les marchans et subgiez du roy dangleterre.

Tiercement, je desire que le conservateur de la dite nation descoco pourrat joyr et oser jurisdiction sur les marchans dudit royaume par toutes les terres dessusdites administrant justice aussi fraing comme le gouverneur de ceulx dangleterre pourrat faire sur les marchans et subgiez dangleterre.

Finartement, je desire pour autant que le royaume descoco est . . . pays longtam et que les marchans et subgietz sont journellement en grand nombre hantant es pays depardeca que si aucuns debatz ou questions se meult entre les marchans du royaume descoco et ceulx de ceda que les juges des villes et . . . ou les dites questions . . . puissent cognostre et juger les dits differendz. et les . . . des quarante jours sans faire aucuns appeaulx ou delayz de justice.

Quittement accordant lesditz suscriptz ledit ambassadeur offre faire le cas reciproque aux marchans hantans le royaume descoco estans des susdit pays de l'empereur.

APPENDIX GUnpublished material from the Bruges archives,
dealing with Scottish settlements at Bruges.

(i) Chambre pupillaire, registre des biens pupillaires pour la section de Saint Nicolas, 1439-1464, p. 182. (Noted, but not printed in extenso in Gilliodts: Inventaire, Introd. p. 491, note 4.)

"Den 7sten dach van Hoymaendt in't jaer 1457 ghaven te kennene Phelips Braen ende Ghiselbrecht van der Poorte, als vooghden van Hannekin, Michielkine, Thuenelkine ende Callekine, Jan Ottzuens kindren die hy hadde by joncvrouwen Claren, zinen wive, voor den overzienre ende scepenen van wiezen, hoe zy by consente van den ghemeenen college van scepenen van Brugghe, hemlieden verleendt den 5sten dech in April anno 56, scepenen zeghelen Roeland de Vos, Jan Joncman, wettelike ghirte ghegheven hadden Joose Heindricx van eene huuse met zinen toebehoorten, staende binnen den Noordpoorte, an die oostzyde van den weghe, de voorseide zuudpoorte staende te voorhoofde in de Nieustrate bi Sint Gillis, ter date van desen gheheeten Schottepoorte, naesten Jacop Weyts huus wylen was nu toebehoorende Bouden Mertein an d'een zyde ende der vorseide kindren huse on d'ander, up Jans land van Cleyhem wylen was met 32 s. par elkes jaersgaende

ute den voorseiden huuse, midsgaders der vors. kindren huse derneffens staende, ter rechten landcheinse ende dit mids Joose Heindricx dat met Jehannen, Jan Ottezuens dochtere zinen wive, der voors. kindren susterem beloeft was te ghevene in huweleke."

(ii) Registre de Jean van Overdyle, clerc jure du tribunal, pour les annees 1550-1552, page 463.

" drie huusen met huere toebehoorten, te gadere staende d'een neffens den anderen, ten ^voorhoofde in de Hoochstrate, an de zuudtzyde van der strate, danof de voors. joncvrauwe Kathelyne Farmentier't naesde (?) parcheel, gh enaemot De Duve, ter date van desen was ghebruuckende ende bezittende, naesten de huuse pertinet Adriaen vander Beke, den Vrilaet, an de westzyde an d'een zyde, ende 't Schottestraetkin an de oostzyde an d'ander zyde"

(iii) Registre de la Chambre Pupillaire pour la section de St. Jean, 1439-1472, fo. 144v, no. 4. (26 April 1453)

"Item, de rechte heltscheede van 2 schellinghen parisis tsjaers, ligghende an de huusen ende an 't land, gheheeten Scotland, toebehoorende den dissche van Onser

Vrauwen, staende ende ligghende up St. Martins plaetse ende upten houc van den Crommenwale, dewelke men jaerlicx ghelt telken Sinte Jansmesse."

(iv) Registre de Jean Digne, clerc jure du tribunal de Bruges, 1549-1551, page 154. (1550, Oct. 9)

".... van eenen huuse met datter toebehoort, staende ten voorhoofde in de Ingelschestraete, an de costzyde van der straete, gheheeten Scotland, naesten den Inghelschen weichuuse, an de zuudzyde ..."

Material covering the late 16th Century

Collection entitled DIVERS, covering the years 1570-1580

5 January, 1572. Mention is made of Georges Acket, conservateur de la nation des marchands d'Ecosse residants à Bruges.

30 September 1572. Attestation in favour of Jean Cuming, merchant of Glasgow.

Collection entitled OVERLEG for the years 1555-1556.

No. 71. (26 May 1557) mention of Thomas Robertssuene, filius Willems, born in Scotland, burgess of Bruges. (See App. H.)

In the volume of OVERLEG, covering the years 1573-74.

No. 79. Mention of the above George Hacket.

No. 93. Mention of one Jan Jackssens, merchant of Edinburgh.

No. 101. Mention of Alexander Calder, merchant of Edinburgh.

In a later communication M. Parmentier gives the following details culled from DIVERS: liasse pour les années 1572-73. (No references.)

1573, July 23. Meester Joris Acket, facteur van de Natie ~~van de Natie~~ van Schotland, mentioned as selling Scottish salt to the burgomaster of Middelburg in ~~Zeeland~~. ~~Bruges~~

1573, August 3. Robert Fyf, "Facteur van de cooplieden van de natie van Schotland, residende binnen desen voorseide stede". The transaction concerns the sale of salt to a burgess of Bruges.

1573, August 7. Same factor, sale of Scottish salt, about a month previously.

1573, August 7. Mention of Robert Fyf, factor of the Nation of Scotland in connection with a ship, loaded with salt, which has recently arrived from Scotland.

1573, August 13. Mention of "Meester Joris Acket, Conservateur.

APPENDIX HList of Scots from the Bruges Burgess Rolls

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
I. <u>1418-34</u>			
1419, Jan. 12	ATHEEL (VAN) Malcom	County of Atheel in Scotland	
1420, Oct. 12	SINT-ANDRIESTON (VAN) Thomas, filius Jans	Scotland	
1421, Jan. 20	POLLOR Tanne, Jans dochtere	Edinburgh	
1429, Sept. 16	BARREY Gautier, filius Adaems	Edinburgh	Tailor
1429, Sept. 2	LYSBETTE, Sanders Willems soens dochtere	Edinburgh	
1430, Mar. 30	OGGE Wouter, filius Heinrix	Haddington	
1430, Sept. 2	POLLOUR Margriete, filia Thomaes		
II. <u>1434-50</u>			
1440, Dec. 19	GULT Thomaes, filius Robrechts	Scotland	Tailor

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
1441, Apr. 4	SCALPIN, Jan, filius Jans	Scotland	Tailor
1441, Apr. 22	ROLLO Jan, filius Willems	Edinburgh	Quilt-maker
1441, Nov. 29	GHIPZUENE Jan	Aberdeen	Tailor
1443, Aug. 31	SWITTEN Katheline, filia Willem	Perth	Retailer
1444, Mar. 27	BUTINIERE Jan, filius Thomas	Edinburgh	Bow-maker
1444, Apr. 2	CRUUSZONE Jacop	Forfar	
1444, Apr. 6	COROUR Pieternelle, filia Thomas	Scotland	Retailer
1444, June 30	DAVID Patric, filius Robrechts	Aberdeen	Tailor
1445, Jan. 5	JONG Maikin, filia Jans	Stirling	Retailer and Beer seller
1447, Jan. 13	VINLAUSZUENE Jehan	"Knoc-en-bleu"	Retailer
1450, June 3	FRESEEL Jan, filius Willems	Aberdeen	

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
III. 1450-78 (Two overlapping rolls are here run together.)			
1450, Feb. 22	VOUSTER (DE) Wouter, filius Patricx	Dundee	
1450, Nov. 17	MODDIN Jan, filius Ruebrecht	Aberdeen	
1451, June 2	WELS (DU) Tanne, filia Simoens	Edinburgh	
1455, July 12	LIDDEL Jan, filius Thomaes	St. Andrews	
1456, Apr. 17	FORSTER Wouter, filius Patricx	Dundee	<i>L. Vander Sijpe</i>
1457, Jan. 24	RUUSEBANT Ritschaert, filius Jans	Cupar	
1457, Mar. 8	STUWAERTS Jane, filia Willems	Perth	
1457, June 4	RUUSBANT Rytchaert, filius Jans	Cupar	<i>L. Ruusant</i>
1458, Feb. 7	LIDDEL Jan, filius Thomaes	St. Andrews	
1459, July 27	SCOT Heindric, filius Wouters	"Wicshem"	

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
1460, May 11	LOSSENT (VAN) Jacop, filius Jans	Aberdeen	
1461, Feb. 5	VLAMYNCK Cristine, filia Jans	Haddington	
1461, Mar. 21	ESTENS Michiel, filius Heinric	Cupar	
1461, July 18	WIER Heinric, filius Jans	Linlithgow	
1461, Oct. 29	ROBERTSUENE Willem, filius Jans	Edinburgh	
1462, Nov. 16	FERRE Jacop, filius Willems	Haddington	
1463, July 14	RENT (DE) Jan, filius Jans	Edinburgh	
1463, Oct. 12	RENYNC David, Patrycx	Edinburgh	
1463, Dec. 21	WAPMAKERE (DE) Jacop, filius Willem	Edinburgh	
1464, Jan. 2	LODYAEN Patric, filius Jans	Linlithgow	

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
1464, Jan. 7	JAN filius Willems, Jans zuene	Perth	
1464, Apr. 18	HECTOR filius Stevens	Linlithgow	
1464, Oct. 15	MARCHEL Betkin, filia Willem	Perth	
1465, Jan. 10	MORE Willem, filius Jans	Aberdeen	Tailor
1465, Mar. 27	MARCHEL Jacop, filius Mathys	Perth	Retailer
1465, Oct. 29	WULFAERT Jan, Jans zuene	"Lemric in Scot- land"	Retailer and Mender of old Clothes
1468, Aug. 25	STEENS Wouter, Michiels	Cupar	
1470, Dec. 3	CANTS Ysabel, filia Patriox	Edinburgh	
1473, Mar. 20	GORDON Andries, filius Thomas	"Straboe"	
1473, Jul. 23	KAER Jehane, filia Jacops	"Witkerke"	

Date of Entry	Name	Place of Birth	Trade
<u>V. 1479-96</u>			
1489, Sept. 16	POPPER, Betram, filius Alexandre	Scotland	To be a free maker of ker-
1489, Dec. 16	PAPE (DE) Cornelkin, filius Jans	Edinburgh	To be a free maker of ker- sey.
1490, Aug. 17	GLASSE Jan (Scotte), filius Rysschaert	Scotland	
<u>VI 1530-88</u>			
1532, May 7	JANSSUENE Joris	Scotland	
1543, Jan. 11	CLEENAELE (VAN) Jan, filius Jans	Scotland	
1546, Nov. 8	ERPE Alexander or Sanders, filius Roberts	Leith	
1557, May 4	ROBERTSSUENE Thomaes, filius Willems	Elgin	
1557, May 4	ROBRECHSUENE Willem, filius Jans	Brechin	

Analysis of the Bruges Burgess Rolls

Roll	1418/34		1434/50		1450/60		1454/78		1479/96		1530/88		Totals
Totals all classes	3,313		3,199		955		3,134		1,460		854		12,915
Sex	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
France	26	1	28		7		31		6		14	1	112 2
Scotland	4	3	9	3	4	2	20	4	3		5		45 12
England				1			1				7		8 1
Ireland											4		4
Germany			6	**	1		2		1				10
Spain									2		8		10
Italy					1	1	2				9		12 1
Portugal			1				1						2
Greece													2
Totals	30	4	44	4	13	3	57	4	14		47	1	205 16

* See page 190