Mechanisms of foreign trade: re-evaluating the power of the Scottish mercantile elite in the late middle ages

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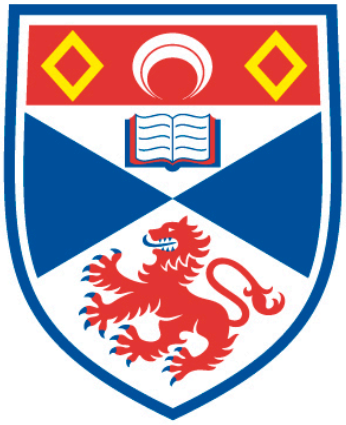

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Abstract

This thesis presents a re-evaluation of the traditional narrative of power in late medieval Scotland, focussing on the power and influence wielded by the Scottish mercantile community from 1320 to 1513. The fluidity of this professionally-defined community is considered, as is its importance in the mechanisms of Scotland's profitable wool trade with Flanders. It is argued that the merchant community of late medieval Scotland, and the informal trade networks formed within it, provided commercial and financial protections for the transportation of goods abroad, which were not extended by the guilds merchant of Scotland.

The influence of Scotland's mercantile community over the implementation of pro-mercantile legislation at a national and local level is, then, considered. The introduction of the failed thirteenth-century royal marriage of Alexander, prince of Scotland, and Margaret of Flanders and the resulting economic protectionist legislation is argued to have been the first introduction of such parliamentary acts in the Scotto-Flemish trade relationship. The examples of the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 and the threatened forfeiture of merchants in 1425 are analysed as examples of the Scottish crown's use of pro-mercantile legislation to garner the support of their mercantile elite. It is then argued that the implementation of pro-mercantile legislation was also driven by Scottish merchants and the pursuit of their commercial interests, analysing legislation which encouraged communal freighting and restricted the personnel of overseas trade.

The expression of the power and influence of Scotland's mercantile elite was not limited to national and local politics. It could be seen through their appointment as ambassadors in commercial negotiations between Scotland and Flanders and their pursuit of improved mercantile protections and renewed trade. The concept of a specialist ambassador is presented and it is argued that they were utilised in Scotto-Flemish negotiations because of their personal or familial practical knowledge of overseas trade, their social and political status, and their ability to faithfully represent the Scottish crown. The case study of the Lauder family, prominent merchant burgesses originally from Lothian, and their network is used to argue that specialist ambassadors were drawn from a small, self-perpetuating pool of qualified Scottish merchants, who formed bonds, through marriage, and relationships, through geographic proximity and shared occupations, with other prominent overseas merchants. The interconnected nature of the Lauder network stands as an example of the ways in which late medieval Scottish merchants sought to retain control of the mechanisms of local governance and overseas trade.

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Pagnotta. For their compassion, friendship, and tea dates, I would like to thank Dr Brittany Fallon and Dr Meghan Healy.

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions

Abdn. Counc.	*Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, ed. J. Robertson, (Aberdeen, 1843).
Abdn. Guild Recs.	*Aberdeen Guild Court Records, 1437-1468*, ed. E. Gemmill (Edinburgh, 2005).
ADN	Archive Départementales du Nord
AN	Archives Nationales
BSA	Bruges Stadsarchief
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (50 vols.) (London, 1892-1963).
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, (Edinburgh, 1881-1986).
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (21 vols.) (London, 1911-1961).
Chron. Auchinleck	'The Auchinleck Chronicle,' C. McGladdery in *James II*, (Edinburgh, 2015).
Chron. Bower	Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. D.E.R. Watt et al., (9 vols.) (Aberdeen, 1989-1998).
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (73 vols.) (London, 1901).
Drummond, Drummond	*The Genealogie of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond*, ed. W. Drummond, (Glasgow, 1889).
Dunfermline Gild Bk.	*The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline, 1433-1597*, ed. E.P.D. Torrie, (Edinburgh, 1986).
Edin. Recs.	*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, ed. J.D. Marwick, (4 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1869-1882).

EHR	*English Historical Review*
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J. Stuart and G. Burnett, (23 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
Foedera	*Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. Thomas Rymer, (4 vols.) (London, 1816-1869).
Fraser, Buccleuch	*The Scotts of Buccleuch*, ed. W. Fraser, (2 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1978).
Fraser, Douglas	*The Douglas Book*, ed. W. Fraser, (4 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1885).
Fraser, Menteith	*The Red Book of Menteith*, ed. W. Fraser, (2 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1880).
Fraser, Montgomeries	*Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton*, ed. W. Fraser, (2 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1816-1898).
IR	*Innes Review*
Ledger of Andrew Haliburton	Andrew Haliburton, *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scotch Nation in the Netherlands, 1492-1503: Together with, The Book of Customs and Valuation of Merchandise in Scotland, 1612*, ed. Cosmo Innes, (Edinburgh, 1867).
MUL	Manchester University Library
NRS	National Records of Scotland
Pub. Docs. Dundee	*Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burghs of Dundee*, ed. W. Hay, (Dundee, 1880).
RMS	*The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, ed. J.H. Thomson, (11 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
Rot. Scot.	*Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, eds. D. Macpherson et al., (2 vols.) (London, 1814-1819)
RPS	*The Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007-2015), www.rps.ac.uk

RRS	*Regesta Regum Scottorum*, eds. G.W.S. Barrow et al., (6 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1960-1988)
SEA	*Scottish Episcopal Acta, Volume I: The Twelfth Century*, ed. Norman Shead, (Woodbridge, 2016)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
TA	*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, (13 vols.) (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)
TNA	The National Archives

Unless otherwise stated, all references have been checked and are correct as of 1 August 2016. Scottish place names have been modernised using Scotland's Places website (www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk) where applicable. When a place name could not be found on the list, the original spelling has been retained.

Introduction

In 1468, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy wrote to James III of Scotland entreating him to order the return of Scotland's overseas merchants to Bruges.[1] The Scottish wool staple, central to the success of the Scotto-Flemish wool trade, had been abandoned by Scotland's mercantile elite in 1467 after suffering the violation of their commercial privileges and freedoms.[2] The severing of trade with Flanders in 1467 initiated a protracted series of negotiations between the two regions and the appearance of two ducal ambassadors, Anselm Adornes and Jan Metteneye, at the Scottish royal court in 1468.[3] The overseas merchant community was central to the continuation of Scotland's commercial successes in the late medieval period. Controlling and manning the mechanisms of Scottish foreign trade, the mercantile elite wielded power at a national and local level, influencing the creation of pro-mercantile parliamentary legislation and pursuing improved commercial privileges in diplomatic negotiations with Flanders. However, their influence and power outside of the late medieval burgh has found little space in the written landscape of medieval Scotland. This thesis presents a re-evaluation of mercantile power and influence through an examination of their community and its ability to influence the creation of pro-mercantile legislation, their ability to acquire improved protections and privileges in Bruges, and retain control of the mechanisms of Scotland's foreign trade. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to rectify the noble-centric narrative of power in Scotland, replacing it with a far more diverse and complex narrative of influence and power in late medieval Scotland.

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[1] BSA, LS23 'From the part of our lord the Duke of Burgundy to the King of Scotland.'
[2] BSA. LS23 'From the part of the city of Bruges to the King of Scotland.'; *RPS*, 1467/1/6.
[3] BSA, LS23 'Proposal of the sentence in the company of the most serene King of Scots from the part of the country of Flanders and the city of Bruges via the venerable orator, the lord Anselm Adornes, a citizen of Bruges.'

Over the past three decades, historians have spilled much ink crafting a political narrative of medieval Scotland which attributed the appropriate amount of power to the crown and the nobility. The traditional conclusion that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were dominated by crown-magnate co-operation was initially presented in the works of Jenny Wormald and Alexander Grant.[4] The Macdougall school of historians, particularly Michael Brown and Stephen Boardman, argued for an alternative political narrative, which emphasised the crown-magnate conflict and competition of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scotland.[5] However, the political narratives proposed by Wormald,

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[4] Jennifer Brown, 'The Exercise of Power,' in Jennifer M. Brown, ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, (London, 1977), pp. 33-65; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, (Edinburgh, 1991); Alexander Grant, 'Crown and Nobility in Late Medieval Britain,' in Roger A. Mason, ed., *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 34-59; Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood, Scotland 1306-1469*, (Edinburgh, 1991). Please note that Jennifer M. Brown and Jenny Wormald is the same historian and will be referred to by the form of her name which is listed on the publication.

[5] Michael Brown, 'Rejoice to Hear of Douglas': The House of Douglas and the Presentation of Magnate Power in the Late Mediaeval Scotland,' *SHR*, (1997), pp. 161-184; Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Mediaeval Scotland (1300-1455)*, (East Linton, 1998); Michael Brown, "Vile Times': Walter Bower's Last Book and the Minority of James II,' *SHR*, (2000), pp. 165-188; Michael Brown, 'Earldom and Kindred: the Lennox and its Earls, 1200-1458,' in Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross, eds., *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500*, (Dublin, 2003); Michael Brown, *Disunited Kingdoms: Peoples and Politics in the British Isles 1280-1460*, (Harlow, 2013); Michael Brown, *James I*, (East Linton, 2000); Michael Brown, 'James I (1406-1437)', in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds.), *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 155-178; Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406*, (East Linton, 1996); Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250-1500*, (Edinburgh, 2006); Stephen Boardman, 'Coronations, Kings and Guardians: Politics, Parliaments and General Councils, 1371-1406,' in Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235—1560*, (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 102-122; Stephen Boardman, 'The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court,' in Dauvid Broun and M. MacGregor (eds.), *Miorun Mor nan Gall, The Great Ill-Will of the Low Lowlander?*, (Glasgow, 2007), pp. 83-109; Stephen Boardman, 'Robert II (1371-1390)', in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds.), *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542*, (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 72-108; Stephen Boardman, 'Robert III (1390-1406),' in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds.), *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542*, (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 109-125; Stephen Boardman, 'Royal Finance and Regional Rebellion in the Reign of James IV,' in Julian Goodare and Alisdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, (Leiden, 2008), pp. 15-42; Norman Macdougall, *James III*, (Edinburgh, 2009); Norman Macdougall, *James IV*, (Edinburgh, 1989); Roland Tanner, "I Arest You, Sir, in the Name of the Three Astattes in Perlement': The Scottish Parliament and Resistance to the Crown in the Fifteenth Century,' in Tim Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*,

Grant and the Macdougall school have not extended beyond that of the crown and the nobility.[6] Crown-noble relations have been further and rightfully complicated by Claire Hawes in her recent doctoral thesis. Hawes argued for conceiving of these political relationships within a 'public domain' model, because personal relationships operated in a public setting; political authority was both public and personal.[7] Utilising a 'public domain' model opens the political arena to interests other than those of the crown and the nobility, like clerics and burgesses. It is within this public domain that the power and influence of late medieval Scotland's mercantile elite can be witnessed.

One way of observing the power of the mercantile elite was in their increasingly prominent role in the Scottish parliament throughout this period. However, it was not until 2010 that a scholarly work on the medieval Scottish parliament included a detailed analysis of the importance of the Third Estate, the burghs and by extension the merchants, to the governance of the realm.[8] Alison A.B. McQueen's doctoral research on the origins of the Scottish parliament briefly mentioned the inclusion of the burghs in parliamentary governance in the early fourteenth century, but only in relation to the support of the royal succession from Robert I to his son and heir, David.[9] Roland Tanner's seminal research on the late medieval Scottish parliament included only minor references to the Third Estate, instead focussing predominantly on crown-magnate conflicts seen in the parliamentary

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(Sutton, 2000), pp. 101-117; Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424-1488*, (East Linton, 2001)

[6] For an example of the lack of investigation into mercantile power, see: Stephen Boardman and Alasdair Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-c.1500*, (Dublin, 2003).

[7] Claire Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority in Later Fifteenth-Century Scotland,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2015), pp. 20-23.

[8] Alan MacDonald, 'The Third Estate: Parliament and the Burghs,' in Keith M. Brown, ed., *The History of the Scottish Parliament: Parliament in Context, 1235-1707*, (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 95-121.

[9] Alison A.B. McQueen, 'The Origins and Development of the Scottish Parliament, 1249-1329,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2002), pp. 290-292.

legislation.[10] Furthermore, Tanner argued that the burgesses were the least 'obviously political Estate'.[11] While arguments could be made about what Tanner defined as 'obviously political,' his research clearly emphasised the importance of crown-magnate conflict, while excluding the burgesses from an overly powerful or active role in the governance of the kingdom. A political narrative of medieval Scotland which overlooks or underestimates the influence wielded by the merchants is an inaccurate representation of the social, political and economic power of this important elite group.

Current research on the burgess and mercantile elite of medieval Scotland has primarily focussed on their small-scale, localised influence. In 1984, Michael Lynch wrote an article in which he maintained that Scottish historians had focussed upon the institutions and structures of the medieval burghs to the detriment of our knowledge on the relationships and resulting tensions which were formed by individuals within the burgh, and between the burgh and the nobility.[12] Twenty-seven years later, J.R.D. Falconer asserted that little research had been done to rectify the historiographical gap identified by Lynch.[13] Falconer's statement overlooked the innovative and detailed Scottish urban history written by Elizabeth Ewan. In *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, Elizabeth Ewan argued that the burgesses controlled the medieval Scottish burghs, creating and enforcing regulations.[14] She concluded that the burgesses of Scotland were not only integral to the governing of their burghs, but also in the commercial success of the community of the

[10] Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*.
[11] Ibid., p. 268.
[12] Michael Lynch, 'Whatever Happened to the Medieval Burgh? Some Guidelines for Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Historians,' *Scottish Economic & Social History*, 4 (1984), pp. 5, 17.
[13] J.R.D. Falconer, 'Surveying Scotland's Urban Past: The Pre-Modern Burgh,' *History Compass*, 9:1, (2011), pp. 34-35.
[14] Elizabeth Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 66.

realm and governance of the kingdom.[15] While her conclusion is ultimately correct, Ewan, like many other Scottish historians, based much of her argument on the out of date and often flawed 1910 work by Matthijs P. Rooseboom.[16] At the time of publishing *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, there was little scholarly research which had been done on the commercial and diplomatic relationship of Scotland and Flanders. The inevitable reliance on the work of Rooseboom and William Finlayson, and the lack of Scottish archival sources needed to persuasively argue for the influence of merchants in the late medieval national political sphere meant that most urban historians looked inward toward the burgh, rather than outside of it. For example, Elizabeth Ewan's wider research has primarily dealt with merchants within the burgh and their commercial endeavours, rather than their relationship with the Scottish crown or role in the governance of Scotland.[17] Utilising Scottish and continental primary sources, this thesis seeks to expand our understanding of the power and influence of late medieval Scotland's mercantile elite on the governance of the kingdom and pursuit of its commercial interests.[18]

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[15] Ibid., 159-160.

[16] Matthijs P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands: An Account of the Trade Relations Between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676, with a Calendar of Illustrative Documents*, (The Hague, 1910). Rooseboom's true value for the contemporary historian can be found in his appendices. Unlike many who have come after him, Rooseboom included transcriptions of many documents found in Low Country archives regarding trade between Scotland and the Low Countries. For Scottish historians, often quite reliant on domestic archives, Rooseboom's transcripts provide glimpses into the potential archival treasure trove on medieval Scotland to be found in continental archives.

[17] Elizabeth Ewan, 'Age of Bon-Accord: Aberdeen in the Fourteenth Century,' in John Smith (ed.), *New Light on Medieval Aberdeen*, (Aberdeen, 1985), pp. 32-45; Elizabeth Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh in the Fourteenth Century,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 228-244; Elizabeth Ewan, 'Mons Meg and Merchant Meg: Women in Later Medieval Edinburgh,' in David Ditchburn and Terry Brotherstone (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c.1050-c.1650*, (East Linton, 2000), pp. 131-142; Elizabeth Ewan, '"For Whatever Ales Ye": Women as Consumers and Producers in Late Medieval Scottish Towns,' in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750*, (East Linton, 1999), pp. 125-135.

[18] For research on Scottish towns and their mercantile elite, see: Ian Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland*, (London, 1978); George Gordon and Brian Dicks, eds., *Scottish Urban History*, (Aberdeen, 1983); J.C. Murray (ed.), *Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Aberdeen, 1973-81*, (Edinburgh,

In comparison, historians of urban medieval England have written extensively on the role of merchants within their local communities and their influence in the national political arena.[19] Most recently, Eliza Hartrich has argued against the traditional

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1982); P. Holdsworth, *Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Perth, 1979-1981*, (Edinburgh, 1987); R.M. Spearman, 'Early Scottish Towns: Their Origins and Economy,' in S.T. Driscoll and M.R. Nieke (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 96-110; Ian D. Whyte, 'Urbanization in Early-Modern Scotland: A Preliminary Analysis,' *Scottish Economic & Social History*, 9(1989), pp. 21-37; N.P. Brooks and G. Whittington, 'Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh: The Example of St Andrews,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, 2:3 (1977), pp. 278-295; Ronan Toolis and Diana Sproat, et al., 'The Transformation of an Early Post-Medieval Town into a Major Modern City: Excavation and Survey of the Waverley Vaults, New Street, Edinburgh, Scotland,' *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 41:1(2007), pp. 155-179; W.H.K. Turner, 'Burgh, State and the Scottish Wool Textile Industry c.1500-c.1840: Part I: The Role of the Royal Burghs,' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 101:2(1985), pp. 85-90; W.H.K. Turner, 'Burgh, State and the Scottish Wool Textile Industry c.1500-1840: Part II: The Role of the State,' *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 101:3(1985), pp. 130-138; Michael Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structures of the Larger Towns, 1450-1600,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 261-286; Michael Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople in Fifteenth-Century Scotland,' in John A.F. Thomson (eds.), *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 173-189; E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn, and Michael Lynch (eds.), *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History*, (East Linton, 2002).

[19] A.P.M. Wright, 'The Relations between the King's Government and the English Cities and Boroughs in the Fifteenth Century,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 1965); Sylvia Lettice Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300-1500)*, (Chicago, 1948); Jenny Kermode, 'The Merchants of Three Northern English Towns,' in C.H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of A.R. Myers*, (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 7-50; Jenny Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1999); Boyd Breslow, 'London Merchants and the Origins of the House of Commons,' *Medieval Prosopography*, 10:2 (1989), pp. 51-80; Boyd Breslow, 'A London Merchant and the Governance of Medieval England,' *Medieval Prosopography*, 25 (2004), pp. 101-113; Stephen J. O'Connor, 'Adam Fraunceys and John Pyel: Perceptions of Status Among Merchants in Fourteenth-Century London,' in Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard Garfield Davies, and Peter McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, (Stroud, 1994), pp. 17-35; Pamela Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: the Grocer's Company and the politics and trade of London*, (New Haven, 1995); Mark Addison Amos, "Some Lordes and Somme Other Lower Astates': London's Urban Elite and the Symbolic Battle for Status,' in Douglas Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England*, (Leiden, 2001), pp. 159-175; Susan Duxbury, 'The Bonds of Trade: The Port of Southampton and the Merchants of Winchester and Salisbury,' in Linda E. Mitchell, Katherine L. French, and Douglas L. Biggs (eds.), *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honour of Barbara Hanawalt*, (Farnham, 2011), pp. 21-38; James L. Bolton, 'The City and the Crown, 1455-61,' *London Journal*, 12 (1986), pp. 11-24; Peter Fleming, 'Politics and the Provincial Town: Bristol, 1451-1471,' in Keith Dockray and Peter Fleming (eds.), *People, Places and Perspectives: Essays on Late Medieval and Early Tudor England in Honour of R.A. Griffiths*, (Stroud, 2005), pp. 79-114; Peter Fleming, 'Crown and Town in Later Medieval England: Bristol and National Politics, 1399-1486,' in Sheila Sweetinburgh (ed.), *Negotiating the Political in Northern European Urban Society, c.1400-c.1600*, (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 141-162; Peter Fleming, *Bristol and the War of the Roses, 1451-1471*, (Bristol, 2005); Christian D. Liddy, '"Bee War of Gyle in Borugh": Taxation and Political Discourse in Late Medieval English Towns,' in Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet,

perception that financial interest was the sole motivation for merchants and other urban residents to become involved in politics.[20] Instead, drawing on the scholarly work of early modern urban historians, she has argued that English burgesses were well informed and influential political actors, who 'disseminated national policies and political dialogues to the localities, and in turn influenced parliamentary and public debates…'[21] The increased political agency that Hartrich prescribed to the medieval English burgess community is further supported by the research of Christian D. Liddy, another urban and political historian of medieval England. Liddy's examination of the influence of Bristol and York's influence on the English crown's commercial policy in the latter half of the fifteenth century concluded that the crown consulted and relied upon the ruling burgess elites of many large towns to formulate and implement its commercial policies, and that this was characteristic of a system of government 'in which king and subjects shared responsibility'.[22] Like their English counterparts, the agency of medieval Scottish burgesses and merchants has been underrepresented in the histories of their respective national politics. Similar to Hartrich and Liddy's argument, this thesis will argue that the economic interests of Scotland's

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and Andrea Zorzi (eds.), *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, (Rome, 2011), pp. 461-485; Christian D. Liddy and Jelle Haemers, 'Popular Politics in the Late Medieval City: York and Bruges,' *EHR*, 128 (2013), pp. 771-805; Caroline M. Barron, 'The Government of London and its Relations with the Crown 1400-1450,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1970); Anne Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578*, (Aldershot, 2005); Matthew Davies, 'Lobbying Parliament: The London Companies in the Fifteenth Century,' *Parliamentary History*, 23 (2004), pp. 136-148; Matthew Davies, 'Governors and Governed: The Practice of Power in the Merchant Taylors' Company in the Fifteenth Century,' in Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, (London, 2002), pp. 67-83.

[20] Eliza Hartrich, 'Town, Crown, and Urban System: The Position of Towns in the English Polity, 1413-71,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2014), p. 8.

[21] Ibid., pp. 11, 13-14; Phil Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 37-76.

[22] Christian D. Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1350-1400*, (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 139; Gerald L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England,' *Past and Present*, 138 (1993), p. 57.

mercantile elite enabled them to assert influence over crown policy, particularly commercial policy, during periods of national importance to their benefit.

The merchant community of late medieval Scotland was a socially fluid, professionally defined group. The dynamic nature of this occupationally determined group exponentially complicates the ability to provide any significant conclusions on the influence of individual or collective merchants. A second, but equally important complication for the study of the mercantile elite is the lack of surviving source material on domestic trade.[23] While the survival and publishing of the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* has encouraged the study of Scotland's export trade, the inconsistencies and inaccuracies of this source and the studies which rely predominantly on it must be critically considered.[24] The imbalance in the survival rate of sources dealing with internal and external trade inevitably leads to the conclusion that the Scottish economy was reliant upon the exportation of resource-based goods, particularly wool, hides and fells, to the European continent. The traditional narrative of economic decline in the fifteenth century, directly correlating with the decrease in Scottish wool exports to Flanders, has most recently been argued by Alexander Stevenson and the early works of David Ditchburn.[25] A wariness of the flawed historical

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[23] Martin Rorke, 'Women Overseas Traders in Sixteenth-Century Scotland,' *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25:2 (2005), pp. 83, 85, 86, 89; Martin Rorke, 'English and Scottish Overseas Trade, 1300-1600,' *Economic History Review*, 59:2 (2006), p. 265; Harold W. Booton, 'Inland Trade: A Study of Aberdeen in the Later Middle Ages,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 149.

[24] David Ditchburn, 'Bremen Piracy and the Scottish Periphery: the North Sea World in the 1440s,' in Allan I. Macinnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik Pederson, eds., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c.1350-1700*, (East Linton, 2000), pp. 15-16; Martin Rorke, 'Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2001), pp. xvi-xviii.

[25] Alexander Stevenson, 'Trade with the South, 1070-1513,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 195; Alexander Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1982); Alexander Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges,' in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland, c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson*, (East Linton, 2000), pp. 93-

sources has led Ditchburn to more recently conclude that Scotland's economy was not as unhealthy as its historiography would lead one to believe. This is a marked transition from the negative view of the health of the Scottish economy which characterised his earlier work but one that he notes himself is a result of new approaches to studying the medieval economy of Scotland.[26] This thesis does not intend to argue the dominance of external versus internal trade, but the comparatively high survival rate for sources relating to Scotland's export trade has necessitated that Scottish overseas merchants are the focus of this work.

The minimal amount of research which has been undertaken on Scottish merchants and their wool trade with Flanders necessitates the clarification of some editorial choices found throughout this work. In the context of this thesis, the phrase 'Scottish overseas merchants' will denote Scottish individuals, who traded material goods with a foreign body. This does not indicate the place of residence of the merchant; Scottish merchants could live abroad while trading their goods. The establishment of a Scottish merchant community in Bruges was a direct result of the successful Scotto-Flemish wool trade.[27] However, the phrase 'Scottish overseas merchant' is not meant to imply the residence of the merchant because Scots did not have to travel abroad with their goods. Instead, Scottish merchants employed other Scots to represent their economic interests abroad; these individuals were often referred to as a proctor or factor. The most famous Scottish factor of the late medieval

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107; Alexander Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension of the Auld Alliance,' in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994*, (East Linton, 1996), pp. 28-42.

[26] Ditchburn, 'Bremen Piracy,' pp. 15-16; David Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe, 1297-1540,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 161-179. The specific 'new' approach that Ditchburn credits for this shift in his view is the research of Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew on changing prices as determining the health of the Scottish economy. Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures*, (Cambridge, 1995).

[27] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 186-187.

period was Andrew Haliburton, the Conservator of Scottish privileges in the Low Countries from 1493 to 1506.[28] Haliburton's accounting ledger has survived, providing unparalleled detail about Scotland's trade with Flanders and the wider Low Countries, and the Scottish merchants who benefitted from it.

A second, but equally important editorial choice which must be briefly discussed is the decision to refer to the trade between Scotland and Flanders as 'Scotto-Flemish trade'. There is no term used commonly throughout the limited historiography of trade between Scotland and Flanders which encapsulates their trade relationship. For this reason, 'Scotto-Flemish trade' has been chose to simplify the discussion of Scotland's exportation of wool to Flanders. This thesis specifically focuses on Scottish overseas merchants who traded with Flanders, particularly Bruges. Only a brief explanation of the importance of the Scotto-Flemish wool trade and importation of Flemish cloth and luxury goods will appear in this introduction. An extensive analysis of the economic relationship between these two regions compromised a significant amount of the doctoral theses of Martin Rorke and Alexander Stevenson.[29] While the wool trade is featured prominently within this thesis, wool was not the only Scottish good traded extensively with Flanders in the late medieval period. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, surviving records suggest that resource-based goods, such as wool, hides and woolfells, dominated Scotland's trade with Flanders. However, the decline of the international wool trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries necessitated a diversification of the goods exported from Scotland to Flanders to continue the prosperous international trade relationship. *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* provides a glimpse at the diversification of trade goods and destinations for Scottish goods at the end

[28] Andrew Haliburton, *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton*; R.L. Mackie (ed.), *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513*, (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 104-105.
[29] Rorke, 'Scottish Overseas Trade'; Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries'.

of the fifteenth century. The decline of the international wool trade led to Scottish trade expanding outside of its traditional centre of trade, the wool staple in Bruges, to the other ports of the Low Countries, including Middleburg and Antwerp.

The wool trade was at the centre of much international conflict, economic success, and urban revolt in the late medieval period. According to the *Exchequer Rolls*, while the international wool trade declined and Scotland's economic portfolio diversified, the exportation of Scottish wool to Flanders still made up a majority of Scottish exports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the late medieval period, most northern Europeans clothed themselves in woolen garments, creating a demand for such goods. [30] England, and later Spain, sought to benefit from the market demand for wool imports at Bruges, alongside Scotland. Similarly to Scotland, wool dominated the English export trade from its height in the late-thirteenth century through to its decline by the late fifteenth century.[31] Prior to the thirteenth century, Scottish, English, Irish, and Spanish wools were imported to Flanders and woven into textiles for domestic consumption. In the 1300s, cloth made from these wools was exported from Bruges alongside much higher priced luxury cloth.[32] The later thirteenth century saw the withdrawal of Flemish merchants from actively trading in wool. T.H. Lloyd has argued that the Flemish retreat from trading in foreign ports was a result of increased commercial competition from foreign merchants and a shift in concentration to the textile industry.[33] Oscar Gelderblom posits that it was not only economic factors which drove Flemish merchants out of foreign ports and back to Bruges,

[30] David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p. 176
[31] Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks, and Paul R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market, c.1230-1327*, (Cambridge, 2007), p. 8.
[32] James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390*, (Cambridge, 2005), p. 261.
[33] T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1977), p. 25.

but also political factors.[34] Indeed, John H.A. Munro points to the Low Countries' dependence on English wool and growing competition from the English cloth industry as the cause for economic conflict between England and the Low Countries during this period.[35] The shift away from Flemish mercantile control of the international wool trade reflected the importance of wool to the export economies of many western European kingdoms.

While merchants from all over the west of Europe brought their goods to Bruges, not all wool was valued alike. A Bruges *keure* of 1282 included the requirement to distinguish English, Scottish and Irish wool by sealing it with different numbers of crosses: three for English wool, two for Scottish, and one for Irish.[36] There were many factors which could affect the quality of wool produced in different regions, including the type of soil and terrain where the sheep grazed, as, Lloyd has argued, this could impact upon the quality of a sheep's fleece as much as its breed.[37] The visual identification of the originating region of wool at the Bruges market was for easy identification of the quality of wool and pricing. Considered to be of lesser quality than English wool, Scottish wool was used in the 'secondary draperies' or medium-quality cloth of Bruges.[38] Alexander Stevenson has suggested that the medium-quality cloth produced from this secondary tier of wool was most actively traded with the Hanseatic League.[39]

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[34] Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: the Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650*, (Princeton, 2013), p. 21.
[35] John H.A. Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478*, (Brussels, 1972), p. 9.
[36] George Espinas and Henri Pirenne (eds.), *Recueil de Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre (Premiere Partie : Des Origines à l'Époque Bourguignonne)*, i (Brussels, 1906), 396, no. 140: 67.
[37] T.H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, (Cambridge, 1973), p. 3.
[38] Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold*, p. 9; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' p. 192.
[39] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' p. 192.

While wool from each region met with different levels of success based on market consumption and demand, the fifteenth century saw the gradual decline of the international wool trade. Bell, Brooks, and Dryburgh argued that the cycle of boom and bust in wool exports and prices culminated in a period of depression for the wool market by 1453.[40] The decline of the Scottish wool trade in the mid-fifteenth century did not decrease the exportation of Scottish goods to the Low Countries, instead the destinations and goods exported became far more diverse. The ledger of Andrew Haliburton recorded the continuing trade between Scottish merchants and ports in the Low Countries, particularly Antwerp, into the early sixteenth century.[41] The transition away from reliance upon Bruges and its markets for trade in the Low Countries to a broader trade relationship with the Burgundian Low Countries is a striking feature of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In light of this shift, the trading portfolios of many Scottish overseas merchants evolved, as did their interest in maintaining trade with the entirety of the Low Countries, rather than solely with the county of Flanders.

The primary focus of this thesis is on Scotland and its mercantile elite.[42] However, the commercial, political and diplomatic relationship that the Scots forged and maintained with Flanders was extremely important as much of the power and influence of Scotland's overseas merchants was based on their role in Scotland's profitable trade with Flanders. Utilising the term 'medieval Flanders' necessitates a discussion of the potential difficulties in the definition of Flanders as a singular entity in the late medieval period. The geographic

[40] Bell, Brooks, and Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market*, p. 1.
[41] *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton*; Mackie, *The Letters of James the Fourth*, pp. 104-105.
[42] The continuous Anglo-Scottish battle for control of Berwick in the late medieval period resulted in a unique environment in Berwick. Not entirely English or Scottish, a comparison of the experiences and influence of the mercantile community of Berwick with those of the other eastern burghs of Scotland would be highly problematic. In the discussion and definition of a Scottish mercantile community, Berwick has been excluded. It does, however, feature in the analysis of the Lauder family network and their trade interests in the final chapter of this thesis.

definition is fundamentally complicated by the fluctuation of the geographic and political borders of the county of Flanders in this period.[43] The county of Flanders was located to the west of the Scheldt river and in the north of the kingdom of France.[44] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the aggressive agricultural exploitation of coastal lands, which had been reclaimed from the sea, boosted the Flemish economy.[45] The thirteenth century saw immigration from the rural regions of Flanders to the urban centres causing the large Flemish towns to grow in size.[46] By the fourteenth century, the county of Flanders was the most densely populated region of the Low Countries.[47] The county was made up of many towns, but the most prominent were the three Great Towns of Flanders, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. Ghent was a powerful and independent town.[48] It was the largest city in Flanders and the political heart of the county because of its position in internal trade, industrial development and the size of its population.[49] By the fourteenth century, Ghent was the second largest city north of the Alps. Its population remained as high as 60,000 after the Black Death.[50] Bruges, with its population of 45,000 inhabitants by the fourteenth century, was the second largest town in Flanders.[51] Far more than the other Flemish towns, Bruges benefitted from the transition from fair-based commercial activity to town-based. Its geographic location along the Scheldt led to it becoming an important 'meeting-point' for

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[43] In this thesis, 'Flanders' will demarcate the county of Flanders, including the great towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.
[44] Robert Stein, 'Seventeen: The Multiplicity of a Unity in the Low Countries,' in Jonathon Boulton and Jan Veenstra (eds.), *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, (Leiden, 2006), p. 223.
[45] Jan Dumolyn, 'Nobles, Patricians and Officers: The Making of a Regional Political Elite in Late Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Social History*, p. 432.
[46]Marc Boone, 'Urban Space and Political Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32:4 (2002), p. 624.
[47] David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, (New York, 1992), p. 267.
[48] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 304-305.
[49] Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs Among Giants: The Flemish Urban Networks in the Late Middle Ages*, (Leuven, 1997), p. 9.
[50] David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent*, (Lincoln, 1985), pp. 1-2.
[51] Stabel, *Dwarfs Among Giants*, p. 32.

foreign merchants.[52] Unlike Ghent and Ypres, foreign merchant colonies were established in Bruges, as much of its export trade was monopolised by foreign merchants.[53] Ypres, the third largest town in Flanders, had a rise in population in the thirteenth century that was unmatched anywhere else in northwestern Europe, but after 1348, the population began to decline.[54] By the sixteenth century, Ypres had transitioned from a drapery town with international links to a regional administrative centre with a textiles industry specialising in less refined textiles for closer markets.[55] A geographic definition of Flanders is the most straightforward framework to define the shifting political, demographic, and linguistic landscape of the county of Flanders in the late medieval period.

A political definition of Flanders is fundamentally complicated by the broad chronological time frame of this thesis, because the political boundaries of Flanders shifted and overlapped throughout this period. Flanders transitioned from an independent county to a cornerstone of the Burgundian state, and sometime subject of the French king. Peter Stabel has argued that the influence of the great Flemish towns within the county was established as early as the twelfth century. In the early twelfth century, the towns were able to intervene in comital policies, but it was not until the fourteenth century that the political power of the towns reached its height.[56] It was during the fourteenth century that the Four Members of Flanders was established, which represented the three leading towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and the Franc of Bruges, the rural district surrounding Bruges.[57] The independence of the towns and their desire to control their rural hinterland and defend their commercial interests brought them into direct opposition to the

[52] Ibid., p. 139.
[53] Ibid., pp. 141-142; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 186-187.
[54] Stabel, *Dwarfs Among Giants*, p. 33.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., p. 89.
[57] Dumolyn, 'Nobles, Patricians and Officers,' p. 432.

centralising policies of the Flemish counts. Thus, the fourteenth century marked the beginning of a period in which the towns rose in successive revolts to counter the centralising interests of the counts.[58] Louis de Male was the first Flemish count to impose the centralisation of power to the comital courts in Flanders.[59] The independent county of Flanders was subsumed into the territorial holdings of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy in 1384, but Philip's succession to the comital title was not truly established until the peace of Tournai at the end of 1385.[60] The Burgundian ducal dynasty was a younger branch of the royal French Valois family. This would lead to tensions in the relationships of the dukes of Burgundy with Flanders, England and France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[61] Philip's acquisition of Flanders marked the beginning of a transition for Burgundy from a French fief to a powerful, independent and, arguably, unified state.[62] Flanders, and the Flemish people, did not provide a stable foundation for the burgeoning Burgundian state. Philip's relationship with the populace of Flanders was fundamentally different than that of Burgundy, because of the power wielded by the Four Members.[63] Philip the Bold had considerable authority over the municipal magistratures of the smaller Flemish towns, but far less in Bruges, and virtually no authority over municipal appointments in Ghent.[64] The tense relationship between the duke and the great towns of Flanders was an inevitable consequence of Flanders' transition from an independent county to a member of the Burgundian state.

[58] Ibid.
[59] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 30.
[60] Ibid., p. 16
[61] Stein, 'Seventeen,' p. 226.
[62] Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 113.
[63] Ibid., p. 173.
[64] Ibid., p. 174.

John the Fearless' succession to the county of Flanders marked another change in the relationship between the Flemish count and his subjects. Instead of acting as an absentee ruler, much like his father had been, John spent nearly an entire year during the first four years of his reign in Flanders and his wife, Margaret, resided in Ghent on his behalf for a period of two years.[65] Following this period of early interest and semi-regular residence in Flanders, he appointed his son, Philip, count of Charolais and the future Philip the Good, to act as his representative in Flanders.[66] Like his father before him, John chose to maintain his influence and power within the French court to protect his personal interests and exploit his French connections.[67] It was his machinations within the French court which brought the death of John the Fearless.

On 10 September 1419, John the Fearless was murdered on the bridge of Montreau during a diplomatic parley. His murder was organised by the dauphin of France and his advisors.[68] The natural consequence of John's murder was a newly strained relationship between the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, and France. While Philip might have considered the dauphin to be his personal enemy, he never made all out war with France.[69] Burgundy and consequently Flanders, like Scotland, found itself caught between two of the greatest international powers of the late medieval period, France and England. Philip's relationship with France was limited after the death of Charles VI, but he was still torn between France and England, participating in negotiations and local truces with France, while maintaining alliance with England.[70] The instability of Philip the Good's place between England and France resulted in his withdrawal from active involvement in the

[65] Richard Vaughn, *John the Fearless*, (Woodbridge, 2002) p. 15.
[66] Ibid., p. 153.
[67] Ibid., p. 29.
[68] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 1.
[69] Ibid., p. 6.
[70] Ibid., p. 16.

French court and its politics, and a policy of maintaining the contested frontiers of the Burgundian state with minor territorial acquisition of previously French-held lands through diplomatic means.[71] Beyond the reach of the French king and his court, the early years of Philip the Good's rule were characterised by a striking and dramatic expansion of the Burgundian state.[72]

From 1424 to 1428, Philip used the military might of the Burgundian state to acquire lands throughout the Low Countries. On 6 April 1424, John of Bavaria made Philip the Good heir to his extensive Dutch estates.[73] Two years later, on 3 September 1427, Philip of St. Pol, duke of Brabant named Philip as his heir.[74] Finally, Philip's largest and arguably second most important territorial acquisition was made on 3 July 1428 when, after a period of protracted warfare, Jacqueline of Bavaria surrendered to Philip and signed the Treaty of Delft. The Treaty of Delft was central to Philip's acquisition of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, because one of the provisions of the treaty was that Jacqueline made Philip her heir to the said territories.[75] However, it was truly during Philip the Good's reign that the Valois Burgundian state fully developed. The 'Burgundian state' as a term incorrectly assumes a coherence and unity to the Valois territorial holdings during this period which did not exist. Each area remained administratively separate, particularly Flanders, which fundamentally complicated the development of any actual unified Burgundian state truly subordinate to a Valois duke.

While the early years of Philip the Good's rule were marked by territorial expansion and acquisition, the 1430s brought with it renewed revolts in the Great Towns of Flanders.

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[71] Ibid., p. 28.
[72] Ibid., p. 29.
[73] Ibid., p. 35.
[74] Ibid., p. 51.
[75] Ibid., p. 49.

Serious rebellions broke out in Bruges and Ghent as a result of the withdrawal from Calais and Humphrey's expedition into West Flanders.[76] A state of open war broke out between Bruges and the count, in which Philip made a determined effort to starve Bruges into submission.[77] In February 1438, Flanders was pacified by an agreement at Arras.[78] The fiercely independent city of Ghent remained a trouble-spot for each of Philip's successors, even in Bruges, revolt occasionally flared up.[79] David Nicholas has argued that the political tensions in Ghent were caused because of its position in the struggle between France and England. While Flanders was a fief of the French crown, its focus on trade, particularly the textile trade, pulled it towards an alliance with England.[80] Similar to the Scottish east coast burghs of Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh, the commercial interests of the Flemish cities were a significant feature in their relationship with the ruling elite, particularly the duke of Burgundy, and influenced their expressions of power. Richard Vaughan, biographer of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, argued that Philip never came up with a solution for the problems that the independent Flemish cities posed, which in turn meant that Flanders never became the foundation of Burgundian power that its wealth, culture, and early acquisition by the Valois dukes should have entailed.[81] Vaughan's argument reiterated the importance of the pacification of economically prominent medieval towns in the pursuit of, in this case, state-wide prosperity. Thus, the Flemish towns, and their mercantile elite, held an incredibly significant power in perpetuating the success of the county and state. In turn, the large eastern burghs of Scotland, and their mercantile

[76] Ibid., p. 85.
[77] Ibid., p. 91.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., p. 303.
[80] Nicholas, *Domestic Life of a Medieval City*, p. 3.
[81] Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 332.

elite, were not minor figures in the successes of the Scottish kingdom and must be considered as influential figures in the national political arena.

The third, and final, possible definition of Flanders is based in the linguistics of the county. The languages spoken within the geographic borders of Flanders, French and Flemish, are reflective of a multiplicity of factors. Historians have debated the extent of each language's use. C.A.J. Armstrong argued that the division of Flemish and French-speaking Flemings was geographic. However, he did implicitly present a social distinction in his analysis of Louis de Male's introduction of the use of Flemish for many administrative and judicial documents.[82] In contrast, Lauran Toorians argued that the division was primarily social, rather than geographic.[83] The complicated linguistic division of French and Flemish-speaking Flemings further emphasises the need to rely, at times problematically, on the geographic definition of the county of Flanders, specifying the inclusion of its three great towns, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres within its boundaries. It is the geographic definition of Flanders that this thesis must use. As our discussion of Flemish trade is predominantly located in Bruges, the problems of a broad geographic definition will not impact this study.

Like the study of medieval English merchants, historians of the towns of medieval Flanders have written extensively about the relationship between the count of Flanders and the Great Towns of the county. The influence of the urban elite on the governance of Flanders is evidenced by the significant threat posed by urban rebellions throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Jan Dumolyn has argued that merchants and burghers

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[82] C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Language Question in the Low Countries: The Use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and their Administration,' in J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield, and Beryl Smalley (eds.), *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, (Evanston, 1965), pp. 194-195.
[83] Lauran Toorians, 'Twelfth-Century Flemish Settlements in Scotland,' in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*, (East Linton, 1996), p. 2.

were able to make economic demands of the Great Council of Bruges because peace was directly connected to industry and trade.[84] Indeed, many Flemish historians have concluded that the economic interest of the burghal and mercantile elite was a prominent motivation for the urban rebellions of the late medieval period.[85] The Flemish elite used rebellions to gain political power and control of the mechanisms of town governance.[86] There is no evidence of explicit urban rebellion against the Scottish crown during the late medieval period, but that does not indicate a lack of urban political power or desire to influence royal economic and political policy. Instead, historians of medieval Scotland must delve deeper into the source material to find expressions of mercantile influence through secondary or tangential evidence.

The lack of evidence of urban revolt in Scotland has necessitated a different approach to the study of mercantile influence and power in Scotland than what is most commonly found in the scholarship of urban English and Flemish history. Instead of looking to the primary source material to explicitly state the level of influence wielded by

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[84] Jan Dumolyn, "Our Land is Only Founded on Trade and Industry.' Economic Discourses in Fifteenth-Century Bruges,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), p. 382.
[85] Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, 'Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 31:4 (2005), pp. 369-393; Jan Dumolyn, '"Criers and Shouters": The Discourse on Radical Urban Rebels in Late Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Social History*, 42 (2008), pp. 111-135; Marc Boone, 'Urban Space and Political Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32:4 (2002), pp. 621-640; Marc Boone and Maarten Prak, 'Rulers, Patricians and Burghers: The Great and Little Traditions of Urban Revolt in the Low Countries,' in Karel Davids and Jan Lucasson (eds.), *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 99-134; Jan Dumolyn, 'Privileges and Novelties: The Political Discourse of the Flemish Cities and Rural Districts in their Negotiations with the Dukes of Burgundy (1384-1506),' *Urban History*, 35:1 (2008), pp. 5-23; Jan Dumolyn, "Our Land is Only Founded on Trade and Industry." pp. 374-389; Jan Dumolyn, *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, (Turnhout, 2014); Jelle Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy, 1477-82*, (Turnhout, 2009); Hugo Soly, 'The Political Economy of European Craft Guilds: Power Relations and Economic Strategies of Merchants and Master Artisans in the Medieval and Early Modern Textile Industries,' *International Review of Social History*, 53 (2008), pp. 45-71; Peter Stabel, 'Economic Development, Urbanisation and Political Organisation in the Late Medieval Southern Low Countries,' in Peter Bernholz, Manfred E. Streit, and Rolan Vaubel (eds.), *Political Competition, Innovation and Growth: A Historical Analysis*, (Berlin, 1998), pp. 183-204.
[86] Dumolyn and Haemers, 'Patterns of Urban Rebellion,' pp. 372, 376.

Scottish overseas merchants, we must take a more subjective or tertiary pursuit of the topic. This thesis will argue that the influence and power of Scotland's commercial elite was implicit in their involvement in diplomacy, the implementation of pro-mercantile legislation, and their receipt of improved economic rights and privileges. It will also be argued here that these mercantile elite were active and influential in the formation of crown political policy, diplomatic negotiations, and the economic success of Scotland. After all, it is the historian who imposes the creation of distinct political, economic, and urban histories. Such stark distinctions do not reflect the complexities or reality of Scottish society in the late medieval period. The primary aim of this thesis is to present a cohesive and coherent illustration of the extent of mercantile influence throughout the whole of Scottish society by combining the historiographies of the medieval Scottish economy, national politics, diplomacy and urban life.

The chronological timeframe of this thesis covers a period from c.1280 to 1513. The breadth of period covered in this study has allowed the inclusion of multiple examples of positive Scotto-Flemish relations and the conflicts that arose in this important international trade relationship. Beginning this study in the 1280s enables a discussion of the 1282 marriage between Alexander, son of Alexander III, king of Scotland, and Margaret of Flanders, daughter of Guy, count of Flanders. Establishing a marital link between Scotland and Flanders was intended to solidify and promote continuing trade between the two regions. However, the death of Alexander, prince of Scotland, and Margaret's subsequent return to Flanders resulted in the breakdown of positive trade relations over Margaret's dower portion. This marriage stands as the first example of the use of trade embargoes in Scotto-Flemish trade that appears in surviving documentary sources and,

thus, establishes the use of economic embargoes, throughout the following two centuries, in the pursuit of political ends and mercantile protections.

A thirteenth century start date is beneficial for another, similarly, practical reason, it enabled some conclusions to be drawn about the impact of Scottish parliamentary legislation on the appearance of Flemish merchants in Scotland prior to the 1347 expulsion of Flemings. A comprehensive discussion of the effects of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scottish parliamentary legislation on Scotto-Flemish trade and the appearance of Flemish merchants in Scotland had to be rooted in an understanding the central role of the 1347 expulsion. The choice of 1513 to conclude this thesis was similarly straight forward. The survival rate of sources from the reign of James IV is comparatively higher than those of his predecessors. The large number of sources from the reign of James IV, including the *Treasurer's Accounts* and the *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton*, provide far more detailed information than could be gathered from the *Exchequer Rolls*. Concluding this study in the early sixteenth century has provided a balanced selection of source material and a broad chronological timeframe from which to draw multiple examples of mercantile influence and power.

The research of Alexander Stevenson and David Ditchburn has dominated the understudied topic of Scotto-Flemish relations in the late medieval period, emphasising the importance of continued trade between the two regions.[87] Alexander Stevenson has argued that the commercial links between Scotland and Flanders shaped Scotland's foreign policies

[87] Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries'; Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension'; Stevenson, 'Associations with Bruges'; David Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands in the Later Middle Ages: The Other 'Auld Alliance',' *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring vor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 105:2 (2001), pp. 33-55; David Ditchburn, 'Scotland, France, and the Auld Alliance: Was There a Burgundian Alternative?' *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2016), pp. 81-100.

throughout the medieval period.[88] There is ample evidence in support of the influence of Scotland commercial relationships on its foreign policy. Yet, there was far more to the creation of crown and parliamentary foreign policy than Stevenson's argument suggests. In contrast to Stevenson's overwhelming economic and political focus, David Ditchburn's scholarly work has considered the diplomatic relationship between Scotland and Flanders.[89] Taking into account Alexander Stevenson's economic deterministic approach to the creation of foreign policy, Ditchburn argued that the commercial relationship between Scotland and Flanders inherently complicated their diplomatic ties to other European political powers.[90] The research of Ditchburn and Stevenson has necessarily complicated the topic of Scotto-Flemish relations in the late medieval period, connecting the commercial interests of the Scottish kingdom with its diplomacy and foreign policy. However, their work has not considered the impact of Scottish commercial interests on the national politics of the kingdom or the role that Scotland's merchants played in the political and diplomatic manoeuvrings of this period. This thesis argues that the social or human mechanisms of trade with Flanders, Scotland's mercantile elite, and their influence can be observed on the commercial, political, and diplomatic successes of late medieval Scotland.

However, a specialised study, such as this, must understand and consider the broader Scotto-Flemish relations of this period. The destruction of the Bruges belfry, which contained the town's archives, in 1280 fundamentally complicates our understanding of the early relationship between Scotland and Flanders.[91] While there is a dearth of documentary sources relating to the early political and commercial relationship between these two regions, a thriving trade must have been going on by the late thirteenth century. Surviving

[88] Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries,' pp. 43-44, 47-53.
[89] Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands'; Ditchburn, 'Scotland, France, and the Auld Alliance.'
[90] Ditchburn, 'Scotland and the Netherlands,' pp. 36, 41-55.
[91] Stevenson, 'Associations with Bruges,' p. 93.

early town records from Bruges demonstrate that Scottish wool, as well as English, Irish and Flemish wools were used in Bruges cloth manufacturing in the thirteenth century. Additionally, these same records include the establishment of a 'Schottendijk', potentially indicating the early establishment of a Scottish mercantile community in Bruges.[92] Similarly, the founding of towns with Flemish ethnonym names and the appearance of Flemish burgesses and merchants within the early burghs of Scotland suggests that there were multiple waves of Flemish immigration to Scotland, possibly driven by overpopulation and commercial factors.[93] *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough* describes the sacking of Berwick by English troops in 1296 and the death of the Flemish mercantile community in defense of the town and their Red Hall.[94] While there is not a large number of surviving documentary records describing the thriving political and commercial Scotto-Flemish relationship in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it's existence can be assumed from the evidence that does survive.

The late thirteenth century marked a shift in thriving economic and political relations between Scotland and Flanders. The marriage agreement of Margaret of Flanders, daughter of Guy, count of Flanders, to Alexander of Scotland, son and heir of Alexander III was finalised in 1281, before finally occurring in 1282.[95] While initially intended to strengthen relations between the two regions, Alexander's death and the Scots' inability or unwillingness to pay Margaret's dower portion led to a period of concerted conflict and the

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[92] Ibid, p. 93; G. Espinas and H. Pirenne (eds.), *Receuil de documents relatifs à l'industrie drapèrie en Flandre*, (Brussels, 1906-1920), i, p. 396; L. Gillodts-van Severen (ed.), *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges*, (Bruges, 1871-1882), intro., 439, ii, p. 123, v, p. 383.
[93] This evidence will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.
[94] H. Rothwell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough* (London, 1957), p. 275.
[95] *RRS,*iv, pt. I, nos. 132-135; Cynthia Neville, 'Preparing for Kingship: Prince Alexander of Scotland, 1264-1484,' in Janay Nugent and Elizabeth Ewan (eds.), *Children and Youth in Pre-Modern Scotland*, (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 166.

severing of trade.[96] A trade agreement was eventually agreed upon, but the resumption of trade did not result in a return to the positive trade relationship of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Alexander Stevenson has argued that it is possible that Bruges was established as the Scottish wool staple as early as 1321. The earliest Scottish evidence of a staple in Bruges is found in the 1347 expulsion of Flemings from Scotland, which, in turn, discusses the transfer of the staple from Bruges to Middelburg in Zeeland.[97] However, the earliest surviving staple agreement is dated twelve years later in 1359 and was followed by a series of staple agreements in 1387, 1394, 1407, 1427 and 1470.[98] Recurring staple agreements do not indicate a continuously positive or successful political or commercial relationship between Scotland and Flanders. As will be discussed in greater detail, throughout the fifteenth century, Kings of Scots severed trade with Flanders in response to offences against Scottish merchants in Bruges or to negotiate improved mercantile rights and protections.[99] While the commercial and political relationship between Scotland and Flanders continuously fluctuated throughout the later medieval period, it played an important role in shaping Scotland's economy, pro-mercantile legislation, and its relationships with France and England.

There are primarily five categories of sources which have been used throughout this research. The first group of source materials is published governmental documents. This is the largest of all of the groups of source materials and includes: *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, a searchable online database, which contains the

[96] The political and commercial importance of the 1282 marriage and its aftermath will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two. *CDS*, ii, pp. 68, 73; *AND*, Série B 403 (2.316); *AND*, Série B 403 (2.324).
[97] *RPS,* 1347/1.
[98] Gillodts, Estaple, i, nos. 272-274, 309; Rooseboom, Scottish Staple, Appendix 10.
[99] *RPS* 1425/3/7; 1467/1/6; 1487/10/16.

proceedings of the Scottish parliament from 1235 to 1707.[100] The *RPS* was an important source for information on diplomatic negotiations, trade embargoes, and crown political interests. It is used throughout the thesis, but parliamentary legislation found in the *RPS* was particularly central in understanding the influence of the Scottish mercantile elite on domestic politics. The *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* are financial records of the export trade and collection of customs. Thirteen volumes of the *ER* were used to provide initial information on Scottish merchants, custumars, ambassadors, and royal factors.[101] *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (*RMS*) and the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (*TA*) are the final two Scottish governmental, or administrative, documents which compromised a large base of evidence for this historical study. Two volumes of the *RMS*, those that covered a period from 1306 to 1513, were used to gather information from the royal grants and charters produced by the Scottish crown.[102] These royal charters have been used to identify individual merchants and analyse the social mobility of Scottish mercantile families over a multi-generational period. The *TA* is comprised of four volumes (for this period), which detail the management of the crown's revenues and the expenditures of the king and queen of Scots.[103] The *TA* provides far more detailed information on the importation of continental material goods in the late fifteenth century than can be found about the importation of foreign goods in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A brief survey of English governmental sources has been used to gain information about the movement of Scottish merchants and ambassadors, the success or failure of the

[100] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. Keith M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007-2015), www.rps.ac.uk.
[101] John Stuart and George Burnett (eds.), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vols. 1-13, (Edinburgh, 1878-1891).
[102] John Maitland Thomson and James Balfour Paul (eds.), *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882).
[103] Thomas Dickinson and James Balfour Paul (eds.), *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1877-1902).

transportation of Scottish goods to the Low Countries, and the English crown's policies towards its overseas merchants. The *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* is of particular significance as it includes the petitions to the English king by Scottish merchants about compensation for goods seized while in transit to Flanders.[104] Mercantile petitions provide evidence for trade, business partnerships, and issues surrounding piracy. Two other English governmental sources, *Foedera* and *Rotuli Scotiae*, have been used throughout this thesis to supplement the information which can be gathered from the *CDS* and the Scottish documentary source material.[105] While the evidence gleaned from other published English records has been utilised to support specific arguments, these three series of records have contributed the largest amount of information.

Archival manuscript sources make up the second group of primary source materials for this thesis. Manuscript sources have been predominantly used to inform discussions of economic negotiations, royal marriage alliances, and the functions of Scots merchants abroad. Research trips to the Bruges Stadsarchief (BSA) and Archives Départementales du Nord (ADN) in Lille led to the discovery of underutilised royal correspondence between James III and Charles the Bold which focussed on the renewal of trade in 1468. Archival research at the National Records of Scotland (NRS) in Edinburgh uncovered a second copy of a 1427 commercial treaty between Flanders and Scotland. The NRS also holds some limited bonds, instruments of sasine, and receipts from Scots in Bruges in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A detailed search of archival material on Scottish overseas merchants was undertaken in the NRS to provide a fully formed illustration of the

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[104] Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, 3 vols. (1884-1888).
[105] Tomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson (eds.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica Inter Reges Angliae et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Vel Communitates Habita Aut Tractata*, 4 vols., (London, 1816-1869); David Macpherson, John Caley, and William Illingworth (eds.), *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, 2 vols., (London, 1814-1819).

individuals who were part of Scotland's mercantile elite. The National Archive (TNA) in Kew holds royal correspondence between Scotland, England, Flanders, and France throughout the late medieval period. The royal correspondence found in TNA particularly emphasised the impact of the Scotto-Flemish wool trade on positive Anglo-Flemish trade relations. These four major archives were chosen for their topically relevant manuscript holdings and the manageability of their collections.

Burgh records make up the third group of source materials used in this thesis. The broad chronological time frame of this study and its focus on national influence of the mercantile elite has necessitated the sampling of the burgh records of medieval Scotland. The published burgh records of Aberdeen and Edinburgh highlight the central role of the burgh elite in Scottish diplomacy, the prominence of overseas merchants within their community, and local regulations regarding the importation of foreign goods.[106] Very few of the published Scottish burgh records include records from the late medieval period. Those published collections that do contain records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, often do not have references to overseas or foreign merchants.[107] The survival of the burgh records of Aberdeen and Edinburgh is particularly opportune, as Aberdeen and Edinburgh were the most significant eastern burghs in Scotland's trade with Flanders. Other burgh records, like the *Gild Court Book of Dunfermline* have provided small, but invaluable insights into the infrastructure of the medieval Scottish burgh, including its merchant

[106] Elizabeth Gemmill (ed.), *Aberdeen Guild Court Records, 1437-1468*, (Edinburgh, 2005); William Croft Dickinson (ed.), *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407*, (Edinburgh, 1957); J.D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, i, (Edinburgh, 1869; John Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, i, (Aberdeen, 1844).
[107] There are no references to overseas merchants in the published burgh records of Stirling and Glasgow during the late medieval period. Sir James D. Marwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow, A.D. 1175-1649*, i (Glasgow, 1897); Robert Renwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling: A.D. 1124-1705*, (Glasgow, 1884).

guild.[108] Published burgh records have been used to illuminate the influence that Scotland's overseas merchants wielded on local political and commercial spheres, creating communal freighting regulations for the good of the burgh and controlling the mechanisms of Scotland's profitable export industry.

The fourth group of source materials used is chronicles. The time constraints of a doctoral thesis have necessitated the use of a small number of chronicles, specifically chosen for their thematic coverage, rather than a broad sampling of chronicle sources from Scotland, England, France, and Flanders. Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* has been transcribed and the Latin transcription appears alongside the English translation. At the insistence of a local laird, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, Walter Bower, abbot of Incholm transcribed the chronicle and annals written by John of Fordun, and expanded upon it from 1153 to 1437.[109] The *Scotichronicon* includes accounts of events in Scotland and in Europe to a lesser extent. Bower was not only interested in the political events of the Scottish kingdom, but of its conceptualisation of 'good kingship,' which appears throughout his chronicle. The political and diplomatic events described within the *Scotichronicon* have provided greater detail and insight into the political and diplomatic events of the late medieval period. The *Auchinleck Chronicle*, a mid-fifteenth-century chronicle, written by an anonymous author in Middle Scots, provides further detail on the events surrounding the fall of the Black Douglases in the 1450s. It covers the period from 1437 to 1460 and is the only contemporary chronicle of James II's reign. A series of fragments from the Asloan MS, which contains that Auchinleck Chronicle, appear in transcribed form in one of the

[108] Elizabeth P.D. Torrie (ed.), *The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline, 1433-1597*, (Edinburgh, 1986).
[109] *Chron. Bower*; D.E.R. Watt, 'A National Treasure? The "Scotichronicon" of Walter Bower"', *SHR*, 76:1 (1997), p. 45.

appendices of Christine McGladdery's political narrative of the reign of James II.[110] European chronicles, such as the *Chronicum Comitum Flandrensium* and *Nuova Cronica*, have been used to gain insights into Flemish political events in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, adding detail to our understanding of the complex relationship between the Count and towns of Flanders.[111] The use of specific Scottish and European chronicles, rather than a broad survey of the surviving Scottish or European chronicles, complements the evidence found within the parliamentary and burgh records, archival manuscripts and Scottish charters.

The fifth, and final, category of primary source material is made up of charters and their witness lists. The use of charters and witness lists has helped to analyse the effect of overseas trade on the social and political standing of merchant families, particularly the Lauder family. Medieval Scottish charters have aided in the reconstruction of the Lauder family social network throughout the late medieval period, enabling an analysis of their connections with other Scottish overseas merchants and the prominent position governing the burghs of Edinburgh and Berwick. While charter sources have been indispensible in the re-evaluation of mercantile power proposed in this thesis, they are problematic. Charter survival rates vary and it is most probable that only the charters of already prominent and successful mercantile families survive. Thus, charter and witness list evidence cannot be used to argue for a generalised or common mercantile experience. It does provide evidence of the mercantile experiences of a few privileged Scottish individuals and families and its importance should not be discounted.

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[110] Christine McGladdery, *James II*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 160-173.
[111] *Chronicon Comitium Flandrensium*, in J.-J. Smet (ed.), *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, i, (Brussels, 1837), p. 137, trans. in Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (ed.), *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 36; Giovannia Vallani, *Nuova Cronica*, ii, bk. x, p. 413, trans. in Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (ed.), *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 36.

The central aim of this thesis is a re-evaluation of the influence of the mercantile elite on the national politics and diplomacy of late medieval Scotland. In the first chapter, the problematic nature of the term 'community' will be discussed and its definition, as related to this thesis, will be given. It will argue that the overseas merchant community of late medieval Scotland was comprised of a socially, financially, and geographically diverse group of individuals bound together through collective action. The collective action of their community was seen through the formation of trade networks and partnerships, and appearance of multiple merchants in suits in front of the English king. It will also be argued that the collective action of this community did not indicate that they identified themselves as a community, but that they recognised the financial and physical risks inherent in trade with Flanders and acted together to secure their own personal interests.

The second chapter will argue that the shift in control of the Scottish wool export industry should be attributed to the Scots implementation of an act in the November 1347 council which expelled Flemings from Scotland. The creation of economic protectionist policies was a response to the foreign relations of France, England, Scotland, and Flanders. The implementation of protectionist policies was used by the Scottish crown to strengthen support from the mercantile elite, because they were most direct beneficiaries of improved rights and privileges which resulted from economic negotiations. First, the second chapter will examine a thirteenth-century example of the use of trade embargoes in the Scotto-Flemish trade relationship and suggest that the use of such embargoes was recognised as an effective strategy in late medieval diplomacy. Secondly, it will argue that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the Scottish crown utilise this strategy at particularly important moments in domestic politics to gain the support of the powerful mercantile elite, focussing particularly on the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 and the

threatened forfeiture of merchants in 1425. Finally, it will observe that the implementation of legislation within the Scottish burghs was used by the mercantile elite to protect the mechanisms of overseas trade and pursue their commercial interests.

The third and final chapter will argue that the Scottish mercantile elite were intimately involved in Scotland's diplomatic endeavours in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It will further present a new sub-category of royal ambassador, the specialist ambassador, arguing that specialists with personal or familial practical knowledge of Scotland's overseas trade, elite social and political status, and the ability to faithfully execute the crown's diplomatic mandate were chosen to represent the Kings of Scotland in commercial negotiations with Flanders. The case study of the Lauder family, a prominent southern merchant burgess family, will stand as an example of the use of specialist ambassadors. It will then consider the Lauders' use of their personal network to strengthen their ties to the governance of Edinburgh and Berwick and promote mercantile control over Scotland's profitable exportation of wool to Flanders.

Chapter One: A Unified Mercantile Agenda?

Since Scotland's mercantile elite were spread across the major eastern burghs of Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and Edinburgh, it is overly simplistic to attribute a single or unified economic goal to this diverse professionally defined group. Yet, members of a broadly defined merchant class could and did work together to gain improved privileges, rights and freedoms. The collective pursuit of an economic goal occurred in specific political situations, in which mercantile support was sought by the Scottish crown. A small-scale version of collective co-operation, as seen through trade networks, was a regular feature in overseas trade. The expressions of the influence of Scotland's mercantile community are not often articulated in the surviving documentary sources. However, evidence of mercantile influence exists in the Scottish crown's implementation of economic protectionist strategies in its trade relationship with Flanders. The concept of a unified Scottish mercantile elite or its agenda was fundamentally complicated by the social, political and geographical diversity of merchants and professional opportunities available to them. It was the shared commercial interests of Scottish overseas merchants which created a common bond between the diverse mercantile community of late medieval Scotland.

Historians of medieval Scotland and its merchants have undertaken little research on late medieval mercantile trade networks and communities. Instead, the extensive historical research on European trade networks must inform our understanding of Scotland's overseas merchant community.[1] In particular, the merchants of the Hanseatic

[1] For some examples of this extensive historiography, see: Ian Blanchard, 'Foreign Merchants in Early Modern Towns and International Market Intelligence Systems,' *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 10 (2004), pp. 175-179; Peter Stabel, 'English Merchants and the Fairs in the Low Countries (12th-16th centuries),' in Paola Lanara (ed.), *La Practice Dello Scambio: Sistemi de Fiere, Mercanti e Città in Europa (1400-1700)*, (Venezia, 2003), pp. 131-159; Michael Limberger, 'Merchant Capitalism

League have been the subject of much historical attention.[2] Jenny Kermode has criticised current research on the experiences of medieval merchants for its focus on exceptional individuals, which, she argues results in an inability to draw broad conclusions about the social and political characteristics of a merchant community.[3] Kermode made a persuasive argument, supported by her research on the merchant communities of York, Beverley, and Hull. However, the inconsistent survival of medieval Scottish sources necessitates an all-encompassing approach to the study of its mercantile community. The discussion of exceptional individuals, like John Mercer, John Turing and the Lauder family, provides detailed insights into individual mercantile experience, networks and influence. A survey of

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and the Countryside: Antwerp and the West of the Duchy of Brabant (XVth-XVIth centuries),' in Peter Hoppenbrouwers and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *Peasants into Farmers? The Transformation of the Rural Economy and Society in the Low Countries*, (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 158-178; James M. Murray, 'Of Nodes and Networks: Bruges and the Infrastructure of Trade in Fourteenth-Century Europe,' in Peter Stabel, Bruno Blondé and Anke Greve (eds.), *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure. Proceedings of the International Conference*, (Leuven, 2000), pp. 1-14; Isabella Cecchini and Luciano Pezzolo, 'Merchants and Institutions in early modern Venice,' *Journal of European Economic History*, 41:2 (2012), pp. 88-114; Hilmar G. Kruger, 'The Genoese Travelling Merchant in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of European Economic History*, 22:2 (1993), pp. 251-283; Diego Puga and Daniel Trefler, 'International Trade and Institutional Change: Medieval Venice's Response to Globalisation,' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, (2014), pp. 753-821; Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, 'Fishmongers and Shipowners: Women in Maritime Communities of Early Modern Portugal,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31:1 (2000), pp. 7-23; Michael C. Howard, *Transnationalism in Ancient and Medieval Societies: The Role of Cross-Border Trade and Travel*, (Jefferson, 2012), pp. 157-168; Mark John Angelos, 'Genoese Women, Family Business Practices, and Maritime Commerce, 1155-1216,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champagne, 1992), pp. 101-133; Nicholas Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry*, (Woodbridge, 2011); Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*; Jessica Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and their Business World*, (Cambridge, 2012); Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Frank D. Halsey (trans.), (Princeton, 1925).

[2] See: Dick E.H. de Boer, 'Looking for Security: Merchant Networks and Risk Reduction Strategies,' in Hanno Brand (ed.), *The German Hanse in Past and Present Europe: A Medieval Model for Modern Interregional Cooperation?*, (Gronigen, 2007), pp. 49-68; Lex Heerma van Voss, 'The Hanse and After: State Formation, Merchant Elites and the Efficiency of Institutions in the Hanse and Holland, c.1400-1680,' in Hanno Brand (ed.), *The German Hanse in Past and Present Europe: A Medieval Model for Modern Interregional Cooperation?*, (Gronigen, 2007), pp. 221-246; Dieter Siefert, 'Hildebrand Veckinchusen: A Typical Hanseatic Merchant in the Low Countries?' in Peter Stabel, Bruno Blondé and Anke Greve (eds.), *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure. Proceedings of the International Conference*, (Leuven, 1997), pp. 45-53.

[3] Jenny Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 3.

the 'ordinary' experience of the mercantile community contributes to formulating an accurate illustration of this complex, professionally defined group.

This section, specifically, and thesis, more generally, seeks to analyse late medieval Scottish trade through a social and political lens. Historians of medieval European trade have taken an overwhelmingly economic approach, focussing on credit, economic development, and the importance of bullion. [4] In doing so, historians have overlooked and underestimated the importance of studying the personnel of trade. The social (or human) element, in the form of merchants, procurators, sailors, and representatives of the king and their networks, was central to a successful and continuous trade relationship between Scotland and Flanders. These men bought, sold, and transported Scottish material goods, including wool, from the ports of eastern Scotland to Bruges. They created connections with other Scottish overseas merchants through the formation of economic partnerships or marriage with a member of another Scottish mercantile family. The community, which informally developed from shared commercial interests and the formation of trade

[4] For scholarly research on medieval credit, see: John H. Munro, 'The International Law Merchant and the Evolution of Negotiable Credit in Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries,' in John H. Munro (ed.), *Textiles, Towns and Trade: Essays on the Economic History of Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries*, (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 49-80; P.R. Schofield and N.J. Mayhew (eds.), *Credit and Debt in Medieval England*, (Oxford, 2002); Pamela Nightingale, 'Money and Credit in the Economy of Late Medieval England,' in Diana Wood (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters*, (Oxford, 2004), pp. 51-71; M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade,' in M.M. Postan (ed.), *Medieval Trade and Finance*, (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 1-27. For economic development, see: Bruce M.S. Campbell, 'Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, c. 1290,' *Economic History Review*, 61:4 (2008), pp. 896-945; Peter Stabel, *Economic Development, Urbanisation and Political Organisation in the Late Medieval Southern Low Countries*, (Heidelberg, 1998); Pamela Nightingale, 'Communication Through Capital and Trade: Money and the Rise of a Market Economy in Medieval Europe,' in Pamela Nightingale (ed.), *Trade, Money, and Power in Medieval England*, (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 368-370, 376. For bullion in international trade, specifically the wool trade, and the laws implemented to keep bullion from being exported from England, see: John H.A. Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold,* p. 23-25; Peter Kugler, 'Financial Market Integration in Late Medieval Europe: Results from a Threshold Error Correction Model for the Rhinegulden and Basle Pound 1365-1429,' *Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics*, 147:3 (2011), pp. 337-352; Li Ling-Fan, 'Bullion, Bills and Arbitrage: Exchange Markets in Fourteenth- to Seventeenth-century Europe, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012); Jennifer Kermode, 'Money and Credit in the Fifteenth Century: Some Lessons from Yorkshire,' *Business History Review*, 65:3 (1991), pp. 475-501.

networks, was influential in the economic and political maintenance of the kingdom of Scotland.

The difficulty of identifying and categorising the late medieval Scottish mercantile community as a 'community' lies in the definition of the term itself. Historians and political theorists from ancient to contemporary times have debated the ideological boundaries of a 'community'. The Aristotelian model of a community was, by nature, corporative and associative.[5] Oresme considered 'community' to be a natural phenomenon, created from individuals' associations with other people. He included marriage, relationships between neighbours, and cities within his broadly defined 'community'.[6] Modern historians of the medieval community have a far more structured and rigid definition of 'community' than their medieval counterparts. Jeannine Quillet argued that there was flexibility in the medieval lexicon, which allowed the term 'community' to be utilised in many different ways.[7] Whether rightly or wrongly, modern-day historians do not reflect Quillet's fluidity and flexibility in their definitions of the medieval 'community'.

Collective action is a central feature in many historians' definition of a community. Susan Reynolds has argued that a community could define itself by engaging in collective activities. The collective activity of Reynolds' community was informal and initiated by its members with little external regulation.[8] For David Sabean, shared values did not define a community; it was the very act of engaging in the same argument.[9] Collective action is a completely feasible way to define a community, but it does not imply a strength or

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[5] Jeannine Quillet, 'Community, Counsel and Representation,' in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 528.
[6] Ibid., p. 529.
[7] Ibid., p. 524.
[8] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 2.
[9] David Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*, (Cambridge, 1984), p. 29-30

durability in the community. A weakly-connected community is no less of a 'community', but, for the purposes of this thesis, it does not provide a wholly satisfactory definition.

Claire Hawes' recent doctoral thesis on the utility of community in later fifteenth century Scotland extensively problematises the term 'community'. Her primary argument was that common definitions of community have a circular nature. She argued that if we decide that a community was made up of individuals who defined themselves as a group and that their collective activity or individual actions were based on common interests, then it becomes inherently problematic to decide that individuals with common interests should be identified together in a community.[10] In this way, Hawes emphasised that the use of 'community' is thoroughly problematic as it can easily misattribute a shared sense of identity or consciousness to individuals with very little of either. While her argument was very persuasive, the term 'community' or phrase 'political community' will be used in this thesis according to Phil Withington's argument that the term community is significant for its ease of appropriability and synonymy, rather than its representation of a certain shared set of values.[11] A lack of self-identification as a community of merchants did not preclude shared interests between merchants of different Scottish burghs.[12] Indeed, later in this

[10] Claire Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority,' p. 9.
[11] Phil Withington, 'Introduction: Communities in Early Modern England,' in Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, (Manchester, 2000), p. 2. Anywhere that the term 'community' refers to individuals who identified as members of a group with a shared identity or consciousness, it will be explicitly stated for clarity. For a more in depth discussion of the issues surrounding the use of 'community' in late medieval Scotland, see: Claire Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority,' p. 9.
[12] In medieval England, the shared commercial interests of merchants from different burghs drew them together to form an economic community which was not limited by the boundaries of their town. Kermode argued that their roles in town governance created a shared bond between merchants from different Yorkshire towns, which they could not emulate within their towns. There is not enough evidence to support and argument that similar connections were created between Scottish overseas merchants from their shared social and political responsibilities within the burgh. Yet, it is possible that this could have occurred and further encouraged the creation of trade networks and partnerships with merchants from varying east coast burghs of Scotland. Kermode, 'The Merchants of Three Northern English Towns,' p. 7.

chapter, the creation of trade networks and partnerships will be examined as the result of the shared interests of merchants.

An important characteristic of the mercantile community of late medieval Scotland was that it was not defined or constrained by the geographic bounds of a single burgh. The intention is not to suggest that the existence of a Scottish mercantile community diminishes the importance or prominence of medieval guilds merchant in the burghs of Scotland. However, the merchant guild worked within the boundaries of a single town and did not provide protection to merchants who traded overseas. In 1438, the Dunfermline merchant guild stated that:

> The quhilk day the nychbouris ratyfied and conffirmyt the auld statut vndir vrytyn to be haldyn that is to say that nan sall by woll hid na skyn bot gyf he send it on hys awn aventur our see or ellis sell it to hys nychbouris or ellis to profferit in plan court and to be vnderstandyn hys proff[? *text obscured*] bot pregedice be the nychbouris sen.[13]

If, as the guild court book suggests, the merchant guilds of the medieval burghs would not provide financial or physical protection for the shipment of Scottish goods overseas for trade, it is a natural conclusion that Scottish merchants, familiar with the corporative protection gained through guild membership, would have sought out other means of protection, through less corporate structures.

The need to secure and protect their investment, the capital that they had used to purchase their woollen goods, was best met through the creation of partnerships and trade

[13] *Dunfermline Gild Bk.*, p. 7.

networks. Surviving documentary sources yield little information about the merchants who made up these partnerships or, indeed, were part of the wider overseas merchant community. As has previously been stated, the mercantile elite was a financially diverse and occupationally defined group. There were few qualifications to become an overseas merchant; the primary exception to this was the necessary ability to acquire enough capital and status as an indweller of a Scottish burgh. The need to build enough capital meant that each Scottish merchant had to have access to a significant amount of wealth, but the surviving documentary sources do not provide enough information to conclude that all or many merchants came from socially or financially privileged backgrounds. Instead, we are left with a comparably large amount of information about a select few privileged elite, and little about the experiences of the majority of merchants.

It would be naïve to argue that each merchant's experience in overseas trade or within the Scottish kingdom was the same. The records which do survive of mercantile activity suggest that there was an elite within this privileged group, containing the likes of John Mercer, John Turing, William Bully, Robert Nory, and others at different times, who fulfilled multiple roles as merchant, factor, and ambassador.[14] These experiences were not universal. The most commonly documented experiences of less privileged Scottish merchants were complaints to the English king. In 1397, John Belle appeared before Richard II along with other unnamed Scottish merchants to make a complaint about the plundering of their goods while en route to Scotland during a period of truce.[15] The only details that the record of his complaint gives is that Belle transported his goods on a Flemish ship and that the ship also carried the goods of an unspecified number of other

[14] *ER*, ii, pp. 9-11, 16-23, 48-49, 54, 68-69, 77, 304-305, iv, pp. 438, 448, 509, 640-642, 644-645, 648-651 653-654, 657, 661-662, 664-665, 672-673, 673, v, pp. 22, 32-34, 36-37, 52, 273-274, 309, 344-345, 384, 426-437, 498; *CDS*, iv, p. 37.
[15] *CDS*, vi, p. 105.

Scottish merchants.[16] Not all references of Scottish mercantile activities give the absolute minimum of detail possible, but still little can be known of the individual merchants. In 1476, John Spalding, a merchant from Dundee, gained a loan of 'quinquaginta libis grossorum monete Flandrie' from Italian merchants in Flanders on the command of William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow.[17] Clearly, Spalding was a Scottish merchant who had travelled to Flanders, and was doing business for the bishop of Glasgow, and possibly the king of Scots, during his time abroad. John Spalding came from a burgess family with strong ties to Dundee. On 13 January 1456, in a charter of mortification, David Spalding, burgess of Dundee, gave land to the altar of St Margaret in Dundee and a chaplain.[18] This charter of mortification was confirmed by James II on 13 January 1456.[19] Notarial copies of the charter were made in 1464 and 1475.[20] Members of the Spalding family were also involved in local religious and governmental roles in the second half of the fifteenth century.[21] Yet, little detail survives about John Spalding and his family's activities in Dundee's overseas trade.

Neither reference to John Belle or John Spalding provides detailed descriptions of their experience in trade. Short references, lacking any detail about the experiences of Scottish merchants in dealings with Flanders, are most commonly found throughout surviving Scottish sources. It is probable that the limited information and references to these men reflected their prominence within their society. We know nothing of John Belle, but John Spalding came from a burgess family with clear ties to Dundee. His relations were involved in town governance and ecclesiastical roles, which could only be accessed by the

[16] Ibid.
[17] *ER*, v, p. 370.
[18] NRS, GD 137/3742.
[19] Ibid., GD 137/3743.
[20] Ibid., GD 137/3792, GD 45/16/3047.
[21] Ibid., RH 1/6/71, GD 45/16/3047.

urban elite. John Spalding's work for the bishop of Glasgow, while in Flanders, could well have been an opportunity available to him because of his social stature and his experience in trade with Flanders. Indeed, the example of Spalding must have been reflective of a majority of Scottish merchants and their experiences in trade. Reasonably wealthy and connected to prominent urban families, overseas trade would have been a remarkably accessible profession to a member of Scotland's east coast burgess elite.

Not all Scottish overseas merchants had similar experiences to John Belle or John Spalding; there were a few prominent outliers. Socially, politically, and financially prominent merchants had many opportunities available to them in the commercial and political sectors of Scotland. Unlike their less prominent counterparts, there is far more surviving information which details the experiences of prominent merchants in Scotland's overseas trade with Flanders. The earliest record of John Mercer, burgess of Perth, is a reference to his wife's payment of customs, while he was in Flanders in 1328.[22] Head of a merchant family that the *Mercer Chronicle* states was older than Old Perth, John Mercer and his sons rose in social prominence because of their successful commercial activity and service to the Scottish crown. From at least 1358, John Mercer was a custumar of Perth and, in 1360, he was identified as the deputy of David II and the deputy of the king of Scots in Flanders.[23] Prior to his role as a royal deputy in Flanders, Mercer acted as an ambassador in negotiations with the English for the release of David II from captivity.[24]

The rise of the Mercer family into the ranks of the lesser nobility cannot be separated from their activities as merchants in Scotland's overseas trade, as crown representatives, and local officeholders. It was only after John Mercer assumed these roles

[22] *ER*, i, p. 116.
[23] NRS, AD1/17; ER, i, p. 597, ii, pp. 9-11, 13-14 16-23, 48-49, 68-69, 77, 93.
[24] *RPS*, A1357/9/1.

and responsibilities in the first half of the fourteenth century that he received grants of lands from the king of Scots and other members of the Scottish nobility. In 1358, Mercer received the lands of Kyncarrochy from the Abbot and Convent of Scone.[25] On 27 September 1362, Mercer received the, arguably, most important grant of lands in his life from Maurice, lord Drummond, the barony of Meiklour.[26] The receipt of the barony of Meiklour elevated the Mercer family into the lesser nobility of Scotland. While it did not fundamentally change their roles within Perth or their interests in overseas trade, it provided them with further opportunities to participate in national politics and further their personal financial interests.

In 1365, he was present at a general council in Perth, which discussed the 1357 negotiations for David II's release and the inability of the Scots to pay the English ransom.[27] John Mercer's attendance at the 1365 general council was as much of a result from his involvement in the 1357 negotiations, as it was from his status as an overseas merchant. In the 1357 general council, it was decided that

> […] the money to pay the ransom should be raised thus: namely all wool customs of the kingdom are estimated to amount to the sum of 8,000 merks each year, which customs, if they are so large or larger, shall be received in Flanders in the money of the English king by certain burgesses to be commissioned by the king and also by letters under common seals of the burghs from which they come, and under risk of the same communities, with this proviso, that there shall be

[25] *NRS*, RH1/2/124; Graeme Reid Mercer (ed.), *Our Seven Centuries: an account of Mercers of Aldie and Meiklour, and their branches, from A.D. 1200, to the present time*, (Perth, 1868), pp. 13-16.
[26] This charter was confirmed by David II in the same year. Mercer, *Our Seven Centuries*, pp, 18-19.
[27] *RPS*, 1365/1/6.

> a sufficient person on the king's behalf who shall stand by forthwith continually and conduct examination in the weighing house. And thus let it be that the 8,000 merks each year be paid there, as is contained in the said first treaty on condition that it shall be understood that the said payment is to happen if it is has come to the last way of payment, the others having been refused.[28]

The preamble of the 1365 general council suggests that it was Mercer's connection with Scotto-Flemish trade and the 1357 Anglo-Scottish negotiations which resulted in his attendance. It stated that the attendees were people who were "[…] accustomed usually to be called to a council of this sort, and [also] those who had been summoned for the business written below."[29] John Mercer may have had both of those requirements. The list of attendees included many members of the nobility and ended with the lowest attendees in social ranking: the merchants.

The September 1357 general council set out the growing importance of Scotland's mercantile elite, amongst them John Mercer, who acted as a 'special ambassador' in the negotiations for David's release.[30] Michael Penman has argued that the defeat of the French and Scots forces at the Battle of Poitiers revolutionised the political landscape in favour of David II's release.[31] However, one could say that the Battle of Poitiers and the ensuing negotiations for David II's release furthered the power of Scotland's mercantile elite. The inclusion of prominent merchant burgesses as ambassadors, including John Mercer, John Gill, Adam Tor and John Crabbe, in the negotiations for David II's release emphasises the

[28] Ibid, 1365/1/14.
[29] *RPS*, 1365/1/6.
[30] *RPS*, A1357/9/3.
[31] Michael Penman, *David II*, (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 185-186.

political influence that these individuals wielded in their own communities and within a national political arena.[32] However, the emerging political power of the merchants can be seen in their individual commission of Scottish ambassadors and consent to open negotiations with the English.[33] Penman argued that the separate commissions of the nobility, ecclesiastics and burgesses underscores the increased importance of the parliament.[34] While this is certainly the case, the burgeoning influence and political power of the burgesses and mercantile elite cannot be underemphasised. The necessity of separate commissions individually ratified the power of each estate, including the merchants, and placed the third estate on an equal political level to that of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

Much of the third estate's power was drawn from its ability to contribute to and collect the payment for the king's ransom. In their commission of the negotiations for David II's release, Michael Penman argues that the burghs certainly seemed willing to guarantee the first payment of David II's ransom, evidenced by the attached surviving seals of Aberdeen, Dundee, Inverkeithing, Crail, Cupar, St Andrews, Montrose, Stirling, Linlithgow, Haddington, Dumbarton, Rutherglen, Lanark Dumfries and Peebles.[35] Additionally, prominent merchants, such as John Mercer, were central to collecting funds throughout the kingdom to pay for the king's ransom. There are surviving records of John Mercer collecting money for ransom payments in Scotland and Flanders from 1358 to 1361.[36] It cannot be a coincidence that the social elevation of John Mercer coincided with increased political power of the third estate. The elevated social and political positions and

[32] *RPS*, A1357/9/3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Penman, *David II*, p. 187.
[35] RPS, A1357/9/3; Penman, *David II*, p. 190.
[36] *ER*, I, p. 597, ii, pp. 9-11, 19-20, 22-23, 68-69.

financial opportunities available to men like John Mercer were very much a consequence of the mercantile elite's central role in negotiating and paying for the release of the king of Scots.

It must be assumed that John Mercer recognised the benefits in continuing to pursue his commercial interests abroad, to represent crown and local interests, and to participate in general councils and parliaments during this period. Even as he rose socially, he continued to serve the king as a custumar, appearing as a witness to royal charters and attending general councils.[37] In 1370, John Mercer, amongst other Scottish merchants, appeared in a complaint to the king of England about the seizure of their wool and hides from 'la Magdeleyn', which had wrecked off of the coast of England.[38] Mercer continued to receive lands through the late 1360s, including the lands of Meikle Kinnard in the barony of Forgandenny and the lands of Aldie in the earldom of Strathearn from Andrew Barclay of Grandtully, and the lands of Pettland of Strathurd from the Earl of Douglas.[39] The breadth of persons who granted John Mercer new lands in the mid-fourteenth century suggests that the Scottish nobility and crown promoted specific Scottish merchants socially and financially, as a reward for services rendered.

Moreover, John Mercer's extended service to the Scottish crown during David II's captivity in England and his return to Scotland transitioned smoothly into the service of Robert II upon David's death in 1371. From 1372 to 1374, John Mercer was active in collecting monies to pay for part of David II's ransom.[40] On 3 April 1373, Mercer attended

[37] *RMS*, I, pp. 59-61; *ER*, ii, pp. 190, 244; *RPS*, 1365/1/6.
[38] *CDS*, iv, p. 37.
[39] Mercer, *Seven Centuries,* pp. 20-21, 23.
[40] *ER*, ii, pp. 376, 394, 461; Ibid., pp. 29-30.

parliament, witnessing a royal charter.[41] That same year, Robert II granted Mercer the annual rent of thirty shillings from the lands of Lednoch in the barony of Methven.[42] Following that, in recognition of Mercer's service, the king of Scots granted 'our beloved and faithful' John Mercer thirteen petricates of land in Perth.[43] The importance of successful commerce and loyal royal service to the Mercer family's social elevation into the lesser nobility cannot be denied.

It seems likely, though there is no explicit evidence, that the Mercers understood the connection between service and the benefits in land grants and elevated social status that they received from the Scottish nobility and crown. Andrew Mercer, son and heir of John Mercer, was first identified in surviving documentary sources as a custumar of Perth in 1372.[44] In 1378, Andrew Mercer, following his attack of and capture at Scarborough, received a royal grant of the lands of Ballayche and Balleve in the earldom of Kinross.[45] First styled with the title 'lord' in surviving documentary sources from 1384, Andrew Mercer served Robert II, filling in as Chancellor and representing royal interests throughout the kingdom, and, most likely, served Robert III until his death sometime before 1397.[46] The noble and royal service of John Mercer elevated the Mercers of Perth from an influential merchant burgess family into a higher social echelon, able to interact with great magnatial families and the Scottish crown in ways that they could not have done otherwise. Over the following century, members of the Mercer family were active in

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[41] *NRS*, GD 124/1/416; *RPS*, 1373/2.
[42] Mercer, *Seven Centuries*, p. 25
[43] *RMS*, i, p. 219; Ibid., pp. 27-28.
[44] *ER*, ii, p. 376.
[45] *RMS*, ii, p. 244; Mercer, *Seven Centuries*, pp. 43-46, 56-57; Thomas Hinderwell, *The History and Antiquities of Scarborough and the Vicinity with views and plans*, (Scarborough, 1832), p. 44; David Prett (trans.), *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*, (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 64-65.
[46] *NRS*, RH4/30; *ER*, iii, pp. 144, 170, 176, 193, 673, 682.

parliament, as witnesses to royal and noble charters, and in offices of governance within Perth.[47]

In addition to John Mercer, two other merchants attended the 1365 general council who had also acted as ambassadors in the 1357 negotiations, Adam Tor of Edinburgh and John Crabbe of Aberdeen.[48] Moreover, John Crabbe had a particularly unique connection to Flanders. Henry J. Lucas postulates that John Crabbe of Aberdeen was in some way related to the Flemish pirate John Crabbe, who harried the Low Countries in the early 1300s.[49] It is quite possible, if not probable, that the piratical John Crabbe settled in Aberdeen, a burgh well connected to trade with Flanders, after he had been expelled from Flanders as a murderer.[50] The elder John Crabbe continued to live a fantastical existence, moving to Berwick, harrying English ships on behalf of the Scots, before switching allegiances and serving the English in the Hundred Years War and, finally, retiring to Somerton Castle as its constable.[51] The John Crabbe who attended the 1357 Anglo-Scottish negotiations and the 1365 general council was not the early 1300s pirate John Crabbe, but much like his possible kinsman, the older John Crabbe, he was directly connected to Scotto-Flemish relations. The record of John Crabbe's direct connection to Scotto-Flemish trade comes from after the 1365 general council. In 1370, Crabbe was paid by David II for buying

[47] *NRS*, GD79/6/6, GD11/9, GD155/1, GD16/15/1, GD11/10, GD79/5/11, GD198/43, GD1/53/1, GD124/1/1063, GD198/26, GD198/118, GD198-120, RH1/6/93; *ER*, iii, pp. 503-504, iv, pp. 11, 29, 55, 57, 89, 110, 122, 150, 202, 232, vi, p. 50; *RPS*, 1444/2, 1444/3, 1456/9, 1458/3/2, A1458/3/44, 1462/10/1, 1471/5/22, A1472/1, 1478/6/36, 1478/6/61, 1479/3/53, 1479/3/104, 1482/3/9, 1482/3/32, 1482/12/67, 1483/3/78, 1487/10/15, 1493/5/3.
[48] Ibid., 1357/9/3, 1365/1/6. On 26 September 1357, 'power [was] given by the burgesses of Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and 14 other towns to Alexander Gilyot, Adam Tore, and nine others, Edinburgh.' *Foedera*, iii, p. i, 392.
[49] Henry S. Lucas, 'John Crabbe: Flemish Pirate, Merchants and Adventurer,' *Speculum*, 20:3 (1945), pp. 337-338.
[50] Ibid., p. 341.
[51] Lucas, 'John Crabbe'; *CDS*, iii, pp. 126, 190, 196, 237, 239, 274-275.

munitions for Edinburgh Castle in Flanders.[52] Like John Mercer, Adam Tor had also spent time trading in Bruges in 1348 upon the resumption of trade between Scotland and Flanders.[53] It was not a coincidence that these men, prominent burgesses from the major overseas trading ports of Scotland attended the 1365 general council which discussed the previous ransom negotiations and the potential use of future customs from Scotland's overseas trading to fund the payment of David II's ransom.

John Mercer, Adam Tor, and John Crabbe were prominent Scottish overseas merchants afforded the opportunity to attend a general council because of their involvement in diplomacy and trade. These were not opportunities made available to every Scottish overseas merchant, as we have seen through the examples of John Belle and John Spalding. The variety of people who made up the Scottish overseas mercantile elite and their varying experiences further emphasises the need to consider this 'community' as one that was not based on self-identification. It was not a formalised community, like a merchant guild, and did not have a uniform experience or agenda. Each individual pursued their individual interests, but did form partnerships and networks when it was necessary for the pursuit of their personal interests.

The economy of medieval Scotland, specifically its international trade, was maintained and advanced by the Scots who operated within its roles and created networks of trade. These trade and mercantile networks were a vital aspect of Scotto-Flemish trade. While Scots did individually own goods, the transportation of these goods from Scotland to Flanders was a communal, or group, activity. Trade was an expensive endeavour. It was an economically sound decision to combine the shipment of an individual's goods with those of

[52] *ER*, ii, pp. 346-347.
[53] BSA, Cartularium Groenenboek C, fo. 82 r. –v.

others. This happened throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1438, seventeen Scottish merchants and four mariners petitioned the king of England for the restitution of their goods. They stated that it was not only for the restitution of their own goods, but for those of the '"maistres' and friends of Edinburgh and Aberdeen.'[54] This evidence of shipping networks comes as a result of the unlawful seizure of their goods during a truce. There is evidence of the creation of such networks as a direct response to the wishes of the merchant community. On 22 April 1502, the burgh council of Edinburgh instituted the common freighting of goods from the community of Edinburgh to Flanders.[55] They did so "... for the hale merchandis and to their profit..."[56] This record, and its rules regarding the freighting of goods, was not only attributed to the burgh council, but "...ane greit pairt of the communitie of merchandis..."[57] The designation of a community of merchants, separate from the council, as having requested the implementation of these regulations emphasises the importance of this issue to the merchants of Edinburgh. Late medieval Scottish merchants did not operate in isolation, but, as this Edinburgh burgh record shows, within a wider overseas merchant trading community.

The overseas trade community was made up of four well-defined roles: merchants, procurators, sailors, and ambassadors. An individual could function in more than one role. Merchants could also act as a procurator for another merchant or as a royal ambassador. While sailors could gain enough money to invest in goods, it was far more challenging for them to accumulate the necessary wealth to make the transition into a mercantile role. The following section will argue that the limiting factor for occupational opportunities was financial, rather than social or political. Since the wealth of individuals defined the roles

[54] *CDS*, iv, p. 229.
[55] *Edin. Recs.*, p.95.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

available to them, the importance of financial success was understood within the mercantile community. The importance of financial wealth and the influence which it provided to Scottish merchants was also recognised by those governing Scotland throughout the late medieval period. The burghs, and in turn their merchants, were called upon to fund the ransom payments of David II and James I.[58] The decline of the wool trade in the fifteenth century did not diminish the influence of Scottish overseas merchants and traders. In recognition of the political and economic power of Scotland's mercantile and burgess communities, the Convention of the Royal Burghs was established.[59] As the sole limiting factor in occupational opportunities, financial success in trade was an integral part of the Scottish mercantile community.

The role of 'overseas merchant' is the most visible in evidence of Scotland's late medieval trade with Flanders. The central role of merchants in society and the survival rate of trade-related sources are two probable causes for the comparatively large number of recorded merchants.[60] Parliamentary legislation in 1458 limited overseas merchants, or as it termed them 'sailors in merchandise' to individuals who '[… are able and of good fame, and that they have at least three serplars of his own goods, or else committed to him, or the value thereof, and that the sailors in merchandise be free men of the burghs, indwellers within the burgh.'[61] Twenty-two years later, parliament defined merchants who traded with Flanders, Holland or Zeeland to be '[...] well known and respectful men who each have their own half last of goods or as much possession and control [... and] a freeman from a burgh

[58] *RPS*, 1357/11/4, 1357/11/9, 1365/1/14, 1365/1/15, 1424/35.
[59] William Paterson (ed.), *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland with Extracts from Other Records Relating to the Affairs of the Burghs of Scotland*, i, (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 505.
[60] Scottish mercantile complaints relating to the seizure of goods from ships which ran aground along the English coast regularly included only the names of the merchants who owned the ship or the freighted goods. While there are cases in which the sailors on the wrecked ships are named as mercantile representatives, this was not the norm. For an example in which sailors ('mariners') represented Scottish merchants in a complaint, see: *CDS*, iv, p. 229.
[61] *RPS*, 1458/3/11.

and an inhabitant of the same [...]'[62] The Scottish parliamentary definition of merchant was supported by 'all the burgh commissioners [...] for the honour of our sovereign lord's highness, his realm and welfare of [his] merchants.'[63] The establishment of limitations on who qualified to become a merchant was not unique to Scotland's late medieval trade with Flanders. Similar limitations restricted the admission of new members to the guilds of late medieval Scotland.[64] The articulation of these qualification requirements in 1487 suggests that individuals who did not meet these criteria had been seeking to financially benefit from illegally trading goods with Flanders. Illegally transporting and selling goods would have allowed these false Scottish merchants to avoid custuming their goods. In 1436, a parliament at Edinburgh specified that any wool passing from the kingdom to be sold to foreigners or at foreign ports must have its custom paid for at its port of departure in Scotland.[65] The establishment of requirements to trade with Flanders, particularly that an individual must be an inhabitant or freeman of the burgh, was intended to curtail the avoidance of royal customs. The payment of tolls and customs was an inherent part of urban life and a central feature of the grants of royal burgh status.[66] Theoretically, the insistence that only burgesses could sell goods to foreigners or in foreign ports would result in the proper payment of customs and protect the liberty and freedoms of the burgh.

The definition of a merchant as an indweller or freeman of the burgh who sold goods is problematically broad. Michael Lynch argued that the problem of the term 'merchant' arises from its broad use, which did not distinguish between overseas traders and market-

[62] Ibid., 1487/10/16.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Elizabeth Ewan, 'The Community of the Burgh,' p. 233.
[65] *RPS*, 1436/10/8.
[66] For some examples see: *RPS*, 1319/1, 1342/2/2; *Edin. Recs.*, i, pp. 3, 6, 14, 23; *Pub. Docs. Dundee*, pp. 24-25.

based retailers.[67] Lynch's concerns about the term 'merchant' are irrelevant in relation to a study of overseas merchants. This thesis does not include market-based retailers, as overseas merchants sold their own wares or employed factors, often other overseas merchants, to sell their goods[68]. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many Scottish merchants travelled to Flanders to sell their wool and hides, and purchase Netherlandish textile or luxury goods. The problem that Lynch raised about the broad use of the term 'merchant' does not preclude a study of overseas merchants. It necessitates an articulation of the difference between domestic, or retail-based, merchants and their overseas counterparts. The mercantile community of late medieval Scotland was made up of overseas and domestic merchants. Overseas merchants sold Scottish resource-based goods, like wool, hides, and fish, at foreign ports. Domestic merchants were primarily retail-based and remained in Scotland to sell their wares. Both influential in their own right, this thesis examines the influence of overseas merchants, as a subsection of the broader Scottish mercantile community.

In her study of the merchant communities of York, Beverley, and Hull, Jenny Kermode argued that the prominence of merchants in their society was a direct result of their accumulation of wealth and reinvestment of that wealth into the community, through the funding of charities, public works and religious observance.[69] The importance of reinvesting in the community was a common concept in medieval European corporate membership. Not unique to medieval Scotland or Flanders, professional guilds were found throughout western Europe, linked closely with the division of labour and the medieval

[67] Michael Lynch, 'Social and Economic Structure,' p. 262.
[68] It is important to note that merchants could be both overseas and domestic traders, however, the Scottish market-based retail activity of the mercantile elite is not the focus of this thesis.
[69] Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 2.

economy.[70] Sandra Bos posited that the intrinsic value of Flemish guilds was their provision of social benefits and security to their impoverished and sick brethren, and for the widows and orphans of their deceased members.[71] The tradition of mutual aid was inherent in the value of these corporate communities and is evidenced in guilds throughout medieval Europe, including Scotland.[72] Moreover, Gervase Rosser argued that the very etymology of the term 'community' as 'the joint (*cum*) undertaking of a burden or responsibility (*munus*)' was a central function of medieval guilds.[73] Kermode also argued that the merchant elite was mobile and fluid, since many of its members gained most of their money during one lifetime and saw it rapidly dispersed.[74] The mobility of Scotland's mercantile elite is reflected in the range of social statuses of Scottish merchants who traded with Flanders in the late medieval period. Men such as John Belle were identified as merchants with little more detail of their lives, alongside men of high stature, like John Mercer and John Turing.[75] The social mobility and fluidity of Scotland's mercantile elite was a result of the financial, rather than social or political, limitations on membership. Scots of non-noble and non-merchant lineage could become part of the merchant community and become overseas merchants themselves, if they had the necessary finances.

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[70] Steven Epstein, *Wage Labour and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, (Chapel Hill, 1991).
[71] Sandra Bos, 'A Tradition of Giving and Receiving: Mutual Aid within the Guild System,' in Maarten Prak, Catharina Lis, Jan Lucassen, and Hugo Soly (eds.), *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries: Work, Power and Representation*, (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 174-193.
[72] Elizabeth Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline,' in Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, and Geoffrey Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 245; Gary Richardson, 'Craft Guilds and Christianity in Late-Medieval England: A Rational-Choice Analysis,' *Rationality and Society*, 17:2 (2005), p. 139; Elizabeth Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 62; Peter Stabel, 'Guilds in Late Medieval Flanders: Myths and Realities of Guild Life in an Export-Oriented Environment,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), p. 191; Maarten Prak, 'Craft Guilds in North-Western Europe (England, France, Low Countries),' *The Return of the Guilds Conference*, (Utrecht, 2006), p. 13.
[73] Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1350-1550*, (Oxford, 2015), p. 191.
[74] Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 4.
[75] *ER*, ii, pp. 9, 10-11, 16, 17-23, 48-49, 54, 68-69, 77, 304-305; *CDS*, iv, pp. 37, 105, 438, 448, 500, 640-642, 648-651, 653-654, 657, 661, 664-665, 672-673, 675.

Even though the 'mercantile elite' was a socially mobile and fluid group, distinctions were made between merchant burgesses who held positions in burgh government and those who did not. On 6 March 1458, a parliament held in Edinburgh passed sumptuary legislation which stated that:

> [...] no man within a burgh that lives by merchandise, unless he is a person constituted in dignity, such as an alderman, bailie or other good worthy person that are of the town council and their wives, wear clothes of silk nor costly scarlets in gowns or marten furs; and that their wives and daughters be dressed in like manner, suitable and corresponding to their estate [...][76]

The quality of garments and cloth textiles were seen as a reflection of an individual's social status. Thus, the acquisition of these goods by members of the mercantile elite would have been seen as a blurring of social distinctions.[77] However, the sumptuary legislation of 1458 reinforces the social distinction between the nobility and some merchants, but not all of them. Frederik Buylaert, Wim de Clerq, and Jan Dumolyn argued that instead of looking to material culture, which could be purchased by wealthy commoners, historians should emphasise fiefs, the ethos of military service, and seigneural lordship as the only real performance of nobility.[78] Concern about the visible distinction between social groups is evident in the formation of sumptuary legislation in 1458. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli posited that the importance of sumptuary legislation is that it was a means by which to

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[76] *RPS*, 1458/3/14.
[77] Frédérique Lachaud, 'Dress and Social Status in England Before the Sumptuary Laws,' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageant and Social Display in Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 106.
[78] Frederik Buylaert, Wim de Clerq, and Jan Dumolyn, 'Sumptuary Legislation, Material Culture and the Semiotics of 'Vivre Noblement' in the County of Flanders (14th-16th centuries),' *Social History*, 36:4 (2011), p. 406.

signal an individual's proximity to power.[79] By physically distinguishing between merchants in town governance and those who were not, the nobility were able to preserve and promote their friends' power, while distancing other merchants from themselves.

Merchants were the most visible individuals in records of Scotland's late medieval overseas trade. However, trade between Scotland and Flanders was equally dependent upon procurators, sailors, and ambassadors. The role of procurators, sometimes referred to as factors, changed significantly throughout the medieval period. In early medieval Europe, the function of a procurator was to collect the kingdom's tolls and tributes, acting as an administrative officer of the kingdom's trade.[80] It was only in 1476 that a Scottish procurator appeared in the documentary source evidence of Scotto-Flemish relations.[81] While this procurator is not clearly identified as Scottish, the case was brought by Lowic Lars, porter of Bruges through his procurators against James of Duchir in Scotland. It is likely that the procurator was Scottish because the case was presented in Scotland and, as a poorter of Bruges, Lowic Lars would have had dealings with, and potentially formed relationships with, the Scottish overseas community in the wool staple. The increasing references to Scottish procurators in the late-fifteenth century shows the shift from functioning in wholly administrative roles to acting in judicial and representative functions. John Finlay defined the function of procurators during this period as appearing in court on behalf of a client or petitioning the court for a curator.[82] Nine references to procurators in Scotto-Flemish relations are found in Scottish documentary sources after 1475. The

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[79] Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the Privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary Laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39:3 (2009), p. 600.
[80] Neil Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade,' *Early Medieval Europe*, 13:4 (2005), p. 321.
[81] *RPS*, 1476/7/18.
[82] John Finlay, *Men of Law in Pre-Reformation Scotland*, (East Linton, 2000), p. 28.

function of procurators in these references fits within Finlay's definition of medieval procurators.[83] Evidence from Scotto-Flemish relations suggests that the role of procurators transitioned from one of administration to judicial or economic representation by the late fifteenth century.

The third role for Scots in trade with Flanders was as a sailor. Also referred to as a mariner or a captain, sailors transported the goods of Scottish merchants from eastern Scottish ports to Bruges and Middleburg in Zeeland.[84] The surviving printed documentary sources provide a problematic representation of the number of Scottish sailors in late medieval Scotto-Flemish trade. According to these sources, the number of Scots identified as sailors or mariners was significantly smaller than those identified as merchants. Ninety-six merchants appear in trade with Flanders from 1320-1513, while only three sailors are identified during a similar period.[85] The problem in any attempt to quantitatively describe sailors (or merchants) in medieval Scotland is the lack of existing port records for this period. It is very likely that there was a comparable, if not higher, number of Scots acting as sailors than as merchants, but they were not recorded in the documentary sources which survive.

There are a number of reasons for the problematic representation of sailors in the surviving sources. Firstly, the transportation of Scottish goods was not limited to Scottish

[83] *RPS*, 1476/7/8, 1476/7/36, 1476/7/77, 1479/3/145, 1483/3/56, 1483/3/96, 1483/3/143, 1483/10/34.
[84] For Scottish individuals who were explicitly identified as a mariner or captain, see: *CDS*, iv, p. 229; *ER*, x, p. 571; *TA*, i, p. 233.
[85] The stated number of merchants includes individuals who are identified as procurators and owners of goods. The given number of sailors includes individuals identified as sailors, mariners or captains. *CDS*, iii, pp. 161-162, iv, pp. 3, 26, 33, 37-38, 66, 99, 200, 208, 216, 220, 229, 249, 316, 535; *RPS*, 1476/7/77, 1479/3/145, 1483/3/143, 1483/6/28; *ER*, ii, pp. 9-11, 16-23, 48-49, 54, 68-69, 77, 304-305, iv, pp. 275, 438, 448, 509, 640, 642, 644-645, 648-651, 653-654, 657, 661-662, 664-665, 672-673, 675, 681, v, pp. 22, 32-37, 57, 149, 273-274, 309-310, 344-345, 370, 384, 436-439, 498, vi, pp. 115-116, 298-299, 305-306, 309, 384, 388, 390, 392, 395, 397, 496, 530-531, vii, p. 233; *TA*, i, p. 289; ii, pp. 197, 231, 241-242, 287-288, iii, pp. 85, 136, 338, 411, 416, iv, pp. 28, 283, 292, 302-303, 353-354.

ships. Foreign ships and sailors were able to transport Scottish goods to continental ports during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[86] Parliamentary legislation in 1428 allowed Scottish merchants to use 'ships from other countries' when they were unable to find Scottish ships to transport their goods.[87] While this is the first piece of Scottish legislation which enabled the use of foreign ships, it seems to have been a common practice prior to 1428. The expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 stipulated that only Flemish sailors were exempt from exile.[88] In 1326, the king of England commissioned Robert le Constable and two other justices to inquire into the seizure of a Flemish vessel, 'la Pelarym' which had been used by Scottish merchants, pilgrims and women to transport goods and people from Scotland to Flanders.[89] In 1370, John Mercer and 'other Scottish merchants' petitioned the king of England for the release of their goods which had been on board 'la Magdeleyn' of Sluis bound for Flanders when it wrecked off of the coast of England.[90] Since it was common practice to freight Scottish goods on foreign-owned vessels, there is no record in surviving Scottish sources which details the home countries of the crew of these ships.

Secondly, sailors appear most commonly in documentary sources in the aftermath of the destruction or seizure of the ship that they were sailing.[91] References to the seizure of goods or destruction of ships provide misleading figures for the number of sailors in Scotland's overseas trade. Sailors appear in these records as claimants or to provide evidence for the destroyed property. Often only one sailor appeared at court, which

[86] Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 77.
[87] *RPS*, 1428/3/11.
[88] Ibid., 1347/2.
[89] *CDS*, iii, p. 162.
[90] Ibid., iv, p. 37.
[91] See Ibid., iv, pp. 38, 229 for two examples in which Scottish sailors appeared in England in an effort to reclaim captured goods for their Scottish owners after the destruction or seizure of a ship.

automatically disregards all of the other crew members of the ship from a calculation of sailors' numbers. Similarly, ships which successfully transported their goods from the ports of Scotland to those in Flanders, and their crews do not appear in any surviving Scottish records. The lack of surviving port records and the specific circumstances in which sailors appear in the documentary record creates a false representation of the number of Scot sailors in medieval Scotto-Flemish trade. It is clear that the number of sailors who appeared in documentary sources should be considered to be a small portion of the individuals transporting Scottish material goods from ports in eastern Scotland to Bruges and Middelburg in the late medieval period.

The fourth role available to Scots was as an economic representative of the king. Economic representative roles varied. Scots could act as a *servitor regis*, which was the title of a broad economic representative for the Scottish crown in Flanders, or as custumars in Edinburgh.[92] Diplomatic representatives acted as royal ambassadors in economic negotiations with Flanders. The function of economic and diplomatic representatives differed significantly. For this reason, this thesis will regard them as wholly separate entities. Little information about the activities of late medieval *servitor regis*' is given in surviving documentary sources. The *Exchequer Rolls* primarily identified individuals who filled this role. John Ducheman, Thomas Forrester, William Bully, and Robert Nory were all identified as *servitor regis*.[93] Each of these men appeared as active traders with Flanders, but did not come from particularly notable Scottish merchant families or possess

[92] John Mercer, John Ducheman, William Bully, and Robert Nory were all identified as a *servitor regis* of the Scottish king, while John Turing collected taxes for the king in his role of custumar. *ER*, ii, pp. 9-11, 16-23, 48-49, 54, 68-69, 77, 304-305, iv, pp. 22, 32-34, 36-37, 52, 213, 273-274, 309, 344-345, 384, 435-438, 447-448, 467-468, 472, 498, 639-640, 643, 648, 651-652, 659, 661, 667, 677, 681-684, v, pp. 438, 448, 509, 640-642, 644, -645, 648, 651, 653-654, 657, 661-662, 664-665, 672-673, 675; *CDS*, iv, p. 37.
[93] *ER*, iv, pp. 435-436, 447, 467-468, v, pp. 22, 33, 36-37, 312.

a great amount of wealth. In 1428, John Ducheman was the first Scot to be identified as a *servitor regis*.[94] John Turing worked closely with John Ducheman in the custuming and release of Scottish wool, which was bound for Flanders and its textile industry.[95] John Turing's involvement in the Scotto-Flemish wool trade was not limited to Edinburgh; he also travelled to Flanders to do business.[96] Similar to the role of the late medieval 'servitor regis', the custumar represented the Scottish king. His primary function was to enforce the customs system within major Scottish burghs, receiving burghal and mercantile customs, and paying them to the exchequer.[97] Custumars were chosen from amongst prominent local burgesses. John Turing, a burgess of Edinburgh, was first identified as a custumar in 1429.[98] John Turing was likely a member of a lesser noble family originally from Aberdeenshire with connections to the prominent Perth burgess family, the Mercers.[99] He owned land adjacent to St Anthony's near Leith and gave £10 for the maintenance of a chaplain to pray for the souls of Robert Logan, lord of the barony of Restalrig and the town of Leith, his deceased parents, Thomas Turing and Alison Landalis, and his sons, John Turing, Alexander Turing and Adam Turing.[100] The Augustinian house of St Anthony's near Leith was founded c. 1430.[101] It was visited by Mary of Guelders in 1450 and further favoured by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy on 18 January 1461 with a donation of £100

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[94] Ibid, iv, p. 435.
[95] Ibid, iv, pp. 438, 448, 509.
[96] Ibid, iv, p. 509.
[97] Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 75.
[98] *ER*, iv, p. 509. While this does not definitively prove that there were not 'servitor regis' acting in the early fifteenth century, it might suggest a development in the functions and responsibilities of royal representatives. Equally, this seeming introduction of a new representative function in the late 1420s may be a result of inconsistencies in the surviving documentary evidence.
[99] NRS, RH4/30.
[100] *RMS*, ii, pp. 384-385.
[101] Charles Roger, *Historical Notices of St. Anthony's Monastery, Leith: And Rehearsal of Events Which Occurred in the North of Scotland from 1635 to 1645 in Relation to the National Convention*, (London, 1977), p. 26; John Smith, 'Notes on the Augustinian House of Saint Anthony, Leith,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 64 (1929-1930), pp. 275-276; George Chalmers, *Caledonia, or, A Historical and Topographical Account of North Britain from the Most Ancient to the Present Times with a Dictionary of Places Geographical and Philological*, iv (Paisley, 1894), p. 769.

(of 40 gr.) for the decoration of the chapel.[102] John Turing was both active in trade with Flanders and from a lesser noble family. He owned lands in Leith and was able to donate money for prayers at St Anthony's near Leith, a chapel with a history of Burgundian favour. Economic representatives, *servitor regis* and custumars, were chosen from amongst prominent burgesses. Social status did not limit who could become an economic representative. John Turing, John Ducheman, William Bully, Robert Nory and Thomas Forrester were all active overseas traders in Flanders, which provided them with ample experience navigating the trade relationship between Scotland and Flanders.

A small number of individuals were chosen from amongst the merchant and burgess elite to represent crown interests. The majority of merchants, Scottish or Flemish, appeared in documentary sources prior to 1450.[103] The stark decrease of merchants in the records after 1450 may have been caused by the significant decline in Scotland's wool trade with Flanders in the fifteenth century. The fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century wool trade was not comparable to the international wool trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet, Scotland's sale of wool to Flanders continued into the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[104] While this thesis focuses on a time period from 1320 to 1513, an examination of merchants in the thirteenth century, the height of the wool trade, might show a much larger number of merchants active within Scotland. Prior to 1347, it may have been predominantly Flemish or other foreign merchants who dealt with the majority of Scotland's export trade. This shift, from foreign to domestic control of the export industry,

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[102] ADN, Série B, nr. 2040. f.230r.
[103] Eighty of ninety-six Scots identified as merchants appeared prior to 1450. Eleven Flemish merchants appeared in Scotland from 1320 to 1450. Two groups of Flemish merchants, who were never identified individually, were present in Scotland during the same period of time. No Flemings were explicitly identified as merchants in the documentary sources from 1450-1513. *ER*, i, pp. 95, 97, 100, 173, 177, 211, 215-216, 239, 371, 505-506, 530, 531; *ER*, ii, pp. 128, 131, 133, 214; *CDS*, iii, p. 34.
[104] Lynch, 'Social and Economic Structure of Larger Towns,' p. 268.

in 1347, dramatically changed the demographics of the trade relationship between Scotland and Flanders in the late medieval period.

The Scottish mercantile community, more specifically overseas traders within this community, were powerful because of their central roles in the profitable exportation of wool to Flanders. Scottish merchants acted for their own financial gain, which did not preclude their representation of crown economic and diplomatic interests. Financial means, rather than social group or political influence, was the primary limiting factor in overseas trade. A sailor could transition to become an independent merchant by accruing the necessary wealth to invest in goods. Overseas merchants acted as factors or procurators for their domestic-based counterparts and, with enough prominence, were chosen to represent the economic interests of the Scottish crown as a 'servitor regis' or custumar. Similarly, individual or familial success in the Scotto-Flemish wool trade enabled Scots to act as royal ambassadors in economic negotiations with Flanders. The financial success which resulted from the Scotto-Flemish wool trade enabled the Scottish mercantile community to wield power in the domestic political sphere. They provided surety for the payment of royal ransoms in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which contributed to their growing political influence. While the mercantile community of late medieval Scotland was clearly economically and politically influential, is it accurate to assume that an occupationally-defined, socially and economically diverse group pursued a unified mercantile agenda?

Eliza Hartrich's recently completed doctoral research at the University of Oxford concluded that the merchant community of fifteenth-century England shared a set of common goals. She argued that it was the mercantile elite's use of language, such as 'thinge publique' and 'common weal' which exemplified their belief in a cohesive merchant

community.[105] Claire Hawes' doctoral thesis examined a similar phenomenon in the political spheres of Scotland, the use of 'common good'. While not focussing on the particular individuals who utilised this political language, her research comprehensively examined the dissemination of this specific language throughout the Scottish kingdom.[106] Her argument suggested that the use of 'common good' and 'common weal' was not restricted to any particular community and, thus prohibits defining social or political groups based on their political language.[107] This thesis argues that it was not their use of shared political ideology, as seen through the use of phrases such as 'common good' or 'common weal', that defined the Scottish mercantile class as a unified political entity, rather it was their shared political and economic interests which created common bonds between geographically distinct Scottish overseas merchants. Many of these Scottish merchants came from different social and economic backgrounds, but the fluidity of the 'merchant class' as an occupationally defined group enabled these socially disparate people to form business and trade partnerships.

The geographic dispersion of overseas Scottish merchants was very limited. They were located predominantly in the large coastal burghs of eastern Scotland.[108] This was

[105] Hartrich, 'Town, Crown and Urban System,' p. 134.
[106] Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority', p. 50.
[107] Ibid., p. 162.
[108] Appendix, Chart I: Geographic Dispersion of Scottish Merchants. The exact geographic dispersion of Scottish merchants in the late medieval period is problematic. The identification of locations is regularly inconsistent. Aberdeen, Perth and Dundee appear underrepresented as a location of Scottish merchants. This underrepresentation may be a result of the fact that this graph can only take individually referenced merchants into account. There are references to groups of Perth and Dundee merchants operating in trade with Flanders during this period, but the individuals within these groupings cannot be identified. (See, *CDS*, iv, p. 149). The use of this graph should be properly qualified, as it does not provide the depth and complexities of the geographic dispersion of overseas merchants in Scotland. Firstly, this graph should not be considered as the exact number of Scottish overseas merchants in each burgh. As previously stated, it takes into account individually identified merchants, but not groups of individuals who have not been identified separately. Secondly, it does not show the fluctuation and shifts of overseas merchants in each burgh over the two hundred year timeframe of this thesis. The graph is not intended to present the growing importance of Edinburgh

largely the case because of the prominence of eastern coastal burghs, such as Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen, in the exportation of Scottish goods to the continent. In the fourteenth century, it was royal policy to establish burghs as the commercial centres of the Scottish kingdom.[109] While the burghs of Scotland did become the centres of commercial activity throughout Scotland, the exportation of material goods to continental Europe was limited to a specific few. Every burgh did not have the same exposure to the exportation of their goods to foreign markets.[110] Merchants from the burghs of inland and west coast Scotland had to custom their goods in their burgh before transporting their goods to the ports and burghs of eastern Scotland for exportation.[111] Foreign merchants infrequently made their way into these inland and west coast burghs to trade their goods during fairs.[112] This was often the only time in which these burghs could trade their goods directly with foreign merchants. The surviving records of the prominent burghs of Glasgow and Stirling do not include any references to Flemish merchants travelling to or trading within these burghs.[113] One of the reasons that Scottish overseas merchants settled in the east coast burghs of late medieval Scotland was the importance of these burghs in trade with Flanders. It was not the only reason, just as trade with Flanders was not Scotland's sole foreign trading relationship. The overwhelming appearance of Scottish overseas traders in

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to Scotland's overseas trade during this period, or the decline of wool as a major export in Berwick or Dundee. Instead, it is meant to present a basic pattern in which Scottish merchants who traded with Flanders from 1320 to 1513 were predominantly located in east coast burghs. The visual representation, through the medium of a graph, of the geographic dispersion of Scottish overseas merchants enables a broader understanding of the most common geographic identifiers for overseas merchants found in surviving documents, that of 'of Scotland', but also enables a discussion of the burgh-based identifiers given and their predominant location along the eastern coast of Scotland. The charts used in this thesis cover data pulled from the following sources covering the entirety of 1320 to 1513: *ER*, *CDS*, *TA*, *RPS*, *Edin. Recs.*, *Abdn. Guild Recs.*

[109] Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 64.

[110] Ibid., p. 67.

[111] Ibid., Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 190, 196.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Sir James D. Marwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow, A.D. 1175-1649*, i, (Glasgow, 1897); Robert Renwick (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling: A.D. 1124-1705*, (Glasgow, 1884).

eastern Scottish burghs and their ports was a result of the importance of these burghs in the general exportation of Scottish goods. Ships left from these ports bound for Flanders, but also for England, France, Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain.[114] The mercantile class of late medieval Scotland, specifically those who traded with Flanders, was socially and economically diverse, but arguably geographically confined.

The intention of this thesis is not to argue for a historical narrative in which all medieval Scottish merchants, or even just an overseas merchant subsect, acted as a single corporate group, espousing identical goals and objectives. Yet, portraying the Scottish overseas merchant community, if we are willing to consider it within Phil Withington's definition, as a fragmented and disconnected entity is also inherently wrong. Economic merchant co-operation, in the form of trade networks, did exist to provide protection for the transportation of goods. These trade networks were not limited by residence in a specific burgh, financial wealth, or social group. Similarly, as we will see in the following section, medieval parliamentary legislation suggests that merchants, particularly overseas merchants, articulated the pursuit of better rights and privileges by the crown from 1320 to 1513. Thus, the picture of a cohesive Scottish overseas merchant community must be problematised, but not dismissed.

Trade networks were used to provide protection from many dangers by providing an alternative to the risk of a single merchant freighting all of their goods on one ship or fleet of ships. For many medieval Scottish merchants, this would have been a financially impossible endeavour. As J. Donnelly argued, a single merchant freighting all of their goods

[114] In contrast to the research undertaken on Scotland's medieval trade with the Low Countries, there has been a comparably small amount of scholarly work on Scottish trade with Spain, France, England, and Germany. Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman, and the Pantomime Star: Aberdeen's Alternative Economy in the Early Fifteenth Century,' *Northern Scotland*, 12 (1992), p. 27. For a very brief discussion of Scotland's fifteenth century trade with the Hanseatic League, Poland, Prussia, Spain, France, and England, see Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' p. 193.

in one ship would have been a poor strategy even for the largest mercantile conglomerates.[115] Membership in a trade or transportation partnership was particularly beneficial in the event that there were issues with the transportation of their goods. If goods were lost or illegally seized, a collective, rather than individual, petitioned or complained to the perpetrator's ruler in an effort to gain recompense.[116] A group complaint may have seemed much more pressing for foreign rulers than that of a single Scottish merchant. Gaining redress for the loss of goods was not a quick process and, often, took a long time before a settlement was reached.[117] By belonging to a transportation partnership and freighting only some of their goods on a single ship, Scottish merchants were not quite as reliant upon the efficient process of redress for their financial security. The mercantile strategy of trade and transportation partnership suggests that the threats posed by the loss of goods, piracy and reliance upon specific transportation routes were a very real concern for late medieval Scottish merchants of every social, political and economic standing.

The threat of lost goods, whether through the seizure or wreck of a ship, was a particular concern for late medieval Scottish merchants. The documentary sources reflect the normalcy of Scottish ships, or ships laden with Scottish goods, which wrecked or were seized along the eastern English coastline. The seizure of goods was a persistent threat for international trading. In 1358, Thomas of Moray, Nicholas Botheville, John Wigmer, William Munkman, Alexander Nesbet and 'other Scotsmen' submitted a complaint to the king of England because two of their ships had wrecked in a storm and their cargo had been plundered.[118] While the length of this conflict is unknown, their complaints did result in a

[115] J. Donnelly, 'An Open Port: The Berwick Export Trade, 1311-1373,' *SHR*, 78:2, (1999), p. 165.
[116] For examples of collective petitions, see: *CDS*, iv, pp. 38 and 229.
[117] Ditchburn, 'Piracy and War at Sea in Late Medieval Scotland,' in T.C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and the Sea*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 46.
[118] *CDS*, iv, p. 3.

lengthy dispute.[119] Similarly, in 1410, Scottish goods were seized after the wreck of a Flemish ship at Werkworth.[120] The king of England ordered Robert Umfraville, sheriff of Northumberland, to determine who possessed the goods from the wrecked Flemish ship, and once he had done so, to hold the goods until redress could be made by the Scots for a cargo which had been captured by the earl of Mar and other unnamed Scots.[121] In 1438, seventeen Scottish merchants and three Scottish sailors petitioned the king of England for redress of their goods which had been taken from two Flemish and Sprucian vessels during the truce.[122] These are only three examples of Scottish merchandise which was seized during the transport of these goods between Scottish and Flemish ports. They are not the only examples, but illustrate the normative legal and diplomatic practices surrounding the seizure of goods.[123] There are other far more unique situations in which Scottish goods were captured by Englishmen, but they stand as outliers from these normal practices.[124] The pervasiveness of the loss of goods, through seizure or spoilation, required Scottish merchants to take precautionary measures to ensure the protection of their goods.

In the instances where Scottish goods were seized, legal and mercantile retribution was a common practice in seeking redress. Mercantile retribution was exacted through the retributive seizure of mercantile goods from any merchants or ship from the offending

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[119] The inclusion of the statement, '[...] for which though often asked, they have hitherto had no redress,' suggests that this had been an ongoing dispute at the time that the 1358 complaint was made. Ibid., iv, p. 3.
[120] Ibid., iv, p. 156.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., iv, p. 229.
[123] See Ibid., iv, p. 216; *Rot. Scot.*, i, pp. 966, 969, ii, pp. 8, 11, 20, 22, 30, 173, 180, 201, 311-313 for other examples.
[124] One such example is the seizure of 'le Pelarym', a Flemish ship at Whitby in 1326. The ship was taken during a truce between Scotland and England. In the process of seizing the goods carried on the ship, unknown men killed the ship's master, Walter Fosse, and thirty eight Scottish passengers. These were made up of merchants, pilgrims, and women. This appears to have been a brutal and exceptional example of the seizure of Scottish goods by the English during the late medieval period. *CDS*, iii, p. 162.

region. Reprisals could be taken from the goods and ships of the perpetrators of the illegal seizure of goods, but were just as often taken from that of their fellow countrymen.[125] Heavily armed Scottish pirate ships could also seek to recoup their trading losses by preying on, as Stevenson terms them, 'innocent' merchant ships, often from neutral countries.[126] The goods of these merchants could have been, and were, seized from ships owned by friendly regions or kingdoms. In 1379, an English ship freighted with goods owned by Beverley merchants, was driven ashore in the Earl of Moray's lands. The goods were then seized by the earl and his merchants and retainers.[127] In response, the king of England allowed the same Beverley merchants to seize goods from a Flemish merchant ship bound for Scotland as recompense for their lost goods.[128] In this instance, restitution was gained through seizing 'enemy' goods from a Flemish ship, a region that was currently diplomatically aligned with the English. This was a regular occurrence throughout the late medieval period. By the end of the thirteenth century, Flemish ships, in trading with the English, were required to carry documents which stated that portions of the goods which they carried were not owned by an enemy kingdom.[129] Legal retribution was another, less common practice in processes of redress. In 1431, James I issued patent letters to the ports of England, Holland, Zeeland, and Flanders for the arrest of a group of Scots, including Simon Logan, Thomas Pattonson, William Lowson, and Patrick Henrison for the plundering and selling of goods that they had seized from two English ships.[130] The record of the patent letters goes on to state that '[they] are authorised to arrest the aforesaid persons, or any others of the Scottish [king's] merchants or mariners, their vessels or goods,

[125] Ditchburn, 'Piracy and War at Sea,' p. 38.
[126] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' p. 192.
[127] *CDS*, i, p. 62.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Bryan D. Dick, "Framing Piracy': Restitution at Sea in the Later Middle Ages,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010), p. 73; *Foedera*, ii, p. 759.
[130] *CDS*, iv, p. 214.

touching in any of their ports, till restitution is made to the Englishmen.'[131] In this example, legal retribution was only taken until mercantile, or financial, restitution could be gained by the English merchants. There are many more references of mercantile or financial restitution in the documentary sources than of their legal counterparts. This indicates that legal restitution was only used as a means of redress when other avenues of restitution had been exhausted.

The wrecking of ships and pillaging of their goods did not always result in the need for redress. There were legal processes in place, which if followed efficiently and successfully, were intended to return the salvageable goods to their owners without requiring the initiation of any actions of redress. On 16 July 1365, the king of England commanded the custumars of Newcastle to release the goods of Laurence de Spense and other Scottish merchants, after the ship that was carrying them was wrecked at Whitbernes, because the goods had been properly custumed at Scottish ports.[132] The effective use of these legal processes may have only been available during times of Anglo-Scottish peace. Many complaints and petitions about the illegal seizure of Scottish goods made to English kings were made during periods of tension in Anglo-Scottish relations.[133] The example of a successful petition in 1365 was the result of renewed Anglo-Scottish negotiations in the previous year.[134] While there are a large number of references to

[131] Ibid. This is a particularly interesting case, in which James I, king of Scotland ordered the arrest of his own countrymen for their seizure of English goods. That being said, the political context of the reign of James I, particularly the early 1430s, should be taken into consideration when discussing this unique situation.
[132] *CDS*, iv, p. 26.
[133] There are twelve complaints and petitions, about Scotto-Flemish trade, which explicitly referenced that the seizure of goods, plundering of ships, and killing of ship passengers happened during a truce or 'the late truce.' These actions were seen to be in direct violation of the processes of a truce. Ibid., iii, pp. 134, 162, iv, pp. 3, 38, 62, 66, 105, 146, 149, 160, 214, 229.
[134] In 1364, the Scots rejected the English proposal for a change in royal succession, which resulted in renewed Anglo-Scottish negotiations. During these negotiations, the English offered the Scots a truce in which David II could pay his ransom. The Scots were prepared to make serious concessions

conflicts surrounding the release and repossession of seized Scottish goods, this provides only a single perspective on the legal system and processes, which pertained to the illegal seizure and plunder of goods in late medieval Europe.

The very real danger of shipwrecks and the pillaging of salvageable goods from these wrecked ships is reflected in parliamentary legislation of late medieval Scotland. In a 1430 parliament, legislation was passed which stated:

> Item, it is ordained that ships that are wrecked in this country, the ship and the goods shall escheat to the king if they are from those countries which use and keep the same law of wrecked ships, and in their own land. And if they are ships of any land that do not keep that law [nor escheats the merchants, nor their ships, nor their goods], they shall have the same favour here as they give to ships of this land wrecked with them.[135]

The articulation of the proper treatment of ships wrecked in Scotland, and of Scottish ships wrecked in foreign waters, must have been necessitated by the improper treatment of foreign wrecked ships by Scots. This was not only a problem for foreign ships in Scottish waters. The many complaints and petitions of Scottish merchants, particularly to the kings of England, about the illegal seizure of shipwrecked goods indicate that this was a very real problem for all late medieval merchants.[136] While the passing of shipwreck legislation illustrates the explicit danger of shipping merchandise abroad, it does not imply that this

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to the English, except over the issue of homage and succession, in order to reach a permanent peace. Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, p. 21.

[135] *RPS*, 1430/19.

[136] Safe conducts granted by the kings of England narrate the continued need to grant restitution to Scottish merchants throughout this period for the illegal seizure of their goods or their person. *Rot. Scot.*, i, p. 966, ii, pp. 8, 11, 20, 22, 30, 173, 180, 201, 311-313.

legislation was uniformly upheld in the burghs of Scotland. Edda Frankot argued that a 1487 call for the implementation of maritime statutes, by burgh representatives, suggests that the observance of maritime legislation was far from consistent.[137] While the legislation that she discusses deals solely with the proper freighting of merchandise, her argument remains true for other forms of maritime legislation. This is proven by the very existence of Scottish merchant complaints to foreign officials over the correct treatment and return of plundered and seized merchandise. A 1370 complaint describes that Scottish goods had been 'plundered and carried off by wreckers' after the Flemish ships which were transporting them wrecked off of Kirkele Rode in Suffolk.[138] The complaint emphasised that the illegal seizure of these goods was done even after Robert Clerk of Leith and two others had claimed the goods for the owners, following the proper legal processes for the re-claiming of goods.[139] This is only one example of the incorrect or inconsistent exercise of maritime legislation which was prevalent throughout the late medieval period.

The threat of piracy, or what has been commonly defined as piracy, was another significant contributing factor to the formation of trade partnerships and networks. Bryan Dick argued that current definitions of piracy are much too simplistic.[140] These problematic definitions of piracy are a product of the difficulty in distinguishing between legitimate action and piracy.[141] For the purposes of this discussion, the term 'piracy' will be used to describe acts defined as piracy in the documentary sources, the illegal seizure of ships or people during periods of truce. The earlier discussion of the seizure of goods has been

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[137] Edda Frankot, 'Maritime Law and Practice in Late Medieval Aberdeen,' *SHR*, 89:2 (2010), p. 139; *RPS*, 1487/10/19.
[138] *CDS*, iv, p. 38.
[139] Ibid.
[140] For a discussion of the term 'pirate' and the contemporary perception of 'piracy' in the late medieval period, see Dick, 'Framing Piracy,' pp. 7-37.
[141] Ditchburn, 'Piracy and War at Sea,' p. 39.

separated from a discussion of the seizure of ships, because seizing and plundering goods was an act which took place after a shipwreck. The seizure of a ship was a conscious piratical, rather than opportunistic, activity. Piracy was not particularly prevalent in a single part of the late medieval period. Instead, the fear of piracy was an evident threat in medieval Scottish trading. In 1326, Scottish merchants brought their ship into Scarborough for fear of pirates and were summarily arrested by the Sheriff of York and the guardians of Scarborough.[142] The fear of pirates or the seizure of a merchant ship was founded in very real danger. Later that same month, the king of England commissioned justices to inquire into the seizure of 'la Pelarym' of Flanders in which the master of the ship and thirty eight Scottish merchants, pilgrims, and women were killed before the ship was left adrift.[143] While this seizure of a ship should be considered extreme and unique, the Scottish merchant community would have known about it and feared the possibility of a future recurrence. The seizure of other ships did not have such deadly results. In 1405, Henry IV of England issued writs to John Haddington and John of Akyne, Scottish merchants, who had proven that they had been taken prisoner while on a voyage by the men of Hull.[144] They had similarly proven that sixteen other Scottish merchant had been taken captive by the people of Scarborough and Flamborough while transporting goods from Scotland to Flanders in the same month.[145]

The Scots were not the only victims of piracy in the late medieval period. They were also the perpetrators of piratical activities. In 1319, Bruges burgomasters responded to Edward II of England's request that they would not support the Scots.[146] They stated that

[142] *CDS*, iii, pp. 161-162.
[143] Ibid., iii, p. 162.
[144] *CDS*, iv, p. 146.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., iii, p. 130.

Robert III, count of Flanders had prohibited '[...] intercourse between his subjects and those searobbers, who, in the guise of Scotsmen, commit many outrages [...]', but that they could not prevent honest merchants from coming to Bruges.[147] In this way, the threat of piracy extended far beyond physical violence or the loss of goods. Piracy reflected negatively on Scottish merchants, even if they could not be tied to piratical activities. The Flemish cloth industry's demand for foreign wool, particularly English and Scottish wool, often forced Brugeois merchants to maintain positive trade relations with Scotland against English opposition or increased levels of piracy. Tensions between Flanders and Scotland, over the issue of piracy, reached a critical point during the minority of James I. These tensions resulted in an economic crisis and a prevalent belief that only the king, when he was released from captivity, could effectively negotiate a resolution to the economic and political conflict.[148] While the Flemings clearly opposed Scottish piracy in the North Sea, this did not mean that they themselves did not contribute to the problem of piracy. In 1431, John Broun, merchant of Edinburgh and Flanders, and Geoffrey le Fray, burgess and merchant of Bruges released goods which they had taken from two English ships at sea in Brittany.[149] The act of piracy was, in itself, separate from the legal activities, while the government of the county and towns of Flanders spoke out against such actions.

The formation of Scottish trade networks, particularly in trade with Flanders, was in response to the need for the financial and physical protection of mercantile goods and investments. The only surviving records of these trade partnerships are found in safe conducts and court records surrounding shipwrecks and conflicts over the possession of

[147] Ibid.
[148] Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries,' pp. 48-50.
[149] *CDS*, iv, p. 216.

property after the seizure or destruction of a ship.[150] A series of safe conducts, issued in 1438 and 1439, exhibits the use of trade networks by Scottish merchants in this period. On 30 October 1438, a safe conduct was issued to William Small, James Ramsey, Thomas Malving, John Lambe and James Cuthquen, merchants of Edinburgh enabling them to travel to England to receive restitution for their goods which had been illegally seized.[151] However, each Scot must not have received the appropriate amount of compensation as safe conducts were issued again on 27 January 1439 for William Small, James Cuthquen, John Lambe and Thomas Malving to travel to England to receive further restitution.[152] Two months later, William Small and Thomas Malving would be issued another safe conduct to return to England for further compensation.[153] Representation of a trade partnership, in the form of appearing named as a group in safe conducts, provided security in the pursuit of compensation, especially over a prolonged period of time. Partnerships gave further weight to the demands of Scottish merchants for the repayment of seized or destroyed goods. Indeed, shipping goods as part of a collective was not limited to those of lower social status. In 1370, John Mercer, a prominent burgess and merchant in Perth, transported his goods with those of other merchants from Scotland to Flanders.[154] The dangers of trade, and thus the need for the corporate benefits which resulted from trade partnerships and networks, were a reality for every Scottish merchant, regardless of their social, political or economic status.

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[150] Scottish trade networks can be found primarily within English records, like the *CDS*, which contain merchant complaints of the seizure and pillaging of their ships. In Scottish sources, *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton* provides insights into the formation of trade networks at the end of the fifteenth century.
[151] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, p. 311.
[152] Ibid., p. 311-312.
[153] Ibid., p. 313.
[154] *CDS*, iv, p. 37.

The benefits from corporate transportation of goods were markedly similar to those gained through guild membership. There is no surviving evidence that these trade partnerships were part of guild activity, but it can be assumed that these merchants would have belonged to the merchant guild of their respective burghs. The collective identity of merchants, as seen through the sumptuary legislation of 1458 and their concept of corporate benefits, emerged from their membership in the guilds of late medieval Scotland.[155] While it is important to consider the potential influence of merchants' guilds on the formation of trade networks, this can only be taken so far. Late medieval Scottish merchants understood the concept of corporate benefits through their involvement in guild activity.[156] These benefits of collective membership to a group or, in this case, a network included mutual aid services and economic support. Whereas guilds manifested their collective identity through the use of formalised symbols, this is not apparent in mercantile trade networks. The swearing of oaths was used by guild members to visibly differentiate themselves from non-guild members in their community.[157] Tine De Moor argued that knowing the participants of a collective action personally increased the potential of long-term reciprocity.[158] Late-medieval Scottish merchants did this through their distinctive clothing, rather than the swearing of oaths.[159] This only served to distinguish merchants from other members of the burgh community and did not emphasise members of specific

[155] *RPS*, 1458/3/14.
[156] By the fifteenth century, there were merchant guilds in many of the major burghs of Scotland. The guilds did not operate uniformly, but differed from town to town. While there was not a specific set of operational guidelines or structures, the general corporate benefits gleaned from guild membership would have been universally understood in the burghs of late medieval Scotland. Lynch, 'Economic and Social Structures,' p. 267. For an examination of the 'two-fold' experience of guild membership in late medieval Scotland, see, Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline,' pp. 256-257.
[157] Tine De Moor, 'The Silent Revolution: A New Perspective on the Emergence of Commons, Guilds, and Other Forms of Corporate Collective Action in Western Europe,' *International Review of Social History*, 53 [Supplement] (2008), p. 194.
[158] Ibid.
[159] *RPS*, 1458/3/14.

trade networks. This lack of differentiation between members of particular trade networks was unnecessary because they were not rigidly formalised entities like the merchants' guild or class. The identity of specific merchants was not tied to their membership in a trade network, as it was to their membership in the larger guild. This concept of corporate identity was as familiar to late medieval guilds members as that of corporate benefits.

The corporate benefits gained through guild membership could not all be similarly gained from membership in a trade network. Whereas religious benefits, particularly the support of and participation in religious ceremonies, were an integral part of guild life, economic protection was the primary benefit of membership in a trade network.[160] The mutual aid services indicative of corporate benefits from guild membership could extend to economic support for impoverished guild brothers or their widowed families.[161] The formation of trade networks did not extend the same beneficial economic coverage to impoverished merchants or their families. It did, however, seemingly provide some protections for the investment of merchants. These economic protection benefits, and the existence of trade networks, are primarily found in surviving documents of complaints over the wrongful seizure of goods while in the process of transportation from Scotland to Flanders.[162] One of the reasons for this is that these documents survived, while others which might have similarly proved the existence of trade networks did not. Another,

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[160] Richard Goddard, 'Medieval Business Networks: St Mary's Guild and the Borough Court in Later Medieval Nottingham,' *Urban History*, 40:1 (2013), p. 8.
[161] Sandra Bos, 'A Tradition of Giving and Receiving: Mutual Aid Within the Guild System,' pp. 174-193.
[162] Richard Goddard found that the evidence of partnerships, in his examination of the business networks of St Mary's guild in Nottingham, could only be found in legal complaints over trade. He has argued that these cases were the direct result of failures in the trade relationships between two guild members, thus, they should not be considered representative of the actual proportion of local economic activities undertaken by the guild members. Similarly, the evidence for trade networks in late medieval Scotland can be found predominantly in petitions to the king of England over the illegal seizure of ships or goods bound from Scotland to Flanders. While these are not proportionally representative of the existing trade networks in late medieval Scotland, they do present examples of active trade networks during this period. Goddard, 'Medieval Business Networks,' p. 12-13.

considerably more interesting, reason is that the economic benefits of trade networks were directly tied to the inherent danger of mercantile trade in the late medieval period. Thus, evidence of these networks would naturally be found in petitions and court cases resulting from the failure of individuals to safely and effectively transport their goods from Scotland and Flanders.

The Scottish overseas merchant community was made up of a socially, financially, politically, and geographically diverse group of people. It is far too simplistic to conceive that the variety of people who belonged to the mercantile elite and their varying experiences in overseas trade resulted in the pursuit of an uniform agenda by this professionally defined group. The overseas mercantile community was distinctly informal in comparison to the formalised corporate nature of the merchant guilds found throughout medieval urban Scotland. For examples, these merchant guilds did not provide protection for their memberships' goods, if burgesses chose to trade outwith the burgh, particularly overseas. Thus, the formation of trade partnerships and networks was inevitable as they provided similar protection and security for their members. While Scottish overseas merchants actively pursued their own personal commercial interests, they were also important political, diplomatic, and commercial actors within the wider late medieval Scottish society.

Chapter Two: Politics and the Overseas Merchant

The social, commercial, and political spheres of late medieval Scotland were not disparate entities. Instead, they shared in their personnel, infrastructure, and finances. Scottish overseas merchants, particularly those who traded with Flanders, used the power they gained from their successful commerce to shape national and local politics during this period. Indeed, the agency of medieval Scotland's mercantile elite should not be understated. At a national level, the influence of overseas merchants in the domestic political arena can be observed through the Scottish crown's implementation of economic protectionist legislation, often in the form of trade embargoes on Flemish trade. The crown employed this strategy to gain a powerful position from which they could negotiate for the diplomatic and economic goals of the Scottish kingdom. For late medieval Scotland and its mercantile elite, a successful series of negotiations resulted in the procurement of increased rights and privileges. At a local level, the mercantile elite were able to institute statutes which protected their ongoing commercial interests in overseas trade. By elevating overseas merchants to positions of power within their localities, particularly those to do with freighting incoming ships, the mercantile elite were able to utilise the legislative and political infrastructure of the major ports of Leith and Aberdeen to their considerable benefit. This chapter will examine the differing ways in which late medieval Scotland's mercantile elite shaped national and local politics. First, it will argue that the implementation of economic protectionist legislation benefitted Scotland's mercantile elite. Second, it will demonstrate that the introduction of trade embargoes in Scotto-Flemish trade was the result of the successful international wool trade and the failure of a thirteenth-century royal marriage to maintain positive Scotto-Flemish relations. Third, it

will examine two case studies in which the Scottish crown used an economic protectionist strategy to gain support from the mercantile elite.[1] Finally, it will investigate the use of burgh legislation by Scottish overseas merchants to protect and promote their commercial interests.

The prohibition of trade and the seizure of Scottish mercantile goods in the later years of the thirteenth century, by Guy de Dampierre, was the first recorded use of economic protectionist policies in medieval Scotto-Flemish relations. Strikingly different to the Scottish use of similar strategies in the following centuries, Guy utilised the seizure of Scottish goods and break in trade to leverage the Scottish parliament to pay the dower of his daughter, Margaret of Flanders. Use of economic protectionist legislation by the Scottish kings was predominantly for the purpose of garnering increased rights and privileges for their mercantile elite in Flanders.[2] While each region's ruler used economic sanctions to achieve different ends, the prohibition of trade as a strategy has a long history which culminates in our modern time. The long and complex history of economic embargoes and sanctions has resulted in a debate over the terminology used to describe these processes. Stefan Stantchev argued that the ultimate function of a trade embargo was to change political, rather than economic policy.[3] While Stantchev's work established the medieval origins for trade embargoes, it is based on a constructed separation of economic and political spheres which did not exist in the medieval period. Robert Eyler's examination of the modern use of economic sanctions and the resulting diplomacy as an alternative to

[1] The term 'strategy' is used to describe a conscious decision to pursue economic protectionism as a means of dealing with a foreign political body. It is not intended to denote a conceptualised strategy or an understanding that it was a 'strategy'.
[2] *RPS*, 1347/2, 1425/3/7, 1467/1/6, 1487/10/16.
[3] Stefan Stantchev, 'The Medieval Original of Embargo as a Policy Tool,' *History of Political Thought*, 33:3 (2012), pp. 373-399.

war persuasively dispelled the idea of a separation between economic and political spheres.[4] Eyler's work on modern-day economic statecraft provides a framework within which we can examine medieval uses of embargoes in Scottish trade. For the purposes of this chapter, Robert Eyler's theoretical framework is complemented by the applicable and inclusive definition of economic sanctions articulated by Steve Chan and A. Drury Cooper as 'the actual or threatened withdrawal of economic resources to affect a policy change by the target'.[5] The nature of Eyler's framework and Chan and Cooper's definition is broad enough to include the many different types of legislation used by Scottish kings to defend their economy from foreign interests and promote the rights and privileges of their mercantile elite.

The central argument of this chapter is that Scottish kings and merchants used economic protectionist legislation to promote the commercial interests of the kingdom. While the imposition of trade restrictions or the complete severing of trade relations between Scotland and Flanders might appear to have been counterintuitive, it enabled the king of Scots to enter into diplomatic and commercial negotiations in a position of strength. The severing of Scotto-Flemish trade in 1467 and the threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants, who continued to trade with Flanders, initiated a series of diplomatic correspondence and negotiations between the Scots and Flemings. A letter written by Charles, duke of Burgundy to James III in the following year, emphasised the important role of merchants and their trade in the successes of Scotland and Flanders. He wrote:

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[4] Robert Eyler, *Economic Sanctions: International Policy and Political Economy at Work*, (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 4-5; Michael Taillard has pushed Eyler's thesis even further, arguing that trade embargoes and the manipulation of resources is a new form of military strategy and warfare. Michael Taillard, *Economics and Modern Warfare: The Invisible Fist of the Market*, (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 75-137.

[5] Steve Chan and A. Cooper Drury, 'Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: An Overview,' in Steve Chan and A. Cooper Drury (eds.), *Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: Theory and Practice*, (New York, 2000), pp. 1-2.

> And if they are affected by injury or damage unduly, after they have made their return I will of course provide for them totally, observing the course of justice, so that there will be no place for complaint; therefore may these things be to your liking, because, if my prayers do not suffice, the public benefit of my and your men urges you to this, upon whose success in every way our power and glory depends, and if there be anything that resides in my powers I offer it and wish to effect it always, by the agency of the highest God.[6]

The aim of this letter from Charles the Bold was to repair the breakdown in trade relations between Scotland and Flanders caused by the violation of the rights of Scottish merchants by the toll and customs officers of Bruges.[7] This letter articulated both the central position of merchants in the successes of the kingdom of Scotland and the county of Flanders and the pursuit of justice for Scottish merchants in Flanders.

A copy of Anselm Adornes' oration to James III on behalf of Charles the Bold included some of the privileges that Scottish merchants would receive on their return to Bruges. It stated: 'They will have careful and prompt justice, conversation at will, learning from the doctors who live there in ample number, holy churches as an example of religion, well-known [most respectable] conversation, a free mind, and whatever they want, so to speak.'[8] The privileges listed in Adornes' oratory (justice, freedom of expression and of religion) are not purely economic, rather the receipt of these protections acknowledged that Scottish merchants lived in Bruges, carrying out their daily lives alongside their

[6] BSA, LS23: 'From the part of our lord the Duke of Burgundy to the King of Scotland'
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., LS23: 'Copies of letters sent from the most illustrious Duke of Burgundy to the members of Flanders and the city of Bruges by the noble lord, Anselm Adornes, the orator sent to Scotland'.

commercial activities. The economic privileges which the Scots received in 1470, appear in a separate charter, and include the release of merchants arrested in Flanders, continued recognition of the Conservator of Scottish Privileges, and the choice of labourers by Scottish merchants.[9] The receipt of privileges which benefitted Scottish merchants in their professional and everyday lives in 1468 and 1470 were a result of the trade embargo imposed on Scotto-Flemish trade by James III in 1467. While the severing of trade with Flanders might appear to be counterintuitive to the protection and promotion of mercantile interests, it necessitated a diplomatic response from the duke of Burgundy, which often resulted in the receipt of privileges for Scottish merchants in Flanders.

As this chapter argues, economic protectionist legislation was used by Scottish kings in an acknowledgement of the economic and, resulting, political power wielded by Scotland's mercantile elite. It would be inaccurate to represent this as a solely top-down phenomenon. By focussing particularly on the burgh legislation produced by Edinburgh, Scotland's largest exporter of wool throughout the late medieval period, the power wielded by Scotland's overseas merchant population within their localities can be observed. Similar to their counterparts in Flanders, the burghs of Scotland were central to the success of Scotland's commerce. In 1468, the 'respectable men, the ruler, the bailiffs, consuls and other governors of the city of Edinburgh and of other cities, towns and burghs of the famous kingdom of Scotland' received a letter from the Four Members of Flanders, which was almost identical to a letter that was sent to James III in the hopes of re-starting trade between Scotland and Flanders.[10] While the receipt of this 1468 letter by the burghs of

[9] Document n. 26, Archives Bruges in Matthijs P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands: An Account of the Trade Relations Between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676, with a Calendar of Illustrative Documents*, (The Hague, 1910), pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.
[10] BSA, LS23: 'From the part of the city of Bruges to the King of Scotland', 'From the party of the city of Bruges to the cities and towns of the kingdom of Scotland'.

Scotland emphasises the centrality of their role in the Scotto-Flemish wool trade, they were not as independent as the Great Towns of Flanders. The Flemish towns, unlike the Scottish burghs, were able to create and execute their own commercial will, even if it opposed that of the Count of Flanders or Duke of Burgundy.[11] The Scottish burghs could not place embargoes on trade with Flanders, only the Scottish crown could do that. Instead, the major overseas trading ports of Edinburgh and Aberdeen were able to promote their own commercial interests through the implementation of burgh legislation which protected their material goods at sea and in port. Since the financial success of Scotland's mercantile elite were inherently tied to the protection of their goods during transport, the creation of legislation providing support and security for the mechanisms of trade directly benefitted Scottish merchants. While the type of legislation created by the Scottish crown and the burghs often differed, they both promoted the interests of Scotland's mercantile elite.

The political and economic relationship between Scotland and Flanders pre-dated the thirteenth century. Place name and personal name evidence suggests that an initial 'wave' of Flemish settlement in Scotland occurred in the twelfth century.[12] G.W.S. Barrow identified Botherickfield, Borrowstoun, and Houston to be three Scottish place names derived from Flemish personal names during a similar period.[13] Similarly, in his study of ethnonyms in the place names of Scotland and northern England, Peader Morgan identified

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[11] For research on one such instance, see: David Nicholas, *The van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History*, (Ithaca, 1988); Jean le Bel, *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel*, trans. Nigel Bryant, (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 69-71; Dumolyn and Haemers, 'A Bad Chicken Was Brooding'; Braekvelt, Buylaert, Dumolyn and Haemers, 'The Politics of Factional Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders'.

[12] 'Permanent settlement' is only discussed in the context of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Documentary source evidence does not indicate a similar phase of immigration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This does not preclude the possibility that a comparative 'wave' of settlement did occur, but was not mentioned in the surviving documentary sources. It is unlikely that any later medieval Flemish settlement in Scotland can be proved based on the evidence which has survived. Instead, in relation to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this thesis will deal with 'non-permanent migration'.

[13] G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, (Oxford, 1980), pp. 36-38.

five place names with probable Flemish ethnonymic origins: two Flemingtons, Fleming-Beath, Fleming Halse, and Flimby/Flemyngeby.[14] The establishment of Flemish-named or Flemish-derived towns suggests that a significant number of Flemings settled in towns and areas outside of the larger burghs of eastern Scotland.

While it is certainly true that immigrants to Scotland settled outside of the burghs, Flemings, particularly merchants, did settle in the early burghs of Scotland. The early burgh records show that the populations of these burghs came from a more varied geographical background than we might expect. David I encouraged townspeople from England and Flanders, amongst other regions, to settle in Scottish burghs and contribute to their development and success.[15] David I sent Mainard the Fleming to St Andrews to build and develop the burgh. He became the first Fleming to be named as a burgh resident in St Andrews in 1140.[16] The presence of Flemings in early Scottish burgh populations was connected to the establishment of the burghs as centres of foreign trade in Scotland.[17] Indeed, Mainard's appearance in the early burgh of St Andrews suggests an intimate connection between Flemings and the establishment of Scottish burghs as a central part of the economic development of the kingdom in the twelfth century. While the connection between Scotland and Flanders was apparent in the twelfth century, particularly in the early Scottish burghs, it was not until the thirteenth century that a marriage between the two ruling families was proposed.

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[14] Ailig Peader Morgan, 'Ethnonyms in the Place-names of Scotland and the Border Counties of England,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), Appendix D., pp. 134-137, 140.
[15] Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland*, (Stroud, 2004), p. 195.
[16] *SEA*, i, n. 144.
[17] Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension,' p. 30; Sir Archibald C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, (Glasgow, 1905), pp. 132, 155, 191, 195-196; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' p. 182; Michael Spearman, 'Early Scottish Towns,' p. 97; E. Patricia Dennison, 'Power to the People? The Myth of the Medieval Burgh Community,' in Sally Foster, Allan Macinnes, and Ranald MacInnes (eds.), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, (Glasgow, 1998), p. 101; Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 64.

In 1282, Margaret of Flanders, daughter of the count of Flanders married Alexander, son and heir of Alexander III, king of Scots. This foreign marriage of the Scottish king's eldest son to a powerful commercial ally was meant to be a political coup, highlighting the importance of Scotto-Flemish trade and firmly ensconcing Scotland on the international political stage. Foreign marriages were a central feature in the creation of political and economic alliances in late medieval Europe.[18] These marriages, specifically those of royal princesses, were meant to maintain a connection between the woman's family and her 'new' family.[19] The marriage contract of Margaret Stewart, married to Louis, dauphin of France on 24 June 1436, reflected the central nature of royal marriages to the establishment and maintenance of communication networks and alliances between two monarchs. It states:

> When, the lofty kings and prosperous advancement of kingdom are joined together by means of treaties, the links afforded by alliances, as an impregnable wall against the attacks of enemies, and as one body, and these bones are forged by matrimony, which has the effect of gathering together those who have been separate, and so to speak creating one and the same flesh, and the one will, from both (as if they were the issue of one and the same womb), then they are enhanced and most splendidly adorned.[20]

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[18] J.L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 42.
[19] Fiona Downie, 'And They Lived Happily Ever After? Medieval Queenship and Marriage in Scotland, 1424-1449,' in Terry Brotherstone, Deborah Simonton, and Oonagh Walsh (eds.), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, (Glasgow, 1999), p. 133; Fiona Downie, *She is but a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424-1463*, (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 32; Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, pp. 36-40.
[20] *RPS*, 1428/7/4.

As expressed in this treaty, it was understood that foreign royal marriages formed a bond between the two kingdoms and regions. These bonds were established for the sake of mutual defence and peace. In allying their countries together through marriage, medieval kings used rhetoric which spoke of defence of their mutual interest against an external enemy. The formal marriage contract of Margaret of Flanders and Alexander of Scotland has not survived.[21] Instead, the confirmation of a fifteenth-century royal dowry, that of Margaret of Denmark, provides some insights into the rhetoric which might have been used in the thirteenth-century marriage contract of Margaret and Alexander. The confirmation of Margaret's dowry stated:

> Whereas princes are accustomed to enter into treaties and friendships and other bonds of honesty, so that, defended by double power, their domains may be rendered stronger, and the attacks of foes and enemies more fiercely resisted; among the certainties, however, the treaty of marriage-bond oath was ordained from the earliest times by the supreme creator of all things, that the propagation of the human race might advance lawfully, and that true love – accompanied by the bond of blood – and strength of treaty between kings and princes may proceed, concord increase, [and] peace and tranquility be established.[22]

The florid language of the confirmation of Margaret's dowry equated the strength of the bond formed between two royal families, through the foreign marriage match, with the

[21] A transcript of the dower contract of Margaret of Flanders, copied in 1300, survives in the Archives Nationale du Nord. ADN, Série B 403 (2.316).
[22] *RPS*, 1471/5/1.

shoring up of the defences of their kingdoms.[23] While the 1471 confirmation of Margaret of Denmark's dowry emphasised the positive results of their marriage, foreign royal marriage matches were not always able to maintain the bond or communication network between kings and kingdoms. The woman's role to facilitate communication between her royal family and her 'new' family was only successful through the continued presence of the foreign bride at court.

Royal marriage matches were not always successful in establishing or maintaining political alliances. The death of Alexander, prince of Scotland in 1284 and the Scots' inability or unwillingness to pay Margaret's widow portion led to a breakdown in relations between the two regions.[24] Upon the death of Alexander in 1284, Guy, count of Flanders sent two of his retainers, Raoul Flamens and Sohier de Bailleul, to retrieve Margaret and return with her to Flanders.[25] As a newly widowed woman and heiress in her own right, Margaret had once again become a valuable asset for her father in the European marriage market.[26] Margaret's departure from Scotland in 1284 was followed by a decade of conflict between Scotland and Flanders, which was caused by the Scots' inability to pay Margaret's dower portion. The 1281 dower contract stated that:

> […] (if) Margaret survives our son before-said, that this young lady has and takes in the town of Berwick in Scotland, concerning those who there shall be in our place, everything, in so much as she shall have the life and body, in whatsoever estate that she should be, thirteen hundred marks of sterling, to the great number of xiii,

[23] Ibid.
[24] ADN, Série B 403 (2.316), Série B 403 (2.324); *CDS*, ii, pp. 68, 73.
[25] *CDS*, ii, pp. 68, 73.
[26] Margaret was married to Reginald I, count of Guelders in 1286. ADN, Série B 405 (2.733).

> truly, and iiij pence for the marks in name of dower there, for dowry of nuptials, the first day of August, after the decease of him, Alexander, and with this the manor of Linlithgow, being in our kingdom or territory of Lothian, in the bishopric of St Andrew, to the which manor belongs two hundred marks of sterling of rent each year to the before-said number, and this, so much, should not have of rent, this Margaret should have the default with these thirteen hundred marks, at the place and on the day before-said, so much that she have fifteen hundred marks of sterling in all[…][27]

While Margaret was promised this widow's portion upon the death of her husband, Alexander, the Scots were unable to pay Margaret the agreed upon sum. In September 1289, Margaret transferred her rights to the dower money to her father and his countess, Isabel.[28] This allowed Guy to personally pursue legal and judicial avenues to recoup Margaret's dower portion. As was his right, according to the 1281 marriage contract, Guy ordered the seizure of all Scottish goods in Flanders for the Scots' continued failure to pay Margaret's dower.[29] The renewal of a trade agreement in July 1293 did not end the hostilities between the two regions. Instead, Guy capitalised on the opportunity provided by the renewal of trade to continue his pursuit of compensation for the unpaid dower.

The implementation of economic sanctions did not always result in the receipt of benefits or recompense. Indeed, the renewal of Scotto-Flemish relations in 1293 did not mark a complete reconciliation between the two regions. In his 1951 doctoral thesis, William Finlayson misdated the renewal of Scotto-Flemish trade and, consequently,

[27] ADN, Série B 403 (2.316).
[28] Ibid., Série B 403 (3.087).
[29] Ibid., Série B 403 (2.324).

misattributed the cause for the reconciliation as having been a result of a settlement reached at the August 1293 parliament at Stirling.[30] The correct dating of the trade agreement to July 1293 significantly undermines Finlayson's conclusion. The agreement was intended to be instituted at the beginning of August 1293, which negates the possible influence of the August parliament.[31] The parliamentary records from August 1293 also complicate Finlayson's portrayal of agreement and resolution between the two regions. The roll of parliament from August 1293 included the appearance of two ambassadors for the Flemish count, John Vidame de Picquigny and Raso de Guar.[32]

> [They] come in the name of the count of Flanders as his procurators and attorneys and ask from the aforesaid king 1,500 merks, namely 1,300 merks to be received at the town of Berwick and the manor of Linlithgow (to which 200 merks pertain), which fermes Alexander last king of Scotland assigned by way of dowry to Margaret, daughter of the aforesaid count, on the day that Alexander eldest son of the aforesaid King Alexander, was betrothed to the said Margaret.[33]

Even with the renewal of trade in July 1293, Guy, count of Flanders was determined to seek recompense for Margaret's dower. Indeed, the rhetoric used by Guy's ambassadors was not that of loving friendship, but rather of cool acquaintance.[34] The Flemish ambassadors

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[30] William Finlayson, 'The Scottish Nation of Merchants in Bruges: A Contribution to the History of Medieval Scottish Foreign Trade,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1951), pp. 399-401.
[31] Gordon Donaldson (ed.), *Scottish Historical Documents*, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 401.
[32] *RPS*, 1293/8/3, 1293/8/4.
[33] *RPS*, 1293/8/3.
[34] For a brief examination of the language of diplomacy, see: Rosser, *Art of Solidarity*, p. 100; G.P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 17-19; Michael Jucker, 'Trust and Mistrust in Letters: Late Medieval Diplomacy and its Communication Practices,' in Pedra Schulte,

clearly stated that they appeared in front of John Balliol not to plea for payment, but 'ask amicably' for they were 'not sent to this parliament for pleading'.[35] The pointed rebuttal of their presence at the August 1293 parliament as a plea to John Balliol was intended to illustrate that Guy, being of equal social, political, and economic power to John, did not have to beg for a payment that was his by right.

The renewal of trade between Scotland and Flanders could be interpreted as a return to positive relations, but this was not the case. There was an underlying threat in the language of the trade agreement which surrounded the issue of satisfaction. Guy had no issue with breaking the renewed trade agreement and halting Scotto-Flemish trade, if he did not receive the 1,500 merks that he was owed.[36] A letter dated 10 May 1295 from Philip IV, king of France to Guy suggests that the 1293 trade treaty did not result in the release of all trade-related tensions between Scotland and Flanders.[37] Instead Philip IV had to become involved in the conflict, his letter reminding Guy that he considered the Scottish merchants to be friends and not enemies.[38] Even with the intervention of Philip IV and the creation of the 'auld alliance' in October 1295, the issue of the repayment of Margaret's dower continued into the 1320s.[39] References to Margaret's unpaid dower portion appeared in Flemish marriage contracts and letters throughout this period. In a letter dated in March 1321, Guy de Châtillon waived all claims that he could raise against Robert III,

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Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages. Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 213-236.

[35] *RPS*, 1293/8/4.

[36] Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, p. 401.

[37] This friendship between Scotland and France observed in the May 1295 letter acted as a precursor for the signing of the 'auld alliance' on 23 October 1295 at Paris. The 'auld alliance' stated that 'we shall not be able to settle our war or enter into peace or truce unless they [the Scots] are included in the peace or truce concerning all the wars; and similarly he shall not be able to make a peace or truce concerning the aforesaid wars without us.' AN, J//677 n°1.

[38] ADN, Série B 864(3.662).

[39] Ibid., Série B 400 (5.358), Série B 400 (5.332), Série B 400 (6.106).

count of Flanders under his father and mother's rights, the latter under which were 1,800 livrées of land promised by the marriage contract and dower of his aunt, Margaret in Scotland.[40] On 6 January 1330, Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders promised to deposit letters regarding the dower of Margaret of Flanders, widow of the son of the king of Scots at the Abbey of St Geneviève in Paris.[41] The inclusion of references to Margaret's unpaid dower portion in fourteenth-century Flemish documents shows a continuing concern about the payment of these monies.[42] While there is no evidence that any count of Flanders sought the payment of Margaret's dower with the fervor of her father, it does appear to have been an issue which was brought up throughout the following century.

There is no documentary evidence to provide any information about Guy's intention in pursuing the payment of Margaret's dower in the early 1290s, so a discussion of this topic must deal in some probable supposition. The death of Alexander, prince of Scotland is an obvious cause for Guy's pursuit of Margaret's dower. His continued pursuit in the 1290s could be attributed to the political environment of Scotland. Following the death of Alexander III in 1286, Scotland was comparatively weak. Alexander III's reign was a period of prolonged peace, characterised by population growth and prosperity in trade which stimulated the development of townlife.[43] His death in 1286 brought about a transition in the Scottish kingdom from peace to instability.[44] Moreover, Michael Brown argued that the absence of a king resulted in the breakdown of institutional frameworks for dispute

[40] Ibid., Série B 400 (5.358).
[41] Ibid., Série B 400 (6.106).
[42] See ADN, Série B 405 (2.733), Série B (3.356) for references to the dower owed to Margaret in the contract for her next marriage and letters authorising Guy to act on behalf of herself and her husband.
[43] Nicholas Mayhew, 'Alexander III—A Silver Age? An Essay in Scottish Medieval Economic History,' in Norman Reid (ed.), *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249-1286*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 66.
[44] M.A. Pollock, *Scotland, England and France After the Loss of Normandy 1204-1296, 'Auld Amitie'*, (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 211.

resolution, as the nobility sought to better their own financial and political positions.[45] The 1290s were marked by the Great Cause and Edward I's intervention in Scotland. It is highly likely that Guy recognised the opportunity to take advantage of the instability in Scotland during this period in his pursuit of recompense for Margaret's dower.

Just as Guy, count of Flanders used a period of conflict in Scotto-Flemish relations to push his person financial agenda, the influence of the mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland can be most obviously identified in periods of national conflict and instability, particularly in the absence of an adult king or his recent return to Scotland. The Scottish parliamentary records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contain multiple examples of mercantile influence and the creation of pro-mercantile legislation. This thesis focuses on two particular moments, 1347 and 1425, in which the Scottish parliament implemented legislation which benefitted the overseas merchant community through the procurement of improved rights and protections or stopped trade with Flanders to gain a strong position in future economic negotiations. These two case studies were not the only instances of the creation of pro-mercantile legislation and other examples of similar legislation have been used to draw conclusions about mercantile influence on the king of Scots and Scottish parliament.

The first case study of the Scots' use of pro-mercantile legislation appears in 1347 as an expulsion of Flemings from Scotland. 1341 marked the return of an adult David II to Scotland from exile in France. His 'first reign', considered to be from his return in 1341 to his capture at Neville's Cross in 1346, was characterised by an internal power struggle between the king of Scots and his older nephew and heir, Robert the Steward. During

[45] Michael Brown, 'Aristocratic Politics and the Crisis of Scottish Kingship, 1286-96,' *SHR*, 90:1 (2001), p. 25.

David II's exile, the politics of the Scottish kingdom had come to be dominated by the political and territorial interests of Robert the Steward.[46] There was little Scottish support for David II during his exile as many other prominent nobles followed the Steward's example and pursued their own territorial and political agendas.[47] David II's return brought about a period of struggle for power between the king and his heir, which did not serve to further solidify the king's power base amongst the nobility. This was particularly apparent in the flight of prominent members of the nobility, including the Steward, from the battlefield of Neville's Cross. While David II was able to muster a Scottish army made up of many members of the Scottish nobility and their factions, the desertion of many prominent nobles speaks to the little loyalty that many of these men held for the king. With the flight of Robert the Steward, the loss of Neville's Cross, and the capture of David II by the English, Scotland was once again without a king.[48]

Using the name and royal title of the captive David II, the November 1347 general council passed an act which transferred the Scottish staple from Bruges to Middelburg in Zeeland and expelled all Flemings, with the exception of sailors, from Scotland. The language of the 1347 act spoke of a severe and immediate rupture in the relationship between Scotland and Flanders. It stated that:

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[46] Michael Penman, 'Parliament Lost – Parliament Regained? The Three Estates in the Reign of David II, 1329-1371,' in eds. Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner, Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560, (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 79-81; Michael Penman, David II, 1329-71, (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 78; Stephen Boardman, The Early Stewart King: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406, (East Linton, 1997), pp. 6-7; For an examination of the factions and biases about the governance of Scotland formed during this period, see Stephen Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the 'Anonymous Chronicle',' The Scottish Historical Review, 76: 1 (1997), pp. 23-43, and David Webster, 'David II and the Government of Fourteenth-Century Scotland,' Transaction of the Royal Historical Society, 16 (1966), pp. 115-130.
[47] Macdougall, The Auld Alliance, p. 36.
[48] For an in depth analysis of the battle of Neville's Cross, see: Michael A. Penman, 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross, 17 October 1346,' *The Scottish Historical Review*, 80 (2001), pp. 157-180.

> […] the merchants of the kingdom and also their servants and all and singular people of our kingdom of whatever condition or estate, with all their goods and merchandise from the regions of Flanders, have been exiled and banished from intercourse with the Flemish.[49]

The severing of trading links with Flanders and expulsion of Flemings in 1347 necessitated the establishment of the Scottish staple at a location other than Bruges. In 1347 and periodically over the following centuries, the Scottish staple was moved from Bruges across the Scheldt estuary to Middleburg in Zeeland.[50] William Finlayson argued that the impression of spontaneous action and righteous indignation articulated in the 1347 act, as well as the simultaneous establishment of the Scottish staple at Middleburg presents a false representation of the level of preparedness of the November council.[51] Finlayson is correct in his assertion that the transfer of the staple from Bruges to Middleburg would have been considered as an option prior to the general council. Yet, his analysis does not go beyond a simplistic statement, ignoring the importance of the language of the act or its implications. The 'righteous indignation', as Finlayson described it, appears only as a justification for the immediate expulsion of Flemings from Scotland. The act included the statement that:

> the merchants of the kingdom and also their servants […] have been exiled and banished from intercourse with the Flemish, *the cause of which banishment we are entirely ignorant*, therefore, having been

[49] *RPS*, 1347/2.
[50] For examples of the transfer of the staple to Middleburg, see: *RPS*, 1347/1, 1347/2; BSA, LS23; BSA, Cartulaire Roodenbouc, fol. 225^{v}, n. 1.
[51] Finlayson, 'Scottish Nation of Merchants,' p. 58.

> excluded from intercourse with our kingdom, we entirely banish the merchants of Flanders and all the Flemish people […][52]

The inclusion of the emphasised phrase was clearly intended to stress the general council's lack of knowledge of any wrongdoing on the part of Scottish merchants in Flanders, as well as their indignation at the Flemish count's banishment of Scots. This 'righteous indignation', as Finlayson termed it, was intentionally misleading.

The transfer of Scotland's staple to Middleburg at the same general council suggests that some consideration of alternative options for the location of the Scottish staple had occurred prior to the November 1347 council, as Finlayson suggested.[53] Indeed, the general council chose to ratify and confirm '[any] agreement or contract to be made, arranged or to have force between the said burgesses and merchants of our kingdom and the burgesses and merchants of Middleburg […]'[54] While the language of the general council act, which expelled Flemings from Scotland, suggests a lack of foresight of conflict between the two regions, the transfer of the Scottish staple to Middleburg implies that the opposite was true. While in 1467, the breaking of trade with Flanders went hand-in-hand with the pursuit of a new staple for Scottish merchants. This was not so in 1347.

Instead, the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland was followed by the transfer of the Scottish staple to Middleburg in Zeeland.[55] It is unlikely that Robert the Steward and the other great magnates of Scotland would have moved the staple to Middleburg without undertaking negotiations with the Zeelanders to establish the mercantile privileges and protections that the Scots would receive at their new staple. While the expulsion of

[52] *RPS*, 1347/2. The emphasis in this quotation is entirely mine.
[53] Finlayson, 'Scottish Nation of Merchants,' p. 58.
[54] *RPS*, 1347/1.
[55] Ibid., 1347/2.

Flemings from Scotland in 1347 presented a very specific picture of the state of preparedness in Scotland for conflict with Flanders, the legislation which followed it, and transferred the staple to Zeeland, proved the inaccuracy of the Scots' 'righteous indignation'.

Since the 1347 act provides only a cursory understanding of the reasons for the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland, we must look beyond the explicit reason to the implicit causes for the implementation of the fourteenth-century act. The first implicit reason for the general council's expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 was the political environment of the mid-fourteenth century and the Scots' wariness of English influence over the continuation of Scotto-Flemish trade. The French loss to the English at the battle of Crécy and the death of Louis I, the pro-French count of Flanders in 1346, placed Scotland in an uncertain political position between France and England.[56] While the Scots had not been directly involved in Crécy, the Franco-Scottish 'auld alliance' of 1295, a mutually defensive alliance intended to defend Scotland and France from their historic enemy, England, required a Scottish response to the French loss in 1346. The treaty read:

> And they [the Scots], in the name of the king … promised us expressly that the same [King of Scots] in the present war which we are waging against the said King of England and his supporters, both the King of Germany and others […] should publicly and openly assist us and our successors in England if a war of this king

[56] For more information on Louis de Male, count of Flanders and the battle of Crécy, see: Andrew Aytoun and Phillip Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, (Woodbridge, 2005); Richard Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter*, (London, 2013); David Nicolle, *Crécy, 1346: Triumph of the Longbow*, (Oxford, 2000); Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War*, (Basingstoke, 2003); Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years' War: 1337-1453*, (Oxford, 2002).

> occurs against them, with all his resources and those of his realm, both by land and sea and they will provide counsel and speedily.[57]

In 1346, Philip VI of France called upon his ally, David II to gather a Scottish host and invade England. Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* included a narrative of the events which led to the battle of Neville's Cross. He wrote:

> In the same year, namely 1346, the king of France wrote to King David, begging him to make deadly war against the king of England with all appropriate military might, because he promised that he would lay siege around the town of Calais, so that thus the king of England would be enclosed or cornered from all sides, and his aggressive power weakened. King David agreeing to his request, collected a large army from all sides, hoping above all else to have a fight with the English.[58]

While never explicitly referencing the 1295 treaty, Bower's account accurately described the mutually defensive nature of the agreement for the French and the Scots, and its focus on opposing English aggression.

The 'auld alliance' was more than just a treaty for David II. It was an expression of friendship between him and the king of France. Philip VI had ingratiated himself with David, while the young Scottish king had been exiled in France, through his material assistance of Bruce supporters in Scotland during the late 1330s, his military assistance in the Scottish war effort between 1337 and 1341, and his refusal to agree to an Anglo-French

[57] AN, J//677.
[58] Bower, *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 253.

truce which did not include Scotland.[59] The strength of the friendship forged between David II and Philip VI, and by extension their two kingdoms, was a strong motivating factor for the muster of the Scottish host after the French loss at Crécy and its march into battle at Neville's Cross in October 1346. The Scottish defeat and capture of David II left Scotland without a king and necessitated the protection of Scotland's interests at home and abroad. The 1347 general council act and its expulsion of Flemings from Scotland was partly born from the anti-English political environment of Scotland in 1346.

Considering the military defeat endured by the Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346 and the French defeat at Crécy to the English, it would have been foolish to ignore the implications of the often amicable Anglo-Flemish relationship on the Scottish staple at Bruges. It was, thus, understandable that those governing Scotland during the captivity of David II were concerned about the influence that an alliance between a powerful England and Flanders would wield over the Scottish staple. The general council's worry was justified as the English had interfered in Scotto-Flemish trade in the first half of the fourteenth century. In a letter dated 17 March 1315, Edward III wrote Johanni de Butetour attributing the exclusion of Scottish merchants from Flemish ports to have been a consequence of the Scots rebellion against the English.[60] English and Flemish interests aligned again in 1319 to limit Scottish trade in Bruges in response to Scottish piracy. Yet, in 1319, the Flemish were unwilling to accede to the request of the English for a complete blockade of the Scots. The Flemings argued that they would not stop honest merchants from trading in Bruges.[61] Similarly, Edward II requested that the Flemings stopped any assistance that they were giving the Scots twice in 1333 and offered free trade with

[59] Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295-1560*, (East Linton, 2001), p. 39.
[60] *Foedera*, ii, p. 265.
[61] *CDS*, iii, p. 130.

England as an incentive.[62] It was not unusual for the English to ask their Flemish allies to sever trade relations with Scotland. While the English made use of their Flemish allies in their pursuit of blocking Scotland's export trade, they also used their own exported goods to flood Scottish-friendly foreign markets. Both William Finlayson and Alexander Stevenson have argued that the English government actively used their wool, hides and woolfells to drive the Scots from St Omer, another significant market for the Scots, from 1313 to 1323.[63] Certainly by the mid-fourteenth century, English attempts to prevent Scotto-Flemish trade and assistance had become a regular occurrence.

While often amicable, the balance of power in Anglo-Flemish relations lay with the English. The position of the Flemish counts in European commerce and politics was fundamentally complicated by their relationships with England and France. As such, Flanders was often pulled between these two major European political powers. David Nicholas argued that Edward I used economic embargoes and the revocation of safe conducts for Flemish merchants to force Flanders into an anti-French treaty on 31 August 1294, the Treaty of Lier.[64] Additionally, Nicholas portrayed Philip IV of France's intervention in the formalisation of this Anglo-Flemish alliance to be an altruistic act on the part of the French king.[65] This was certainly not the case. In 1293, the English and Flemish entered into negotiations for a marriage alliance between Prince Edward of England and Philippa, daughter of the Flemish count, which culminated in the Treaty of Lier in the following year.[66] Nicholas' interpretation of Anglo-Flemish diplomacy is

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[62] *Foedera*, ii.i, pp. 269, 303.
[63] Finlayson, 'Scottish Nation of Merchants,' p. 50; Alexander Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations,' p. 95.
[64] David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, (London, 1992), pp. 187-188.
[65] Ibid., p. 188.
[66] Donald E. Queller, 'Diplomatic Personnel Employed by the Counts of Flanders in the Thirteenth Century,' *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 34:2 (1956), p. 54; J.F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of*

unrealistic in its dichotomous and combative interpretation of this relationship. In 1292, Guy, count of Flanders personally petitioned Edward I of England for the establishment of peace between the two regions. A treaty was to be signed 'after all rancour, contentions and wrongs have been removed and all damages and losses upon both sides have been wholly pardoned and remitted'.[67] While the description of these peace talks and Guy's appearance at the English court imbued Edward I with a great amount of power, the English king did not treat the Flemings harshly. In contrast to Philip IV's treatment of the Flemish count in the 1290s, Edward I appears to have agreed to a peace treaty which benefitted each party equally.[68] As one of England's major foreign trading partners, it would have been foolish for Edward I to push through a peace treaty which did not treat the Flemings fairly. The decent treatment of the Flemings, by the English, in the creation of trade agreements did not undermine the power of the English, rather it provided them with a more solid platform from which to make requests of Flanders and its merchants.

While the political relationship of England, Flanders, and France was already complex, it was further complicated by the powerful Flemish towns, their independent alliances with England, and their commercial interests. Louis of Nevers' pro-French sentiments introduced a period of conflict and rebellion between the commons and elite from 1323 to 1328. Many of these conflicts arose over the imposition of higher taxation on the towns. Indeed, the cause of the 1323 revolt was the exaction of taxes from the commons

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the Golden Spurs (Courtrai, 11 July 1302): A Contribution to the History of Flanders' War of Liberation, 1297-1305, David Richard Fergusson (trans.), Kelly de Vries (ed.), (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 14.

[67] *CCR*, iii, p. 265.

[68] Philip IV's intervention in the 1294 Anglo-Flemish alliance was not an altruistic attempt to defend his ally, Scotland's, interests. Rather, it served to benefit French commercial and political interests. Philip's response to the Treaty of Lier was to force the Flemings to follow France into a trade embargo of England. By January 1297, Guy de Dampierre had openly allied with France. On 7 January 1297, Guy promised Edward I that he would restore English goods and promote commercial relations between Flanders and England. TNA, Kew, E 30/37.

to pay financial penalties owed to France under the peace of Athis in 1305.[69] The *Chronicon comitum Flandrensium* stated that:

> [1324] Now that the count had returned from Flanders the aldermen and councillors had to make good their promise of a gift to the count. To pay for it, they taxed the commoners at rates that sparked great grumbling among them. Because of favoritism and not by law, the aldermen and councillors of the walled towns had taxed the commoners at double the rate promised to the count. And rumour has it that these riots were caused not because of the amount demanded but because the taxes had been imposed unequitably; as is said, it was the duplicity and injustice of the tax that irked them.[70]

The disconnect between comital and communal interests regularly caused the revolts of the commons to flare up in this period, particularly over the issue of unduly high taxation. The chronicle written by Giovanni Villani, a Florentine banker and official described a similar cause for the Bruges revolt of 1323. He wrote that, 'The reason for [the revolt] was that the nobles had taxed them too heavily to pay for the peace with the King of France. This conspiracy grew so large that it contaminated the entire country of Flanders, and they [the commoners] refused to obey their lord, the Count of Flanders.'[71] The rule of a pro-French Louis of Nevers did not fundamentally change the English threat to Scottish trade, as the

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[69] Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (ed.), *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 36.
[70] *Chronicon Comitum Flandrensium*, in J.-J. Smet (ed.), *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, i, (Brussels, 1837), p. 137, trans. in Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. (ed.), *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 36.
[71] Giovannia Vallani, *Nuova Cronica*, ii, book x, p. 413, trans. in Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. (ed.), *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders*, (Manchester, 2004), p. 36.

powerful towns of Flanders (Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres) remained pro-English in their economic and diplomatic policies. Representatives from twenty-seven towns in Flanders met with some of Louis' advisers at the beginning of July 1323 to voice their concerns, one of which was a worry about the maintenance of trade between England and Flanders during periods of Anglo-French tension.[72] The preservation of positive trade relations between England and Flanders was of great importance to the Flemish towns, as much of their wool came from the English countryside. Thus, in 1335, a memorial comparing the position of Scotland as an ally to France with that of Flanders as an ally of England was authored.[73] It accurately characterised the relationship between the towns of Flanders and England as positive.

The amicable relationship between the towns of Flanders and kingdom of England was a significant threat to the Scots and their exportation of wool because of the power wielded by the Flemish towns.[74] On 22 April 1346, Edward III wrote to the 'burgomasters, eschevins, council and avowes of the three great towns of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres […]' to

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[72] William TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323-1328*, (Philadelphia, 1994), p. 49.
[73] TNA, C 47/30/4/16.
[74] For a much more detailed discussion of the political power of the Flemish towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see: Jan Dumolyn, 'Privileges and Novelties,' pp. 5-6; Jonas Braekvelt, Frederik Buylaert, Jan Dumolyn, and Jelle Haemers, 'The Politics of Factional Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders,' *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), p. 15; Jan Dumolyn, 'Economic Development, Social Space and Political Power in Bruges, c. 1127-1302,' in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner, and R.L.J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 33-57; Jan Dumolyn, 'Nobles, Patricians and Officers,' p. 432; Jan Dumolyn, "Our Land is Only Founded on Trade and Industry,' pp. 374-389; Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, 'Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 31 (2005), pp. 369-393; Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, "A Bad Chicken Was Brooding',' pp. 45-86; Jelle Haemers, 'A Moody Community? Emotion and Ritual in Late Medieval Urban Revolts,' in Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, eds., *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th century)*, (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 63-81; Jelle Haemers, *For the Common* Good; Marc Boone and Maarten Prak, 'Rulers, Patricians and Burghers,' pp. 99-134; Frederick Buylaert, 'The Late Medieval "Crisis of Nobility" Reconsidered: The Case of Flanders,' *Journal of Social History*, 45:4 (2012), pp. 1120-1121; Samuel Kline Cohn, *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425: Italy, France, and Flanders*, (Boston, 2008); Peter Stabel, 'Economic Development, Urbanisation and Political Organisation,' pp. 183-204.

make a treaty of peace against 'our adversary', France.[75] It is unsurprising that this overture of Anglo-Flemish peace was directed at the towns, rather than Louis of Nevers. Later that same year, Louis would die at the battle of Crécy fighting for the French in their devastating loss to the English. Peace was reached between Edward III and the towns of Flanders in 1347. As was common for late medieval political alliances, a marriage was arranged between Isabella, daughter of Edward III and Louis II, count of Flanders to strengthen the alliance.[76] The young Louis II fled to the court of Philip VI and married Margaret of Brabant, a marriage arranged by his late father. His flight to the French court and Brabantine marriage sparked riots in the Flemish towns. On 4 December 1348, Edward III and Louis de Male confirmed a peace negotiated by their representatives, after which Louis returned to Flanders.[77]

The amicable relationship between Edward III and the Flemish towns could not have been easily overlooked by the Scottish general council in 1347. The threat posed to the exportation of Scottish wool by an alliance between the Flemish towns and Edward III necessitated a proportionally appropriate response. Prohibiting trade with Flanders and the expulsion of Flemish merchants from Scotland placed the Scots in a strong position for economic negotiations with Flanders. Michael Penman has argued that the removal of the Scottish staple from Bruges indicated that Robert the Steward did not wish to use the staple as a bargaining tool in the process of making peace with the English.[78] The reasons that Robert may not have wanted to negotiate with the English in 1347 are clear. In David II's absence, Robert was free to govern Scotland and pursue his personal territorial interests without the interference of his uncle. Penman's argument does not consider that

[75] *Foedera*, iii.i, (London, 1825), pp. 80-81.
[76] MUL, PHC/23.
[77] ADN, Série B 266 (7615).
[78] Penman, *David II*, p. 144.

the transfer of the Scottish staple to Middleburg was intended to be used in negotiations with the Flemings, rather than their allies, the English. The movement of the staple from Bruges to Middleburg was intended to instigate negotiations between Scotland and Flanders over mercantile rights and privileges.

The 1347 expulsion drastically limited the opportunities available to Flemings in Scotland in the mid-fourteenth century. From 1320 to 1346, fifteen Flemings or Flemish mercantile groups appeared in Scottish documentary sources.[79] Since every Fleming referenced in Scottish sources in the twenty-six years before Neville's Cross, except for one, was explicitly identified as a merchant, foreign trade was clearly the primary reason for Flemish residence in late medieval Scottish burghs.[80] The high number of Flemish merchants in Scotland during this period was a consequence of other factors, including the reign of a pro-French count of Flanders. From 1322 to 1346, fifteen Flemish merchants or mercantile groups appeared in Scottish records. The period that this relatively high number of Flemish merchants were resident in or travelled to Scotland directly correlates with the reign of Louis de Male. The twenty-four year reign of Louis de Male as count of Flanders saw a disproportionately large number of Flemish merchants in Scotland. In comparison, there are only eleven Scottish merchants with links to Flanders who appear in Scottish documentary sources in this period. A very basic comparison of the number of Flemings in Scotland and Scots in Flanders in the twenty-four years prior to the 1347 expulsion of Flemings suggests that much of the exportation of Scotland's goods to Flanders was dominated by Flemings, rather than Scots. However, the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 changed the landscape of Scotto-Flemish foreign trade. The period

[79] *ER*, i, pp. 77, 80-81, 95, 97, 100, 173, 211, 213, 215-216, 239, 371, 450-451, 505-506, 530-531; *CDS*, iii, pp. 34, 79, 126, 190, 204, 239.
[80] John de Hayel is the only exception to this pattern. He was identified solely as a townsperson of Sluis. *ER*, i, p. 211.

following 1347 witnessed a drastic decline in the residence of Flemish merchants in Scotland. These numbers never returned to the height of pre-1346.[81] An important, but often overlooked, reason for the low number of Flemish merchants in Scotland in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the lack of opportunities for them in the Scotto-Flemish wool trade. Prior to 1346, Flemish merchants travelled to Scotland to conduct their trade. In a letter from Robert de Béthune, count of Flanders to Edward II in 1319, he wrote that, '[I know] nothing of the ships said to have sailed from [my] port of Zwin with arms and provisions for the Scots as [I] have forbidden this, and [believe] that they must have gone to Scotland and Ireland merely to trade, which [I] cannot hinder.'[82] The 1347 expulsion of Flemings created an opportunity for a greater number of Scottish merchants to travel to Flanders with their goods. Thus, the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland enabled the Scots to wrest the mechanisms of their export trade from Flemish control.

While some Scottish merchants had traded in Flanders before 1346, the number of Scots actively trading in Flanders dramatically increased following the expulsion of

[81] Indeed, the number of Flemish merchants had decreased approximately 71% after the 1347 expulsion Twenty-four Flemings appeared in Scottish documentary sources from 1347 to 1488. These numbers are used to illustrate the population decline of Flemings in late medieval Scotland following the 1347 general council act. They are not intended for critical quantitative purposes, as they are based on the appearance of Flemings in Scottish documentary sources. For this reason, they must be qualified. This thesis cannot attempt to deal with undocumented Flemish residents of late medieval Scottish burghs. While there may have been many Flemings in Scotland who do not appear in the surviving sources, they were not part of the mercantile elite and are, thus, not the subject of this study. Every reference to a Flemish merchant in Scotland does not relate the amount of time that they spent in Scotland, in fact very few include more than a minimal amount of information on their time in Scotland. As always, there are exceptions to this statement, but even they are thin. The two ambassadors who attended James I's court in 1425 to seek the renewal of trade must have only remained in Scotland for a short period of time, because, as specialist ambassadors, they did not permanently reside at the Scottish court. However, Bower's description of the 1425 negotiations does not tell us when they returned to Flanders. *ER*, ii, pp. 128, 131, 133, 214, 263, iv, pp. 144, 436, 509, 672, 680-681, 683-684, 678, v, pp. 34, 53, vi, pp. 118, 307, viii, p. 512, ix, pp. 105, 153, 400, 406; *CDS*, iv, pp. 114 and 216; *RPS*, 1476/7/18, 1483/3/57; *TA*, i, p. 23; *RMS*, ii, pp. 220, 250, 324.
[82] *CDS*, iii, p. 126.

Flemings in 1347.[83] By 1360, John Mercer, burgess of Perth had become the king's deputy in Flanders.[84] A series of complaints in the early 1370s were made by Scots to Edward III, king of England which suggests that it had become common practice for Scottish merchants to travel to Flanders to conduct business.[85] On 26 March 1370, Edward III commissioned William of Wychyngham, Hugh Fastolf, and two others to look into the complaint made by William Lythe, James Henrisson, Thomas Marcher, John Woder, Thomas Recynot, John Scot, Adam of Dalgarnok, Walter Gopeld, Andrew Bet, William Gopeld, Simon del Abbeye, Alan Hog, and Thomas Clerk, Scottish merchants, about the plunder and theft of goods that they had freighted by them at Sluis on a ship bound for Scotland, which had wrecked off of Kirkele Rode in Suffolk.[86] It is clear that following 1347 the number of Scottish merchants travelling to Flanders increased. The corresponding decrease of Flemish merchants in Scotland and their continuing low numbers in the following century suggests that the expulsion of Flemings in 1347 changed the operational infrastructure of Scotto-Flemish wool trade. The increased number of Scottish merchants travelling to Flanders to sell wool and purchase Netherlandish luxury goods resulted in a far less receptive market for Flemish merchants in Scotland.

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[83] Following 1346, the three hundred and three Scots were active in trade with Flanders in various roles. BSA, Politieke chaters, le reeks, nr. 464:oorspr. met de geschonden zegels van de oorkonders; BSA, Cartularium Nieuwe Groenenboek Ongecotteerd, fol. 76: afschrift (tweede helft van de 16e eeuw); ADN, Série B, 1427 (16.25); *CDS*, iii, pp. 374-375, 281, iv, pp. 3-4, 26, 33, 37-38, 62, 66, 66, 99, 105, 146, 156, 160, 167, 176, 187, 189, 192, 196, 198, 200, 208, 211, 214-216, 219-220, 229, 235, 249, 266, 280, 316, 326, 347; *ER*, i, pp. 587, 596, ii, 9-11, 16-23, 48-49, 54, 68-69, 77, 93, 304-305, 521-522, iv, pp. 140, 143-144, 149-150, 275, 438, 448, 509, 639-645, 648-651, 653-654, 657-658, 661-662, 664-665, 672-673, 675, 677-682, 684, v, pp. 10, 22, 32-37, 52, 149, 273-274, 306, 309-310, 344-345, 370, 383-384, 393, 436-439, 498, vi, pp. 115-116, 298-299, 304, 307-309, 384, 388, 496, 530-531, vii, pp. 150, 289, 658-659, 662, 664, viii, pp. 512, 547, ix, pp. 153-154, x, pp. 535, 539, 571, xii, pp. 235-236, 601-602; *TA*, i, pp. 23, 43, 48, 50, 120, 233, ii, pp. 159, 197, 231, 234-235, 240-243, 279, 287-288, 369, 437, 457, 478, iii, pp. 85, 90-91, 136, 278, 338, 341, 378, 411, 416, iv, pp. 27-28, 31, 63, 283, 292, 294-295, 300-305, 353-354, 403; *RPS*, 1476/3, 1476/7/77, 1479/3/99, 1479/3/144, 1479/3/145, 1479, 10/97, 1483/3/56, 1483/3/57, 1483/3/96, 1483/3/97, 1483/3/104, 1483/3/105, 1483/3/107, 1483/3/143, 1483/6/28, 1483/10/18, 1483/10/34.

[84] *ER*, ii, pp. 9, 16, 17-18.

[85] *CDS*, iv, pp. 33, 37-38.

[86] *CDS*, iv, p. 38.

From David II's capture at the battle of Neville's Cross until James IV's death at the battle of Flodden, Flemish migration to Scotland never returned to the same heights of the early fourteenth century. There are many reasons for this, including the decline in the international wool trade in the later fourteenth century, but 1347 was a pivotal moment for Scotto-Flemish relations. The Scots were able to regain control over their export industry and, even with a renewed Flemish presence from 1419 through to 1467, maintained control over that trade in the following century.[87] Moreover, the renewed Flemish presence in the early fifteenth century did not imply a constantly positive trade relationship between Scotland and Flanders during this period. The Scots implemented economic protectionist legislation directed towards the Flemish twice during this period, once in 1425 and again in 1467.[88] While the Scots never again utilised the extreme measure of expelling Flemings from Scotland after 1347, they did use other political and economic strategies to strengthen their position in trade disputes and negotiations. These strategies, particularly the removal of the staple from Bruges and threats of seizing mercantile goods, were next utilised in 1425 by James I to gain improved mercantile rights and protections for Scottish merchants in Bruges.[89]

The expulsion of Flemings in 1347 was a clear response to the economic threat posed by amicable Anglo-Flemish relations to the wool trade of late medieval Scotland. In 1425, the impetus for renewed mercantile negotiations with Flanders was found within Scotland. The political environment surrounding the 1425 parliament, specifically the burgeoning conflict between James I and the Albany Stewarts, necessitated the crown's courtship of mercantile influence and power to strengthen the royal position. The threatened forfeiture

[87] Appendix, Chart II: Flemings in Scotland.
[88] *RPS*, 1425/3/7, 1467/1/6.
[89] Bower, *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 257.

of merchants provided Scots with a strong disincentive for continuing trade with Flanders during this period. Continued illicit trade between Scottish and Flemish merchants would have undermined James I's authority and his ability to negotiate for improved mercantile right and privileges for Scotland's mercantile elite. The complete severing of trade links with Flanders enabled James I to enter the December 1425 trade negotiations in a position of power. Moreover, the establishment of legislation in March 1425 which threatened the forfeiture of merchants travelling to or through Flanders was a response to looming domestic conflicts in the early years of James I's return to Scotland.

The second example of economic protectionist legislation was passed in the first parliament following James I's return to Scotland in 1424. Scotland had been without an adult king since 1406 and, much like the years of David II's exile in France, it was a period of territorial expansion and establishment by many members of the Scottish nobility. The Black Douglases were an exceptionally powerful family during the captivity of James II; Archibald, earl of Douglas held an unprecedented number of influential political offices, including that of justiciar south of the Forth, keeper of Edinburgh castle and warden of all three Scottish marches, by 1410.[90] However, unlike the exile and captivity of David II, there was not a constitutional crisis following the capture of James I and death of Robert III. Robert, duke of Albany, the uncle of James I, acted as Governor of Scotland from July 1406 until his death in 1420.[91] The Duke of Albany's control of the mechanisms of authority and governance in Scotland complicated his, and his family's, relationship with their young king. Effectively denied the symbols of his royal authority, James I grew up in English captivity able to have only a limited impact on his kingdom.[92] He was held at the same time

[90] Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 111.
[91] Wyntoun, *Cronykil,* iii, bx. ix, ch. 26; Brown, *James I*, p. p. 18.
[92] Brown, *James I*, p. 18.

and, eventually, with his cousin, Murdoch, son and heir to Robert, duke of Albany. However, Murdoch was freed by his father in 1415, nine years before James I would return to Scotland.[93] James' return to Scotland in 1424 did not mark an immediate move against the Albany Stewarts. While James did order the arrest of Walter Stewart, heir of Murdoch, duke of Albany, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock at Edinburgh castle on 13 May 1424, he waited a year until moving against the wider family.[94] On the ninth day of the second parliament of James' reign, James I ordered the arrest of Murdoch, duke of Albany and his youngest son, Alexander Stewart. The following day, Sir John Montgomery and Alan of Otterburn, the duke's secretary, were arrested.[95] While Montgomery and Otterburn were later freed, Murdoch, Walter and Alexander Stewart, and the earl of Lennox, the father of Countess Isabella were beheaded on 24-25 March 1425.[96] James I's aggressive attack on, arguably, the most powerful magnatial family in the early fifteenth century was a calculated effort on behalf of the king to exert his royal authority on an overmighty nobility. However, it would have been a risky political manoeuvre to move against a major noble family without the support of another power block and, indeed, James I courted Scottish mercantile interests at the same March 1425 parliament that he forfeited and arrested the Albany Stewarts.[97]

The parliamentary legislation of 1347 and 1425 were fundamentally similar, in that both pieces of legislation sought to position the Scottish crown and its ambassadors in a strong position for negotiating with the Flemish counts, and later Burgundian dukes, for improved mercantile rights and privileges. While there is not a surviving detailed account

[93] Ibid., p. 19.
[94] Bower, *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 241.
[95] Ibid., p. 243.
[96] Ibid., pp. 243-245.
[97] *RPS*, 1425/3/7.

of the Scotto-Flemish mercantile negotiations in 1347, the similar breakdown in trade relations in 1425 provides insight into the bargaining position which the Scots would have attained in 1347. On 12 March 1425, the Scottish parliament passed legislation which forfeited the lands and goods of any Scottish merchant who passed through Flanders.[98] Two Flemish ambassadors, John Metteneye and a clerk, Master Baldwin, were sent to Scotland in December 1425 to restore trade between the two regions. In his description of these negotiations, Walter Bower specifically stated that 'at the king's order [the staple] had shortly before been moved to the port of Middelburg […]'[99] Bower's account of the almost immediate arrival of Flemish ambassadors at the Scottish court suggests that the transfer of the Scottish staple to Middleburg was a serious and effective negotiating strategy.[100] While the trade negotiations in 1425 were the product of a different political environment, it does suggest that the movement of the staple in the fourteenth century from Bruges to Middleburg provided the Scots with a strong position in trade negotiations with Flanders.

One obvious difference the 1347 expulsion of Flemings from Scotland and the later fifteenth-century pro-mercantile legislation was the explicit justification given within the act. The reason given for the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland was that it was a direct response to a similar expulsion of Scots from Flanders.[101] The articulation of a direct correlation between a political action in Flanders and its diplomatic consequences in Scotland, found in the fourteenth-century act, was unique. None of the fifteenth-century legislation provided a justification for the imposition of a trade embargo or forfeiture of

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[98] *RPS*, 1425/3/7.
[99] Bower, *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 257.
[100] The chronological timeframe that Bower provides for the completion of economic and diplomatic negotiations is problematic. As it is explained in the editorial notes of *Chron. Bower*, it is likely that the negotiations of renewed Scotto-Flemish trade were far more prolonged than Bower's chronicle presented.
[101] The act includes a statement which reads that 'the merchants of the kingdom […] have been exiled and banished from intercourse with the Flemish.' Ibid., 1347/2.

merchants. The need to articulate the reasons for breaking trade with Scotland's greatest commercial ally might have been rooted in the absence of the king of Scots, held captive in England, and the governance of the kingdom by his heir, Robert the Steward, the future Robert II. While this could be a plausible explanation for the explicit connection made between events in Flanders and the expulsion of Flemings in Scotland, it seems unlikely. In 1467, the Scottish parliament decreed that:

> none of our sovereign lord's lieges shall, from the feast of St Peter called *ad vincula* [1 August], cargo any ships, merchandise or goods to the Swyn, the Slues, the Dam or Bruges under the pain of forfeiture of all their goods and the banishment of their persons from the realm.[102]

The threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants in 1467 was also implemented during the absence of an adult king of Scots; James III remained a minor controlled by the Boyd family until 1469.[103] The similar lack of an adult king in 1347 and 1467 should have resulted in the articulation of a connection between the threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants and a political or economic event in Flanders. However, the 1467 parliamentary legislation contains no such reason. If the articulation of the impetus to sever trade with Flanders was necessary during periods in which Scotland was without an adult king, then a similar communication of a correlation should have appeared in the 1467 economic protectionist legislation. It did not. The articulation of a direct correlation between a political or

[102] Ibid, 1467/1/6.
[103] For literature on the relationship between the Boyds and James III, see: Roland Tanner, 'James III (1460-1488),' in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds.), *Scottish Kingship 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 214; Norman Macdougall, *James III*, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 40-99.

diplomatic act in Flanders and the implementation of parliamentary legislation in Scotland was not the only unique feature of the fourteenth-century act.

Later acts and legislation addressed the potential forfeiture of merchants, seizure of goods, and banishment of people.[104] The second characteristic of the 1347 act, which differs from its successors, is its immediacy. The 1347 council act did not make use of the threat of future penalties for Flemish merchants as can be found in the fifteenth-century legislation. Instead, it presented the exile and seizure of all Flemish goods in Scotland as an immediate action. The act read, 'so that wherever in our kingdom, from notification of the present letters, any Flemish people are able to be found they should be seized as if banished and exiled and all their goods and merchandise confiscated for our customary service […]'[105] In contrast to that of 1347, later legislation included only threats of the seizure of Scottish and Flemish goods. In 1425, parliamentary legislation threatened to forfeit Scottish merchants if they passed through Flanders.[106] This threatened penalty acted to discourage the potential future actions of Scottish merchants, but it was not immediately implemented. Similarly, in 1467, a legislative statute set out the withdrawal of Scottish goods from Bruges, Damme, and Sluis before enforcing any penalties against Scots merchants.[107] The parliamentary legislation passed in 1487 differed slightly from its predecessors. The requirement that only 'well known and respectful men who each have their own half last of goods or as much in possession and control […]' could sail to and trade with Flanders, Holland or Zeeland was explicitly stated, but the recourse against any 'simple dishonest persons' who continued to travel to the regions was not explicitly set out.[108] Instead, the

[104] *RPS*, 1425/3/7, 1467/1/6, 1487/10/16.
[105] *RPS*, 1347/2.
[106] Ibid., 1425/3/7.
[107] Ibid., 1467/1/6.
[108] Ibid., 1487/10/16.

1487 legislation articulates the need for inspectors to be appointed to enforce the restrictions placed upon Scottish merchants and overseas traders. In doing so, the Scottish parliament established means by which future perpetrators could be punished, but the rhetoric lacked the immediacy of action that is apparent in 1347. The nature of the general council act of 1347, its immediacy and articulation of the impetus for its creation closely tied to events in Flanders was a product of its political climate and, thus, differs from the economic protectionist legislation which followed.

The issue of the control of Scotland's export and foreign trade was an implicit reason for the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347. Alexander Stevenson and David Ditchburn have been the leading academic figures in the debate on the importance of foreign trade to the economy of late medieval Scotland.[109] Ditchburn's early research painted a depressing picture of the state of Scotland's economy by the mid-fifteenth century.[110] Influenced by Nicholas Mayhew's innovative approach to the study of the medieval Scottish economy through pricing, Ditchburn's recent scholarly work has tempered his earlier portrayal of the state of the economy in fifteenth-century Scotland, arguing that Scotland's economy was stronger than has previously been thought.[111] In contrast, Alexander Stevenson's argument that the Scottish economy struggled in the fifteenth century, because of its reliance upon subsistence goods and trade, has remained

[109] For evidence of this debate, see: Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension,' pp. 28-42; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges,' pp. 93-107; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 180-206; Ditchburn, 'Bremen piracy and Scottish periphery,' pp. 1-29; David Ditchburn, 'Piracy and War at Sea,' pp. 35-58; Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman and the Pantomime Star,' pp. 19-34; David Ditchburn, 'Cargoes and Commodities: Aberdeen's Trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic, c. 1302-c.1542,' *Northern Studies: The Journal of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies*, 27 (1990), pp. 12-22; Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe,' pp. 161-179; Rorke, 'Scottish Overseas Trade'; Martin Rorke, 'The Scottish Herring Trade, 1470-1600,' *SHR*, 84:2 (2005), pp. 149-165.
[110] Ditchburn, 'Bremen Piracy,' pp. 15-16.
[111] Gemill and Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland*; Ditchburn, 'Bremen Piracy and Scottish Periphery,' pp. 15-16.

unchanged.[112] Stevenson's argument does not consider the continuation of trade relations between Scotland and Flanders throughout the fifteenth century. Surviving correspondence between the town of Bruges and the burghs of Scotland in 1468 highlights the fact that the exportation of Scottish wool was still considered to be highly valuable by Brugeois merchants. Moreover, the Flemish towns, in this particular case Bruges, continued to use the promise of improved privileges and the pursuit of justice for Scottish merchants in Bruges to renew positive relations between Scotland and Flanders. One of the 1468 letters read:

> the said most illustrious and most fearful prince and our lord the Duke decided to send his gracious letters to the serene and most powerful prince and lord, the King of Scots, for the promotion of the return of your said merchants, by begging through them to your royal majesty that for the common good he make the said merchants return here and exercise their trade as they were accustomed to before, promising that, when they have returned here, he will quickly administer the due remedy of justice regarding the said complaints of these men and the violation of their privileges.[113]

The pursuit of continued trade relations with Scotland by the Flemings in 1468 suggests that Scottish exported goods were still desirable commodities for the Brugeois mercantile elite. The continued desirability of Scottish wool, hides and fish in Bruges in the latter half of the fifteenth century supports Ditchburn's argument that Scotland's economy remained stronger than has been believed. While Scotto-Flemish trade in the fifteenth century may

[112] Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 198-202.
[113] BSA, LS23.

not have flourished as it had in the thirteenth century, it continued to strengthen Scotland's economy throughout the late medieval period.

Additionally, another difference between the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland and the fifteenth-century trade embargoes, was the exception of sailors. In the late medieval period, the Scottish crown granted exceptions for its merchants to utilise the foreign ships and sailors, when there were not enough Scottish ships and sailors to outfit Scotland's exportation of material goods. As has previously been discussed, the use of foreign ships by Scottish merchants for the transportation of their goods to Bruges was a common practice in the late medieval period.[114] However, it was not until 1428 that legislation appears in the Scottish parliament which granted Scottish overseas merchants that 'where Scottish ships may not be obtained, that they may ferry goods and their merchandise in ships from other countries as best they may, for a year notwithstanding the statute made thereupon to the contrary.'[115] Considering the reliance of the Scottish export trade on foreign-owned ships, it is plausible that they were equally reliant upon foreign sailors to crew the ships bound for the ports of Flanders. However, the expulsion of Flemings in 1347 enabled the Scots to wrest their export industry from Flemish control. The exception of Flemish sailors in the expulsion suggests that the exportation of Scottish goods was reliant on a Scottish and foreign workforce and, most importantly for the following section, that the Scots did not view the foreign sailors as a threat to the continued success of Scotto-Flemish trade.

The political context and environment of 1347 and 1425 greatly influenced the creation of pro-mercantile legislation and style.The historical narrative of James I's return to Scotland

[114] For some examples of Scottish merchants freighting their goods on foreign-owned ships, see: *CDS*, iii, p. 162, iv, pp. 33, 37, 62, 66, 105, 160, 208, 216; ER, x, p. 55; TA, iv, 302-303.
[115] *RPS*, 1428/3/8.

in 1424 has traditionally focussed on the ways in which the king performed and defined his royal authority for the great magnates of Scotland. Michael Brown identified four separate ways in which James I sought to exert his royal authority and redefine his royal rights and status: taxation, an English approach to governance, use of treason law, and marked changes to the legal landscape of Scotland.[116] With the benefit of historical hindsight, it does appear that James I directed much of his efforts to re-establish his royal position towards the nobility. Having grown even more powerful during James I's captivity, the problem of an over mighty nobility was a pressing concern for the newly returned king.[117] The arrests of the Albany Stewarts in 1425, featured in Bower's pro-James I *Scotichronicon*, were definite in their statement of royal power and the position of the king in the political hierarchy of medieval Scotland.[118] However, the examination of the display and representation of James I's royal exercise of power upon his return to Scotland has had an overwhelmingly noble-centric focus. James I certainly did direct much of his attention and political influence towards the establishment of the Scottish crown's position within Scotland's political arena, but it was not the only way that he expressed his re-defined royal power.

Captured in 1406 as a twelve year old boy, James I grew up in captivity at the English court. The influence of James' time at court on his reign has been well researched,

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[116] Michael Brown, 'Public Authority and Factional Conflict: Crown, Parliament and Polity, 1424-1455,' in Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560*, (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 128; Brown, *Disunited Kingdoms*, p. 266; Brown, 'James I (1406-1437),' pp. 157-160; Brown, 'Earldom and Kindred,' p. 220; Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 12-13.

[117] Michael H. Brown, "That Old Serpent and Ancient of Evil Days': Walter, Earl of Atholl and the Death of James I,' *SHR*, 71:191/192 (1992), pp. 25-26; Brown, "Rejoice to Hear of the Douglas',' p. 179; Brown, *James I*, p. 44; Brown, 'James I (1406-1437),' pp. 165-166.

[118] *Chron. Bower*, viii, pp. 241, 243-245, 319.

particularly in relation to his use of an English-style of taxation.[119] However, these studies, like the scholarly work on power in medieval Scotland more generally, overlook the power and influence wielded by the burghs and their overseas merchant populations. The influence of the English courts of Henry IV and Henry V was not limited to expressions of royal power to their nobility or taxation. Instead, it included an education in the importance of protecting the infrastructure of foreign trade and of using the exercise of royal power to gain the support of the mercantile elite. Chris Given-Wilson argued that in 1406, Henry IV was forced by the merchants of his kingdom to expel all Frenchmen and Bretons from the kingdom.[120] The integral role of these native-born merchants in foreign trade made it hard to resist the pressure of their interests. Indeed, Given-Wilson attributed Henry IV's '[placation] of the citizenry' to his appreciation of their significant role in the success of the kingdom's economy.[121] The surviving governmental records from the reign of Henry IV are rife with mercantile protections, insurance, and privileges.[122] On 6 April 1406, Henry IV gave the safeguarding of the sea to his merchants with the promise of payment to be made from the subsidies levied from wool, hides, and woolfells.[123] While this opportunity utilised the Englishmen who made their money from shipping goods by sea, English merchants

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[119] For research on the English influence on James I, see: Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, pp. 3-37; Michael Brown, "I Have Thus Slain a Tyrant': *The dethe of the kynge of Scotis* and the Right to Resist in Early Fifteenth-Century Scotland,' *IR*, 46 (1996), pp. 24-44; Margaret Connolly, '*The dethe of the kynge of Scotis*: A New Edition,' *SHR*, 71 (1992), pp. 46-69; E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, *The English Captivity of James I, King of Scots*, (London, 1929); Robert Epstein, 'Prisoners of Reflection: The Fifteenth-Century Poetry of Exile and Imprisonment,' *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 15:1 (2003), pp. 159-198; Linne R. Mooney and Mary-Jo Arn (eds.), *The Kingis Quair and Other Prison Poems*, (Kalamazoo, 2005); Rosalind K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034-1714*, (East Linton, 2003), pp. 49-50; Karen Hunt, 'The Governorship of Robert Duke of Albany (1406-1420),' in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds.), *Scottish Kingship, 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 137-138, 146.

[120] Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, (New Haven, 2016), pp. 332-334.

[121] Ibid., pp. 429-430.

[122] For some examples of the mercantile protections that Henry IV established during his reign, see: *Foedera*, viii, pp. 541, 556-557, 559, 564; *CCR*, HIV, iii, pp. 24, 43-44, 90, 196, 208, 210, 262, 336-339, 406.

[123] *Foedera*, viii, p. 556; *CCR*, HIV, iii, pp. 45-46.

were not able to successfully protect ships crossing the Channel to trade. By 20 October 1406, Henry IV had forbidden the payment of the merchants entrusted to safeguard the sea.[124] A reiteration of Henry IV's refusal to pay for the unsuccessful safekeeping of the sea occurred again in a letter to the customs and ports officers of London on 22 December 1406. Henry IV's strong refusal to pay his merchants was an obvious consequence of the 'great number of damages, robberies and grievances' that were committed each day perpetrated against his merchants and those from other kingdoms.[125] However, the inability of English merchants to protect the Channel from privateering in 1406 did not diminish their significance in the continued successes of England's foreign trade.

After the death of Henry IV in 1413, Henry V, recognising that profitable foreign trade led to a successful economy, continued to establish protections and privileges for English overseas merchants.[126] Christopher Allmand observed that Henry V's implementation of the Statute of Truces in 1414, which defined attacks at sea or at port to be treasonous actions against the king, reflected the significance of trade and its need for protection from harassment.[127] However well intentioned, the 1414 Statute of Truces quickly received criticism because it did not allow English maritime communities to seek the retaliatory justice which had been the custom.[128] Many of the rights and privileges established by Henry for English merchants were much more successful than the Statute of Truces.[129] These protections included royal intercession in mercantile conflicts. On 16 March 1417, Henry V commissioned an inquiry into the wrecked and stolen goods of a

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[124] Ibid, viii, p. 557.
[125] *CCR*, HIV, iii, p. 170.
[126] Christopher Allmand, *Henry V*, (New Haven, 1997), p. 390.
[127] Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 330.
[128] Ibid.; J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages*, (London, 1970), p. 129.
[129] For examples of the rights and protections which Henry granted to his merchants, see: *CPR*, HV, ii, pp. 87, 115, 121, 135, 180, 265, 363; *Foedera*, ix, pp. 599, 614; *CCR*, HV, ii, pp. 6-7, 10-11, 230-234.

group of London merchants who had freighted a ship from Bordeaux.[130] On 28 June 1419, Henry ordered the searchers of Calais to release John Mitchell of London, who had been unlawfully arrested over a disputed customs payment.[131] In addition, Henry V annually commissioned two Englishmen to collect the money owed to the crown from foreign merchants for the extension of liberties and protections to them.[132] The grants of trade freedoms within the towns enabled Henry V to limit the goods that foreign merchants were allowed to sell and profit off of the sale of permitted goods.[133] Moreover, the establishment of protections and freedoms for foreign merchants could be used in diplomatic negotiations for improved rights and safeguards for English merchants abroad. Similar to Henry IV, Henry V recognised the significance of England's overseas merchants and sought to provide them with protections which enabled them to safely trade their goods in foreign ports and bring bullion and luxury goods back to England.

Much like Henry IV and Henry V, James I's recognition of the importance of safeguarding the mechanisms of foreign trade and support for the powerful mercantile elite can be observed in the surviving records from his reign. The merchants of Scotland played a central role in the release of James I, taking an oath to make the first payment of James' ransom.[134] The financial burden of the ransom was not overlooked by the newly returned Scottish king. In the first parliament following his arrival in Scotland in 1424, James I allowed the burghs to seek a loan in Flanders for the partial fulfillment of the ransom's initial payment, failing which the burgesses of the realm would have to make the first

[130] *CPR*, HV, ii, p. 87.
[131] *CCR*, HV, ii, pp. 10-11.
[132] *CFR*, xiv, pp. 3, 69, 112, 157, 203, 241, 293, 349, 383, 428.
[133] See Ibid., p. 3 for one example.
[134] *RPS*, 1424/35.

payment with the promise of its eventual repayment to them.[135] Moreover, James I wrote a bond of relief to the major burghs of eastern Scotland (Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen) for their obligation to pay his ransom to the King of England.[136] Michael Brown has observed that James I used the March 1424 parliament and his coronation to emphasise the position and power of the king.[137] Brown's argument, thus, places a significant level of importance on the legislation which James passed in his first parliament. At first glance, it is unsurprising that James raised the issue of the payment of his ransom in his first parliament. Bower portrayed James' financial situation in 1424 as dire, justifying the imposition of a tax to aid the king in repaying his ransom to the English. He wrote that

> But since he has been only recently released from the hands of the English and little remained for him to support his state out of the royal rents, lands and possessions except for the customs, wardships and reliefs, in order to raise money from the kingdom to pay his ransom he ordered and instructed with the consent of the estates the collection for two years of twelve pence in the pound from all goods, fermes, lands and annual rents and also from grain and cattle, to be levied from both clergy and laity.[138]

The need to organise the funds to repay the English was an immediate concern and clearly a priority of the newly returned Scottish king. However, it was not the only reason for the inclusion of the ransom in the topics covered by James' first parliament. James' formative

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[135] Ibid.
[136] *Pub. Docs. Dundee*, p. 19.
[137] Brown, *James I*, p. 48.
[138] *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 241.

years in captivity at the English court must have impressed upon him the importance of favouring the mercantile elite of the kingdom. Indeed, if we accept the intrinsic assumption of Michael Brown's argument, that the legislation passed by James I in the May 1424 parliament was particularly significant to the king of Scots, then we must not overlook the central role of the mercantile elite in, arguably, one of the most important topics of the parliament, the payment of the king's ransom.

The pro-mercantile legislation of the May 1424 parliament was the first of many pieces of parliamentary legislation which benefitted the overseas mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland. The second parliament of James I's reign on 12 March 1425 included the establishment of the forfeiture of any merchant of Scotland who passed into or through Flanders.[139] Taken on its own, the threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants does not seem to benefit Scotland's mercantile elite in any way. In the years prior to James I's release, Scotto-Flemish trade had begun to break down over the continuing issue of piracy in the North Sea. On 5 October 1423, the Four Members of Flanders decided to withhold letters of marque, which would allow their merchants to attack Scottish ships, for fifteen days during which time they expected the arrival of Scottish ambassadors to negotiate the issue of recompense.[140] Indeed, Alexander Stevenson attributed the threat of a collapse in Scotland's trade relationship with Flanders to be the true reason that the Scots finally reached an agreement with England on the release of the king of Scots.[141] Stevenson's argument certainly provides an alternative explanation as to why the Scots decided, after seventeen years, to negotiate the freedom of their king. However, his conclusion that it was the motivating factor overlooks the complexity of the political situation in England and

[139] *RPS*, 1425/3/7.
[140] Louis Gilliodts-Van Severen (ed.), *Cartulaire De L'Ancienne Estaple De Bruges*, i (1904), p. 554.
[141] Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries,' pp. 48-49.

Scotland in 1424.[142] It can also not be confirmed because the only surviving evidence from the parliaments of May and August 1423 is a judicial decision by the general council regarding a land dispute in Dundee and the appointment of ambassadors to treat for the freedom of James I.[143] Stevenson is correct in his assumption that the breakdown of trade between Scotland and Flanders would have been a great concern for the Scottish parliament, just as it would have been for the newly returned James I in 1424 and the Scottish mercantile elite.

Scotland's mercantile elite played a significant role in James I's release from English captivity, which can be observed in their obligation to pay for the ransom of the king of Scots. It is unsurprising that the negotiations of a more positive trade relationship, including improved mercantile protections, would have been a priority for James. Walter Bower's interpretation of the arrival of Flemish ambassadors at the Scottish court in December 1425 concluded that the cause of these commercial negotiations was the mistreatment of Scottish merchants at the hands of the Flemings. He wrote that:

> There too came as ambassadors from Flanders John de Metynney and the clerk Master Baldwin, seeking restoration of the trade which at the king's order had shortly before been moved to the port of Middelburg in [Zealand]. This had been done because of the intolerable contempt shown to Scottish merchants before the king's

[142] For research on these complexities, see: Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, (Stroud, 1998); John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, (Cambridge, 1996); Ralph A. Griffiths, 'The Minority of Henry VI, King of England and of France,' in Charles Beem (ed.), *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, (New York, 2008), pp. 161-193; Brown, *James I*; Brown, 'James I'; Brown, 'Public Authority and Factional Conflict'; Hunt, 'Robert Duke of Albany.'
[143] *RPS*, 1423/51, 1423/8/1.

> return from England, and because of letters of marque, which were very damaging to the merchants themselves.[144]

Bower's recollection of these events identified its impetus as the severing of trade links between Scotland and Flanders by the Scottish king. While no evidence survives of a Scottish-initiated severing of trade relations, the 1425 parliamentary legislation implies that James I acted proactively in addressing the continuing conflict between the two trading partners. Indeed, the very existence of a legislative threat of forfeiture in 1425 suggests that the king had taken action to halt trade between the two regions, but that his attempt had been met by a continuation in the illegal trade of his mercantile elite.

Gauging the extent of illicit trade during the late medieval period is nearly impossible. The surviving records of late medieval Scottish foreign trade are limited and almost non-existent for its domestic trade. As has been previously discussed, most of the evidence of Scotland's foreign trade and trading networks is found in complaints made to foreign rulers, particularly the kings of England. There is no similar documentation of illegal and illicit trade, as it operated outside of the legal and documented avenues of foreign trade.[145] The need to pass legislation in 1425, which directly addressed the issue of illegal trade, suggests that this was an ongoing concern for the Scottish king and parliament. The 1425 legislative threat to forfeit merchants who passed into or through Flanders was intended to stop the illegal trade of Scotland's mercantile elite and, in doing so, provide James I with the opportunity to enter economic negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy from a position of strength. Undercut by continued illicit trade, James could not have hoped to achieve a strong negotiating position with Philip the Good.

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[144] *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 257.
[145] For research on Scottish pirates and piracy, see: Ditchburn, 'Piracy and War at Sea'; Ditchburn, 'The Pirate, the Policeman and the Pantomime Star'.

While Bower's narrative of the diplomatic negotiations of December 1425 and January 1426 condensed the timeframe of events, it was not until 1427 that the Scots received improved mercantile rights and freedoms from the duke of Burgundy and trade was restored.[146] Following the culmination of Scotto-Flemish diplomatic negotiations in 1427, James continued to pass parliamentary legislation which favoured the Scottish overseas mercantile elite and protected their central function in the mechanisms of foreign trade. On 11 July 1427, James I passed legislation which allowed for the causes of all Scottish merchants who died outside of the kingdom to be heard and their wills to be confirmed.[147] The legislation was explicit in stating that it only applied to Scottish merchants who were outside of Scotland for the purpose of trade and did not intend to reside outside of Scotland.[148] The implementation of such mercantile-focused legislation in 1427 can only have had one purpose, to protect the interests of Scotland's overseas merchants, particularly those who traded with Flanders and Zeeland, as each region was explicitly identified in the legislation. The first in a series of pro-mercantile statutes which James I established in the early years after his return, the protections for Scottish merchants in 1427 were the result of renewed Scotto-Flemish trade.[149] The continued implementation of pro-mercantile legislation throughout the reign of James I suggests that he was able to work with the mercantile elite towards a common goal of commercial and economic success for the kingdom of Scotland.

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[146] NRS, SP9/1; Document n. 21, H.M. Register House – Edinburgh in Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp.xxvii-xxix.
[147] *RPS*, 1427/7/9.
[148] Ibid.
[149] In 1428, legislation was passed which allowed Scottish merchants to freight foreign ships with their goods if there were no Scottish-owned ships available. In the same year, James I authorised tolls to be taken from the uplift of all ships coming into Leith with the consent of the burgesses and merchants of Edinburgh. Similarly, in 1430, James passed legislation which provided protections for Scottish merchants overseas. It stated that if ships were wrecked off of the Scottish coast, they were to be treated as the wrecked ships of Scottish merchants would be treated; protected if there were laws about shipwrecks and scavenged otherwise. Ibid., 1428/3/8, 1430/19; *Edin. Recs.*, i, p. 252.

Pro-mercantile legislation was established throughout the fifteenth century by the Kings of Scots or by those governing in the absence of an adult king. While the case studies of 1347 and 1425 have looked at the establishment of national pro-mercantile legislation, later legislation also took the form of locally-specific or burgh-specific legislation. In 1445, the Scottish crown acknowledged the risks of overseas trade and its inherent role in supporting the common good by passing legislation which allowed Edinburgh burgesses to uplift taxes and customs for the use of repairing, preserving, and providing security for the ships and goods which came into the port of Leith.[150] Moreover, James emphasised the central role of overseas trading to the success of Scotland's economy by stating that the uplift of taxes and repairs of the ships would be 'for the common good and public service'.[151] James II was still in his minority, controlled by the Livingstons and Black Douglases in 1445. However, the significance of favouring the Scottish mercantile elite was not lost on James II when he reached his majority. In 1454, James granted 'in perpetuity to the burgesses of the burgh of Edinburgh certain taxes and rates from ships arriving at the port and road of Leith.'[152] While there are no surviving records of a Scottish-initiated embargo on trade with Flanders during the reign of James II, it is clear that James recognised the power and importance of Scotland's mercantile elite and provided the mechanisms of their profitable foreign trade with legislative protections.

The promotion of Scottish mercantile interests was not a solely top-down endeavour. Driven by Scotland's overseas merchants, as much as by the crown, legislation which protected the infrastructure and mechanisms of Scotland's foreign trade was passed in the major eastern ports of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Moreover, the burgh legislation directed at

[150] *Edin. Recs.*, i, pp. 7-8, 324.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., p. 258.

protecting Scottish overseas trade was also concerned with the protection and promulgation of the moral and financial common good or common profit of the town, explicitly connecting the economic success of Scotland's burghs with their foreign trade. Communal freighting legislation was implemented in Aberdeen in 1492 which articulated the connection between successful overseas trade and the financial profit of the burgh. It stated that, 'The saide day, the merchandis now hawand gudis in the schippis redy to saile, with consent of the community present for the tyme, grantit, that euere persone hauand gudis within the saidis schippis, sal bringe hame in the samyn schipis, or vther sufficient schipis, to the tovne, for euere sek j tovne and d. of gudis humvart, for the furnising of the tovne with merchandiz…'[153] While the phrases 'common profit' or 'common good' did not explicitly appear in the 1492 burgh legislation, the purpose of the communal freighting of goods 'for the furnising of the tovne with merchandiz' clearly benefitted the commerce and wealth of the burgh.[154] Similarly, in 1501 and again in 1502, the town council of Edinburgh passed legislation which restricted mercantile trade with Flanders, allowing groups, rather than single merchants, to freight their goods on ships bound for Flanders.[155] The 1502 burgh legislation stated that:

> The quhilk day the provest baillies and counsall, with ane greitt pairt of the communitie of merchandis, hes statute and ordanit for the common proffet of the toun that in tyme tocum na maner of merchand nor nychtbour of this burgh tak vpoun hand to mak ony frauchting of ony schip in tyme tocum to pas in Flanderis, or mak ony priuate conditioun thairintill, bot alanerlie in presens of the

[153] *Abdn. Counc.*, i, p. 419.
[154] Ibid.
[155] *Edin. Recs.*, i, pp. 89, 95.

> provest baillies and counsall, or ane part of thame within the Tolbuith, and that thai fraucht it commonlie for the hale merchandis and to their profit; and quha can be apprehendit doand the contrair hereof sall pay v li., to Sanct Gelis wark, to be rasit and inbrocht but fauouris.[156]

The 1502 burgh legislation, which favoured communal trade over the overseas trade of a single merchant, emphasised the connected nature of the profit of the burgh and the trading interests of its merchants. Communal trade provided necessary financial securities for Scotland's overseas merchants and intertwined the financial success of individual merchants with that of the wider burghal mercantile elite.

The close connection between ongoing overseas trade and the financial wealth of the burghs and their merchants was not lost on the mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland. Legislation was passed in parliament and within the localities to restrict the personnel of Scotland's overseas trade. In 1500, the Convention of the Four Burghs re-affirmed that only burgesses and indwellers of the burgh, not craftsmen, could travel to Flanders and sell their merchandise.[157] James IV, in a letter to the provosts, bailies, and custumars of Edinburgh, confirmed the Convention of the Four Burghs legislation in the following year.[158] The establishment and maintenance of restrictions on who could trade overseas enabled the burghs to keep the profitable export of Scottish goods to Flanders under their oversight and control. However, late medieval Scottish legislation was not only targeted at restricting those who could sell merchandise overseas, but those who transported the goods. In 1498, the commissioners of the burgh of Aberdeen established that 'na man saile within j

[156] Ibid., p. 95.
[157] Ibid., pp. 86-7.
[158] Ibid., p. 88.

last of gude of his awne, or samekle in sterage…' in order to deal with the large number of sailors in the burgh.[159] Placing restrictions of the personnel of Scotland's overseas trade enabled the mercantile elite to control the flow of goods from Scotland to Bruges. Allowing non-burgesses and other unqualified individuals to sell their goods overseas diminished the potential profits for the burgesses of Scotland's urban centres.

The existence of trade-specific legislation suggests that the mercantile elite of eastern Scotland viewed the control and management of Scotland's trade with Flanders to be a great concern. It was crucial that Scottish goods remained intact and unspoiled throughout the journey across the North Sea. The existence of legislation passed by the Three Estates in 1467 acknowledged the need for security of mercantile goods in their transport overseas. It stated:

> That is to say, that the master of the ship shall find sufficient steerman, timbermen and shipmen requisite for the ship, and that the master supply free to the merchants fire, water and salt at his own expense. And that if any contention or debate arises between the master and the merchants, they shall comply with the jurisdiction and ordinance of the burgh to which the ship is freighted with no exception. And that no merchant's goods be torn nor spilt with unreasonable stollin as with poles, nor that any goods be cut or struck up in any way to the master's or his servants'

[159] *Abdn. Counc.*, p. 67.

> negligence under the pain of forfeiture of the said freight and compensation of the damage to the merchants.[160]

The establishment of securities for the transportation of mercantile goods to Bruges and other overseas ports was essential in the preservation of mercantile interests. While this 1467 legislation was passed by the Scottish parliament, rather than the town councils of Aberdeen or Edinburgh, it should still be considered a consequence of the influence and power of Scotland's mercantile elite, the third estate.

The mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland were powerful political players in national and local arenas. The institution of legislation which protected and promulgated overseas merchant interests by the crown and the localities recognised and acknowledged the central role of Scottish merchants in the commercial successes of the kingdom. Introduced into Scotto-Flemish trade relations by a failed thirteenth-century royal marriage, economic protectionist legislation was utilised by the Scottish crown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to gain the support of their mercantile elite. While, at first, a trade embargo of Scotland's lucrative exportation of wool to Flanders does not appear to be in the interests of late medieval Scottish merchants, the severing of trade relations enabled the Scottish crown and their ambassadors to negotiate with the counts of Flanders for improved mercantile rights and privileges. The two case studies, 1347 and 1425, show that, in different political contexts, the Scottish crown effectively protected the interests of their mercantile elite through the implementation of a variety of economic protectionist strategies. Finally, this chapter proved that the protection of Scotland's commercial interests and those of its merchants was not solely a top-down initiative. The burghs of late medieval Scotland, particularly those of Aberdeen and Edinburgh,

[160] *RPS*, 1467/1/4.

established legislative protections for their trade interests. One of the most powerful political groups of late medieval Scotland, the mercantile community has not traditionally featured in discussions of power and politics within the kingdom. The existence of economic protectionist legislation in the national and local political arenas suggests that their exclusion from these discussions has been undeserved.

Chapter Three: The Personnel of Commercial Diplomacy

Late medieval Scotland's diplomacy with the Low Countries, particularly Flanders, was economically-driven. Staffed by Scottish overseas merchants, diplomatic envoys to Bruges negotiated improved privileges and protections for Scottish merchants abroad. These mercantile ambassadors had first-hand or familial knowledge and experience of trade between the kingdom of Scotland and the county of Flanders. Access to diplomatic roles was far more restrictive than any other in Scotto-Flemish trade relations. Exclusively available to the social elite of Scotland's mercantile community, opportunities within the diplomatic arena were limited. Scottish families, such as the Lauder family, acted as ambassadors for the King of Scots because of their knowledge of Scotto-Flemish trade and their rising social status in Scottish politics in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Closely connected with two of Scotland's most prolific trading burghs, Berwick and Edinburgh, and their mercantile populations, the Lauder family weathered the fall of the Black Douglases in the 1450s and continued to rise in prominence in the urban centres of the kingdom throughout the late medieval period.[1] Scotland's merchant ambassadors, like any social, economic or political elite, were interconnected through the creation of marriages between the members of prominent mercantile families. These marriages, in particular those in Edinburgh, were used to establish links between separate merchants' families and accentuated the limited access of ambassadorial roles to less socially prominent Scottish merchants. However, acting as an ambassador was not the only way in which Scottish overseas merchants influenced the diplomatic activities of late medieval Scotland. Diplomacy was an expensive

[1] For information on the rise and fall from power of the Black Douglases, see: Brown, 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship, 1332-58,' pp. 1-22; Brown, 'Rejoice to Hear of Douglas,' pp. 161-184; Brown, *The Black Douglases*; McGladdery, *James II*.

endeavour and, as a result, the financial burden was often shared across the 'political community of Scotland.' Bearing much of the fiscal responsibility, the Scottish burghs and their elite had both a financial and professional investment in the successes of Scottish diplomacy. First, this chapter will examine the role of a mercantile ambassador as a specialist position accessible only to Scots with experience in Scotto-Flemish trade. Second, it will compare the professional involvement of socially elite Scottish merchants in diplomacy to their less prominent counterparts, focussing particularly on the financing of Scotland's diplomatic missions. Third, it will argue that the use of urban elite in mercantile negotiations was not unique to Scotland and was utilised by the Flemish in Scotto-Flemish negotiations. Finally, this chapter will present the interconnected networks of Scotland's overseas merchants and mercantile ambassadors. In turn, suggesting that these relationships and networks were used to enhance the strength of the mercantile elite's grip on Scotland's export trade and powerful political positions within the burghs of Scotland.

The concept of an ambassador in medieval Europe was fluid, changing regionally and over time. This fluidity was reflected in the variety of ways in which authors of medieval treatises wrote about the function of ambassadors.[2] In late medieval Scotland, functional descriptions of ambassadors could be found in heraldic and 'advice to princes' literature.[3] *The Deidis of Armorie* translated from French into Scots by Adam Loutfut was a

[2] B. Behrens, 'Treatises on the Ambassador Written in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,' *The English Historical Review*, 51: 204 (1936), p. 621.
[3] Sally Mapstone's 1986 doctoral thesis presents a thorough study of the advice to princes literature written in the second half of the fifteenth century. Literary works within the genre expressed the contemporary views of kingship and provided counsel for the monarch. For some examples of Scottish advice to princes literature, see: Hay, *Governance*; John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome: Composed for the Use of James IV, King of Scots, AD 1490 Vol. III*, Craig McDonald (ed.), (Aberdeen, 1990); Richard Holland, *The Buke of Howlat*, Ralph Hanna (ed.), (Woodbridge, 2004); Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 1986), pp. 3-4.

reference tool for late medieval Scottish heralds and included an 'historical narrative' of ancient Roman heralds and the appropriate way to address a foreign royal or member of the nobility, clergy, or other herald.[4] The function of *The Deidis of Armorie*'s 'constable' most closely aligned to the Lyon, King of Arms of late medieval Scotland, as he represented the king on diplomatic missions and was in charge of the other heralds.[5] The appearance of ambassadors in the writing of Gilbert Hay was limited, but does shed some light on the responsibilities and privileges of a representative of the Scottish crown. Ambassadors had the power to bring an enemy of a foreign power into that kingdom, but Hay warned against such an action. As the representatives of a foreign royal power, ambassadors were not subject to the judicial system of a foreign kingdom.[6] In *Governance of Princes*, Gilbert Hay described the function of the ambassador of the king more explicitly. He wrote that:

> And it is nocht jn thyne awin handis quhen thou has delyuerit thy secretis till him. Quhar'fore he suld be meke traist trew. and wys – yat suld bere thy messagis of thy secretis / -- ffor thouche he be thyne eyne. thou may nocht se him. na thouch he be thyne eris – thou may nocht here him/. na thouche he be thy tong/thou may nocht speke with him. quhen he is jn thyne erandis / And thus suld he be wele and wis'ly chosyn yat suld bere that charge yat he war' bathe a wis man – a gude man / -- ane honest and fair' persone/ and of sufficiande vnderstanding and wele schawand be tong / and of gude memoir / nocht vicious' na dronkynsum. na leare / -- bot secrete and fiable / and wele lufand thyne

[4] L.A.J.R. Houwen (ed.), *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 1-2, 7-10.
[5] Ibid., p. 1.
[6] Gilbert Hay, *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay. Volume 2, The Buke of the Law of Armys*, Johnathan A. Glenn (ed.), (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 235.

> honour / -- And yat he tak na charge na speche to say on thy behalf / bot yat he has charge of / be the / . and thy counsale be jnstructiounis […][7]

As the eyes, ears, and tongue of the Scottish king abroad, royal ambassadors were central in the diplomatic negotiations of late medieval Scotland.

As *The Deidis of Armorie* and *Governance of Princes* suggests, there was not a single specific type of ambassador. Instead, the Scottish diplomatic arena was made up of a variety of royal representatives, including specialist ambassadors and heralds. The all-encompassing term of a 'special ambassador' identified the individual as a non-resident ambassador with the right to act 'on behalf of and in the name of' the king.[8] In late medieval Scotland, this 'special' designation of representative was the most common example of an ambassador. Indeed, it often denoted that being chosen as an ambassador was specific to a particular series of negotiations and appointment to the position of ambassador would not extend throughout the individual's lifetime.[9] Like economic representatives, ambassadors were chosen from amongst the most socially and financially prominent members of the mercantile elite. The 1357 negotiations for David II's release from English captivity included amongst the Scottish ambassadors, burgesses from Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and Dundee. These men, particularly John Mercer, John Crabbe, and Adam Tor, were wealthy merchants, powerful within their own communities.[10] Chosen 'with the common consent and will of the whole community of the said burghs and

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[7] Gilbert Hay, *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay. Vol. 3, The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede, and; The Buke of Gouernaunce of Princis*, Johnathan A. Glenn (ed.), (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 125.
[8] Joycelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance*, (London, 1986), pp. 67-68; *RPS*, A1328/3.
[9] *RPS*, 1357/9/3.
[10] For more on Mercer, Crabbe, and Torr, see previous chapter.

the regions adjacent to them,' merchant ambassadors represented the interests of their urban community and the Scottish crown in diplomatic negotiations.[11]

A 'special ambassador' had a fundamentally different representative function from that of a royal herald, another common diplomatic representative. The distinction between the diplomatic roles of heralds and ambassadors was one based on the concept of a two-bodied or twin natured king. Ernst H. Kantorowicz illustrated this complex concept by arguing that the two-bodied king was made up of the body politic and the body natural. Further, the body natural was the individual, for example, Robert II, James II, or Henry II, while the body politic was the position of king of Scotland or England, respectively, all of which formed one indivisible unit.[12] Following Kantorowicz's argument, royal ambassadors represented the body politic of the king and heralds functioned as representatives of the body natural of the king. While, the quasi-royal nature of Lyon's position did not mirror that of the king of Scots, it did imbue him with a significant amount of privilege.[13] Lyon's expenses were paid directly from the king's purse, unlike those of other ambassadors whose expenses were shared amongst the Three Estates and the king. In 1474, James III paid for 'Lyone heralde' to pass into England with other ambassadors.[14] Similarly, in 1497, James IV covered the expenses of Lyon to travel from Scotland to Denmark on diplomatic business.[15] While Lyon was the highest ranking herald, the king's purse also paid for the

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[11] *RPS*, 1357/9/3.
[12] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton, 1997), pp. 9, 96.
[13] Stevenson, 'The Scottish King of Arms: Lyon's Place in the Hierarchy of the Late-Medieval Scottish Elite,' in T. Hiltmann (ed.), *Les Autres Rois: Etudes Sur la Royauté Comme Notion Hiérarchique dans la Société au bas Moyen Age et au Début de L'époque Moderne*, (München, 2010), p. 79.
[14] *TA*, i, p. 50. Further examples of the payment of the expenses of Scottish heralds, see: *TA*, i, pp. 52, 117, 233, 325, 393, ii, pp. 103-104, 114, 118, 122, 159, 352, 361-362, 427, 478, iii, pp. 133, 362, iv, pp. 106 ,118, 133, 328, 417.
[15] Ibid., p. 325.

diplomatic expenses of the Snowdon herald in the late medieval period.[16] The swearing in ceremony of the Lyon, King of Arms served to further emphasise his prominent position amongst other royal heralds. Lyon was sworn into office and crowned with a circlet which visually represented the quasi-royal nature of his position.[17] Indeed, the privileged position of Lyon extended beyond ceremony and diplomacy to his very person. In the *Genealogie of the House Drummond*, an incident is recounted in which John, lord Drummond punched Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, then Lyon, King of Arms for approaching the Earl of Angus "with more boldness than discretion".[18] In response, John, duke of Albany and governor for James V had Lord Drummond imprisoned at Blackness Castle and forfeited his lands to the crown.[19] Lyon, King of Arms is unique amongst the heralds and ambassadors of late medieval Scotland. As a representative of the body natural of the king, his function and responsibilities differed from that of a royal ambassador, who represented the body politic of the king of Scots.

This chapter diverges from the traditional lexicon of medieval diplomacy by proposing that there was a specialist sub-category of the 'special' ambassador in late medieval Scotland.[20] Scotto-Flemish diplomacy required ambassadors who were socially and politically elite, had knowledge of or experience in trade, and who could faithfully represent the interests of the Scottish crown. As set out in Gilbert Hay's *Governance of*

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[16] For two examples of the royal payment of Snowdon herald's expenses, see: *TA*, i, pp. 117, 393. For more on Snowdon herald, read: Katie Stevenson, 'Royal Propaganda: Snowdon Herald and the Cult of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland,' in James D. Floyd and Charles J. Burnett (eds.), *Genealogica et Heraldic St Andrews MMVI: Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, St Andrews, 21-26 August 2006*, (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 797-808.
[17] Andrea Thomas, 'Crown Imperial: Coronation Ritual and Regalia in the Reign of James V,' in Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, (Leiden, 2008), p. 52.
[18] *Drummond,* Drummond, pp. 135-136.
[19] Ibid.; *The Deidis of Armorie*, pp. xxix-xxx; T. Innes, 'Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1512-1519,' *The Juridicial Review*, 55 (1943), pp. 224-38.
[20] The term 'specialist' or specialist ambassador will be used to describe this sub-category and does not replace the overarching category of a 'special' or non-resident ambassador.

Princes, an ambassador had to be 'bath a wis man—a gud man/--ane honest and fair' persone/ and of sufficiande vnderstanding and wele shawand be tong/ and of gude memoir.'[21] While the characteristics articulated by Hay were certainly necessary for late medieval ambassadors, practical knowledge of trade relations and an elite political and social status were of particular importance for mercantile ambassadors in Scotto-Flemish diplomacy.

While ambassadors had to be elite members of their society, they did not necessarily have to be noble. Certainly, members of the secular and ecclesiastic elite did appear as ambassadors throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[22] However, prominent burgesses and merchants were also enlisted to represent royal and burghal interests in diplomatic endeavours throughout the late medieval period. Adam Tor of Edinburgh and William Keith of Dundee were chosen by the burghs of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Perth to represent the interests of the Scottish burghs in disputes with German and Flemish merchants in Bruges in 1348.[23] These trade disputes between Scottish, German, and Flemish merchants were most likely the cause of the expulsion of Scots from Flanders referenced in the Scottish general council act of 1347.[24] By August 1348, the ongoing disputes had been settled in a Brugeois court and Adam Tor accepted the need for reparations to be paid by the four major east coast burghs of Scotland to the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.[25] Further, in 1357, eleven burgesses from Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen,

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[21] Hay, *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay, v. 3*, p. 125.
[22] The use of members of the secular and ecclesiastic elite as ambassadors can be found in the *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* for the period that is covered by this thesis. For some examples, see: *RPS*, A1328/3, 1357/9/1, A1357/9/2, 1364/1, 1365/1/7, 1365/7/2, 1366/7/3, 1369/3/8, 1423/8/1, 1458/11/1, A1471/5/1, 1473/7/7, 1478/6/90, 1491/4/8; Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance*, pp. 75; David Potter, "Foreign Policy," in Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, (London, 1995), p. 103.
[23] BSA, Cartularium Groenenboek C, fo. 82 r.-v: afschrift (eerste helft van de 16e eeuw).
[24] *RPS*, 1347/1.
[25] BSA, Politieke charters, 1e reeks, nr. 464: oorspr., met de geschonden zegels van de oorkonders.

and Dundee, including Adam Tor appeared as ambassadors in the negotiations for the release of David II from English captivity.[26] While the latter example is from Anglo-Scottish diplomacy, it is evidence of the use of Scottish merchants as royal ambassadors in non-economic negotiations.

Not all Scottish merchants were socially or politically prominent enough to act as ambassadors in trade negotiations. However, this did not preclude them from an indirect involvement in the diplomacy of late medieval Scotland. The large financial cost of diplomatic negotiations was shared between the two participating countries or regions.[27] While part of the expenses of an ambassador was expected to be covered by the court that they were visiting, their own treasury had to provide them with the initial necessary funding.[28] In 1474, expenses of the Bishop of Aberdeen and other Scottish ambassadors were paid for by the King of England.[29] Similarly, in 1503, James IV paid for the expenses of the English pursuivant and Thomas Lummysdene, herald of Denmark.[30] If these initial expenses were not met, it could cause a delay in the start of diplomatic missions which, in turn, could lead to "diplomatic misfortune."[31] Covering the costs of travel expenses, ambassadors' salaries and gifts for foreign diplomats, the funds for late medieval Scottish diplomacy were levied in part from the Three Estates.[32] This enabled the burgesses of

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[26] *RPS*, A1357/9/3.
[27] *CDS*, iv, pp. 215-216, 243, 287, 295; *TA*, i, p. 377, ii, p. 373, iii, p. 134, 349-450, iv, pp. 72, 109, 324, 336, 348.
[28] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, (London, 1955), p. 35.
[29] *CDS*, iv, p. 287.
[30] *TA*, ii, p. 373.
[31] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 35.
[32] See the following articles for the importance of gift giving to domestic and international politics: Carol M. Chattaway, "Looking a Medieval Gift Horse in the Mouth: The Role of the Giving of Objects in the Definition and Maintenance of the Power Networks of Philip the Bold," *Low Countries Historical Review*, 114 (1999), pp. 1-15; Mario Damen, "Princely Entries and Gift Exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: A Crucial Link in Late Medieval Political Culture," *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), pp. 233-249; Mario Damen, "Gift Exchange at the Court of Charles the Bold," in Marc Boone and Martha Howell (eds.), *In but not of the Market: Movable Goods in Late Medieval and*

Scotland to extract concessions for mercantile protections and taxation in return for their financial support.[33] The financial burden of diplomacy was not small for the burghs. When asked to fund Scottish ambassadors in 1366, the estates assessed the value of the kingdom and used a portion of the assessed value to pay the debts of David II and the expenses of ambassadors.[34] The financial weight of ambassadors' expenses was not one which the burghs were happy to make a regular occurrence. There was also a fear that, once given the funds, David II would not spend the money on the expenses of his ambassadors. In the same parliament of 1366, it was stated that '...[therefore] nothing from these [monies] which have been ordained to this end shall be devoted to the use of any other whatsoever as a gift, remission or otherwise, but [they shall be used] solely for the reason for which they are particularly ordained as aforesaid.'[35] Their worry that David II would misuse these funds may have been well founded. The relationship between the Three Estates and David II in 1365 and the first half of 1366 was dominated by the will of the king. The May 1366 council tabled a new tax until a gathering of the full parliament in September 1366. Michael Penman suggests that they did so to force David II to live off his personal resources and limit his management of the estates.[36] Even with a fear that the funds would be misused, the estates did grant David II 1,000 merks for the expenses of ambassadors in 1366.[37] Three years later, the estates were again raising funds to contribute to the expenses

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Early Modern Urban Society, (Brussels, 2007), pp. 81-99; Lorna G. Barrow, "'The Kynge Sent to the Qwene, by Gentylman, a Grett Tame Hart.' Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV, 1502-1513," *Parergon*, 21:1 (2004), pp. 65-84; Jan-Arnoud A. Bijsterveld, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach," in Esther Cohen and Marke B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, (2001), pp. 123-156.

[33] Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament*, p. 25.

[34] *RPS*, 1366/7/4.

[35] Ibid.,1366/7/7.

[36] Penman, *David II*, p. 346.

[37] *RPS*, 1366/7/5.

of Scottish ambassadors to be sent to England.[38] Similar to 1366, the funds were to 'be raised through the whole kingdom.'[39]

In 1369, the diplomatic mandate of the Scottish ambassadors to England was 'to negotiate with the English concerning the prorogation of the truce if it can be had, or about beginning any other good negotiation'.[40] While there were Scottish ambassadors at the English court in May of 1369, they were there to negotiate the release of the price of a cargo of barley, which had been sold by a servant of John Gille, a Scottish merchant whose goods had been on a ship which had been brought into Scarborough because of damage.[41] In 1370, the response to David II was clear. The records of the 1370 parliament read:

> Item, the three communities deliver that it does not seem expedient to them to send ambassadors to England to now have negotiation, nor is it proper, matters standing as they are, and having considered certain things contained in the indenture reported before the day fixed for after Easter at Durham, but they deliver that the king's answering letters be sent to the said day and place, to the effect that it greatly pleases the king and community to have this negotiation with them upon the renewal of a good peace by all ways and means by which it is possible to renew a good peace, always excepting those points which were formerly refused.[42]

This rejection of David II's diplomatic plan was in many ways different to that of 1366. The concern in 1369 was not about David II's mismanagement of funds. Instead, the 'three

[38] *RPS*, 1369/3/8.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *CDS*, iv, p. 34.
[42] *RPS*, 1370/2/14.

communities' called into question the viability of the entire diplomatic mission.[43] There is no evidence that David II sent ambassadors to England in 1370, which suggests that the opinions of the 'three communities' were taken into consideration, whether because of political influence or financial necessity.

Placing the financial burden of diplomacy on the estates or the kingdom was not unusual throughout the late medieval period. In 1412, the expenses for Scottish ambassadors to be sent to Flanders were collected from the burghs of Scotland.[44] The *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* include seven references to the collection of funds to support the expenses of ambassadors in mercantile negotiations with Flanders in 1412.[45] This financial support was gathered from the major foreign trading ports of Aberdeen, Perth and Edinburgh, as well as the smaller burghs of Inverkeithing, Cupar, Arbroath, and Linlithgow.[46] As the Scottish centres of trade with Flanders, these burghs invested in the continuing of diplomatic negotiations which established or expanded rights and protections for Scottish merchants in Flanders. The financial contribution of the estates to Scottish diplomacy continued throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1457, John Lowy was repaid for a loan which had covered part of the expenses of ambassadors to France and Flanders.[47] In 1471, a Scottish embassy to France was granted 3,000 crowns for the expenses of 'one bishop, one earl, one lord of parliament, a knight, a clerk, a herald' and their servants.[48] These 3,000 crowns were intended to be gathered in equal parts from each of the three estates.[49] While the financial weight of diplomacy was a heavy burden for the

[43] Ibid.
[44] *ER*, iv, pp. 140, 143, 145, 148-150.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., vi, p. 308.
[48] *RPS,* A1471/5/1.
[49] Ibid.

estates of Scotland, it was a necessary one. Scotto-Flemish diplomacy was used to restore trade and gain rights and protections for Scottish merchants. The importance of the wool trade to the economy of late medieval Scotland meant that the significant price of diplomacy had to be paid. This was paid by the estates with money and by the Scottish nobility with manpower and service as ambassadors.

The most prominent example of specialist ambassadors in the late medieval period, particularly in Scotto-Flemish relations, is the Lauder family. Unlike other merchant families, the Lauders were members of the lesser nobility, who held prominent positions in the Scottish royal government in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Their interests were broader than solely Scotland's export trade with Flanders. Members of the Lauder family were intricately connected to the east coast burghs of Edinburgh and Berwick and contributed to the mechanisms of trade within each burgh. From 1330 to 1342, Robert Lauder of that ilk rose in prominence from an influential power player in the south of Scotland to a central figure in the Scottish government during the exile of David II. Initially, Robert's interests in the Scottish borders were emphasised by his rise in locally prominent positions. In 1330, he was paid for his services as Custodian of the Marches and Berwick Castle.[50] However, the following year, he was referred to, in the witness list of a charter between Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and John, earl of Angus, as the Justiciar of Lothian.[51] These positions could be held in tandem, which is clear by Robert's receipt of payment, again for his position of Custodian of Berwick Castle and his administration over the Marches, and his identification in September 1331 as both the Sheriff of Berwick-on-Tweed and Justiciar of Lothian.[52] Robert Lauder's early local prominence in the south of

[50] *ER*, i, p. 279.
[51] *Fraser, Douglas*, iii, p. 14.
[52] *ER*, i, p. 399; *CDS*, iii, pp. 187-188.

Scotland, specifically in Berwick, is important because it highlights the early links between the Lauder family and the largest wool exporting burgh of Scotland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[53] In 1333, Robert Lauder added another position to his extensive locally significant portfolio, becoming Chamberlain of Scotland.[54] From 1333 until 1342, when he last received a pension for his position, Robert Lauder appeared frequently in the mechanisms of governance in the Scottish kingdom, while maintaining his connection to the south through his relationship with the Black Douglases.[55] Robert Lauder of that ilk was certainly not the only Lauder with vested interests in the infrastructure of trade between Scotland and Flanders, but connections between him and Scotland's export trade were the earliest to appear in the documentary sources.

The mid-fourteenth century witnessed the appearance of two separate Lauder family members, William Lauder and Alan Lauder of that ilk, in prestigious positions within their local governments. Like Robert Lauder of that ilk, Alan Lauder, presumably Robert's son and heir, rose in political and social prominence throughout the fourteenth century. Active within the government of Robert the Steward, the future Robert II, Alan Lauder was bailie of the lands of Birkenside, Legerwood, Morristoun, Whitslade and Auldynstoun within the sheriffdom of Berwick-upon-Tweed by 16 October 1369.[56] His interests in the region were enhanced by the receipt of the tenement of Kidston in Berwick-on-Tweed on 23 June 1374 and identification as a custumar of North Berwick by 1375.[57] In

[53] Up until this point, Berwick has been excluded from the major east coast burghs considered in this thesis because of the complexities surrounding its ownership and oversight in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The seizure of the town by the English and Scots, throughout this period, resulted in a decidedly different experience for its mercantile elite and its contribution to Scotto-Flemish relations. The discussion of Berwick and its wool trade in this chapter will only be used to analyse and emphasise the local and trade interests of the Lauder family.
[54] *Fraser, Douglas*, ii, pp. 586-587.
[55] *ER*, i, pp. 440, 442, 452-453, 460, 463, 478; *Fraser, Douglas*, iii, pp. 391-392.
[56] NRS, GD86/7; *Fraser, Menteith*, ii, pp. 250-251.
[57] NRS, GD436/1/10; *ER*, ii, p 470.

July 1377, Alan was given possession of the town and lands of Hatton by John of Hatton, which was ratified by Robert II in the same month.[58] However, Alan also held lands in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, which included the second most significant export burgh of the fourteenth century. In a charter dated between 1357 and 1371, Alan of Lauder and Alice Campbell received two plough lands in Norton in the barony of Ratho from Robert the Steward.[59] Through his ownership of lands in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and his familial link to a prominent Edinburgh burgess, William Lauder, Alan Lauder was linked to the trading burgh of Edinburgh, but these were clearly less important connections than his association to the burgh of Berwick and its export trade. From 1375 to 1381, he was paid for his services as custumar of North Berwick by the crown.[60] His services to the burgh were not only noticed by the crown. In a charter dated between 1384 and 1388, James, earl of Douglas granted Alan Lauder lands within North Berwick for his services.[61] Similar to Robert Lauder, Alan rose in positions of local trade and governance, eventually gaining the favour of the earls of Douglas. By January 1389, Alan Lauder held the position of the Constable of Tantallon Castle, a Douglas stronghold.[62] Alan's involvement in North Berwick and Berwick's trade through his position as custumar and landholder enhanced the Lauder family's close connections with Scotland's export trade. The link between the Lauder family and the export trade of late medieval Scotland continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but transitioned from a primarily Berwick-focused venture to one centred around Edinburgh.

[58] *Fifth Report*, p. 611.
[59] NRS, GD45/16/3039.
[60] *ER*, ii, pp. 470, 511, 558, 602, iii, pp. 4, 55, 67.
[61] NRS, GD1/1386/1.
[62] Fraser*, Menteith*, i, pp. 153-154.

The second half of the fourteenth century saw the broadening of Lauder family burghal interests away from Berwick. While Alan Lauder was active in Berwick, William Lauder, either a brother or cousin of Alan, rose in prominence within Edinburgh.[63] In 1369, William Lauder, burgess of Edinburgh, was first identified as a bailie of the same burgh.[64] He had risen to the position of custumar of Edinburgh by 1375.[65] Moreover, William Lauder was the first Lauder member with an explicit connection to Scotto-Flemish trade. In 1376, William arrived in Flanders with letters of credence from Hugh, lord Eglinton to act as his procurator and undertake transactions on his behalf.[66] Married to the half-sister of Robert II, Hugh, lord Eglinton received the offices of Bailie of Cunningham in 1367 and Chamberlain of Irwin in 1371.[67] Hugh's territorial interests in the south of Scotland, the traditional wool-producing region of the kingdom, established a relationship between Hugh and the Lauder family which pre-dated 1376. In a charter dated between 1358 and 1360, Robert the Steward ratified a gift from Hugh, lord Eglinton to Alan Lauder of all of Hugh's lands of Norton.[68] While the original document of the gift does not survive, the ratifications of Robert II, twice after his coronation, and Egidia Stewart of Lindsay, after the death of Hugh, of these gifted lands, and Alan's appearance as a witness to a charter in which Hugh, lord Eglinton was granted the lands of Ormdiale in Argyll suggests that the connection between Hugh and Alan was substantial.[69] Moreover, his use of Alan's family member, William, as a procurator for his trade in Flanders implies that territorial and commercial interests aligned. The relationship between Hugh Eglinton and Alan Lauder, and, by

[63] The surviving records do not include a reference to their relationship, but as they were active in trade during a similar time, in geographically similar areas, and William represented Alan in Flanders, their close family relationship can be assumed.
[64] *ER*, ii, p. 321.
[65] Ibid., ii, pp. 473-474, 503, 511.
[66] Ibid., ii, pp. 521-522.
[67] *Fraser, Montgomeries*, ii, pp. 5-8.
[68] NRS, GD1/17/6.
[69] NRS, GD1/17/6, GD 1/17/7, GD1/17/8, GD3/1/12/1; *Fraser, Montgomeries*, i, pp. 3-4, 11.

extension, their families, did not continue after the death of Hugh, lord of Eglinton. Indeed, the last reference to a connection between the two families appears in an undated charter in which John of Eglinton, nephew and heir to the deceased Hugh, lord Eglinton confirmed the alienation of lands to Alan of Lauder.[70] While the relationship between the two families did not extend throughout the late medieval period, it emphasised the use of personal networks to recruit personnel in foreign trade. Little is known about William Lauder's activities in Bruges on behalf of Hugh, lord Eglinton, but he had returned to Scotland later in 1376 and returned to custuming goods in Edinburgh.[71] His departure from Flanders was most likely caused by the death of Hugh, lord of Eglinton in the same year. On 10 December 1377, a ratification made by Egidia Stewart of Lindsay, half-sister of Robert II identified her as the widow of Hugh, lord Eglinton.[72] William Lauder must have died shortly after his return from Flanders in 1376, because his last appearance in the surviving documentary sources is from later that same year.[73]

The deaths of William and Alan Lauder did not mark the end of the Lauder family's interest in the commerce of Scotland. Instead, the following generations of Lauder family members transitioned away from predominantly commercial and burghal interests and began to take on roles as Scottish ambassadors, resulting in the return of Lauders to prominent positions within the royal government. Arguably the single most prominent member of the Lauder family, William, bishop of Glasgow, was the first to become involved in Scotland's diplomatic missions. Named as one of the commissioners of Scotland to negotiate for the release of James I in December 1416, William became a constant figure in the negotiations surrounding the release of the young Scottish king throughout his

[70] *Fifth Report*, p. 612.
[71] *ER*, ii, pp. 521-522.
[72] NRS, GD1/17/8.
[73] *ER*, ii, pp. 525-526.

captivity.[74] Moreover, he was included in a 1421 list of Scottish captives to be sent to England in exchange for a grant from Henry V, which would enable James I to spend three months in Scotland.[75] While the short term proposed release of the King of Scots ultimately was never carried out, William's identification as one of the most influential people in Scotland clearly reflects his position within the Scottish episcopate. By the following year, William, bishop of Glasgow appeared as a witness to a charter of the Duke of Albany and in the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* identified as the Chancellor of Scotland.[76] Finally, in 1423, William, bishop of Glasgow and Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington were named commissioners in the negotiations for the release of James I from captivity and his English marriage.[77]

While William, bishop of Glasgow was active in Anglo-Scottish diplomacy in the early fifteenth century, this period saw a heightened involvement of Lauders in Scotto-Flemish trade and diplomacy. William acted as an ambassador for the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland in negotiations with the eschevins, burgomasters, and council of Bruges regarding the complaints of Scottish merchants in May 1407.[78] On 13 May 1423, Master Alexander Lauder, dean of Dunkeld was granted a safe conduct for six months to move between Flanders and England with his retinue.[79] In February 1424, Edward Lauder, archdeacon of Lothian was given a safe conduct to pass from Flanders to Scotland with Walter, bishop of Brechin, Thomas Grenlaw, archdeacon of an unspecified diocese, and their servants.[80] On 8 June 1424, Master Alexander Lauder, now archdeacon of Dunkeld and Master Edward Lauder, archdeacon of Lothian were granted a safe conduct for one

[74] *Fraser, Menteith*, i, pp. 199, 223-224.
[75] Ibid., pp. 263-264.
[76] Ibid., i, pp. 264-265; *ER*, iv, pp. 358, 373.
[77] Ibid., i, pp. 267-268.
[78] Document n.15, Archives Bruges – Ouden Wittenbouc fol. 169 No. 1 in Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. xviii-xx.
[79] *CDS*, iv, p. 187.
[80] Ibid., iv., p. 192.

year to travel to Flanders with Walter, bishop of Brechin, John, abbot of Balmurynach, Sir John Forrester, Walter Ogilvy and forty attendants.[81] On 4 March 1425, Robert and Thomas Lauder, merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh, were granted safe conducts to travel to Bruges and Zeeland to sue for money owed to the cousin of James I.[82] Lastly, on 16 January 1431, Master Alexander Lauder, clerk of Scotland was granted a safe conduct for three months to pass from Flanders through England to Scotland with his four servants.[83] The increased number of Lauder family members who actively represented royal or mercantile interests in Bruges during this period was clearly connected to William Lauder's position of Chancellor of Scotland in 1422. Michael Brown, in his study of the reign of James I, argued that the newly returned king promoted people who he trusted from his childhood and those who supported his release.[84] William, bishop of Glasgow's support for the release of James I was evidenced through his election as a commissioner in the many Anglo-Scottish negotiations in the early fifteenth century.[85] Similarly Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington was listed as another Scottish commissioner in the May 1423 negotiations for the release of James I from English captivity.[86] By 15 November 1425, Sir Robert had been appointed by James I to the office of justiciar south of the Forth.[87] The following month, the King of Scots rewarded him with a grant of the lands of the Crag, Ballingoune and the lordship of half of Bass Rock.[88] It is clear, as Brown has argued, that William, bishop of Glasgow, and Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington benefitted politically and territorially from their active involvement in the diplomatic negotiations for the release of James I. However,

[81] Ibid., p. 196.
[82] Ibid., p. 200.
[83] Ibid., p. 215.
[84] Brown, *James I*, p. 27, 29, 54.
[85] *Fraser, Menteith*, i, pp. 223-224, 263-264, 267-268.
[86] Ibid., pp. 267-268.
[87] *RMS*, ii, p. 6.
[88] Ibid.

James I's use of the extended Lauder family in diplomatic missions during his reign suggests that his promotion and favour of an individual, or individuals, could extend to their entire family. Indeed, the traditional family commercial interests in Edinburgh and Berwick made the Lauder family particularly qualified to act as royal ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy in the 1420s.

The return of James I in 1424 was characterised by the Scottish king's presentation of his royal authority to his nobility and, as this thesis has argued, to his mercantile elite. The central role of Scotland's merchants and burgesses in the repayment of James I's ransom cannot be understated. It is interesting, with this in mind, that on 30 October 1424 and 4 March 1425, two Scottish embassies, sent by James I, received safe conducts from Henry VI to travel to Flanders and recover money owed to James and his cousin.[89] The second embassy, granted a safe conduct for half of a year to travel to Bruges and Middelburg, was manned by Robert Lauder and Thomas Lauder, merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh.[90] It was not a coincidence that James I entrusted two Lauders, burgesses in their own right, to sue for the payment of moneys owed to the king's cousin. Robert Lauder was the son and heir of the late Alan Lauder, and in 1407 acted as custumar of North Berwick.[91] Brother to George Lauder, who had become the custumar for woollen cloth in Edinburgh by 1426, Robert Lauder had close links with the two largest wool-exporting burghs of late medieval Scotland.[92] Moreover, their familial connection to two of James I's trusted advisors would have made Robert and Thomas Lauder a safe choice for royal representatives in the early years of James I's reign. James I's pursuit of recompense for

[89] *CDS*, iv, pp. 198, 200.
[90] Ibid., p. 200.
[91] *ER*, iv, p. 50.
[92] George Lauder appeared in the surviving records as custumar of woollen cloth in Edinburgh from 1426-1429. *ER*, iv, pp. 412, 438, 474.

the money owed to himself and his cousin in 1424 and 1425, and his use of Robert and Thomas Lauder as representatives, are reflective of the crown's financial situation upon James I's return to Scotland.

If examined through the lens of Michael Brown's argument, that the legislation of the first parliament of James I's reign was particularly important to the king in its ability to express his royal authority, the diplomatic and commercial missions of the early years of his reign should be considered with equal weight.[93] The health of James I's treasury in 1424, according to Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, was poor.[94] Faced with a hefty ransom to pay the English, it is unsurprising that James I sought to acquire the money to pay it through any means necessary. Already reliant on his mercantile elite to make the initial payment of his ransom, or procure a loan in Flanders for their portion, James I must have recognised the importance of not placing the complete financial responsibility of his ransom on the Scottish burghs and, thus, pursued any means necessary to acquire more money.[95] The use of Thomas and Robert Lauder, burgesses of Edinburgh, as his representatives, suggests that their experience in Scotland's export trade and family connections to William, bishop of Glasgow and Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington made them suitable to represent James I in Flanders.

Indeed, a significant factor in the choice of royal ambassadors was the favour of the king. As has been argued, the increased number of Lauder family members acting as

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[93] Brown, *James I*, p. 48.
[94] *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 241.
[95] This was not all together successful. As Bower described in his *Scotichronicon*, James I did levy a tax on the clergy and laity to raise funds to pay his ransom. However, the pro-James I nature of Bower's chronicle is reflected in a later section, in which Bower justified James I's use of taxation as an appropriate action, given the circumstances. It stated that: 'Although the king was disposed to acquiring possessions, he nevertheless knew well from the stirring of his conscience that unjust exactions and savage extortions (such as are usual when lords tallage those under them) are highly displeasing to God. For the sword is given to a prince when he is anointed and to a knight when he is invested for the defence of the church and its members, not for their destruction.' Ibid., p. 251.

ambassadors during the reign of James I was reflective of the prominent positions held by William, bishop of Glasgow, and Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington within the royal government. Similarly, falling out of favour with the Scottish king resulted in a lack of representational opportunities for the individuals or family. The decline of Lauder family members, acting as ambassadors, in the 1450s suggests that the conflict between the Scottish crown and the Black Douglases negatively impacted the Lauders' political and territorial interests. However, their commercial interests remained unharmed. The relationship between the Black Douglases and the Lauder family was based on their territorial interests in the south of Scotland. Michael Brown has argued that William, first earl of Douglas built his affinity in the south of Scotland on familial bonds and a reliance on the support of local Lothian lords.[96] From 1320 until 1455, members of the Lauder family regularly appeared as witnesses to Black Douglas charters and in safe conducts.[97] Moreover, the Douglases enhanced their affiliation with the Lauder family by granting them lands and position within the Douglas territorial holdings. In a charter dated between 1384 and 1388, James, second earl of Douglas granted lands in North Berwick, including the medieval kirk, cemetery, and Hospice at Kirk Ness to Alan Lauder for his services to the same burgh.[98] By January 1389, Alan Lauder, a trusted adherent, was constable of Tantallon Castle, the Douglas stronghold built in the 1350s.[99] Through the use of grants of lands and positions, the Black Douglases secured the allegiance of the Lauder family in the

[96] Michael Brown, 'The Development of Scottish Border Lordship, 1332-58,' *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), p. 8.
[97] NRS, GD157/260; *Fraser, Douglas*, iii, pp. 10-11, 34-35, 50-53, 69-73, 76,77, 356-357, 361-362, 391-392, 397-400, 402, 408-409, 416-417, 430; *RMS*, ii, pp. 3-4, 7-9, 11, 14-15, 16, 82; Reid (ed.), *Wigtownshire Charters*, p. 163; *RRS*, ii, pp. 240, 244-245, 343, 346, 353.
[98] NRS, GD1/1386/1; *Fraser, Douglas*, iii, p. 305; William Forbes Gray, 'The Bass Rock in History,' *Transactions of East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, iv (1948), p. 55.
[99] *Fifth Report*, p. 611; *Red Book of Menteith*, i, pp. pp. 153-154; Brown, 'Development of Scottish Border Lordship,' p. 18.

fourteenth century. Their loyalty would be tested in the fifteenth-century conflict between James II and the Black Douglases.

Like many southern noble families, the Lauders were drawn into the conflict between James II and the Black Douglases in 1452. Clearly recognising the central role of the Lauder family in the Douglas affinity, James capitalised on it. As Christine McGladdery and Michael Brown have posited, it is plausible that James II chose William Lauder of Hatton as a messenger to secure the attendance of the earl of Douglas at Stirling castle, in an effort to reassure the earl of his good intentions.[100] However, James II's use of William Lauder in the fatal attack on William, earl of Douglas did not sever the Lauders' relationship with the Douglases. Indeed, in the protracted conflict, following the murder of the earl of Douglas, the Lauder family were staunch supporters of the Douglas cause. James II led a siege on the tower of Hatton, in the same year, and the death of William Lauder of Hatton, either during the siege or by execution.[101] Like many other Douglas adherents, the Lauder family were forced to forfeit lands to make peace with the victorious king of Scots.[102] Rather than passing to the heirs of William Lauder of Hatton, the lands of Nethirkidston, Over Ormiston, Nether Ormiston, and Hatton were granted to favourites of James II, his wife, Mary of Guelders, William Cranston of Crailing, James Anysle of Dolphinston, and Andrew Rutherford.[103] The conflict between the Black Douglases and James II from 1452 to 1455 brought about the end of royal favour for the Lauder family until the coronation of James III.

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[100] McGladdery, *James II*, p. 114; Brown, *Black Douglases*, p. 293; *Chron. Auchinleck* , f. 114v.; *Fraser, Douglas*, i, pp. 472-473.
[101] *Fraser, Douglas*, ii, p. 609.
[102] For an example of another individual forced to forfeit privileges because of their allegiance to the Black Douglases, see: *Fraser, Buccleuch*, i, p. 53.
[103] *RMS*, ii, 120-122.

The reigns of James III and James IV saw the rise of the Lauder family in elite political circles, but no similar return to royal commercial and diplomatic representation in Scotto-Flemish relations. The second half of the fifteenth century also witnessed a continued familial interest in the burgh governance and commerce of Edinburgh, by then the most influential wool-exporting burgh of Scotland, and Berwick. In 1461, Margaret, Katherine, Elizabeth, and Isabella Lauder, the four daughters and heiresses of George Lauder, burgess of Edinburgh, entered into a legal dispute over their deceased father's lands in Edinburgh, which was, ultimately, settled in favour of Sir Alexander Lauder of Hatton.[104] From 1462 through to 1473, Robert Lauder of Edrington was the keeper of Berwick castle.[105] His local influence was extended in 1468, when he was made custumar of Berwick.[106] From 1477 to 1481, Robert Lauder of Bass was keeper of Berwick castle, making a payment for repairs to the castle in 1478.[107] In the same year, Robert Lauder of Bass and Alexander Lauder of Hatton took part in an inquest in Edinburgh as jurors.[108] For the Lauder family, the period from 1480 through to 1513 was characterised by the expansion of the family's landholdings in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh. In 1482, James III granted George Lauder, heir of Alexander Lauder of Hatton, and his wife, Katherine, the lands of Westhall, fourteen merks of the land of Hatton and six merks of Norton in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, which had been resigned by his father.[109] On 14 September 1489, James IV granted the lands of Beil, Johnesclewch, and Clyntis to Robert Lauder of Edrington.[110] The following November, the King of Scots granted Alexander Lauder of Hatton the lands of Brownsfield, which had been resigned by Henry Cant, burgess of

[104] NRS, GD430/13.
[105] *ER*, vii, pp. 145, 293, 317, 400, 494, viii, pp. 118, 119, 188.
[106] Ibid., vii, pp. 578.
[107] Ibid., viii, pp. 455, 541, 551, 633-634, ix, pp. 63, 64, 81, 145, 147.
[108] NRS, GD122/1/156.
[109] *RMS*, ii, p. 317.
[110] Ibid., p. 318.

Edinburgh.[111] In 1500, Alexander Lauder, burgess of Edinburgh, and his wife Janet Patterson bought half of Thomas Lindsay of Collieston's lands of Redhouses.[112] On 1 September 1501, Jasper Lauder, legitimate son and heir of Gilbert Lauder of Whitslade, received lands within the burgh of Lauder, which had been possessed by his father, from James IV.[113] The continued investment of the Lauder family in lands within the burghs and sheriffdoms of Berwick and Edinburgh, during the reigns of James III and James IV, suggests that, following the conflict between the Black Douglases and the Scottish crown, the interests of the Lauder family transitioned away from diplomatic and commercial representation to their own personal or familial commercial and local political interests.[114]

Moreover, while the Lauder family gained lands in Edinburgh, they remained active in the governance of both Edinburgh and Berwick in the late fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. In the 1480s, Oliver Lauder acted as deputy to Patrick, lord Halis, sheriff of Berwick and presided over lawsuits and inquests in the local court.[115] From 1500 until his death at the battle of Flodden, Alexander Lauder was custumar of Edinburgh and acted as provost of the burgh from 1502.[116] George Lauder was a bailie of the burgh of Lauder from 1496 until 1502 when he became a custumar in North Berwick.[117] Robert Lauder was identified as a bailie of Lauder in 1507.[118] Finally, Robert Lauder of Bass was rewarded by James IV for his 'good service' through the grant of lands within Berwick and

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[111] Ibid., p. 417.
[112] NRS, GD237/4/1.
[113] *RMS*, ii, pp. 551-552.
[114] There is a single exception to this statement in the reigns of James III and James IV. Sir George Lauder travelled to France in August 1503 on the command of James IV, presumably to take part in a diplomatic mission. The exact reasons for his departure to France are not stated in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. *TA*, ii, pp. 375, 378, 385.
[115] NRS, GD158/48, GD158/49, GD157/378.
[116] NRS, GD40/3/218, GD17/41; *ER*, xi, pp. 273, 375, 383, xii, pp. 89, 162, 261, 371-372, 463, 593, xiii, pp. 94, 229, 364, 485, 526, 574; *TA*, ii, pp. 270, 274, 279, 364, 381, 617, iii, pp. 208, 377.
[117] *ER*, x, p. 616, xii, pp. 105, 158, 268, 470.
[118] Ibid., xii, p. 604.

Edinburgh in 1508 and 1512.[119] Through landholding, trade, and town governance in Edinburgh and Berwick, the economic fate of the Lauder family was intrinsically tied to the success of Scotto-Flemish trade. Due to their practical knowledge of trade, commercial interests, and relationships with the Black Douglases and James I, it is unsurprising that members of the Lauder family were chosen as royal diplomatic representatives in the first half of the fifteenth century. Their loyalty to the Black Douglases in 1452 undermined any future possibility of representing the diplomatic interests of James II. However, the death of James II in 1460 did not result in a return of Lauder family members to the ranks of Scottish ambassadors. Instead, the reigns of James III and James IV saw a continued family involvement in the politics and trade of Berwick and Edinburgh, and the expansion of territorial interests within these burghs.

While the favour of the king of Scots was certainly an extremely important factor in the appointment of a royal ambassador, it cannot be coincidental that the height of Lauder involvement in Scotto-Flemish diplomacy corresponded with a protracted mercantile conflict between the two regions and the initiation of a series of negotiations for a renewed trade agreement.[120] The obvious benefit of using ambassadors with personal or familial practical knowledge of the Scotto-Flemish wool trade was that they had a deep understanding of the privileges and protections desired by Scotland's overseas merchants. The mercantile rights and privileges extended to Scottish merchants in Bruges by the counts of Flanders and duke of Burgundy were essential to the trade relationship between

[119] RMS, ii, pp. 681, 797-798.

[120] Scottish ambassadors had been sent to Flanders in 1412 for mercantile negotiations, but were unsuccessful in establishing a prolonged peace. The issue of Scottish piracy was a recurring problem for positive relations between Scotland and Flanders during the captivity of James I and inhibited any attempts to improve trade relations between the two regions. It was not until James I firmly severed trade between Scotland and Flanders in 1425 that ambassadors were sent to the Scottish court by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and negotiations between the two regions began in earnest. *ER*, iv, pp. 145, 148-149-150; *CDS*, iv, pp. 187, 192, 196, 198, 200; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire De L'Ancienne*, i, p. 554 ; *RPS* 1425/3/7; *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 257.

these two regions. They provided protections for Scottish merchants abroad, outlined the customs that they had to pay for their goods in Bruges, and articulated the Scots' very right to trade in Bruges. Articles proclaimed in Ypres on 30 April 1407 given at the directive of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy stated that:

> The [Scottish] merchants, and every one of them, may come with their persons, goods and effects, and report their goods and merchandise freely and peaceably, within our Earldom and country of Flanders, without any disturbance, or hindrance, on paying to us and others, the regulated tolls and other accustomed duties: and immediately upon their arrival or entry in the Swine, in Sluys, or any other part of our said country of Flanders, we have received and taken, and by these presents, do receive and take them, under our safe and special guardianship and protection.[121]

The preservation and improvement of mercantile rights and privileges in Flanders was a key concern for Scottish overseas merchants. Most directly affected by changes or losses of privileges, it was in the personal and commercial interest of each ambassador in mercantile negotiations to renew Scotto-Flemish trade with improved benefits for Scottish traders. However, in the event of unsuccessful negotiations or a severing of trade relations, the mercantile rights extended to the Scots in Flanders provided protection for the sale of goods and departure of Scottish merchants from the earldom.[122] In periods of continuing and successful trade, these privileges and protections provided improved benefits for Scottish

[121] The inclusion is my own. Document n.14, Archive Bruges in Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. xvi-xviii.
[122] In the same 1407 articles, John the Fearless stated that if trade relations between Scotland and Flanders were severed, then the Scottish merchants in Flanders would have one hundred and twenty days to sell and dispose of their goods, pay their debts, and safely leave the county with all of their effect without any hindrance from ducal officers. Ibid.

merchants in Bruges, but, in conflict, they protected the commercial interests and the personnel of Scotland's foreign trade.

The failure or perceived inability to uphold the protections of Scottish merchants in Bruges was the most common cause of mercantile complaints in the late medieval period. Because of the violation of Scottish mercantile rights, James III severed trade with Flanders in 1467 and threatened the forfeiture of any Scottish merchant who travelled or freighted goods to the county.[123] In pursuit of a renewed trade agreement, Charles the Bold appointed Anselm Adornes and John Metteneye as ducal ambassadors to treat with James III. Both were townsmen and citizens of Bruges; Anselm Adornes was also a councillor to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.[124] However, this did not preclude the use of other merchants in the negotiations for a renewal of trade. In a letter from the Four Members of Flanders to the burghs of Scotland, they stated that, 'And by postponing the damaging delay for the common good you may deign to render yourself benevolent towards this and attentive, so that your merchants, beloved to us, are able in a short time to make arrangements and have negotiations with our merchants through their useful and desired visit here.'[125] The use of merchant burgesses, both as ambassadors to the king of Scotland, and in commercial negotiations with Scottish merchants was representative of the importance of continuing Scotto-Flemish trade and the central role of merchants within said trade.

Additionally, the language used by Anselm Adornes in his oration and requests that he put forth to James III emphasised the significance of renewed trade and the preservation of mercantile protections. He opined that:

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[123] *RPS*, 1467/1/6.
[124] BSA, LS23, 'From the part of the city of Bruges to the King of Scotland'.
[125] Ibid., 'From the part of the four members to the cities and towns of the kingdom of Scotland'.

> …his lordship gave this response to them, that that prince too, who did not wish to suffer harm to his merchants, would himself write to the lord the King, his kinsman, a letter by which he would beg for the return of the same, which I have represented to your royal majesty, together with letters of the Count of Marle, the members of Flanders and of the city of Bruges, asking your clemency most humbly and begging you keenly so that, on account of the honour and at the request of the princes of the country and city, he may promise and grant the return of the nation and of the merchants to Bruges, not doubting that provision will be given to them both in privileges and in all their complaints, such that your same majesty will contend deservedly and with all justice that all merchants will be free from harm.[126]

Anselm articulated the unanimity of the petition for a renewal in Scotto-Flemish trade, emphasising that, as the letters that he brought suggested, the whole community, noble and mercantile, of Flanders supported his oration at the Scottish court. Adornes did not present the specific terms of a renewal, rather he explicitly connected a renewed state of trade to be a consequence of James III's mercy. Indeed, he, later in the same oration, went on to re-emphasise the kingly virtues reflected in a decision to reinstate Scotto-Flemish trade. Of James III, Anselm Adornes stated that, 'none of your virtues is more noble than clemency or more admirable than mercy…'[127] While Adornes spoke glowingly of the King of Scots, clearly making an impression on James III, and of the benefits of a renewed trade

[126] BSA, LS23, 'Proposal of the sentence in the company of the most serene King of the Scots from the part of the country of Flanders and the city of Bruges via the venerable orator, the lord Anselm Adornes, a citizen of Bruges.'
[127] Ibid.

agreement between the two regions, a return to positive trade relations was not immediate.[128] It was not until April 1470 that Scotto-Flemish trade was restored and a new set of mercantile rights and privileges for Scots in Flanders was published.[129]

The negotiation of a renewed trade agreement between Scotland and Flanders did not only benefit the mercantile elite of each region. In the fifteenth century, the restoration of Scotto-Flemish trade was explicitly connected, by the Four Members of Flanders, with the common good of the kingdom of Scotland and the county of Flanders. In the letters sent with Anselm Adornes and Jan Metteneye to the Scottish court in 1468, the Four Members articulated that the return of Scottish merchants to Bruges would be for the common good and preserve the health of the state.[130] For the Flemings, the use of 'common good', as seen in the 1468 letters to James III, could extend beyond the town walls and include the

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[128] Born into a prominent Brugeois family descended from Genoese merchants, Anselm Adornes has been the most widely studied diplomatic visitor to Scotland in the late medieval period. He found favour in the court of James III, was knighted, received the barony of Cortachy, was appointed to the position of Conservator of Scottish Privileges in Bruges and became a trusted advisor to the King of Scots before his assassination in 1483. His experience in Scotto-Flemish diplomacy is undoubtedly unique, and therefore, does not inform our understanding of the more normalised experience of ambassadors and envoys in late medieval Scotto-Flemish diplomacy. BSA, LS23; BSA, Sept. 2, Hs. I-VII; BSA, Sept. 2, CS 1453-1460 f° 152, 334; BSA, Sept. 2, CS 1465-69 f° 1, 120; *ER*, viii, p. 512, ix, pp. 105, 244, 400, 466; *RPS* 1483/3/56, 1483/3/57; *RMS*, ii, pp. 220, 250, 324; Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de L'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges*, ii, pp. 199-200, 215-216; Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groër (eds. and trans.), *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-71)*, (Paris, 1978); Alan Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III,' *IR*, 33 (1982), pp. 15-22; Rev. David McRoberts, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land,' *IR*, 20 (1969), pp. 96-98; Katie Stevenson, 'The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was There an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?,' *SHR*, 83:1(2004), pp. 7-12; Marc Boone, Marianne Danneel, and Noël Geirnaert, 'Pieter IV Adornes (1460-ca. 1496): Een Brugs Patricier in Gent,' *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheldkunde te Gent*, 39 (1985), pp. 123-128; J. Malden, 'Anselm Adornes and the Two Collars,' *Double Tressure*, 10 (1988), pp. 6-12; Alan Denis Macquarrie, 'The Impact of the Crusading Movement in Scotland, 1095-c.1560,' (University of Edinburgh, PhD Thesis, 1982), pp. 37-38, 223-247; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, '"Capell Nuncapato Jherusalem Noviter Brugies": The Adornes Family of Bruges and Holy Land Devotion,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39 (2008), pp. 1041-1064; Noël Geirnaert, 'De Adornes en de Jeruzalemkapel. Internationale Contacten in het Laatmiddeleeuwse Brugge,' in Noël Geirnaert and André Vandewalle, eds., *Adornes en Jeruzalem. Internationaal Leven in het 15de- en 16de-eeuwse Brugge*, (Bruges, 1983), pp. 11-49.

[129] Document n. 16, Van Mieries – Groot Charter Boek in Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, pp. xx-xxi.

[130] BSA, LS23, 'From the part of the four members to the cities and towns of the kingdom of Scotland.', 'From the part of the four members to the King of Scotland.'

entirety of the county.[131] Rarely were the terms 'common good' and 'common profit' used to reference the good of the Scottish kingdom, instead they were more closely associated with the financial successes of the burghs. Similarly, Claire Hawes has argued in her recent doctoral thesis, the moral and financial imperative of the terms 'common profit' and 'common good' were malleable and, therefore, easily blurred in the distinction between the communal fund of money and welfare of the town.[132] However, the existence of an explicit link between continued overseas trade and the promulgation of the financial and moral common good of the Scottish burghs has been posited in the previous chapter. The central function of mercantile ambassadors in the restoration of Scotland's overseas trade partnerships imbued them with significant power. Responsible for the financial wellbeing of the east coast burghs of Scotland in their diplomatic representative functions, the actions of Scottish mercantile ambassadors were not only for their own benefit, but for the burghs and, by extension, the kingdom as a whole.

While medieval Scottish merchants were politically influential, current historical studies on Scotto-Flemish trade have focussed little attention on the Scottish merchants involved in the commercial and diplomatic relations between the two regions.[133] A consequence of the comparatively small number of the Scottish records from this period, it provides an undeniably problematic depiction of Scotto Flemish relations in the late medieval period. Alexander Stevenson's work on the links between Scotland and Bruges centres on the role of Flemings, particularly Anselm Adornes and John Metteneye, as ambassadors to Scotland, the marriage of Scottish princesses to Low Country nobility, and

[131] Ibid.
[132] Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority,' p. 61.
[133] In particular, see: Stevenson, 'Trade with the South'; Stevenson, 'Scottish Associations'; Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries.'

Flemings in Scotland.[134] William Finlayson's 1951 doctoral thesis attempted to analyse the Scottish merchant community in Bruges, but was fundamentally weakened by a lack of rigorous research and a dependence on out of date techniques and unsubstantiated claims.[135] However the research, specifically of Alexander Stevenson, has highlighted the prominent appearance of Metteneye family members as representatives for Scottish merchants in Bruges and as Flemish ambassadors to the Scottish court.[136]

The pattern of Metteneye family activity in Scotto-Flemish relations closely mirrors that of the Lauder family. Initially appearing in fourteenth-century Scotland as foreign merchants, members of the Metteneye family began acting in diplomatic and representative functions in the fifteenth century. In 1362, Adam Metteneye arrived in Scotland to collect money that was owed to him.[137] Four years later, John Paul Metteneye was paid money that had been pledged to him by the king of Scotland.[138] The transition from a solely commercial relationship with the kingdom of Scotland and its merchants to one of diplomatic and commercial representation began in the fifteenth century. From 1407 until 1487, members of the Metteneye family acted as Conservator of the Scottish Privileges, representing Scottish plaintiffs or defendants in Bruges courts.[139] The family's interest in late medieval Scotto-Flemish relations was enhanced by the use of members of the Metteneye family as comital ambassadors to the Scottish court. Jan Metteneye appeared in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, as one of the Flemish ambassadors sent to the Scottish court in

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[134] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges,' pp. 93-107; Stevenson, 'The Flemish Dimension of the Auld Alliance,' pp. 28-42; Stevenson, 'Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries'; Stevenson, 'Trade with the South,' pp. 180-206.
[135] Finlayson, 'The Scottish Merchant Nation in Bruges.'
[136] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations,' pp. 100-101.
[137] *ER*, ii, pp. 90-92, 128.
[138] Ibid., p. 263.
[139] *CDS*, iv, p. 208; Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de L'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges*, i, pp. 519-523, 560, 673; Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges,' pp. 100-101.

December 1425.[140] Additionally, in 1468, Jan Metteneye, son of Jacob Metteneye was sent with Anselm Adornes to the Scottish court to negotiate a renewal of Scotto-Flemish trade.[141] Similar to the Lauder family, the use of Metteneye family members as commercial or diplomatic representatives was reflective of their close ties with the town of Bruges and their familial trading interests and experience. From 1320 to 1513, members of the Metteneye family held one hundred and thirty eight administrative roles in the Bruges town government, including the positions of alderman, councillor, treasurer and administrative head of one of Bruges' six regions.[142] The Metteneyes' close ties to the administration of town governance and their representation of Scottish merchants and commercial interests in Bruges would have made them ideal candidates to act as ducal ambassadors to the Scottish court. While Alexander Stevenson has argued that the connection between the Metteneye family and their Scottish associations was unique amongst the Bruges merchant patriciate, it appears to have been more commonplace in medieval Scotland.[143] Like the Lauders, several prominent Scottish merchant families,

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[140] *Chron. Bower*, viii, p. 257.

[141] BSA, LS23, 'From the part of the city of Bruges to the King of Scotland.', Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulatir de L'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges*, ii, pp. 199-200.

[142] BSA, D. Van Den Auwele, Schepenbank en schepenen te Brugge (1127-1384), KUL, 1977, Bijlage 1; feb. 2 (ns) RW, 1363-74, f° 48 r°-v°, 56 r°-v°, 65 r°-v°, 73 r°-v°, 81 r°-v°, 89 r°-v°; feb. 2 (ns) St R, 1374-75, f° 27 r°-v°; feb. 2 (ns) St R, 1378-79, f° r°-v°; feb. 2 (ns) Cartularium purperenboek f° 116v°; sept. 2 (ns) Cartularium purperenboek f°117; Sept. 2, Hs. I-VI; Sept. 2, Cartularium puperenboek f° 118, 119; Sept. 2, St R, 1386-87, f° 95 r°-v°; Sept. 2, St R, 1388-89, f°3, 101 en 102; Sept. 2, St R, 1389-90, f° 96v° en 97v°; Sept. 2, St R, 1390-91, f°2, 100 en 101; Sept. 2, St R, 1391-92, f° 3, 85 en 86; Sept. 2, St R, 1392-93, f° 2, 89 en 90; Sept. 2, St R, 1394-95, f° 2 r° en v°; Sept. 2, St R, 1395-96, f° 2, 76v° en 77; Sept. 2, RW, 1397-1421, f° 8v°, 16 r°-v°, 24v°, 32, 39 r°-v°, 47, 55v°, 63v°, 71 v°-72, 127 r° en v°, 140 v°, 147 r°-v°, 153 r°-v°, 158 v°-159, 165 v°-166, 173 r°-v°, 180; Sept. 2, RW, 1397-1421, f° 180; Sept. 2, RW, 1422-1443, f° 8 r°-v°, 16 v°, 24 r°-v°, 32 r°-v°, 40, 47 r°-v°, 56 r°-v°, 57 b-v°, 75 r°-v°, 85, 94v°, 102 r°-v°, 119, 126, 133, 139 v°-140, 147; Sept. 2, Hs.I-VII; fragmentarisch: St R, 1444-45, f° 53; Sept. 2, Hs.I-VII; fragmentarisch: St R, 1445-46, f° 47; Sept. 2, Hs.I-VII; Sept. 2, CS 1447-1453 f° 1; Sept. 2, St R. 1453-54, f° 55v°; Sept. 2, CS 1453-1460 f° 9, 48, 103, 152, 200, 334; Sept. 2, CS 1465-69 f°1, 120; Sept. 2, RW 1468-1501, f° 1v°, 17v°, 33v°, 51v°, 60v°, 68v°; April 19 (n.s.), RW 1468-1501, f° 78r°-v°; Sept. 2, RW 1468-1501, f° 109 r°-v°, 126v°, 134v°, 141v°-142, 165v°-166; April 11, RW 1468-1501, f° 123v°-124, 195r°-v°, 217v°, 249v°, 262v°, 270v°; Sept. 2, (NS) RW 1468-1501, f° 177, 185 r°-v°; Sept. 2, Hs I, III, V en VI; Sept. 2, RW 1503-34, f° 11 r°-v°, 19v°, 176v°.

[143] Stevenson, 'Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges,' pp. 99-101.

including the Mercers and Turings, pursued their own commercial interests in trade with Flanders and also acted as an economic or diplomatic representative for the Scottish crown.[144] Scottish control of their export industry, in the wake of the 1347 expulsion of Flemings from Scotland, would have provided opportunities for multiple Scottish mercantile families to develop their practical knowledge of Scotto-Flemish trade and diplomatic relations. The increased Scottish control of its foreign trade after 1347 resulted in the larger number of families, like the Lauders, Mercers and Turings, with financial and personnel investments in the commercial and diplomatic successes of Scotto-Flemish negotiations.

The similarities in the trade interests and diplomatic experiences of the Metteneye and Lauder families suggest that late medieval commercial ambassadors were chosen from a pool of qualified, experienced, mercantile burgesses and trading families. Indeed, the network of the Lauder family exemplified the exclusive and self-perpetuating nature of this pool, which was built on relationships forged between politically and socially elite members of Scotland's mercantile community. By examining the socio-political network of the Lauder family from 1320 to 1513, the influence of association, through marriage, official positions, and geographic proximity, on the shifting political, diplomatic and commercial interests will be considered.

Many of the recent studies of the networks and affinities of late medieval Scotland have been informed by Jenny Wormald's seminal monograph, *Lords and Men in Scotland*. Highlighting the different means by which medieval Scottish nobles built and expanded

[144] *ER*, ii, pp. 9, 10, 10-11, 16, 17-18, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22-23, 48-49, 54, 68, 68-69, 77, 93, 304-305, iv, pp. 438, 448, 509, 640, 641, 641-642, 644-645, 648, 649, 650-651, 653, 654, 657, 661, 662, 664, 665, 672, 672-673, 675; *CDS*, iv, pp. 37, 54-56, 58, 266; NRS, RH1/2/119, RH1/2/124, AD1/17, GD3/1/1/64/1, GD124/1/416, GD148/4.

their personal affinities, Wormald argued that the use of bonds of manrent, formalised and written bonds of friendship found from the mid-fifteenth century, were rarely made by individuals of a lower social distinction than laird.[145] An alternative approach to the study of late medieval networks has been presented by Grant G. Simpson, Alexander Grant, and Keith J. Stringer. Using the witness lists of charters found in family charter chests, they have reconstructed the inner and outer circles of the socio-political networks of the Lords of Galloway, Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, and Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland.[146] While the research of Wormald, Simpson, Grant, and Stringer has certainly introduced two important ways of considering and constructing the affinities of medieval Scotland, their approaches are only applicable to the networks of the nobility. Indeed, there are no bonds of manrent made by members of the Lauder family in the late medieval period and charters pertaining to the family and their landholdings do not survive in a single collection. Instead, to understand the network of the Lauder family, we must look to the relationships that they forged and enhanced through marriage, geographic proximity, and the holding of official positions in national and local governance. In this way, the concept of 'network' fundamentally differs from the traditional use of 'affinity' as bonds of manrent, used to establish and maintain one's affinity, asserted the superiority of

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[145] Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*, (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 87-88; Jennifer M. Brown, 'The Exercise of Power,' p. 56.

[146] Grant G. Simpson, 'An Anglo-Scottish Baron of the Thirteenth Century: The Acts of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1965); Grant G. Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland,' in Keith J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 102-130; Keith J. Stringer, 'Acts of Lordship: The Records of the Lords of Galloway to 1234,' in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland, c. 1050-c. 1650, Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson*, (East Lothian, 2000), pp. 203-234; Alexander Grant, 'Acts of Lordship: The Records of Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas,' in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland, c.1050-c. 1650, Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson*, (East Lothian, 2000), pp. 235-274.

one individual over another.[147] However, the historical lexicon for an individual's network has been created as a result of a noble-centric body of research and, thus, the terms used to describe the relationships and connections made by Scots are problematic. For the purpose of this thesis, the terms network and affinity will be used interchangeably to describe the formal or informal association of Scots with no implicit assertion of the power dynamics in the relationship.

The most important relationship within an individual or a family's network was that of kin. Connected through surname and locality, one's kin group was the foundation of their affinity. Jenny Wormald argued that the use of bonds of manrent amongst the nobility was intended to create an artificial kinship.[148] As was the norm in late medieval Scotland, the base of the Lauder family's affinity was found within its kin group. From trade to local justice and representation, a Lauder family member could be found in almost every aspect of the lives of other Lauders. In 1423, Henry VI of England granted a safe conduct for George and Robert Lauder to travel between England and Scotland with their ship full of fish and other merchandise.[149] It is unsurprising that a mercantile family, like the Lauders, would partner within their own kin group in the ownership of ships and the shipment of goods from foreign ports to Berwick and Edinburgh. In late medieval Europe, it was a common occurrence for family members to enter trade partnerships together and for a son or daughter to inherit a ship owned by their father.[150] While there is no evidence that George and Robert Lauder inherited their ship, it is a possibility.

[147] Brown, 'Exercise of Power,' p. 57.
[148] Wormald, *Lords and Men*, pp. 76-78.
[149] *CDS*, iv, p. 187.
[150] Abreu-Ferreira, 'Fishmongers and Shipowners,' p. 14.

While foreign trade was an extremely present part of the lives of the Lauders, particularly those in Berwick and Edinburgh, it was not the only means for kin to be involved in the networks of other Lauder family members. On 14 December 1425, William, bishop of Glasgow witnessed a royal charter granting Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington the lands of the Crag and part of the lands of the Bass in North Berwick, the lands of Edrington and Simprim in the sheriffdom of Berwick, and the lands of Petcatland and Newhall in Haddington.[151] There are multiple reasons that William, bishop of Glasgow might have witnessed the grant of lands to Sir Robert by James I, including his kinship to the grantee. The second reason for William's appearance on the 1425 witness list was his position as royal chancellor. During his four year tenure as chancellor of Scotland, William, bishop of Glasgow witnessed twenty-six royal charters.[152] Only one royal charter, from 1421 through 1426, was granted to a Lauder family member.[153] It is most likely that William, bishop of Glasgow appeared as a witness to the 1425 royal grant of lands to Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington because of his position as chancellor. As Justiciar of Scotland, a royal grant to Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington would have been an important charter, drawing the central officers of the king's council to act as witnesses. However, the importance of their kinship bond should not be completely discounted as a possible reason for William's appearance as a witness to the 1425 charter.

Just as a great magnate used members of his affinity to act as his representative, members of lesser nobility or mercantile families could utilise the kin within their network to represent their economic or political interests. On 7 January 1513, Sir George Lauder of Hatton appointed Alexander Lauder of Blythe, amongst others, to resign the lands of Over

[151] *RMS*, ii, p. 6.
[152] Ibid., pp. 1-6, 8; *Fraser, Menteith*, i, pp. 264-265, 289-291.
[153] *RMS*, ii, p. 6.

and Nether Kidston, Easter and Wester Ormiston and the hill of Grene Meldoun, with the mill, to James IV.[154] In turn, the king of Scots then granted the lands resigned by Sir George Lauder of Hatton to his heir, William Hatton and his wife, Agnes Henrison.[155] Alexander Lauder of Blythe's representation of the hereditary interests of Sir George Lauder of Hatton serves to emphasise the similarities between a bond of manrent and kinship. While non-kin had to articulate an oath which implied lifelong or hereditary service, kinship circumvented the need to explicitly express a similar promise of service from one individual to another.[156]

Bonds of manrent were not the only means available for late medieval Scots to broaden their network, particularly their family circle, through the use of artificial kinship. Jenny Wormald has argued that marriage provided a link between two disparate kin groups, but did not result in the woman's complete assimilation into her husband's family, as seen through the retention of her maiden name.[157] The use of marriage to create links between two families was not restricted to the great magnates of Scotland. Throughout the late medieval period, the Lauder family married women and men from influential families, furthering their family's interests in the political and commercial life of Scotland. John Forrester of Corstorphine served as Chamberlain on James I's council with Sir Robert Lauder of Edrington.[158] John Forrestor of Corstorphine was the son of Adam Forrester, an Edinburgh burgess who had served as auditor for the exchequer and deputy-chamberlain, and had acted as custumar with William Lauder, as had a Thomas Forrester.[159] However,

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[154] Ibid., GD436/1/16.
[155] Ibid., GD436/1/17.
[156] Brown, 'Exercise of Power,' p. 56.
[157] Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland*, p. 79.
[158] See *RMS*, ii, pp. 3-19, 21 for examples of royal grants and charters that John Forrester of Corstorphine witnessed while acting as chamberlain of Scotland.
[159] *ER*, i, pp. 474, 503, 525-526, 521-523; Ewan, *Townlife*, p. 128.

the professional connections with the Forresters of Corstorphine were by no means the most direct links between the two families during the late medieval period. In December 1407, Robert, duke of Albany and governor of Scotland, confirmed the marriage of Alexander Lauder of Hatton to Elizabeth Forrester, daughter of John Forrester of Corstorphine and granted them the lands of Plat, Westerhall, and Northtraw.[160] The 1407 marriage of two lesser noble families, who had recently risen from burgess status, fits well within Jenny Wormald's description of bonding. Indeed, Wormald argued that lords sought to forge bonds with men who wanted to improve their wealth and social position, as well as those who had already done both and could help to strengthen the network of the lord.[161] The marriage of Elizabeth Forrester and Alexander Lauder of Hatton would have benefitted each family equally. Indeed, in the years following the marriage, members of the Lauder family and Corstorphine's witnessed each other's royal grants and charters, undertook diplomatic embassies to Flanders, and sat together on James I's council.[162] The establishment of a marriage between two former merchant families, rising in stature within the national political arena, in 1407 served the interests of both the Lauders and the Forresters. This marriage, like many that followed it, suggests that the Lauders sought to build relationships through marriage with Scottish families that had similar political or commercial interests to their own.

Much like the appearance of multiple Lauders in positions of local prominence in Edinburgh and Berwick, evidence from the latter part of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century indicates that the Lauder family sought out marriages with fellow merchant and lesser noble families in the leading export burghs of medieval Scotland. In a 1461 court

[160] *RMS*, i, pp. 390-391.
[161] Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland*, p. 88.
[162] NRS, AD1/39, GD224/313/5; *RMS*, ii, pp. 1-2, 4, 6; *CDS*, iv, p. 196.

case, Patrick Hamilton of Bathgate and Adam Spence, burgess of Edinburgh are identified as the husbands of Margaret and Katherine Lauder.[163] Elizabeth Lauder had married Sir Alexander Napier of Merchamston by 1493, a particularly interesting marriage match considering the Napiers' links to Scotto-Flemish diplomacy.[164] From 1500 through to 1513, members of the Lauder family married into two of the most prominent burgess families in Berwick, the Hoppringills and Swintons, and two influential merchant families of Edinburgh, the Pattersons and Henrisons. Alexander Lauder, burgess of Edinburgh, had married Janet Patterson by 1500.[165] In 1505, Mariote Hoppringill was identified as Robert Lauder's wife in a royal charter.[166] John Swinton and Katherine Lauder had been married by 1510 and were invested with the lands of Crenschawis, Howbog, Thornyburn and Doghous with their mills in the sheriffdom of Berwick.[167] By 1513, William Lauder, son and heir to Sir George Lauder of Hatton had married Agnes Henrison and received the lands of Over and Nether Kidstoun, Easter and Wester Ormistoun and the hill of Grene Meldoune, which had been resigned by his father to James IV.[168] The creation of linkages, through marriage, between two separate mercantile socio-political networks served to further the local interests of the Lauder family in Berwick and Edinburgh in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Like the Lauders, the Pattersons were an active overseas merchant family in Edinburgh in the later medieval period. In 1498, Alexander Lauder paid Andrew Haliburton, Conservator of Scottish Privileges in the Low Countries, to settle part of the

[163] NRS, GD430/13.
[164] *RMS*, ii, p. 472.
[165] NRS GD237/4/1; *RMS*, ii, pp. 643-644, 716.
[166] *RMS*, ii, p. 615.
[167] NRS, GD12/75. GD12/76.
[168] Ibid., GD 436/1/16, 436/1/17, GD12/78.

accounts of John Patterson with twelve sacks of his own wool.[169] When Robert Berton and Andrew Matheson returned from Flanders in 1504 with the bull of St Andrews, James IV paid George Patterson, a skipper of Leith, for 'tarying of his schip' two days for Berton and Matheson.[170] In 1511, George Patterson paid for the freight of guns with their furnishings and gear from Flanders to Leith.[171] It is certainly unsurprising that Alexander Lauder, burgess of Edinburgh in 1500, but later provost of the same burgh, would marry a woman from a prominent overseas merchant family in Edinburgh. The Pattersons were also involved in the governance of Edinburgh in the early sixteenth century. From 1508, William Patterson served as a sergeand of the burgh and witnessed the transfer of land on the High Street to James Henrison that same year and John Napier of Merchiston in 1510.[172] While the sergeand's function was one of administering justice, rather than control of trade, William Patterson's role made him influential within his locality and brought him into close contact with the Henrisons and Napiers, who were also connected to the Lauders through marriage.[173] Similar to its use amongst the nobility, the Lauders formed marriages with other powerful local merchant families in Edinburgh and Berwick to further their own interests, strengthening their ties to the governance of the burgh and its trade.

Outside of the kin group and pseudo-kinship bonds established through marriage, there were two other means by which individuals were incorporated in the Lauder network, through geographic proximity and professional relationships. In his study of Castillian merchant networks, David Carvajal de la Vega has argued that shared daily life, particularly sharing land borders or a neighbourhood, led to increased political, social and

[169] *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton*, pp. 203-204.
[170] *TA*, ii, p. 458
[171] Ibid., iv, p. 283.
[172] NRS, GD172/89, GD430/21.
[173] Ibid.; Ewan, *Townlife*, pp. 48-49.

commercial contacts between merchants.[174] The consideration of shared local interests has not been a central consideration in the studies of the networks of the Scottish nobility, but an examination of the shared land borders or territorial interests of the Lauder family and, particularly, other Edinburgh merchants emphasises the close ties of the family to other overseas merchants and traders.[175]

In a 1470 charter, John Reid, burgess of Edinburgh, gave George Touris an annualrent of four merks from the tenement of the deceased Robert Lauder, which abutted the lands of the deceased William Chepman.[176] Witnessed by William Lauder, who must have been a relative of the deceased Robert, the 1470 grant of annualrent created a relationship between the Lauder and Touris family, while enhancing the links between the Reids and Lauders. Indeed, 1477 saw a John Touris witness the resignation of the lands of Nesbit by Robert Lauder of Edrington and Robert Lauder, his son and heir, to David Crichton of Cranston.[177] The survival of the accounts of Andrew Haliburton, Conservator of Scottish Privileges in the Low Countries, provides a small glimpse into the overseas mercantile activities of the Touris family. George Touris held an account with Andrew Haliburton from 1494 until 1498. As was the norm for late medieval Scottish merchants, George sent wool to Haliburton throughout the Low Countries to be sold and had him purchase luxury goods, such as cloth, spices, almonds, and sweetmeats, and ship them to Edinburgh.[178] While George Touris purchased luxury goods on his own, he also bought goods as part of a partnership with John Patterson. In 1494, Andrew Haliburton procured

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[174] David Carvajal de la Vega, 'Merchant Networks in the Cities of the Crown in Castile,' in Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle (eds.), *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400-1800*, (London, 2014), p. 137.
[175] Simpson, 'The *Familia* of Roger de Quincy,' pp. 102-130; Stringer, 'Acts of Lordship,' pp. 203-234; Grant, 'Acts of Lordship,' pp. 235-274.
[176] NRS, GD172/75.
[177] NRS, GD40/3/488.
[178] *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton*, pp. 62-75.

four barrels of wine for George Touris and John Patterson.[179] The overseas mercantile community of medieval Edinburgh was dominated by a group of successful merchant families, who were involved in the administration of the burgh. It is, then, unsurprising that the Lauders shared a territorial interest with Touris after 1470 and were connected through Andrew Haliburton and the Pattersons in the 1490s. It is likely that there were many other linkages between these families which were documented, but have not survived to the present day.

A second example of geographic proximity and its importance in the creation of a Scots' network was the shared property border between William Rind and Elizabeth Lauder, daughter and part heir of the deceased George Lauder, found in a 1491 charter. In return for a payment from Sir Alexander Crawfurd, Elizabeth granted the Master of the Convent of St Anthony's near Leith an annualrent of four merks from her lands in Edinburgh between David Quhithed and William Rind.[180] The Rind family was another active Edinburgh overseas merchant family with ties to Scotto-Flemish trade in the late medieval period. William Rind held an account with Andrew Haliburton in 1494, while his son, Robert Rind had an account from 1493 through to 1497, and Margaret Umfraville, wife of William Rind, had her own account in 1496.[181] William and Robert Rind, and Margaret Umfraville had Haliburton sell wool on their behalf throughout the Low Countries and purchase luxury goods, particularly cloth and spices, on their behalf.[182] Each member of the Rind family traded individually, but they also formed partnerships with each other,

[179] Ibid., p. 65.
[180] NRS, CH2/716/230.
[181] *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton*, pp. 39-48, 76, 167-172, 192.
[182] For a selection of the purchases and sales that Andrew Haliburton made on their behalves, see: Ibid., pp. 40, 41, 45, 46, 76, 167-168, 191.

freighting goods together and splitting the profits from the sale of their wool.[183] William and Robert formed a partnership, which dissolved on William's death in 1496, after which Robert and his mother, Margaret acted as partners until her death.[184] Additionally, Robert Rind travelled to Bruges throughout the period that he held an account with Haliburton, transporting goods himself and acting as a factor for his mother.[185] While the Lauders did not create pseudo-kinship bonds with the Rinds, the abutment of their lands in Edinburgh would have made it nearly impossible for members of the family to not have interacted in their daily lives.

The close geographical proximity of two active Edinburgh merchant families cannot be overlooked. While their connection might be, as Mike Burkhardt has termed a weaker connection, a linkage, it would still have had an influence on their social and commercial network.[186] The geographical proximity of the Lauders to landholdings of other active Scottish overseas merchants and traders in Edinburgh limited the opportunities for Lauder family members to interact with Scots who were not also invested in the continuing success of Scotto-Flemish relations in the late medieval period. While geographical proximity is a considerably weaker connection than kinship and marriage, the predominance of Scottish overseas merchants with landholdings or territorial interests which connected them to the Lauder family cannot be ignored.

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[183] Ibid., pp. 42, 168, 192.
[184] For secondary literature on widowhood and trade, see: Martin Rorke, 'Women Overseas Traders,' p. 93, Elizabeth Ewan, 'Mons Meg and Merchant Meg,' p. 134; Mark John Angelos, 'Genoese Women, Family Business Practices, and Maritime Commerce,' p. 115; Mark Angelos, 'Urban Women, Investment, and the Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages,' in Linda Mitchell (ed.), *Women in Medieval European Culture*, (New York, 1999), p. 266; Sharon Farmer, 'Merchant Women and the Administrative Glass Ceiling in Thirteenth-Century Paris,' in Theresa Earenfight (ed.), *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, (New York, 2010), p. 90.
[185] *Ledger of Andrew Haliburton*, pp. 39, 192.
[186] Mike Burkhardt, 'Networks as Social Structures,' in Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle (ed.), *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400-1800*, (London, 2014), p. 17.

The fourth and final means by which individuals were incorporated into the Lauder family network was through professional occupation. Shared professional experiences, as custumars of burghs or acting as sheriffs in the administration of local justice, provided a space for interactions between Lauder family members and other members of their community to occur. In the 1370s, William Lauder's role of custumar of Edinburgh brought him into contact with some of the most prominent active overseas traders and trading families. In 1375, Adam Forrester was a custumar of Edinburgh at the same time as William Lauder.[187] In the following year, Thomas Forrester acted as custumar of Edinburgh in conjunction with William.[188] While a marriage between the Lauder and Forrester family was confirmed by Murdoch, duke of Albany in 1407, shared professional occupations drew the Forresters into the social and political network of the Lauders in the fourteenth century.[189] These early contacts between two Edinburgh merchant families, the Lauders and Forresters, were the beginning of a longstanding relationship, which benefitted both families. Another professional contact that William Lauder worked with in 1376 was Robert II's deputy and burgess of Perth, John Mercer. Similarly to William Lauder, John Mercer was a custumar of Perth, one of Scotland's largest east coast ports, throughout the 1360s and 1370s.[190] In the absence of a Chamberlain in 1366 and 1377, Mercer received payments from the custumars and bailies of Scotland.[191] He contributed to the payment of David II's debts, administered the payments of the king's ransom, and acted as an ambassador in Flanders and England.[192] John Mercer's inclusion in the Lauder family network was inevitable. Both William Lauder and John Mercer were active in the financial

[187] *ER*, i, pp. 474, 503.
[188] Ibid., ii, pp. 521-523.
[189] *RMS*, i, pp. 390-391.
[190] *ER*, ii, pp. 21, 70, 98, 134, 190, 244, 271, 319, 384, 397, 483, 533, 560, 610.
[191] Ibid., pp. 511-513, 515, 517-518, 525, 527-528, 530-533, 536-542, 544-545, 551, 557, 559, 563-564, 567, 569, 572, 580.
[192] Ibid., pp. 3, 9-17, 19-23, 54, 64, 68-69, 77, 93, 261, 304-305, 432, 458, 502, 582, 585; RPS, 1365/1/6.

administration of two major east coast Scottish burghs and travelled to Flanders in the 1360s and 1370s.[193] Despite their similarities, the relationship between the two men was maintained at a professional level, but no further connection is found within the surviving documentary sources. As burgesses of different eastern burghs, they did not share territorial borders and it might not have been as beneficial to forge marital or pseudo-kinship bonds between the two families as marrying a member of another Edinburgh or Perth burgess family. However weak the link between the Mercers and Lauders, they were still connected through a mutual interest in the administration of trade and governance in late medieval Scotland.

Most Scots included in the Lauder family network through professional occupation did not have as weak of a connection as the Mercer family. Indeed, the relationship between the Lauders and Napiers formed, initially, through marriage, but it was maintained because of common professional interests in the governance and commerce of Edinburgh. In a 1495 royal confirmation of a charter of Archibald Napier of Merchiston, Elizabeth Lauder was identified as the spouse of Archibald's grandfather, Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston.[194] While there are no surviving charters which provide the date that the couple married, we can generalise that they were married in the 1440s or 1450s, as Alexander was most active in the 1450s and had died by 1476.[195] It is unsurprising that the Lauder family would have sought to form a marital bond with the Napier family through the marriage of Elizabeth and Alexander. From 1449 to 1468, Alexander served periodically as a comptroller, an auditor, a custumar and the provost of Edinburgh.[196] Napier sat in the

[193] *ER*, ii, pp. 304-305, 521.
[194] *RMS*, ii, p. 472.
[195] *RPS*, 1476/7/17, 1476/7/104.
[196] *ER*, v, pp. 369-377, 379-380, 382, 385, 388-390, 397-404, 410-412, 414, 416-419, 420-430, 432-434, 436, 438, 440-441, 444, 449, 452, 454, 456-458, 464-465, 471-473, 477-479, 481, 484-485, 537, 539,

Scottish parliament as a burgh commissioner in 1471.[197] In 1468, he was appointed to evaluate and modify the taxation of the nobility and, in 1473, to investigate the Scots' money.[198] He was granted safe conducts to travel from Scotland to England in 1451, 1459, 1460 and 1464.[199] His diplomatic representation was not limited to Anglo-Scottish negotiations. Napier was a Scottish ambassador in the Scotto-Flemish negotiations for a renewed trade agreement following the severing of trade relations between the two regions in 1467 and the transfer of the Scottish staple to Middleburgh.[200] The marriage of Elizabeth Lauder to Alexander Napier of Merchiston, ambassador in Flanders, provost and custumar of Edinburgh, and comptroller of the kingdom of Scotland is yet another example of the integration of a prominent merchant burgess family with ties to Scotto-Flemish trade into the Lauder family network. Moreover, the marriage of Elizabeth and Alexander began a series of contacts between the two families which continued throughout the fifteenth century.[201]

The Scottish ambassadors, who negotiated renewed trade with Flanders and improved mercantile rights and privileges for Scots merchants, were drawn from a limited pool of politically and socially elite merchants. The personnel of mercantile diplomacy had

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544, 550, 565, 573, 584-585, 588, 591, 607, 609, 612-613, 618, 621, 623-625, 627-629, 634-645, 648-649, 652, 656, 662, 670, 672, 674, 676-677, 679, 684, 687, 689, vi, 1, 81, 111, 113, 120, 141, 219, 243-244, 254, 282, 288, 291, 296, 313, 426, 584, 605, 658, vii, 2-3, 7, 15, 19, 22, 26, 35, 61-62, 69, 110-111, 119, 127-128, 148-151, 156, 209, 213, 229, 304, 520; RPS, 1469/3.

[197] *RPS*, 1471/5/12, 1471/5/14, 1471/8/1.

[198] Ibid., 1468/1/11, 1473/7/19.

[199] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, pp. 349, 390, 400, 415.

[200] BSA, LS23, 'Copy of the King's letter sent by the lords burgomasters and sheriffs of the city of Bruges'; ADN, Série B, 577; *RPS*, 1467/1/6, 1467/1/7.

[201] The most prominent of these interactions, though it does not necessarily suggest a close relationship, was a 1488 inquest held by John Napier of Merchiston, son of John and Elizabeth, in front of Sir Alexander Lauder of Hatton, Sir David Mowbray of Barnbougle, Sir John Touris of Inverleith, Alexander Damphoy of that ilk, James Fairlie of Braid, Alexander Warlaw of Warriston, Gabriel Touris, Alexander Napier of Wrightshouses, Peter Mowbray, Thomas Rossie of Swaston, John Preston, William Touris, William Mowbray, James Cunningham and John Stanhope. NRS, GD430/18.

to have practical knowledge, whether individually or as a family, in Scotland's trade with Flanders and an ongoing interest in the burghs of Edinburgh and Berwick, the two largest wool exporting burghs of each coast Scotland. The Lauder family and their continuous interest in the administration of governance and commerce within Edinburgh and Berwick, in the late medieval period, provide an interesting perspective into the self-perpetuating nature of the mercantile elites control over Scotland's export trade and Scotto-Flemish diplomacy. Through marriage, geographic proximity, and professional occupations, the Lauder family forged and maintained relationships with the most prominent merchants and mercantile families in late medieval Scotland. By creating a network of interconnected influential merchant burgess families, the Scottish overseas merchant community restricted access to the mechanisms of foreign trade, enabling them to profit from successful trade and negotiate for mercantile privileges and protections which benefitted them.

Conclusion

Through defining and analysing the mercantile community of late medieval Scotland, examining their influence over the implementation of national and local legislation, and evaluating their roles in commercial diplomacy and their personal networks, this thesis has endeavoured to prove that Scotland's mercantile elite wielded political and commercial power within their society. Moreover, it has argued that the exclusion of merchants from past studies of power in medieval Scotland was a result of the traditional noble-centric narrative of power in medieval Scotland. The Scottish historical narrative of power within the medieval kingdom has evolved over the past decades, transitioning from the crown-magnate co-operation presented by Jenny Wormald and Alexander Grant to the Macdougall school's argument for an interpretation of the period through the lens of crown-magnate conflict.[1] These narratives have been challenged by recent studies, particularly by Claire Hawes' doctoral thesis, which introduced the 'public domain' as an arena within which the political power of Scottish clerics and merchants was observed. The aim of this thesis was to examine the influence of the overseas mercantile community and argue that their exclusion from the historical narrative of power in late medieval Scotland presents an incomplete depiction of the power relations of this period. In contrast to the argument put forward by Roland Tanner, a member of the Macdougall school of thought, that the Third Estate was the least politically active, this thesis has argued that Scotland's mercantile elite were politically powerful on a national and local level, using their commercial interests and financial wealth to exert their influence over the creation of political legislation and the

[1] Brown, 'The Exercise of Power'; Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*; Grant, 'Crown and Nobility'; Brown, 'Rejoice to Hear of the Douglas'; Brown, *The Black Douglases*; Brown, 'Vile Times'; Brown, 'Earldom and Kindred'; Brown, *James I*; Brown, 'James I'; Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*; Boardman, *The Campbells*; Tanner, 'Scottish Parliament and Resistance to the Crown'; Tanner, *Medieval Scottish Parliament*; McGladdery, *James II*.

aims of commercial diplomatic missions.[2] The absence of Scotland's mercantile elite from any future studies of the political power and its performance within the Scottish kingdom would disingenuously present politics in late medieval Scotland as a wholly noble endeavour.

Part of the problem with studies of power and our traditional approach to the history of medieval Scotland, more broadly, is that the stark distinctions between social, political, economic, and urban histories were not indicative of the society that we study. It is the historian that has created the view that the politics and economy of medieval Scotland were disparate arenas, rather than intertwined. This thesis has aimed to present a cohesive and coherent depiction of the influence of Scotland's late medieval mercantile elite, considering, in turn, that their power was gained from their commercial and economic successes and its performance in local, national, and international politics. Past studies of medieval Scottish merchants have historically focussed on merchants and their power within the confines of the burgh with only a limited examination of the relationship between the mercantile elite and the Scottish crown.[3] Rather than following the traditional narrative approach to the merchants of medieval Scotland, this thesis has engaged with the new views of mercantile power presented in the studies of medieval English merchants of Eliza Hartrich and Christian Liddy.[4] Each of these studies considered English merchants and their influence within the burgh, but also in relation to the medieval English crown and its policies. Shedding light onto the ways in which medieval merchants could and did express their power within their varying spheres of influence, the research of Hartrich and Liddy has

[2] Tanner, *Medieval Scottish Parliament*, p. 268.
[3] Ewan, *Townlife*; Ewan, 'Age of Bon-Accord'; Ewan, 'Community of the Burgh'; Ewan, 'Mons Meg and Merchant Meg'; Ewan, '"For Whatever Ales Ye"'; Lynch, 'Social and Economic Structures'; Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople.'
[4] Hartrich, 'Town, Crown and Urban System'; Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*.

stood as examples of the themes and approach to the study of mercantile power that this thesis endeavoured to reflect in its analysis of Scotland's overseas mercantile community and its power. However, the study of Scottish mercantile power is inherently more problematic than that of their English counterparts because of the dearth of surviving sources, particularly on domestic trade. A lack of evidence on the domestic trade of medieval Scotland has necessitated that this thesis focussed exclusively on foreign trade and its merchant personnel.

Any study of a political, social or economic community struggles with the very definition of the term 'community' itself; this thesis was no different. A discussion of the problematic nature of the term 'community' considered the concept of collective action proposed by David Sabean, the definition articulated by Claire Hawes in her doctoral thesis, before settling on Phil Withington's use of 'community' for, as he has argued, the appropriability and synonymy of the term, rather than its representation of a certain set of shared values.[5] The mercantile community of late medieval Scotland must be considered within the loosest constraints of the term because of its social and geographic fluidity. Similar to Jenny Kermode's description of English merchants and their communities in York, Beverley and Hull, the merchant community of medieval Scotland was professionally defined, enabling individuals of almost any social, political, and geographic strata to be included within the community. The only restrictions on the accessibility of gaining merchant status were the financial means of the Scot and their receipt of burgess status within Scotland. Unlike the guild merchant, the Scottish mercantile community was not constrained by the geographic bounds of a single burgh. It included merchants from all of the major trading ports of Scotland, particularly the east coast burghs of Aberdeen,

[5] Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, p. 29-30; Withington, 'Introduction,' p. 2; Hawes, 'Community and Public Authority,' p. 9.

Dundee, Perth, and Edinburgh. The mercantile community's membership included prominent burgesses and royal representatives, like John Mercer and John Turing, as well as far less privileged Scots, like John Belle. These men and many more came together to pursue their shared interests in commercial success through the informal creation of trade networks and partnerships. However, this does not imply that there was a unified mercantile agenda during the late medieval period. Individual Scottish merchants from different burghs worked together when it benefitted them, but also operated for their individual or burghal interests when that would bring about the greatest profit. Additionally, the limited restrictions on membership of the merchant community of medieval Scotland meant that the social, political and commercial experiences of Scotland's mercantile elite varied.

The mercantile community or mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland was a fluid concept, which helped to provide protections for the commercial interests of individual Scots which extended beyond their burgh and its domestic trade. Past studies of Scotto-Flemish trade have predominantly focussed solely on the economics of Scotland's foreign trade. This thesis has endeavoured to shed light on the vital role of the personnel and their commercial trading networks. The medieval Scottish guild merchants did not provide financial or physical protection for the shipment of Scottish goods abroad. This encouraged the creation of informal structures, such as trade partnerships and networks, to protect the commercial interests of Scotland's overseas merchants. Evidence of these trade networks is most commonly found within merchant complaints following the seizure of their goods or ship by the English during times of peace. Scottish mercantile complaints to the English crown provide detailed information on less prominent Scottish merchants than the Mercer, Turing, and Lauder families.

There were many opportunities in the commercial and political sectors available to socially, politically, and financially prominent Scottish merchants. This thesis has briefly analysed the experience of John Mercer in fourteenth-century Scotto-Flemish relations. As a crown deputy, burgess of Perth and ambassador in the Anglo-Scottish negotiations for David II's release from captivity, Mercer's experiences cannot be considered normative. His social and commercial prominence within Perth and in Scotland's export trade to Flanders provided him with opportunities to succeed within the political and diplomatic arenas. Indeed, this thesis has argued that there was a direct connection between his attendance at the 1365 general council, which discussed the use of future customs from Scotland's overseas trade to fund the ransom of David II, and his commercial interests in Flanders. While it is worthwhile to examine and consider the experiences of privileged men, like John Mercer, the personnel of Scotto-Flemish trade and diplomacy were from a broader range of social, political and geographical circumstances.

To fully engage with the diverse Scots who made up the late medieval Scottish mercantile community, this thesis has defined and analysed the four different roles found in Scotto-Flemish trade, that of merchants, procurators, sailors, and an economic representative to the king. An individual could hold multiple roles at one time, acting as an economic representative, or procurator, for other merchants in Flanders and on their own behalf. The only factor restricting the accessibility of the economic roles of merchant, representative or sailor was the financial wealth of an individual and their ability to procure capital. Primarily selling resource-based goods, such as wool, hides, or fish, in foreign ports, the role of overseas merchant was the most visible in Scotto-Flemish trade. The fluidity of an occupationally-defined community enabled any Scot, irrespective of their social or political station, to achieve merchant status if they had the necessary finances or

access to capital. However, distinctions were made within the mercantile elite between merchant burgesses who held positions in the governance of their burgh, such as provost, bailie or alderman. While overseas merchants were the most visible Scots in Scotto-Flemish trade, Scotland's exportation of wool and other resource-based goods was equally dependent upon procurators, sailors and ambassadors. Procurators, also referred to as factors, represented the commercial interests of other merchants, noblemen or the Scottish crown in Flanders, selling their wool and purchasing Netherlandish luxury goods for importation. Sailors were integral to the transportation of goods from the eastern burghs of Scotland to Bruges in Flanders. The lack of surviving port records from the late medieval period has made any quantitative description of sailors, or merchants, highly problematic. Merchant complaints to the English crown provide a fictitious picture of the low number of sailors active within Scotto-Flemish trade. This thesis has posited that it is likely that there were more sailors in Scotto-Flemish trade than any other professional role, as the implementation of Scottish parliamentary legislation in 1458, which restricted the number of sailors, would have otherwise been useless. A fourth role, analysed within this thesis, was that of a crown economic representative, most often a *servitor regis* or custumar. The *servitor regis* custumed and released Scottish wool bound for Flanders, while a custumar received burghal and mercantile customs, before paying them to the exchequer. There were no social status restrictions on crown economic representations, though many were chosen from amongst the ranks of the kingdom's prominent burgesses.

The power and influence wielded by Scotland's mercantile elite was based in their central role in the profitable exportation of resource-based goods to Flanders. Indeed, it was the common interest in continued successful trade between the kingdom of Scotland and county of Flanders, and the profit that it brought them, which defined Scotland's mercantile

elite as a unified political entity. The intention of this thesis has not been to argue for a new historical narrative in which Scotland's mercantile elite acted as a single corporate entity. However, we cannot choose to consider them as disparate and fragmented either. Mercantile co-operation, in the form of trade partnerships and networks, did exist to provide protection from the risks associated with shipping their goods abroad. Trade networks were beneficial because they allowed Scottish merchants to spread their goods across multiple ships, which meant that in the event one of the ships was damaged or destroyed by natural disaster or piracy, the merchant did not lose all of their goods. Indeed, the benefits of trade networks are obvious following the loss or destruction of goods, because a collective, rather than an individual, would have then petitioned a foreign crown for the return or compensation of their goods. It is quite likely that the complaints of a collective of Scottish merchants would have been dealt with more seriously than that of an individual. The process of redress was not quick, but membership in a transportation partnership or network meant that individuals were not reliant on quick compensation.

This thesis has argued that the seizure or destruction of goods was a particularly great concern to the Scots. The pervasiveness of the destruction or seizure of goods resulted in the seeking of redress through the retributive seizure of mercantile goods from any merchant or ship from the offending region. Additionally, 'enemy' goods could be seized from ships from friendly kingdoms, rather than solely targeting ships from the 'enemy' region. While retributive seizures were the most common means of redress in the late medieval period, there were legal avenues which merchants could pursue for mercantile or financial restitution. The large number of documented instances of retributive recompense suggests that the legal process for restitution was only used as for redress when all other avenues had been exhausted. Engaging with the legal process of complaints was effective in

the return of salvageable goods to their owners without requiring any redress. However, there is only one reference in the late medieval period to the English release and repossession of Scottish goods which were destined for Flanders, providing a very limited perspective on the efficacy of the legal system and processes surrounding the illegal plunder and seizure of goods in Scotto-Flemish trade. The implementation of Scottish parliamentary legislation in this period which dealt with piracy and the seizure of goods reflect its very real danger to Scotland's commercial successes. The improper treatment of wrecked foreign ships on Scotland's shores was as much of a threat to continued commerce, as the seizure of goods from Scottish ships wrecked along the coast of England.

Another significant threat to the commercial successes of Scotland's merchants was piracy. In this thesis, the discussion of the threat posed by the seizure of ships has been purposefully separated from that of the seizure of goods because the seizure of goods took place after a shipwreck, while piracy did not. There was not a single time in the late medieval period that piracy was particularly prevalent. Instead, it was a normal, recurring threat to medieval Scottish trading throughout the entire period. The fear of piracy was based in very real and some fatal instances of piratical activity perpetrated against the Scots. However, the Scots were not only the victims of piracy, but the perpetrators of it. Indeed, Scottish piracy threatened the continuation of Scotto-Flemish trade throughout the late medieval period, resulting in the severing of trade between the two regions multiple times in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The threat posed by piracy to continued successful trade relations between Scotland and Flanders was a significant motive for the formation of Scottish trade partnerships and networks.

Trade networks provided more than physical protection for the transportation of Scottish goods abroad; they were formed in response to the need for financial protection by

Scotland's merchants. Regardless of one's social, political or economic status, the need for the corporate benefits of trade networks was a reality for every Scottish merchant. While there is no evidence that these trade partnerships and networks were part of guild activity, it can be assumed that most merchants would have belonged to the guild merchant of their burgh. Markedly similar to the corporate benefits provided by guild membership, it would not be surprising that late medieval Scottish merchants would have understood the concept of corporate or collective benefits through their memberships in the guild. While there were some similarities in the collective benefits derived from trade networks and guild membership, the formalised symbols of guild membership, such as the swearing of oaths, did not exist in the informal structure of trade networks and Scotland's mercantile community. Visual distinctions, as seen through the implementation of sumptuary legislation in 1458, existed between members of the mercantile community, emphasising the difference between Scottish merchants who held positions in town governance and those who did not, rather than distinguishing members of the community from other individuals. Since trade networks were not rigidly formalised institutions, like the guild merchant, formalised symbols of memberships, such as the performance of oaths or the donning of a particular dress, was not necessary to their success. Guild merchants provided forms of economic protections that trade networks did not. The formation of trade networks provided financial protections for merchants through the spread of goods across multiple ships and collective pursuit of complaints. In contrast, guilds merchant aided their members who had already become impoverished or their widowed families. Each institution filled a specific role, protecting its merchant members' interests, domestic or foreign, and providing them with corporate or collective benefits.

The merchant community of late medieval Scotland was socially, politically, financially, and geographically diverse, resulting in an informally structured 'community' which did not have a single, overarching unified agenda. However, the pursuit of their personal commercial interests did align them on specific political and economic issues, particularly the continuation of Scotto-Flemish trade and the procurement of improved rights and privileges for Scottish merchants in Bruges. The influence of Scotland's mercantile elite can be observed through the implementation of economic protectionist legislation, such as trade embargoes, by the Scottish crown in their trade relationship with Flanders. The severing of Scotto-Flemish trade enabled the King of Scots and his mercantile ambassadors to negotiate from a position of power. The power of overseas merchants could also be seen at a local level through the institution of burgh statutes which protected their commercial interests in Scotland's foreign trade. The agency of Scotland's mercantile elite cannot be overestimated, as their ability to influence legislation at national and local levels throughout the late medieval period is evident.

In an effort to properly grapple with the concept of medieval trade embargoes and economic protectionist strategies, this thesis has engaged with modern economic debates surrounding the definition of embargoes and their consequences. It has drawn from the theoretical framework of Robert Eyler which viewed the economic and political arenas as inherently intertwined, complementing it with the use of the inclusive definition of economic embargoes and sanctions authored by Steve Chan and A. Drury Cooper.[6] The synthesis of Eyler's theoretical framework and Chan and Cooper's definition of economic sanction is broad enough to consider the multiple types of legislation utilised by the Scottish crown and its burghs to defend their export industry from foreign interests and

[6] Eyler, *Economic Sanctions*, pp. 4-5; Chan and Drury, 'Sanctions as Economic Statecraft,' pp. 1-2.

promote mercantile rights and privileges in Scotland and in Bruges. Using these modern interpretations of economic embargoes and economic protectionist strategies, this thesis has endeavoured to connect the severing of trade, through the implementation of Scottish legislation which prohibited trade with Flanders, with the subsequent initiation of diplomatic negotiations for renewed trade, and the receipt of improved protections and privileges for Scotland's overseas mercantile community in Bruges. It has then argued that the commencement of this economic protectionist strategy was reflective of the power wielded by the Scottish mercantile elite and that it was an acknowledgement, by the Scottish crown, of the central role of the Scottish overseas merchant in the kingdom's commercial and financial successes.

The first surviving record of the use of an economic protectionist strategy or trade embargo in Scotto-Flemish relations was found in the wake of the failed thirteenth-century marriage of Alexander, prince of Scotland and Margaret of Flanders, daughter of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders. However, there was a long history of successful commerce and immigration in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A brief overview of this history has been given, considering the creation of place names with ethnonymic or personal name connections to Flanders or specific Flemings and examining the migration of Flemings to the early burghs of Scotland and the wool-producing regions of the kingdom. This short consideration of the early relationship between Flanders and Scotland served to provide necessary context for the formation of a Scotto-Flemish royal marriage and the shifting state of relations between the two regions at the end of the thirteenth century.

To understand the true failure of the thirteenth-century marriage of Margaret and Alexander, this thesis delved into the scholarship on royal marriages and communication networks, which emphasised the central role of these marriages in confirming political

alliances, and establishing and maintaining communication networks between the newly connected royal or comital families. An examination of the fifteenth-century marriage contracts of Margaret Stewart, princess of Scotland and sister of James II to Louis, dauphin of France, and Margaret of Denmark to James III found that the formation of bonds between the two kingdoms was centrally important to the creation of these marriages. While the creation of a strong relationship for commercial, political or military defence was the primary intention of royal marriages, the rhetoric employed in medieval marriage contracts often did not reflect the true strength of the bond. The death of Alexander, prince of Scotland in 1284 and the Scots' subsequent unwillingness or inability to pay Margaret's widow portion ushered in a period of commercial conflict between the Scots and Flemish. Guy de Dampierre's pursuit of his daughter's widow portion coloured the trade and diplomatic relations of the following two decades, eventually resulting in the seizure of all Scottish goods in Flanders for the Scots' continued failure to compensate Guy for Margaret's widow portion. However, the severing of Scotto-Flemish trade at the end of the thirteenth century did not result in Guy's receipt of compensation for Margaret's dower portion. A renewed trade agreement was concluded in July 1293, followed swiftly by the appearance of two Flemish ambassadors at the August 1293 Scottish parliament. While the trade agreement of July 1293 renewed trade, it had not resulted in the compensation of Margaret's widow portion. Guy, and other members of his family, continued to pursue the payment of Margaret's dower into the fourteenth century. Yet, this thirteenth-century failed marriage of Margaret and Alexander stands as an early example, and quite possibly the introduction, of economic protectionist strategy in the trade and diplomatic relationship of Scotland and Flanders in the late medieval period.

This thesis has argued that the first Scottish use of an economic protectionist strategy was the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347 and the transfer of the staple to Middleburg in Zeeland. An extreme measure, which was not utilised again by the Scots against the Flemings, the expulsion was a direct response to a similar expulsion of Scots from Flanders and, as such, was articulated in the 1347 legislation. This extreme reactionary measure and its justification in the fourteenth-century legislation may have been caused by the absence of an adult king of Scots, as David II was an English hostage following his capture in the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. While certainly plausible, this seems an unlikely and unsatisfactory explanation given that the threatened forfeiture of merchants travelling to or trading with Flanders in 1467 also occurred during the absence of an adult king of Scots, James III being a minor under the control of the Boyd family at the time. In addition to the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland and the justification of such measures, the 1347 act was also unique for the immediacy of the rhetoric surrounding the implementation of the expulsion. The fifteenth-century economic protectionist legislation threatened future punishments, but none of them featured the immediate sense of action inherent with the 1347 expulsion. The third difference between the 1347 act and the fifteenth-century trade embargoes which followed was the exception of sailors found in the fourteenth-century expulsion of Flemings from Scotland. In the fourteenth century, Scotland's export trade was reliant upon the foreign freighting and transportation of their goods from the eastern burghs of the kingdom to the staple at Bruges. It is equally plausible that the reliance on foreign ships extended to their crews, necessitating the exclusion of Flemish sailors from the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347.

While the rhetoric of the 1347 act stressed the 'righteous indignation' of the general council, as identified by William Finlayson, this thesis has argued that it falsely

represented the council's state of preparation for the implementation of trade embargoes. An examination of the trade embargo of 1467 suggests that a lack of foresight of conflict would have resulted in the severing of trade with Flanders and the immediate initiation of negotiations with the town of Middleburg for the transfer of the Scottish staple to their port. While Scottish merchants were allowed to begin trading in Middleburg before the conclusion of commercial negotiations, they were not intended to trade as if it had become the staple. In 1347, no such qualification existed within the legislation. Instead, the same general council, which expelled Flemings from Scotland, passed an act which immediately transferred the staple from Bruges to Middleburg, regardless of a lack of negotiations over the rights and privileges which Scottish merchants would receive in the new staple. The fictitious picture of the general council's lack of foresight of commercial conflict with Flanders in the fourteenth century emphasises the importance of reading beyond the rhetoric of parliamentary legislation and considering the political, economic, and commercial context for its implementation.

The explicit reasons articulated by the general council in the 1347 expulsion of Flemings from Scotland provides a curated, rather than true, narrative of the causes which initiated the implementation of the fourteenth-century act. This thesis argues that the implicit reasons for the creation of a trade embargo and the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in the mid-fourteenth century are far more important than the explicit justifications that it provides. The political environment of 1347 and the Scots' wariness of continued English exertion of influence over Scotto-Flemish trade must have motivated the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland. The English military defeats of the French and the Scots in the previous year, the capture of David II at Neville's Cross and the death of Louis I, the pro-French count of Flanders at Crécy enhanced the anti-English political

environment of the mid-fourteenth century. Moreover, the often amicable political and commercial relationship between England and Flanders posed a direct threat to the successful continuation of Scotto-Flemish trade. It was understandable that the 1347 general council would have considered the English a danger to Scotland's continued commercial relationship with Flanders, as they had intervened in it throughout the early fourteenth century. While not always met by the Flemish with acquiescence, the death of the pro-French Louis I and the broad pro-English sentiment within the great towns of Flanders, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, created an environment in which English intervention may not have been opposed by the Flemings. Indeed, the amicable relationship between the Flemish towns and the English must have appeared to the Scottish general council as a severe threat to the future of Scotland's commercial success and, thus, necessitated an appropriate political and diplomatic response. The prohibition of trade with Flanders and expulsion of the county's merchants placed Scotland and its ambassadors in a strong position to enter commercial negotiations for the pursuit of mercantile protections.

The second implicit reason for the expulsion of Flemings from Scotland in 1347, argued in this thesis, was the issue surrounding the control of Scotland's foreign trade. Central to the overarching argument of this thesis, the 1347 expulsion of Flemings created an opportunity for Scottish merchants to fill the roles previously held by foreign traders. The migration of Flemish merchants to Scotland in the early fourteenth century, differing greatly from the permanent settlement of their compatriots in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was clearly motivated by the trade relationship between Scotland and Flanders. Drawing from the predominant identification of Flemish individuals as merchants, prior to 1347, and the disproportionately high numbers of them resident in Scotland during this period in comparison with their Scottish counterparts, this thesis argues that the

exportation of Scottish goods to Flanders was dominated by Flemish merchants. Following the 1347 act, the number of Flemish merchants resident in Scotland never returned to their pre-1347 height. The increased number of Scottish merchants travelling to Flanders, observed through complaints and safe conducts, in the second half of the fourteenth century suggests that, in the wake of the expulsion of Flemings, Scottish merchants seized control of their export industry and began to fill the roles of overseas exporters previously held by Flemish merchants. Indeed, the expulsion of Flemish merchants from Scotland in 1347 fundamentally changed the operational infrastructure of late medieval Scotto-Flemish trade, encouraging Scottish merchants to sell their woolen goods in Bruges throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Economic protectionist legislation was next used in 1425 by James I to court the support of the mercantile elite and strengthen the crown's position following James' return from English captivity. The traditional narrative of James I's reign has been characterised by his definition and performed his royal authority for the nobility of Scotland. Similar to much of the narrative of politics in medieval Scotland, it has not wholly considered the performance of his royal authority to the burghs and their merchant communities, powerful in their own right. Drawing on the research of historians of medieval England, this thesis argues that the influence of James I's education at the courts of Henry IV and Henry V extended further than the expression of royal power and taxation to the protecting the infrastructure of foreign trade. The role of Scotland's mercantile elite in the payment of James I's ransom was not overlooked by the newly returned Scottish king, who allowed the burghs to seek a loan in Flanders and wrote a bond of relief to Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen. The inclusion of James I's ransom in the topics covered by his first parliament suggests that it was considered to be a priority by the king of Scots. The central

role of the mercantile elite in one of the most important topics of James' first parliament cannot be overlooked.

James I's reign was punctuated by a series of pro-mercantile legislation, through which the Scottish king sought to gain the favour of the Scottish mercantile community. The threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants travelling to or trading with Flanders in 1425 was the first of these pro-mercantile acts. While the severing of commercial links to Flanders and the threatened forfeiture of Scottish merchants could be construed as negative, it was used by James I to dissuade the mercantile elite from the continuation of illegal trade with Flanders and to enter commercial negotiations with the Flemish from a position of power. The ensuing negotiations, included in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, resulted in the procurement of improved mercantile rights and privileges from the Duke of Burgundy for Scottish merchants and the restoration of trade. Throughout James I's reign, he implemented pro-mercantile legislation intended to provide protections and benefits for the mercantile elite of his kingdom and personnel of its export industry.James I was not the only fifteenth-century Scottish king to recognise the importance of his mercantile community through the implementation of pro-merchant legislation. James II and James III also introduced legislation which directly benefited the mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland.

The power and influence of Scotland's overseas merchant community was not limited to the national political arena. It was expressed through the implementation of burgh legislation which protected and promoted the commercial interests of Scotland's mercantile elite. Burgh legislation implemented to protect the mechanisms of foreign trade was equally concerned with the financial and moral common good of the town. Fifteenth-century legislation which favoured the communal freighting of goods explicitly emphasised

the connected nature of commercial success in Scotland's export industry with the financial wellbeing of the burgh. Similarly, the burghs used legislation to restrict the personnel of Scotland's overseas trade, which enabled them to retain control of Scotland's profitable export industry. In turn, this thesis has argued that the existence of trade-specific legislation indicates that the major eastern trading burghs of Scotland considered the control and management of the Scottish export industry to be a concern. The implementation of legislative restrictions of personnel and protections for the goods transported to Bruges was essential in the preservation of Scottish mercantile interests. The power and influence of the mercantile elite of late medieval Scotland was evidenced through the implementation of national and local legislation which provided protections for the mechanisms of the profitable overseas trade and procured merchants improved rights and privileges in Bruges, the primary destination for Scottish wool throughout this period.

Another important way that Scotland's mercantile elite expressed their power and influence was through their involvement in Scotto-Flemish commercial diplomacy, as royal ambassadors. This thesis has utilised a case study of the Lauder family, a prominent merchant burgess family from Lothian, and their network to argue that the position of royal ambassador was restricted to members of the social and political elite, and that the interconnected network of Scotland's overseas merchants and commercial ambassadors was utilised to strengthen the mercantile elite's grip on the export trade and powerful political and economic positions within the burghs of Scotland.

While engaging with previous scholarly work on medieval diplomacy, this thesis suggests that there was a sub-group of special ambassadors, which should be referred to as specialist ambassadors. These specialist ambassadors were utilised in Scotto-Flemish diplomacy because of their personal or familial practical knowledge of overseas trade, their

elite social and political status, and their ability to successfully and faithfully represent the interests of the King of Scots. The qualifications required to become a commercial specialist ambassador in trade negotiations with Flanders restricted the accessibility of these positions to prominent burgesses, such as members of the Lauder family, John Mercer, Adam Torr, and Alexander Napier of Merchiston. However, Scottish merchants, unable to act as royal ambassadors because of their lack of social or political prominence, were still able to be indirectly involved in diplomacy through the financing of diplomatic missions. As the centres of Scotland's foreign trade, the financial contribution of the Third Estate to Scotland's diplomatic efforts was inevitable given that the purpose of diplomatic missions to Flanders was the procurement of improved mercantile rights and privileges for the mercantile elite.

The case study of the Lauder family and their network presented in this thesis provides a unique view of the Scottish mercantile experience of late medieval diplomacy. It argues that the family's local interests in the burghs of Berwick and Edinburgh, as well as their knowledge of Scotto-Flemish trade made them especially qualified to act as commercial ambassadors in negotiations with Flanders. Favoured by James I and the Black Douglases, the Lauders were used as diplomats frequently in the early fifteenth century. After the fall of the Black Douglases, the Lauders did not return to royal favour until the coronation of James III. While the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw the rise of the family in local political elite circles, it did not see their return to roles as ambassadors in Scottish commercial diplomacy. While the favour of the Scottish king was certainly important for an individual's appointment as a commercial ambassador, this thesis argues that the protracted mercantile conflict of the first half of the fifteenth century was a contributing factor in the elevated number of Lauder family members serving as

ambassadors in this period. Indeed, it posits that the use of mercantile ambassadors in negotiations for renewed Scotto-Flemish trade was an acknowledgement of the central role of Scottish merchants in the important commercial relationship of these two regions.

The use of merchant families with historical ties to Scotto-Flemish trade was not unique to the Lauder family or Scotland, more generally. The Metteneye family, a powerful Bruegois burgher family, acted as ambassadors to Scotland and conservators of Scottish interests in Bruges throughout the late medieval period. Similar to the Lauder family, the Metteneyes held significant positions within their local government, which in addition to their interests in Scotto-Flemish trade made them ideal candidates to act as comital ambassadors in commercial negotiations with the Scots. This thesis argues that the similarities between the Lauder and Metteneye families suggests that there was a small pool of qualified, experienced merchant burgess families from which commercial ambassadors were chosen. The analysis of the Lauder family network and their formation of marriages, geographic proximity, and shared professional occupations with other prominent Scottish overseas trading families suggests that the mercantile elite, particularly those in a position to act as commercial ambassadors, created interconnected, self-perpetuating networks, which limited access to opportunities within Scotland's overseas trade. The control of the mechanisms and personnel of trade, as has been previously argued, enabled the Scottish mercantile elite to profit from Scotland's foreign trade and negotiate for mercantile rights and privileges which directly benefitted them.

The power of the Scottish mercantile elite has, thus far, been underestimated in the traditional narrative of power in late medieval Scotland. This thesis has endeavoured to rectify that oversight, arguing for the need to place the Scottish mercantile community in the centre of future discussions of the performance and exercise of power in Scotland. Their

ability to control the mechanisms of the profitable overseas wool trade, influence national and local legislation, and negotiate for renewed trade and improved mercantile protections suggests that they were extremely powerful members of their society.

Appendix

Chart I: Geographic Dispersion of Scottish Merchants

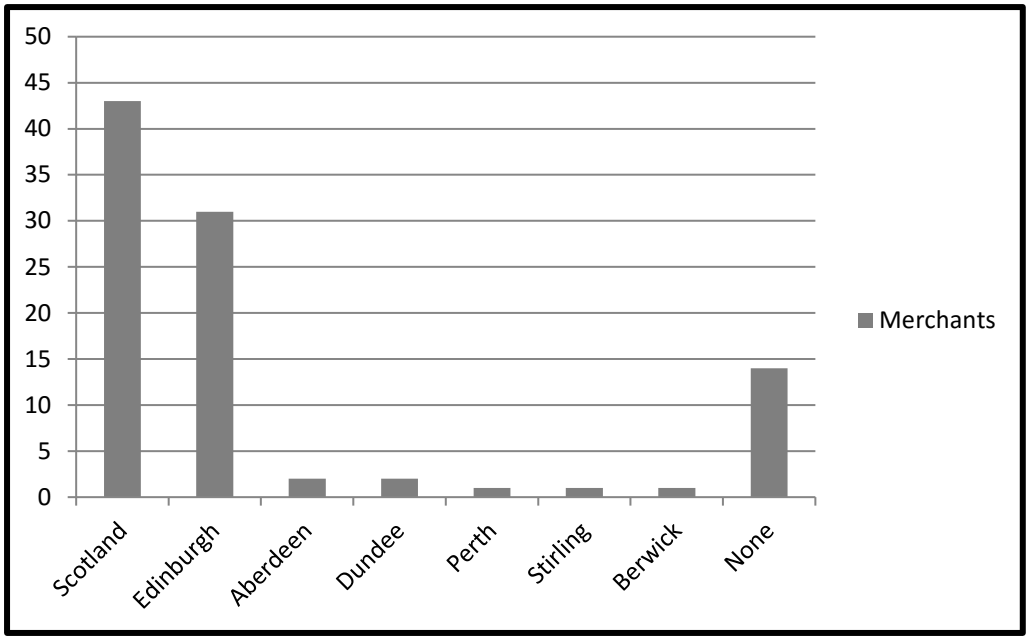

Chart II: Flemings in Scotland

Flemish Comital Years	Number of Flemings in Scotland
Louis I: 1322-1346	15
Louis II: 1346-1384	6
Philip the Bold: 1384-1404	1
John the Fearless:1405-1419	1
Philip the Good: 1419-1467	10
Charles the Bold: 1467-1477	1
Maximilian I: 1477-1482	4
Philip the Handsome: 1482-1506	3
Charles III: 1506-1555	3

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Cartularium Purperenboek

D. Van De Auwele

Hs. I-VII, fragmentarisch

Hs. I, III, V en VI

LS23: Inventaris Adornes en Jeruzalem

Politieke Charters

RW

St R

Manchester University Library

PHC: Phillips Charter

The National Archives

C47/30: Records Created , Acquired, and Inherited by Chancery, and also of the Wardrobe, Royal Household, Exchequer and Various Commissions, Diplomatic Documents

E30: Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Diplomatic Documents

National Records of Scotland

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