# MERCHANTS, PEDLARS AND PIRATES.

## A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND'S RELATIONS WITH NORTHERN GERMANY AND THE BALTIC IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

by

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## ABSTRACT

The history of Scotland's relations with northern Germany and the Baltic in the middle ages can be approached from various angles. A few Scottish crusaders fought in Prussia. Some Scottish students studied at continental universities. In the fifteenth century Scottish kings sought to establish marital and military alliances with the kings and princes of northern Europe. Although mention is made of these intellectual, crusading and political contacts, the thesis is mainly concerned with an examination of the trading links between Scotland and the various geographical groups of Hanseatic towns.

Merchants from western Germany and the Wendish towns were visiting Scotland by at least the later thirteenth century. During the fourteenth century, however, the prosperous basis of the Scottish economy was overturned by war devastation and climatic regression. The quality of Scottish wool, the principal Scottish export, declined. Diversification into other exports failed to compensate for the drop in wool exports. German commercial activity in Scotland declined. Scottish merchants came to dominate the conduct of Scotland's German trade. There was a shift in the focus of this trade from western to eastern Germany. The Scots could more readily obtain supplies of grain and flax in Prussia. It was also to Prussia, in particular, that many Scots emigrated in order to seek a livelihood from peddling a mixture

of Scottish wares to the poorer sections of Prussian society.

The conduct of trade was facilitated by the introduction of more sophisticated commercial techniques. Compared to Italian merchants, however, the commercial practices of Scottish and Hanseatic merchants were not particularly innovative. Scottish-Hanseatic trade was also impeded by a number of factors over which merchants and skippers had little control. Ships might be shipwrecked or attacked by political enemies. Pirates were also a danger and, in response to a sustained campaign of Scottish piracy in the early fifteenth century, the Hansa imposed an embargo on Scottish trade. Such impediments to trade, coupled with the generally depressed economic climate, probably ensured that Scotland's Baltic trade was in deficit. Thus, Scotland's Baltic trade probably contributed to the overall trade deficit of the later medieval Scottish economy.

# ABBREVIATIONS

Where possible, abbreviations used generally conform to the 'List of abbreviated titles of the printed sources of Scottish history to 1560', published as a supplement to the Scottish Historical Review, October 1963.

| | |
|---|---|
| AB Ill. | Illustrations of Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club 1847-69) |
| ACR | Aberdeen Council Register |
| ADA | The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh 1839) |
| ADC | The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, edd. T. Thomson et.al (Edinburgh 1839 and 1918- ) |
| ADCP | Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii, ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh 1932) |
| AH Lübeck | Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck |
| APS | The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, edd. T. Thomson and C. In es (Edinburgh 1814-75) |
| Armstrong, 'Burgundian Netherlands' | C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Burgundian Netherlands 1477-1521', New Cambridge Modern History, i, ed. G.R. Potter (Cambridge 1957) |
| ASR | Aberdeen Sasine Register |
| BA Koblenz | Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Stadtarchiv Reval |
| Barrow, Bruce | G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (third edition, Edinburgh 1988) |

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|---|---|
| Baxter, Copiale | Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree, ed. J.H. Baxter (Oxford 1930) |
| Biskup, Akta | Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich, edd. M. Biskup et.al. (Toruń 1955-75) |
| BL | British Library |
| Boece, Vitae | Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcorum Vitae (New Spalding Club 1894) |
| BUB | Bremisches Urkundenbuch, edd. D.R. Ehmk et.al. (Bremen 1863- ) |
| CAEB | Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges, ed. L. Gilliodts van Severen (Bruges 1904-6) |
| CChW | Calendar of Chancery Warrants: 1244-1326 (London 1927) |
| CCR | Calendar of Close Rolls (London 1892- ) |
| CDS | Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, edd. J. Bain et.al (Edinburgh 1881-1986) |
| Chron. Bower | Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh 1759) |
| Chron. Fordun | Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh 1871-72) |
| Chron. Wyntoun (Laing) | Androw of Wyntoun, The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh 1872-79) |
| CLLB | Calendar of Letter-Books, preserved among the archives of the corporation of the city of London at the Guildhall, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London 1899-1912) |
| CPR | Calendar of Patent Rolls (London 1906- ) |
| DA Aberdeen | City of Aberdeen District Council Archive |
| Dilley, 'Diplomacy' | J.W. Dilley, 'Scottish-German Diplomacy 1297-1327', SHR, xxxvi (1957) |

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|---|---|
| Dilley, 'Merchants' | J.W. Dilley, 'German Merchants in Scotland 1297-1327', SHR, xxvii (1948) |
| Dilley, Thesis | J.W. Dilley, The German Merchants and Scotland 1297-1328 (University of California at Los Angeles, unpublished PhD thesis, 1946) |
| Dollinger, Hanse | P. Dollinger, Die Hanse (third edition, Stuttgart 1981) |
| DN | Diplomatarium Norvegicum (Kristiania 1849-1919) |
| Dunbar, Kings | A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings 1006-1625 (Edinburgh 1906) |
| Duncan, Scotland | A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom (Edinburgh 1975) |
| Dundee Chrs. | Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, ed. W. Hay (Dundee 1880) |
| Dunlop, Kennedy | A.I. Dunlop, The Life and Times of James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews (Edinburgh 1950) |
| Dunf. Reg. | Registrum de Dunfermelyn (Bannatyne Club 1842) |
| Edin. Recs. | Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (Scottish Burgh Record Society 1869-92) |
| Ewan, Thesis | E. Ewan, The Burgesses of Fourteenth Century Scotland. A Social History (University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1984) |
| Fischer, Germany | T.A. Fischer, The Scots in Germany (Edinburgh 1902) |
| Fischer, Prussia | T.A. Fischer, The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia (Edinburgh 1903) |
| Foedera (H) | Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica, ed. T. Rymer, Hague edition (The Hague 1739-45) |
| Foedera (O) | Foedera ... (etc.), Original edition (London 1704-35) |

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| Foedera (R) | Foedera ... (etc.), Record Commission edition (London 1816-69) |
| Grant, Independence | A. Grant, Independence and Nationhood. Scotland 1306-1469 (London 1984) |
| GSA Berlin | Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Dahlem); Stadtarchiv Königsberg |
| HA Köln | Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln |
| Halyburton's Ledger | Ledger of Andrew Halyburton 1492-1503, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh 1867) |
| HGb | Hansische Geschichtsblätter |
| HHUB | Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, edd. J.M. Lappenberg et.al. (Hamburg 1842-1933) |
| HR, A | Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage von 1256-1430, edd. W. Junghans and K. Koppmann (Leipzig 1870-97) |
| HR, B | Hanserecesse, Zweite Abtheilung (1431-76), ed. G. Frhr. v. d. Ropp (Leipzig 1876-92) . |
| HR, C | Hanserecesse 1477-1530, ed. D. Schäfer (Leipzig 1881-1913) |
| HUB | Hansisches Urkundenbuch, edd. K. Höhlbaum, K. Kunze, W. Stein and H.G. v. Runstedt (Halle, Leipzig and Weimar 1886-1939). |
| IAB | Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges, ed. L. Gilliodts van Severen (Bruges 1883-85) |
| James IV Letters | The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-13, edd. R.K. Hannay and R.L. Mackie (SHS 1953) |
| James V Letters | The Letters of James V, edd. R.K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh 1954) |
| Keussen, Matrikel | Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, ed. H. Keussen (Cologne 1928-31) |

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| Kunze, Hanseakten | Hanseakten aus England 1275 bis 1412, ed. K. Kunze (Halle 1891) |
| Kuske, Quellen | Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs (Bonn 1918-34), ed. B. Kuske |
| LECUB | Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch, edd. F.G. v. Bunge et.al. (Reval, etc., 1853-1910) |
| Liber Melros | Liber Sancte Marie de Melros (Bannatyne Club 1837) |
| LR | Lübecker Ratsurteilen, ed. W. Ebel (Göttingen 1965-66) |
| LUB | Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck. Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis (Lübeck 1843-1905) |
| Macdougall, James III | N. Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh 1982) |
| Macfarlane, Elphinstone | L.J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514 (Aberdeen 1985) |
| MAG Perth | Museum and Art Gallery, Perth |
| Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al. | The Scottish Medieval Town, edd. M. Lynch, R.M. Spearman and G. Stell (Edinburgh 1988) |
| MUB | Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch (Schwerin 1863-1936) |
| Nicholson, Scotland | R. Nicholson, Scotland: the Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh 1975) |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh |
| NP | Northern Petitions illustrative of life in Berwick, Cumbria and Durham in the fourteenth century, ed. C.M. Fraser (Surtees Society 1981) |
| Postan, Trade and Finance | M.M. Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge 1973) |
| Pounds, Economic History | N.J.G. Pounds, An Economic History of Medieval Europe (Harlow 1974) |
| PRO | Public Record Office, London |

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| PSAS | Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland |
| PUB | Pommerisches Urkundenbuch, edd. O. Heineman et.al. (Stettin 1868 - ) |
| RMS | Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, edd. J.M. Thomson et.al. (Edinburgh 1882-1914) |
| Rooseboom, Staple | M.P. Rooseboom, The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands (The Hague 1910) |
| Rot. Parl. | Rotuli Parliamentorum, ed. J.H. Strachey et.al. (London 1767) |
| Rot. Scot. | Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterensi Asservati, edd. D. Macpherson et.al. (1814-1819) |
| RRS | Regesta Regum Scottorum, edd. G.W.S. Barrow et.al. (Edinburgh 1960- ) |
| RSS | Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, edd. M. Livingstone et.al. (Edinburgh 1908- ) |
| SA Bremen | Staatsarchiv Bremen |
| SA Göttingen | Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen |
| SA Hamburg | Staatsarchiv Hamburg |
| Sattler, Handelsrechnungen | Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens, ed. C. Sattler (Leipzig 1887) |
| Schildhauer et.al., Hanse | J. Schildhauer, K. Fritze and W. Stark, Die Hanse (Berlin 1981) |
| SHR | The Scottish Historical Review |
| SHS | Scottish History Society |
| SLM | Der Stralsunder Liber Memoriales, ed. H.D. Schroeder (Schwerin, etc., 1964-82) |
| Smit., Bronnen,A | Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, Eerste Deel, 1150-1485, ed. H.J. Smit (s'Gravenhage 1928) |

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| Smit, Bronnen,B | Bronnen ... Ierland, Tweede Deel, 1485-1558, ed. H.J. Smit (s'Gravenhage 1942) |
| SRO | Scottish Record Office |
| SRS | Scottish Record Society |
| StA Lüneburg | Stadtarchiv Lüneburg |
| StA Stralsund | Stadtarchiv Stralsund |
| StA Wismar | Stadtarchiv Wismar |
| Stevenson, Documents | Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286-1306, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh 1870) |
| Stevenson, Thesis | A.W.K. Stevenson, Trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages (University of Aberdeen, unpublished PhD thesis, 1982) |
| TA | Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, edd. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh 1877-1916) |
| Toeppen, Acten | Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaften des Deutschen Ordens, ed. M. Toeppen (Leipzig 1878-86) |
| Trautz, Die Könige | F. Trautz, Die Könige von England und das Reich 1272-1377 Heidelberg 1961) |
| WAP Gdańsk | Wojewódzkiego Archiwum Państwowe, Gdańsk |
| WAP Toruń | Wojewódzkiego Archiwum Państwowe, Toruń |
| Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung' | I. von Wechmar and R. Biederstedt, 'Die schottische Einwanderung in Vorpommern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch, v (1965) |

I declare that this is my own work and that no part of it has previously been published in the form in which it is now presented.

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October 1988

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The famous letter sent by Andrew Murray and William Wallace to Lübeck and Hamburg in 1297 first came to my attention at school during a sixth year history lesson. The notion that it might be possible to write a thesis on the topic of Scottish-German relations in the middle ages did not occur to me until after I had re-read the letter. That was over four years later, during a final year honours course taught by Professor Geoffrey Barrow. Without Professor Barrow's encouragement, assistance and kindness this thesis would not have been written.

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# INTRODUCTION

## A BRIEF SURVEY OF WRITTEN SOURCE MATERIAL

On 23 May 1153 King David I of Scotland died at Carlisle. As the funeral cortege gathered in sombre mood at Dunfermline, it can be assumed that many of those present paused to reflect upon the king's long, and largely successful, reign. There had been many facets to the 'explosion of new ideas, policies and practices' which Scotland had witnessed during David's lifetime.[1] One of the most notable had been the king's fostering of towns and trading communities all over the country. Dunfermline itself is one of the earliest recorded royal burghs.[2] As the king's body was laid to rest before the high-altar of the church of the Holy Trinity, the burgesses of another new town, almost six hundred miles to the east of Dunfermline, were also facing an uncertain future. Lübeck had been founded in 1143 by Count Adolf of Schauenberg. Adolf's rival, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and one of Germany's most powerful magnates, was attempting to ruin Lübeck, either by military means or by promoting his own town of Bardowick at Lübeck's expense. By 1159 Henry had wrested control of Lübeck from Adolf, but, as the town's new protector, he now abandoned his previous attempts

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1. G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity. Scotland 1000-1306 (London 1981), 34.
2. G.S. Pryde, The Burghs of Scotland. A Critical List (London 1965), no. 3. The royal burgh had, however, disappeared by the reign of Robert I and Dunfermline had become a burgh dependent on the abbey of Dunfermline.

to ruin Lübeck and, instead, he encouraged its growth.[3]

During the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Lübeck prospered, German emigration spread along the southern shores of the Baltic. Military orders were established to fight the pagan Slavs, peasants came in search of land and merchants arrived to trade with Gotland and Russia, along trade routes already established by Slav and Scandinavian merchants. In their wake 'new' German towns, frequently on the site of older Slav settlements, were established. They adopted Germanic town laws and low German became the dominant language of the urban population. More personal ties also existed between the populations of the different towns. Younger scions of families established in Lübeck, Cologne and elsewhere in western Germany settled in the newer towns of the east.[4] By 1274 Reval could describe its relationship with Lübeck as 'belonging together like the arms of Christ crucified'.[5]

In the course of the thirteenth century German merchants came to dominate the trade of the Baltic, through the association of German merchants established at Wisby on Gotland. Gradually the Germans expanded their commercial activity outwith the confines of the Baltic. The term 'Hansa' (meaning a group or community) was first applied to the communities of German merchants which were established abroad.

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3. Dollinger, Hanse, 35-41.
4. Ibid., 44-55; Pounds, Economic History, 175-180.
5. F. Rörig, The Medieval Town (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967), 36.

Originally membership of the Hansa was restricted to those merchants who enjoyed the privileges of the largest of these communities (or Kontors) at Novogrod, London, Bruges and Bergen. The home towns of these merchants, however, also began to forge more formal alliances between themselves, in an attempt to safeguard their political autonomy against aggressive neighbouring nobles and to protect the commercial interests of their merchants. In 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg agreed jointly to combat pirates who were operating in their vicinity. By 1264 these two towns and their neighbours had formed the Wendish League. By the end of the thirteenth century other leagues had been established between the Saxon, Rhenish, Westphalian and Prussian towns and, although no formal league existed between the Livonian towns, they too were collaborating on matters of common interest.[6] It was not, however, until 1356 that a meeting of all the towns of these various regional leagues was convened in Lübeck. The purpose of this first Hanseatic diet was to formulate a policy designed to protect German trading interests at Bruges.[7]

Thereafter the regional groups of towns continued to meet, while matters of common interest to all of the towns were discussed at larger diets of the whole Hansa.

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6. Dollinger, Hanse, 67-70. Unlike most of the other towns, which had acquired a substantial degree of independence from their lords, the towns of Prussia remained firmly under the control of the Teutonic Order. The grand master of the Order participated in the meetings of the Prussian towns and subsequently became one of only two non-urban members of the Hanseatic League. The other was the peasant community of Ditmarschen, situated north-west of Hamburg.
7. Ibid., 89-96.

Although Lübeck was generally acknowledged as the head of the Hansa, the Hansa itself was an amorphous body with a constantly fluctuating and uneasily defined membership. Towns as geographically distant as Cologne, Cracow, Stockholm and Reval, and their merchants, can all be classed as Hanseatic, though some towns, such as Cracow and Stockholm, participated to only a limited extent in Hanseatic affairs. The Hanse had no centralized bureaucracy.

The first detailed attention paid to relations between Scotland and Germany in the later middle ages was conducted by T.A. Fischer. His two works, The Scots in Germany (Edinburgh 1902) and The Scots in Eastern and Western Germany (Edinburgh 1903), remain the standard works on the subject, though his third self-styled 'contribution towards the history of the Scots abroad' - The Scots in Sweden (Edinburgh 1907) - has largely been superseded by the work of the late James Dow.[8] Fischer's work, which covers the period from the middle ages to the eighteenth century, drew heavily on both published and unpublished sources, which, unfortunately, he did not always cite. His approach was, however, anecdotal and he made little attempt either to interpret his evidence or to place it in its historical context.

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8. J. Dow, 'Skotter in sixteenth-century Skania', SHR, xliv (1965), 34-51; J. Dow, 'Scottish trade with Sweden 1512-80', SHR, xlviii (1969), 64-79; J. Dow, 'Scottish trade with Sweden 1580-1622', SHR, xlviii (1969), 124-150. I am grateful to Mr. J. Simpson for allowing me to consult Dow's unpublished and incomplete thesis, Diplomats and Mercenaries. Scottish Relations with Sweden in the sixteenth century.

Since Fischer wrote, remarkably little research has been conducted into the subject of Scottish-German relations in the middle ages. J.W. Dilley wrote a thesis on the rôle of German merchants in the Wars of Independence, which was based entirely on published collections of record material, while a Canadian Scot, W.S. Reid, has published a number of articles and a book, which make incidental, but useful, references to Scottish-German relations.[9] Professor Samsonowicz has offered a brief, but important, comparison of English and Scottish trade at Danzig in the fifteenth century.[10] Non-economic subjects have attracted somewhat more attention. The Scottish participation in the northern crusades was examined by Erich Keyser and Alan Macquarrie, while Mark Dilworth and Professor Hammermayer have written about the

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9. J. Dilley, Thesis. This was the basis for Dilley's subsequent articles, 'German Merchants in Scotland 1297-1327', SHR, xxvii (1948), 142-155, and 'Scottish-German Diplomacy 1297-1327', SHR, xxxvi (1957), 80-87; W.S. Reid, 'The Place of Denmark in Scottish Foreign Policy 1470-1540', Juridical Review, lviii (1946), 183-200; W.S. Reid, 'The Scots and the Staple Ordinance of 1313', Speculum, xxxiv (1959), 598-610; W.S. Reid, 'Sea power in the Anglo-Scottish War 1296-1328', Mariner's Mirror, xlvi (1960), 7-23; W.S. Reid, 'Sea power in the foreign policy of James IV', Medievalia et Humanistica, xv (1963), 97-107; W.S. Reid, 'Skipper from Leith; the history of Robert Barton of Over Barnton (Philadelphia 1962). For a very brief overall view of medieval Scottish contacts with the continent, see also A.I. Dunlop, Scots Abroad in the fifteenth century (Historical Association pamphlet, no. 124) (London 1942). The older survey, J.H. Burton, The Scot Abroad (Edinburgh 1864), includes little about northern Europe.
10. H. Samsonowicz, 'Engländer und Schotten in Danzig im Spätmittelalter. Zwei Formen der Handelstätigkeit', Seehandel und Wirtschaftswege Nordeuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, edd. K. Friedland und F. Irsigler (Ostfildern 1981). I am grateful to Professor Samsonowicz for giving me a copy of this article and equally grateful to him for discussing the subject of the article with me during a walk around the old town of Warsaw in 1984.

Schottenklöster of central and southern Germany.[11] Academic historians have discussed the presence of Scottish students at the universities of northern Europe and their careers on returning home.[12] The Gueldrian marriage of James II and the Danish marriage of James III have received a considerable amount of attention from Scottish historians, though the international political consequences of both have received more scanty analysis.[13] Sixteenth-century historians have paid greater attention to Scottish trade with, and emigration to, the Baltic than their

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11. On the Scottish involvement in the northern crusades, see below, appendix no. 2. On the Schottenklöster, see M. Dilworth, 'The Schotten-kloster at the Reformation', Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow 1962); M. Dilworth, 'Marianus Scotus: Scribe and Monastic Founder', Scottish Gaelic Studies, x (1965), 125-148; L. Hammermayer, 'Zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jakob in Regensburg. Neue Quellen aus schottischen Archiven', Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte, xxii (1959), 42-76; L. Hammermayer, 'Deutsche Schottenklöster, schottische Reformation, katolische Reform und Gegenreformation in West- und Mitteleuropa (1560-1580)', Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte xxvi (1963), 131-255.
12. On the Scottish students at Cologne, see below, 137-139. On the Scottish presence at Copenhagen University, see P.W. Becker, De Rebus Christianum II Daniae Reges ac Ludovicum XII et Iacobum IV Galliae Scotiaeque Reges a MDXI - MDXIV actis (Copenhagen 1835), 42. T. Riis, 'Scottish-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth century', Scotland and Europe, ed. T.C. Smout (Edinburgh 1986), 91-93. For lists of Scottish students at the universities of Helmstädt, Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Rostock, Greifswald and Heidelberg in the sixteenth century, see Fischer, Germany, 313-314. More generally, see also D.E.R. Watt, 'Scottish students life abroad in the fourteenth century', SHR, lix (1980), 3-21.
13. See below, 377-409.

medieval colleagues.[14] In this they have been assisted by the greater availability of source material. Nevertheless, a considerable and varied amount of source material also exists to illuminate these relations in the medieval period.

As Professor Donaldson pointed out, the records of the Scottish national government can be divided into three categories: records of account, records of official proceedings and correspondence.[15] All three types of material are of some use for an examination of Scotland's relations with northern Europe in the later middle ages. The records of account incorporate both the charters issued with the royal seals and the crown's financial records. The

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14. E.G. MacDonald, A History of Commercial Relations between Scotland and Poland from 1550 to 1750 (University of Strathclyde, unpublished M.Litt. thesis, 1970); S.G.E. Lythe, 'Scottish trade with the Baltic 1550-1650', Essays in Commemoration of the Dundee School of Economics 1931-1955, ed. J.K. Eastham (Coupar Angus 1955), 63-84; Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland 1576-1793, ed. A.F. Steuart (SHS, 1915); Scots in the Baltic. Report on a Conference, ed. A.M. Stewart (Aberdeen 1977); Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung'; K.H. Ruffmann, 'Englander und Schotten in den Seestädten Ost- und Westpreussens', Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, vii (1958), 17-39.

15. G. Donaldson, The Sources of Scottish History (Edinburgh 1978), 15. Other useful guides to the Scottish source material include H.M. Paton, The Scottish Records: their History and Value (Historical Association of Scotland 1933); B. Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 (London 1975); J. Cripps and I. Flett, 'Documentary Sources', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al, 18-41.

former, which are primarily, though not exclusively, a record of property holdings, include the Regesta Regum Scottorum (for the period from 1153 to 1424), the Registrum Magni Sigilli (extant, with gaps, from the reign of Robert I) and the Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum (which begins in 1488).[16] These records are largely of indirect use in the present context, but they do provide some background information on those men who had either commercial or diplomatic contacts with northern Europe. Of more direct use to the historian of trade are the Exchequer Rolls, which include the Scottish customs accounts. The customs account, which are extant, with gaps, from 1327, detail the total amount of customed goods exported through given ports and the amount of customs revenue paid on exports.[17] Until the mid-fifteenth century they also usually record the number of ships and boats departing from each port during each year of account. Since customs were levied on only a few

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16. RRS, i, ii and vi, for the reigns of Malcolm IV, William I and David II have been published; RMS, i and ii cover the years to 1513. RSS, i, includes documents issued with the privy seal between 1488 and 1527.
17. ER, i-xiii, incorporating the years from 1264 to 1513. Exports through some of the ecclesiastical burghs, such as Dunfermline, are not, however, recorded. The customs duties were probably introduced to Scotland by Alexander III, between 1275 and 1282, following their introduction to England by Edward I (M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307 (Oxford 1953), 628-629). As in England, the Scottish duties applied initially to only wool, woolfell and hide exports. By Robert I's reign (and probably earlier) they were levied at a rate of half a merk per sack of wool, 3s 4d per hundred woolfells and one merk per hundred hides. Before (and after) the introduction of these 'great customs', petty customs (or 'cannage') had also been levied. On these, see below, 49.

imports of English origin, the Exchequer Rolls are of less value in assessing the volume and value of imported commodities. Neither do the customs accounts normally state the destination of departing ships, nor do they give any precise details about the names of merchants exporting goods, or the goods which were exported on individual ships. These details - the 'particular accounts' - were usually recorded in separate records, kept by the customers of each port. Compared to England, very few of the medieval Scottish particular accounts survive. Records from the Stirling customers survive for 1499-1500 and for 1509; from Aberdeen for 1499-1500; from Edinburgh and Leith for 1498-1499, 1510-1511 and 1512-1513; and from Haddington for 1503-1504.[18] In addition, a few of Berwick's particular accounts, for the period of the town's English occupation, are preserved among the English records.[19]

Other financial records of the Scottish central government are of incidental use in illuminating Scotland's relations with the Baltic. The customers at each port not only collected money on behalf of the government, but also made various ad hoc payments on behalf of the crown. They sometimes bought imported commodities for the use of the royal household and, occasionally, foreign merchants, who sold such goods, are named in the customers' accounts. Some of the

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18. SRO, E.71/27/1-2; E.71/1/1; E.71/29/1-3; E.71/16/1.
19. PRO, E.122/3/1-18; E.122/193/2, 8, 9.

crown's employees, including foreign miners and military engineers, also received payment from the customers, while ambassadors and envoys might receive their expenses from the customers. The customers presented their accounts to the great chamberlain, who also collected other royal revenues such as the burgh fermes and the rents from royal lands. From James I's reign these dues were paid to the comptroller. Another new official, the treasurer, collected other dues, such as feudal casualties and the profits of justice. The treasurer, like the customers, made various casual payments on behalf of the crown, some of which were similar in nature to those made by the customers, while others were for casual gifts and military or royal shipbuilding purposes. Saving a stray return for 1473-1474 the treasurers' accounts are, however, extant only from the 1490s.[20]

While the financial records of the Scottish government give an indication of the volume and value of trade and the expenses of diplomatic missions abroad, the national legislative and judicial records serve to illustrate the legal framework in which trade was conducted and the reasons why diplomats were sent abroad. The official parliamentary records survive continuously only from 1466, though various royal brieves and incomplete transcripts and compilations of earlier legislation have

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20. TA, i-iv, covering the years 1473 to 1515.

also been published in The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.[21] Legislation was enacted on a variety of matters concerning international trade. New, or increased, customs duties and weights and measures were approved by parliament, while other laws regulated the participation in, and conduct of, foreign trade. Parliament, for example, encouraged the import of certain commodities, such as arms or, in times of dearth, grain, while it prohibited others, such as poison and 'corrupt or mixt wyne'.[22] Conversely, some exports were restricted; legislation against the drain of bullion was particularly common, though occasionally the export of other items, such as cattle in 1468, was also proscribed.[23] In 1424 and again in 1467, during periods of conflict with the authorities of Bruges, parliament temporarily prohibited all trade with Bruges and its satellite ports of Damime and Sluys.[24] Foreign diplomatic missions were also normally authorized by parliament, sometimes for political purposes, such as arranging royal marriages, but occasionally also for commercial purposes, such as settling disputes about piracy.

A number of national courts held responsibility for deliberating in cases concerning the infringement of laws relating to international trade, though few of their records survive.[25] The chamberlain, the royal official

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21. APS, i-ii, covering the years down to 1558.
22. APS, ii, 9, 39, 41, 144.
23. On bullion exports, see below, 46-47, 80; APS, ii, 92.
24. APS, ii, 7, 87.
25. An Introduction to Scottish Legal History (Stair Society 1958), 324-339, 392-395, 398-399.

who supervised the burghs, might hear cases brought on appeal from burgh courts. Matters might also be referred to the court of the four burghs, which held its last recorded meeting in 1507.[26] The office of admiral is known to have existed by the early fifteenth century and the admiral's (or his depute's) court had jurisdiction over incidents which occurred at sea. Detailed records of this court's proceedings do not, however, survive until the mid-sixteenth century.[27] Some cases involving maritime affairs were also heard by the two judicial committees of parliament, one of which (the lords auditors) was responsible for causes of first instance, while the other (the lords of council) heard matters on appeal.[28]

By comparison with the government's records of account and records of proceedings relatively little of the Scottish crown's correspondence with foreign powers has survived. Much (though not all) of the correspondence sent to or from James IV and James V has been published.[29] Before this some outgoing royal letters are included in other published governmental records, such as the register of the privy seal, while a few incoming letters concerning northern Europe are included in the collection of state papers in the Scottish

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26. T. Pagan, The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland (Glasgow 1926), 13.
27. An Introduction to Scottish Legal History, 398-399; Acta Curiae Admirallatus Scotiae 1557-62, ed. T.C. Wade (Stair Society 1937).
28. ADA; ADC, i-ii; ADCP.
29. James IV Letters; James V Letters. The former contains only that correspondence dated from 1505.

Record Office.[30] To some extent the dearth of royal correspondence preserved in Scottish archives can be compensated for with information gleaned from the holdings of foreign archives, which retain both originals of some documents received from Scotland and copies of letters sent to Scotland. Treaties, of course, also constitute a part of the collection of state papers, though relatively few were sealed between Scotland and the powers of northern Europe. The 1266, 1312 and 1426 treaties with Norway and the 1468 treaty of Copenhagen have been published, but others have not and it is necessary to turn to foreign archives for the texts of these.[31]

On the whole the burgh records of Scotland are extremely patchy, which is unfortunate, since, as the centres of international trade, their records might have been expected to reveal a considerable amount of information concerning Scottish contact with northern Europe. Some burghs, such as Dundee, retain virtually no medieval documents at all.[32] Fifteenth-century burgh

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30. SRO, State Papers, SP/9; SP/13.
31. APS, i, 420, 421, 461-463; DN, viii, no. 276; ER, viii, pp. lxxvii-lxxxvii. A copy of the 1468 treaty with Denmark is also preserved in BL, Harleian MS, 4637 III, fos. 9-11. Copies of treaties agreed with the powers of the Low Countries are in SA Göttingen, Cod. Ms. Hist. 657, XVI and BL, Harleian MS 4637 III, fos. 6-8, 12-16. Agreements reached with Bremen in 1445 are in SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Oktober 16; 1446 April 16.
32. See, however, Dundee Chrs., which contains some information about trade in general. Dundee's burgh records were almost completely destroyed by the English forces in 1548.

court books survive for some other burghs, such as Montrose and Newburgh, but they contain no relevant information.[33] Some fifteenth-century gild records also survive, for example from Dunfermline, Perth and Stirling, but they too include, at most, only a few references to Baltic trade.[34] Most of the extant council records of Edinburgh, dating from 1403, have been published.[35] Although these records are also patchy, they, nevertheless, incorporate a few references to Baltic trade. Of all the Scottish burgh records those of Aberdeen are undoubtedly the best preserved. The earliest of the burgh's extant records have been published and, although extracts of later records have also been printed, the editor's method of extracting the material seems to have been totally arbitrary.[36] It is, therefore,

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33. University of St. Andrews Library, Manuscripts Department, B/54/7/1. I am grateful to Mr. D. Adams for information about the archival holdings of Angus District Council.
34. The Gild Court Book of Dunfermline 1433-1597, ed. E.P.D. Torrie (SRS 1986). (I am grateful to Dr. Torrie for allowing me to borrow the original gild book for consultation before its publication). See also The Burgh Records of Dunfermline, ed. E. Beveridge (Edinburgh 1917). MAG Perth, 1/1; 1/2. I am grateful to Miss C. Brodie for information about the holdings of the Central Regional Archive in Stirling. Some of Stirling's records are published in Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow 1887-9), which, like the published records of other burghs, contain some general information about trade, though none specifically about the Baltic.
35. Edin.Recs., i; Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh (Scottish Burgh Record Society 1871).
36. Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407, ed. W.C. Dickinson (SHS 1957); Charters and other Writs illustrating the History of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen, ed. P.J. Anderson (Aberdeen 1890); Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen (Spalding Club 1844-1848).

best to turn to the original records. The burgh's council registers survive from 1398, with a lengthy gap between 1414 and 1434.[37] The registers, which include gild records and proceedings of the burgh court, provide a considerable corpus of information about Aberdeen's foreign trading connections. In addition to the council registers, the burgh's sasine registers are also extant from 1484.[38] Although these would appear to be an unlikely source of material about trade (save for background information about the property holdings of merchants), they do, in fact, contain references to miscellaneous other items ranging from matters concerning trade to a transcript of the poems of William Dunbar!

The personal records of Scottish merchants are extremely patchy and, although those that survive provide useful information on the practice of trade in general, they contain very little about trade with the Baltic.[39] The Scottish chronicles also contain very few direct references to Germany or the Baltic. Those of John of Fordun (written in the later fourteenth century), Andrew of Wyntoun and Walter Bower (both written in the early fifteenth century) include some general information about trade and the factors which

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37. DA Aberdeen, ACR, i-ix, covering the years to 1517; J. Cripps, Report to the City of Aberdeen District Council on Missing Register of Council 1414-1434 (Aberdeen 1981).
38. DA Aberdeen, ASR, i-iii, incorporating the years from 1484 to 1513.
39. Halyburton's Ledger; A. Hanham, 'A medieval Scots merchant's handbook', SHR, 1 (1971), 107-120.

influenced it.[40] Bower and Hector Boece (writing in the early sixteenth century) briefly mention the Scottish participation in the northern crusades.[41] Elsewhere Boece also mentions, in somewhat cryptic terms, the diplomatic missions of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen to Germany. Foreign records demonstrate that in this case at least Boece's writing was not totally the result of 'his own invention and imagination'.[42]

Hanseatic records are somewhat different in nature to the Scottish records.[43] Because, unlike Scotland, the Hansa was not a state, there are no national records. Indeed, because the Hansa was such a loosely-knit body, with no centralized bureaucracy, there are very few records which can be properly described as Hanseatic. Representatives of Hanseatic towns did, however, meet at irregular intervals and the proceedings of these diets and their related correspondence have been published.[44] It can be argued that the only other Hanseatic records are the records of the Hanseatic Kontors, where merchants

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40. Chron. Fordun; Chron. Wyntoun (Laing); Chron. Bower.
41. On the chronicle references to Scottish participation in the northern crusades, see appendix no. 1.
42. See below, 146-149 ; Donaldson, The Sources of Scottish History, 35.
43. The best guide to the Hanseatic source material is Quellen zur Hanse-Geschichte, ed. R. Sprandel (Darmstadt 1982). For the records of the Teutonic Order, see Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordnis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525, edd. E. Joachim and W. Hubatsch (Gottingen 1948-1973).
44. HR, A; HR, B; HR, C.

from various Hanseatic towns lived together and traded. Much of the surviving correspondence of the Kontors has been published in the Hanserecesse and Hansisches Urkundenbuch.[45] The records of the Bruges Kontor (subsequently transferred to Antwerp), the Kontor with which Scottish merchants had the greatest contact because of their trading interests in the Low Countries, are now preserved in Cologne.[46]

The records of the individual Hanseatic towns are of a more substantial nature, though some, like their Scottish counterparts, have suffered a considerable amount of loss. Most of Münster's records, for example, were destroyed by the Anabaptists in 1534, while the bulk of Stettin's (Szczecin's) records were lost in a fire in the eighteenth century. The Second World War also took its toll on archival collections, causing the loss of some records and the transfer of others to places far removed from their original site. Many of Bremen's records were evacuated from the city for safety and then lost. Ironically, those documents left behind have survived. The records of the Teutonic Order, originally held in Königsberg (Kaliningrad), were kept for a number of years after the war in Göttingen, but they have now been deposited in West Berlin. Many of Reval's (Tallinn's) records are now in Koblenz, while those of Schwerin have

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45. HUB, i-ix. Volume vii, part two, covering the years between 1433 and 1442 was never published.
46. HA Köln, Hanse III K and Hanse IV.

been housed in Frankfurt-am-Main. During the war Lübeck's archives were transferred for safety to a salt mine, in what is now East Germany. After 1945 only part of the collection was returned to Lübeck. Other documents are now in Potsdam and Lübben, in East Germany, while another group of Lübeck's records found its way to Leningrad. Hamburg's archives suffered a similar fate.

The types of German record which survive and which contain information about Scotland or Scotsmen vary enormously. Financial records are, on the whole, sparse. Customs records are particularly patchy and even the surviving evidence must be treated with caution. Tables of customs duties, which refer to Scottish commodities, are preserved in Cologne among the records of the Hansa's Low Countries Kontor.[47] There are, however, no statistics on the volume of Scottish goods handled by the Kontor's merchants. In the Hanseatic towns themselves a tax (Pfundzoll) was levied on ships and goods entering or leaving each port in times of war. Its proceeds were used to finance military action. The first Pfundzoll was raised in 1361 and by the fifteenth century Pfundzölle were regularly imposed. Only a few of the details of the Pfundzoll levies have survived.[48] The record of trade which the Pfundzollbücher contain is, however, distorted because the Pfundzoll was levied in times of war, which

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47. HA Köln, Hanse III K8, fos. 98, 114.
48. E.g. Revaler Zollbücher und Zollquittungen des 14. Jahrhunderts, ed. W. Stieda (Halle 1887). For others, see below, 227, 249, 253.

inevitably, adversely affected trade. For Danzig (Gdańsk) records of levies imposed in years of peace (Pfahlgeld) also survive and these provide a reasonably detailed amount of information concerning trade between Danzig and Scotland.[49] One Pfahlgeldbuch, for 1477, is devoted solely to the revenue raised on shipping departing for Scotland.[50] The business records of the Teutonic Order's officials at Königsberg also survive for the years 1390 to 1404.[51] Of other records of account, charters concerning property and conveyancing transactions, such as those preserved in Stralsund, include some information about emigrant Scots.[52]

Records of proceedings are, on the whole, both more numerous and, in the present context, more useful. In addition to the full Hanseatic diets, regional groups of Hanseatic towns frequently held their own diets. The records and correspondence of many of these gatherings are contained in the Hanserecesse. Those of the Prussian towns have been published separately.[53] Council registers (Stadtbücher) contain a variety of miscellaneous details, including references to debts, which were officially recorded by the council on behalf

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49. WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1-10. See also V. Lauffer, 'Danzigs Schiffs- und Waarenverkehram Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts', Zeitschrift des Westpreussen Geschichtsverein, xxxiii (1894), 1-43, though his statistics include some errors. Some of Reval's shipping lists for the fifteenth century also survive (BA Koblenz, I Ag(a), 1-4).
50. WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/2A.
51. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen.
52. StA Stralsund, Städtische Urkunden.
53. Biskup, Akta; Toeppen, Acten.

of merchants, letters and judicial matters. The Stadtbücher of many of the coastal Hanseatic towns, dating from the thirteenth century, have been published, though few of these contain references to Scotland.[54] The later fourteenth and fifteenth-century Danzig Stadtbücher do, however, reveal a lot about the town's relations with Scotland.[55] The Ratsprotokollbücher of Cologne, extant from 1513, also contain some information about emigrant Scots.[56] While records of judicial proceedings involving Scots are sometimes contained in the Stadtbücher, other judicial records, such as the Lübecker Ratsurteilen and the manuscript volumes of the Danzig Schöffengericht, provide further, similar information.[57]

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54. E.g. Das älteste Wismarische Stadtbuch von etwa 1250 bis 1272, ed. F. Techen (Wismar 1912); Das zweite Wismarische Stadtbuch 1272-1297, ed. L. Knabe (Weimar 1966); Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch 1254-1273, ed. H. Thierfelder (Göttingen 1967); Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch 1270-1310, ed. F. Fabricius (Berlin 1872); Das zweite Stralsundische Stadtbuch 1310-1342, ed. R. Ebeling (Stralsund 1903). Other types of officially kept registers, such as Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters, ed. A. von Brandt (Lübeck 1964-1973) and Das Hamburgische Schuldbuch von 1288, ed. E. von Lehe (Hamburg 1956) also include no references to Scotland. The fifteenth-century volumes of SLM (ii and v) do, however, contain a few such references.
55. WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/1-8. These include some copies of decisions and proceedings of the town's Stadtgericht.
56. HA Köln, Rp. 1-7, covering the years 1513 to 1527.
57. LR, i-ii, covering the years 1421 to 1525; WAP Gdańsk, 300/43/1-5. For the judicial records of Breslau (Wrocław) concerning Scots, see Fischer, Germany, 241-242.

Compared with Scotland and, indeed, with other types of Hanseatic source material, the surviving correspondence of the Hanseatic towns is particularly voluminous. Mention has already been made of the correspondence of the full and regional Hanseatic diets. Town councils, however, also both wrote and received a large number of letters. Many of those, especially for the period before 1400, have been printed in the Hansisches Urkundenbuch and other regional source books.[58] Archival collections include both copies of outgoing letters and originals of incoming correspondence. Among the latter the Cologne archives, for example, include one hundred and ninety volumes of Briefbücher, covering the period from 1367 to 1757.[59] The registers of several grand masters of the Teutonic Order also include letters sent to Scotland, as do the Liber Missuarum of Danzig.[60] The fullest surviving collection of incoming letters is preserved for Danzig, though several letters from, or concerning Scotland also survive at Bremen (for the 1440s), at Lübeck, among the records of the Teutonic Order and elsewhere.[61]

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58. HUB, i-xi; BUB, i-vi; HHUB, i-iv; Kuske, Quellen, i-iv; LECUB, i-xii; LUB, i-xi; MUB, i-xxv; PUB, i-ix.
59. HA Köln, Brb. 1-190. Brb. 1-50 cover the years to 1520, though there are gaps in the collection for the periods between 1401 and 1412 and again from 1425 to 1427. Copies of other letters sent to Scotland are in the archival sections, Hanse Urkunden and Universität.
60. GSA Berlin, OF; WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/1-8 (including the years 1420 to 1516).
61. WAP Gdańsk, 300D. Letters from Scotland are catalogued under the sectional reference 300D/17A, though references to Scotland also appear in letters catalogued elsewhere. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445; 1446; AH Lübeck, Anglicana; GSA Berlin, OBA.

Private Hanseatic records are generally less revealing about Scotland than public documents. Handbooks and account books, for example, survive in particularly large quantities among the Reval records, but an examination of many of these has revealed virtually no references either to dealings with Scottish commodities or with Scottish merchants.[62] The university records of Cologne do, however, include some Scottish material, not only concerning Scottish students, but also about trade.[63] Like their Scottish counterparts German chroniclers also rarely mention Scotland, though they do include some useful information about the Scottish participation in the northern crusades.[64]

While Hanseatic and Scottish material provides the greatest detail about Scottish-Hanseatic relations, other foreign records also include some pertinent information. For a number of reasons the English records are the most useful of these collections. They are among the best preserved anywhere in Europe. Moreover, because of the geographical proximity of Scotland and England, the attempts of English kings to exert their authority over Scotland and the importance of English trade to Hanseatic merchants, English documents regularly refer to both Scotland and the Hansa. Ships trading with Scotland were, for example, sometimes wrecked on the

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62. BA Koblenz, I Af. 1-25.
63. E.g., HA Köln, Univ. A.25, fo. 40 (the copy of a letter sent to the duke of Albany in 1423).
64. See appendix no. 2.

English coast, while, during times of Anglo-Scottish warfare, the English government actively discouraged German merchants from trading in Scotland. The printed Hanseatic source books, noted above, all drew heavily on the holdings of English archives and, in addition to these, the collection of English documents edited by Karl Kunze includes a number of valuable references to Scottish-German trade.[65] The two principal collections of English documents relating to Scotland are the Rotuli Scotiae and Bain's Calendar of Documents.[66] While Bain's work is an indispensable guide, it is not complete. For fuller detail on some of the documents which he calendared, and for some documents which he did not publish, it is necessary to turn to both unpublished originals, and other collections of published, English documents. In the Public Record Office the collections of ancient petitions and ancient correspondence contain a great deal of information about Scotland.[67] The English 'particular customs accounts' are also useful, both on the sadly neglected topic of Anglo-Scottish trade and for details about Berwick's trade during the town's English occupation.[68] The British Library also holds

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65. See note 58 above and Kunze, Hanseakten, passim.
66. Rot.Scot. i-ii; CDS, i-v (volume v, published in 1986 and edited by G.G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith, updates archival references to documents calendared in volumes i-iv and includes a number of addenda).
67. PRO, SC.1; SC.8. See also NP.
68. PRO, E.122. On references to Berwick's trade, see note 19 above. Some of the statistics which the English 'particular accounts' contain are published in E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, England's Export Trade 1275-1547 (Oxford 1963). These figures can be usefully compared with the Scottish customs accounts, because many of England's exports were similar in nature to the commodities exported from Scotland.

some correspondence concerning Scottish-Hanseatic trade in the early fifteenth century.[69] Elsewhere, its collections include copies of treaties between Scotland and Guelders, Burgundy and Denmark.[70]

Among the published collections of English collections of source material the Calendar of Close Rolls, Calendar of Patent Rolls, Rymer's Foedera and even the English parliamentary records are useful , particularly for the period of the Wars of Independence, when German merchants in England attempted to thwart the English government's restrictions on trade with Scotland.[71] The number of Scottish references in all of these sources tails off markedly, however, from the later fourteenth century, once Anglo-Scottish relations were generally more peaceful.

Scots and Germans both traded extensively in the Low Countries and they inevitably came into contact with each other there. Smit's Bronnen is a comprehensive collection of documents concerning Scotland's commercial relations with the northern Low Countries and it not infrequently mentions contacts between Scots and Germans.[72] The equivalent volumes for Dutch trade with the Baltic rarely refer to Scotland.[73] Contacts

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69. BL, Cotton MS, Nero B II, fos. 44-47.
70. BL, Harleian MS 4637 III, fos. 6-16.
71. CCR; CPR; Foedera (O), (H) and (R); Rot.Parl., i; other useful collections include CLLB and CChW.
72. Smit, Bronnen, A, i-ii; Smit, Bronnen, B, i. Some Dutch towns, such as Kampen and Groningen, were also members of the Hansa. Archivists in these towns have, however, informed me that their collections do not include any material on Scotland, other than that which was published either by Smit or in HUB.
73. Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Ostzeehandel. Eerste Deel, 1122-1499, ed. H.A. Poelman (s'Gravenhage 1917).

between Scots and Germans in the southern Low Countries are recorded in a number of other sources.[74] Copies of a number of letters and treaties between Scottish kings and Low Countries' princes are, surprisingly, also preserved in Göttingen among the Manuscripta Zuichemiana.[75] These documents originally belonged to a Dutch librarian, Vigilius ab Aytta Zuichemus (1507-1577), and were bequeathed to Göttingen library on its foundation in 1734 by the Hanoverian statesman Joachim Heinrich von Bülow (1650-1724).

The third major source of third-party foreign documentation which includes information about Scotland and the Hansa and the Baltic is from Scandinavia. Had they survived, the registers of the tolls collected at Elsinore, on all ships entering and leaving the Baltic, would have been a valuable source. Sadly, most of the registers do not survive, except those for 1497 and a few years in the early sixteenth century.[76] Other Danish records include few references to Scottish-Hanseatic relations, but they are useful for illuminating the Scottish-Danish political alliance of the later fifteenth century, which had important consequences for Scottish-Hanseatic relations too.[77] The principal published

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74. CAEB, i-iv; IAB, i-ix; Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen, ed. A. Zoete (Brussels 1981-1982).
75. SA Göttingen, Cod. Ms. Hist. 657, XVI.
76. See appendix no. 6.
77. See below, 392-409. For a guide to the collections of the Danish archives which relate to Scotland, see The 45th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London 1885), appendix ii, no. 1, 1-56; The 46th Annual Report... (London 1886), appendix ii, no. 1, 1-75; The 47th Annual Report... (London 1887), appendix v, 9-77; T. Jexlev, 'Scottish history in the light of the Danish National Archives', SHR, xlviii (1969), 98-106.

collection of Norwegian material includes a considerable number of documents (principally correspondence) relating to both Scotland and the Hansa and a few which concern the relations between the two.[78] Scotland's relations with Sweden before the sixteenth century were, however, 'practically non existent', according to Ms. Clara Nevéus of the Riksarkiv in Stockholm, while search for references to Scotland in the Landesarkiv in Göteborg has drawn a similar blank.[79]

From this brief survey of the source material it is evident that the medieval contacts between Scotland and northern Germany and the Baltic were primarily of a commercial nature, and primarily with the Hanseatic towns. It is, therefore, necessary to trace the economic background in which Scottish-Hanseatic trade was conducted.[80] Since, however, the trade of the different groups of Hanseatic towns varied in focus and format, it is appropriate to approach Scotland's relations with the Hansa from a geographical perspective, assessing the level of contact between Scotland and the distinctive regional groups of Hanseatic towns.[81] On only one occasion in the middle ages did the whole Hansa have a discernibly Scottish policy. Even then - during the imposition of an embargo on Scottish trade in the early fifteenth century - many towns and merchants ignored

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78. DN.
79. I am grateful to Ms. Nevéus and Mr. Bengt Sjögren of the Göteborg archives for this information.
80. See below, chapter one.
81. See below, chapters two, three, four and five.

official Hanseatic policy and continued to trade with Scotland.[82] The Hanseatic embargo was imposed in response to an orchestrated campaign of Scottish piracy and most diplomatic contact between Scotland and the Hanseatic towns arose because of similar irritants to trade. More strictly political contacts, however, also existed between Scotland and northern Europe. These were encouraged in the later fifteenth century by the marriages of James II to Mary of Guelders and of James III to Margaret of Denmark and by the prospective marriage of James IV to a daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. These relations deserve separate attention, though the Danish match, in particular, held profound consequences for the relations between Scotland and the Hanseatic towns as well.[83]

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82. See below, chapter six.
83. See below, chapter seven.

# CHAPTER ONE

## ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

The international trade of a particular town or country in the middle ages was a reflection of the whole economy of that town or country. The commodities of trade and levels of imports and exports were determined by the availability or unavailability of locally produced agricultural and manufactured goods. It is, therefore, impossible to examine Scotland's commercial connections with the Hanseatic towns without firstly, briefly, examining the economic climate in which that trade was conducted. Two apparently conflicting generalizations are made by economic historians of later medieval Europe. On the one hand they refer to an economic regression and on the other to a commercial revolution.[1] Throughout Europe the thirteenth century witnessed a growth in population, an expansion in the amount of cultivated land and the development of towns. In the following two centuries, however, the population declined, marginal land fell out of cultivation and many towns shrank in size. The first signs of regression occurred between 1315 and 1317 when the failure of crops throughout western Europe caused widespread famine. The principal

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1. Pounds, Economic History, especially chapters 8, 9, 10; Postan, Trade and Finance, 160-185; R. de Roover, 'The commercial revolution of the thirteenth century', Enterprise and Secular Change, edd. F.C. Lane and J.C. Riemersma (Homewood 1953), 80-85.

reason for this was a series of wet summers between 1313 and 1320. Although there was a temporary improvement in climatic conditions during the later 1320s and 1330s,and again in the 1380s, the weather of north-western Europe was generally colder and wetter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than it had been in the thirteenth century.[2] Consequently, the cultivation of marginal land became less feasible. It was also less necessary once the population declined after the outbreak of the Black Death. Up to half the population died in some areas during the initial outbreak of plague between 1347 and 1350 and subsequent outbreaks prevented the recovery of earlier levels of population.[3] The demand for agricultural produce fell and, in the towns, the level of production of manufactured goods declined sharply.[4] In addition to these 'natural disasters' the later middle ages also witnessed protracted warfare, which resulted in the frequent ravaging of the countryside, the disruption of trade routes and the occasional sacking of towns.

The thirteenth-century economic expansion had, however, been accompanied by a greater sophistication in commercial techniques. This commercial revolution began in Italy,

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2. H.H. Lamb, Climate, history and the modern world (London 1982), 187.
3. W.H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (Oxford 1977), 166-169; Pounds, Economic History, 150-157; Dollinger, Hanse, 85-88.
4. For a more detailed analysis of the economic consequences of the Black Death see Pounds, Economic History, 440-457.

though much of it was copied or developed from commercial practices which were already common in the Middle East. Business partnerships and the introduction of credit and banking facilitated the conduct of trade, while merchants began to venture along new land and sea routes. The St. Gotthard pass across the Alps was in use by 1230, while Genoese ships were passing the Straits of Gibraltar and sailing directly to Bruges by 1278.[5] The new commercial ideas spread from Italy and, to a limited extent, began to influence the commerce of northern Europe too.

(i) The Economic Background

Since the thirteenth century Hanseatic merchants had dominated the trade of northern Germany and the Baltic. It is generally accepted that the Hansa was at the height of its power and prosperity in the later fourteenth century,[6] despite the general economic depression of the later middle ages, the disruption caused to trade by periodic warfare (especially between the Wendish towns and the kings of Denmark)[7] and the severe effects of the

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5. D. Ditchburn, 'The Alpine Passes', An Atlas of Medieval Europe, ed. A.I.K. MacKay (forthcoming); Pounds, Economic History, 372.
6. Dollinger, Hanse, 81-85, 89-102; Schildhauer, et.al., Hanse, 89-131.
7. In the early fourteenth century the Wendish towns were involved, to varying degrees, in disputes with neighbouring nobles and King Erik VI of Denmark. Lübeck was under Danish control between 1307 and 1319. Wismar and Rostock were regularly attacked by the princely allies and in 1316 Stralsund too was attacked by Erik and the prince of Mecklenburg. The atmosphere of instability in the region continued until Erik's death in 1319 (Dollinger, Hanse, 76-77); Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 75-82). This, perhaps, partly accounts for the decline in Wendish activity in Scotland at this period (see below, 222-224). For the conflict between the Hansa and Denmark in the later fourteenth century, see below, 397-409.

Black Death in some Hanseatic towns, such as Bremen. The plague-induced reduction in population was compensated for by immigration from the surrounding countryside, while Hanseatic trade routes expanded all over northern Europe.[8] In broad terms, the Hansa's wealth was derived from the transport of bulky produce, such as grain and timber and also fish, from the Baltic to western Europe, while luxury goods, cloth and salt were shipped in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, the Germans took both grain and luxury goods to Scandinavia while some luxury goods, such as fur and amber, were transported westwards from the Baltic. In the fifteenth century the virtual commercial monopoly which the Hansa had enjoyed in north German and Baltic trade came under serious challenge, as English, Dutch and southern German merchants in particular attempted to extend their trade into the Hansa's traditional sphere of influence. The economies of some Hanseatic towns (such as Dortmund and Soest) were also seriously weakened by warfare with local princes, though elsewhere (for example, during the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian towns in the early fifteenth century) the negative effects of warfare on trade were of a temporary, rather than long-term, nature.[9]

Since the Hanseatic League was a body essentially devoted to the defence of commercial interests, the economy

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8. Dollinger, Hanse, 85-88.
9. Ibid., 163, 167.

of the Hanseatic towns has received a considerable amount of attention from Hanseatic historians.[10] Only recently, however, have historians begun to examine how the later medieval economic depression affected Scotland.[11] The economy of thirteenth-century Scotland, like that of other parts of Europe, appears to have been reasonably buoyant. As far as trade is concerned, there was probably a healthy level of exported agricultural products, dominated by wool and skins, while large amounts of fish also appear to have

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10. For the broad outlines of the economic history of the Hansa, see Dollinger, Hanse, passim; Schildhauer, et.al., Hanse, passim (for a Marxist approach); Postan, Trade and Finance, 92-224; M. Małowist, 'The Trade of Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages', The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, ii (second edition, Cambridge 1987), edd. M.M. Postan and E. Miller, 563-582; E. Lönroth, 'The Economic Policies of Governments: The Baltic Countries', Cambridge Economic History, iii (Cambridge 1963), edd. M.M. Postan, E.E. Rich and E. Miller, 361-396; M. Małowist, 'The Economic and Social Development of the Baltic Countries from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries', Economic History Review, second series, xii (1959), 177-189; Hansische Studien III. Bürgertum-Handelskapital-Städtebünde, edd. K. Fritze, E. Müller-Mertens and J. Schildhauer (Weimar 1975), passim. For greater detail on the Wendish towns, see K. Fritze, Am Wendepunkt der Hanse (Berlin 1971), passim. On the eastern Baltic, whose commercial ties with Scotland were particularly strong, see T. Hirsch, Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbe-geschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Orderns (Leipzig 1858), passim; H. Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku', Przeglad Historyczny, xlvii (1956), 283-353; H. Samsonowicz, 'Struktura handlu gdańskiego w pierwszej połowie XV wieku', Przeglad Historyczny, liii (1962), 695-715; W. Böhnke, 'Der Binnenhandel des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen', HGb, lxxx (1962), 26-95.

11. Grant, Independence, 61-85; A.W.K. Stevenson, Thesis, passim.

been shipped abroad. Imports included foodstuffs (particularly salt and grain), raw materials (such as iron and timber) and manufactured goods (especially goods made from metal and high quality Flemish cloth). Dyestuffs and alum were, however, also imported for the production of Scottish cloth. There are references to trade with England, Ireland, Norway and possibly Germany, but the strongest commercial ties were with Flanders, where Scottish wool was sought for the production of textiles.[12] Indeed, the apparent buoyancy of wool exports, and the growth of the money supply, has led scholars to assume that Scotland enjoyed a large balance of payments surplus for most of the thirteenth century.[13]

The Wars of Independence were, chronologically, the first factor which began to upset this balance. The periodic ravaging of the Scottish countryside by English armies, and the 'scorched-earth' tactics which the Scots employed against them, inevitably led to a decline in Scottish arable production, particularly in those areas of the south of the country which had been the most developed before the wars began.[14] The fertile parts of the north did not, however, escape. Fordun recorded that in 1336 most of Gowrie, Angus and Mearns was 'reduced to a hopeless wilderness and utter want'.[15] Some burghs were also sacked (for example Berwick in 1296 and Aberdeen in 1336), causing a

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12. Duncan, Scotland, 504-516. On the possible trading connections with Germany, see below, 95-100, 194-202
13. Grant, Independence, 71-72; Stevenson, Thesis, 5.
14. Nicholson, Scotland, 106-107; Grant, Independence, 75.
15. Chron. Fordun, ii, 352-353.

contraction in the craft industries: a considerable amount of capital was required to replace workshops and tools which had been destroyed, while time was required to replace craftsmen who had been killed. Moreover, as Dr. Stevenson has pointed out, it was against the interests of merchants to support a revival of the crafts, since they stood to profit from the requirement to import goods which could not be produced in Scotland.[16] Meanwhile, foreign merchants probably took fright and temporarily deserted Scotland. William Wallace and Andrew Murray attempted to coax them back in 1297, though the approach of a hostile English army in 1336 again caused mercantile ships to hurriedly depart from Aberdeen and Dundee before customs dues had been paid on their cargoes.[17] The periodic imposition of English naval blockades on Scotland further disrupted trade.[18]

Yet, Dr. Grant has wisely argued against over exaggerating the economic consequences of the wars. Sheep could be hidden in the hills, out of the path of the English armies, while, once the armies had passed by, crops could be resown.[19] Ships, like sheep, were moveable and, although the craft industries probably suffered more in the longer term than the agricultural

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16. Stevenson, Thesis, 6.
17. On the appeal sent to merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg in 1297 to resume their trade in Scotland, see below, 194-195; ER, i, 422, 449.
18. W.S. Reid, 'Sea-power in the Anglo-Scottish war', Mariner's Mirror, xlvi, passim.
19. Grant, Independence, 76.

or commercial sectors of the economy, Michael Spearman has shown that a considerable and varied amount of industrial activity continued in the later medieval Scottish burghs, even although the craft guilds remained weak until the later fifteenth century.[20] English military intervention in Scotland had, in any case, been more persistent at some times than others. For fourteen years after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 the Anglo-Scottish war was fought primarily in northern England and Ireland, rather than Scotland, while a brief period of peace, following the 1328 treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, separated the two Wars of Independence.

Unfortunately the period of reduced warfare in Scotland included the decade from 1315 to 1325, which one English economic historian has described as 'a disaster for arable farming'.[21] The failure of the harvests in England between 1315 and 1317 was followed by a drought in 1321. Since both calamities affected the rest of north-western Europe, it seems unlikely that Scotland somehow avoided them, though there is little evidence to that effect. Fordun records great famine

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20. R.M. Spearman, 'Workshops, Materials and Debris - Evidence of Early Industries', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 134-150. (See also Ewan, Thesis, chapters 1 and 4, passim). Stevenson, Thesis, 6; Grant, Independence, 85-86; M. Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople in fifteenth-century Scotland', Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester 1988), 181-185.
21. J.L. Bolton, The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500 (London, 1982), 187.

in 1310, which may be a mistake for 1315.[22] Any shortfall in Scottish grain production between 1315 and 1325 could only be compensated for by a rise in grain imports. There are indications that some grain was being sought in England. Between 1315 and 1317 numerous commissions of oyer and terminer were appointed in England to investigate allegations that corn was being shipped to Scotland, despite the Anglo-Scottish wars and the scarcity of grain in England.[23] There were further attempts to prevent the export of grain from England in 1322.[24] Grain was, however, scarce not only in England. Since the 1315-17 crop failure had affected most of western Europe, it must have been difficult for the Scots to find <u>any</u> supplies of foreign grain. This may, indeed, be one reason for an apparent decline of German commercial activity in Scotland at this time.[25]

In the thirteenth century it had been possible for Scots to pay for grain imports with the proceeds of wool exports. In England the catastrophic harvests of 1315 to 1317 were, however, accompanied by the widespread outbreak of murraine among sheep. English customs returns record a probably consequential fall in wool exports.[26] Localized outbreaks of murraine continued

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22. <u>Chron. Fordun</u>, ii, 338.
23. E.g., <u>CCR</u>, 1313-8, 308-309, 455.
24. E.g., <u>CCR</u>, 1318-23, 539, 691.
25. See below, 101, 222-224
26. Bolton, <u>Economy</u>, 183; T.H. Lloyd, <u>The English Wool Trade in the Later Middle Ages</u> (Cambridge 1977), 125.

in England after 1317 and it is recorded just south of the Anglo-Scottish frontier by the Lanercost chronicler in 1319:

> Eodem tempore pestis et mors pecorum, quae per duos annos praecedentes fuerat in partibus australibus accidit in partibus borialibus de bobus et vaccis, ita quod modicam infirmitatem quasi subito moriebantur communiter, et pauca animalia illus generis remanserunt.[27]

In Scotland Fordun noted that in 1320-1 'there was a very hard winter which distressed men and killed nearly all animals'.[28] In a royal brieve, perhaps attributable to about this period, local inquests were ordered to be held to examine sheep for signs of the scab '<u>qui vocatur pilsoutht vel pluk</u>'. Infected sheep were to be killed within eight days and restrictions were put on their movement.[29] As in England localized outbreaks of murraine continued in Scotland - scabby sheep were reported on Deeside in 1328-9[30] - and it is likely, though in the absence of the customs accounts before 1327 not provable, that wool exports declined, as they did in England. Meanwhile, demand for Scottish wool in the Low Countries probably declined as a result of the warfare involving the Flemish textile producing towns from the 1290s.[31]

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27. <u>Chronicon de Lanercost</u>, ed. J. Stevenson (Bannatyne Club 1839), 240.
28. <u>Chron. Fordun</u>, ii, 338.
29. Formulary E Scottish Letters and Brieves 1286-1424, ed. A.A.M. Duncan (University of Glasgow, unpublished Scottish History Department Occasional Papers, 1976), no. 16. Duncan dates this document to ca.1293, though bearing in mind the circumstances, Professor Barrow's suggested date of early in 1320 seems more plausible (Barrow, <u>Bruce</u>, 298).
30. <u>ER</u>, i, 148.
31. E.M. Hallam, <u>Capetian France 987-1328</u> (London 1980), 280-281.

It is possible that there was some improvement in the health of the Scottish economy in the later 1320s and early 1330s. The Anglo-Scottish peace coincided with a brief improvement in climatic conditions. The earliest extant Scottish customs accounts for the period between 1327 and 1333 do not, however, provide any incisive evidence of an improvement. There was an increase in the amount of customs revenue raised at most Scottish ports during this period, though, in most cases, it was quite small. The trend was not, however, constant. The 1329-30 Edinburgh returns are, for example, almost 60% down on those for 1328-9, while the equivalent figures for Berwick fell by 40%.[32] If there was an improvement, it was probably shortlived, since English military intervention in Scotland resumed between 1333 and 1337.

The plague arrived in Scotland in 1349. Although its effect was, perhaps, less catastrophic than elsewhere in Europe, it, and its recurrent outbreaks, reduced the population significantly - the chroniclers estimated by a third.[33] Logically, a reduction in population would cause a reduction in production, demand and trade. Other factors, however, perhaps helped to sustain pre-plague levels of commerce. Survivors, who inherited money from the dead, had more to spend.

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32. See appendix no. 1.
33. Grant, Independence, 74-75; Chron. Fordun, ii, 359; Chron. Wyntoun (Laing), ii, 482.

The Low Countries, Scotland's principal export market, also appears to have escaped the worst ravages of the plague and certainly the wool exports of the later 1350s were only marginally below those of the early 1330s and well above the stray returns for 1341-3.[34] Indeed, in the early 1370s, they surpassed the levels of the 1330s. The buoyancy of wool exports indicates not only that the level of demand for Scottish wool in the Low Countries' textile manufacturing centres was high, but that supplies of Scottish wool were plentiful.[35] Partly this was because, as elsewhere in Europe, arable land had been turned to pasture. Sheep required less labour at a time when labour was scarce, while the reduced population required a commensurately lower amount of grain to feed itself. In 1457 the government took steps to reverse the trend away from arable farming, ordering that each man '...with a plewche of viij oxin [plant] at the lest ilk yer ane firlot of quheit, half ane firlot of peyss and xl benys'.[36] The trend was, however, accentuated by climatic regression. In south-eastern Scotland the limit of cereal crop cultivation

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34. Pounds, Economic History, 151; ER, i, 274-281, 313-322, 365-374, 419-429, 492-498, 594-615.
35. ER, ii, 311-321, 372-384, 396-408, 469-435, 510-534. Flanders was relatively free from civil unrest in the mid-fourteenth century while, for various reasons, English wool exports declined, particularly in the early 1370s (Lloyd, Wool Trade, 216-224). There was, therefore, a gap in the market, which Scottish wool could fill.
36. Pounds, Economic History, 445; APS, ii, 51.

in 1300 had reached almost the summit of the Lammermuir hills. During the remainder of the middle ages the upper limit of cultivatable land fell by between 75 and 95 metres, more than doubling the amount of uncultivatable land.[37] Indeed, in the longer term, climatic regression, perhaps, had a greater effect on the Scottish economy and trade than the Black Death. Not only did the amount of cultivatable land shrink, but the average frequency of crop failure rose from one year in twenty in the thirteenth century to one year in five by the mid-fourteenth century and one year in three in the mid-fifteenth century.[38] Dampness also caused ergotism in some types of grain (particularly rye), while in 1358 floods in Lothian washed away the crops which were lying in the fields after harvesting.[39] Some indication of the extent of the fall in Scottish grain production can be seen from the upward trend in grain prices, though the debasement of the Scottish coinage and consequent inflation also helps to explain this. Nevertheless, the price of barley and wheat, which required a longer period of summer warmth to ripen than most other cereal crops, rose particularly steeply compared to oat prices.[40] The upward price trend in Scotland was contrary to the situation in most of Europe, where the decline in cereal

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37. M.L. Parry, Climatic Change, Agriculture and Settlement (Folkstone 1978), 101, 116-117.
38. Ibid., 101. On the government's attempts to stop the hoarding of grain in times of dearth and its inducement to foreign merchants to bring grain to Scotland, see, for example, APS, ii, 41.
39. Parry, Climatic Change, 188; Chron. Fordun, ii, 367.
40. Grant, Independence, 78, 81, Appendix B, Tables II, III; Stevenson, Thesis, 36, n.68; Parry, Climatic Change, 194.

production was not as great as the fall in demand for grain following the population decrease. Thus, over most of Europe, grain prices were either stable or in decline during the later middle ages.[41] Meanwhile, the price of sheep and cattle in Scotland remained steady or fell, perhaps inducing a shift in dietary patterns towards a greater consumption of meat. Nevertheless, although sheep farming increased, the climatic deterioration also affected the quality of wool Increasingly wet weather could, for example, cause matting or fungal infestation in wool and thereby damage its quality.[42] By the 1380s wool exports were in decline. By the 1390s several Flemish cloth-producing centres had instituted prohibitions on the use of Scottish wool in textile production and, instead, turned to the use of better quality Spanish wool.[43] Initially hide exports made up for a decline in Scottish wool exports, but by the later 1380s these too were in decline. The volume and value of Scotland's staple exports (wool, fells and hides) dropped in the later 1380s and 1390s and, except for a brief improvement in the wool exports in

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41. Pounds, Economic History, 476-481.
42. Stevenson, Thesis, 25.
43. See below, 128. The extent to which Spanish wool supplanted Scottish wool should not, however, be exaggerated. See Stevenson, Thesis, 260-261.

the 1420s, they fell still further in the fifteenth century.[44]

Reasons for the decline in Scottish wool exports were not restricted to the declining quality of Scottish wool. Ever since the 1290s periodic civil disorder in Flanders had disrupted Flemish textile production, causing periodic reductions in the demand for Scottish wool. The unrest was particularly acute between 1379 and 1385, when the fall in Scottish wool exports became quite marked. Meanwhile, the virtual monopoly of the southern Low Countries in north European cloth production was being challenged from the mid-fourteenth century by a growth in English, south German and east European production. These were areas from which Scottish wool was in practice excluded, mainly for economic and geographic reasons, though, in the case of England, also, at times, for political reasons. Furthermore, consumer demand was changing. While Flemish cloth had been the luxury textile of the thirteenth century, it was supplanted in the later middle ages by Italian silk. For several reasons,

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44. ER, iii-xi, passim. For a convenient statistical summary of wool and skin exports over five year periods between 1327 and 1469, see Grant, Independence, Appendix B, Table I. For the period after 1460 annual customs returns on all exported commodities are listed in I. Guy, The Scottish Export Trade 1460-1599 from the Exchequer Rolls (University of St. Andrews, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, 1982), appendix.

therefore, although woollen cloth production in the rural areas of the Low Countries held up, there was a dramatic drop in production at the traditional, urban centres of textile production, such as Ypres, Louvain and Courtrai.[45]

Scotsmen could, of course, try to make good the decline in the Flemish wool market by expanding domestic cloth production. That this was attempted is suggested by the introduction of an import levy on English cloth in 1398, which was, perhaps, intended to protect domestic Scottish production.[46] Poor Scottish wool, however, made poor cloth. Although there was always a market for this, not only in Scotland but also among the poorer sections of continental society, it was a shrinking market. Following the Black Death, wages generally rose across Europe. They tailed off in the fifteenth century, but, despite this, the general fall in the price of foodstuffs resulted in a continuing rise in real incomes. Part of this extra income was spent on better quality cloth, as the growth of sumptuary legislation in many parts of Europe demonstrates.[47] The sale of Scottish cloth abroad must have been further limited once transportation costs and customs duties were added by merchants to the basic price of cloth. The former were levied quantitatively rather than ad valorem. It, therefore, cost comparatively more to

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45. Pounds, Economic History, 450-452.
46. APS, i, 571.
47. Pounds, Economic History, 482-483. Sumptuary legislation was even imposed in Scotland in 1458 (APS, ii, 49).

send cloth to the Low Countries from Scotland than it did from England, because the distances involved were greater. Thus, the price differential between poor Scottish cloth and better quality English (and Flemish) cloth was reduced. An export duty on Scottish cloth was first imposed in 1398, but never apparently collected.[48] In March 1425 parliament reordained the levy on cloth exports and the first proceeds arrived in the exchequer during the 1426 audit.[49] That James I instituted them suggests that the crown expected a lucrative return. In fact, the initial levies (raised ad valorem, at 2s in the pound) were unimpressive. £252-0s-4d was collected at Edinburgh and smaller amounts, not exceeding £20, were raised at Ayr, Stirling, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, Montrose and Linlithgow. The last surviving account of James I's reign showed little improvement. In 1436 a total of £349-4s-8d was raised, with the increase due only to £99-4s-0d which the Kirkcudbright customers had returned.[50] After James I's death the custom on cloth lapsed until 1451-2, when the duty raised amounted to only £160-18s-2d.[51] Latterly, there was some improvement. By the final five years of James IV's reign, the average annual yield of the cloth custom

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48. APS, i, 571; ER, iii, 462-475, 486-501, 514-527, 539-553, 564-577, 596-603, 613-634.
49. APS, ii, 8; ER, iv, 400-417.
50. ER, iv, 604-629.
51. ER, v, 491-509. Only Haddington, Perth, Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Stirling made returns for cloth exports. The Aberdeen and Cupar customers specifically stated that they owed no money for the cloth custom. The Dundee customers made a return for two years in 1453, which included only £4-19s-11d for cloth (ER, v, 558). The customers were instructed to reimpose the cloth custom from 1 August 1452 (ER, v, 509). It was now raised on the quantity of exports rather than ad valorem.

amounted to almost £370.[52] Nevertheless, the value of cloth exports failed to overtake that of wool exports. At the end of James I's reign, the duty raised on cloth was a tenth of the proceeds raised from wool exports; by the end of James IV's reign it had risen to only between a quarter and a half of the declining revenue raised on wool. Unlike England, then, there was only a small increase in the volume of Scottish cloth exports in the later middle ages. Scottish cloth did not, therefore, fill the gap in the Scottish export market caused by the drop in demand for Scottish wool. Nor did diversification into other products, such as coal, salt or fish. Although these commodities were all customed and exported from Scotland in the fifteenth century, they could also be obtained elsewhere in Europe: coal (for which demand in the middle ages was in any case limited) from north-eastern England, the Ruhr valley and the Liège area; salt (of much better quality) from Lüneburg and western France; cod from Iceland and Norway; and herring (after the decline of the Skanian fisheries in the early fifteenth century) from Holland.

A limited range of Scottish export products was paralleled by a healthy market for imported goods. Supplies of basic foodstuffs (particularly grain) were required to make good regular shortfalls in Scottish production. Other comestibles not produced in Scotland,

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52. ER, xiii, 84-101, 225-238, 358-373, 381-393, 479-493, 569-579.

such as wine, were also sought after. Although timber could be obtained in the north and west of Scotland, the difficulties of hewing it and then transporting such a bulky commodity to the centres of population on the eastern seaboard made it easier to import sylvan products. Many luxuries also had to be imported, since, apart from pearls, Scotland produced few of its own. Thus, for example, fine quality cloths and, indeed, several raw materials used in domestic cloth production, such as alum and flax, were sent from abroad.[53] It was the high level of demand for imported goods, rather than the range of commodities obtainable in Scotland, which continued to attract foreign merchants and ships to Scotland in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The deterioration of the climate, the reduction in the population and warfare all, therefore, served to upset the healthy balance of the thirteenth-century Scottish economy. During the fourteenth century a trade surplus was gradually converted into a deficit. The increase of the money supply in the thirteenth century was slowly reversed, not only because of the trade deficit, but also because large sums of money had to be raised to pay for the ransoms of David II and James I. As elsewhere

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53. After it had been woven, cloth was soaked in a solution of water and alum, before being beaten, rinsed, stretched and dyed. Alum is rarely recorded on in the Scottish sources, but was re-exported to Copenhagen in 1479 (HUB, x, no. 715). On the other imported commodities listed, see chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, below, passim, and, on timber, M.L. Anderson, A History of Scottish Forestry, ed. C.J. Taylor (London 1967), i, passim.

in Europe, with the exception of England, the Scottish coinage was gradually debased, causing inflation.[54]

(ii) The Practice of Commerce

If the later medieval economic depression did not pass Scotland by, neither (to a lesser extent) did the effects of the thirteenth-century commercial revolution. Recently Scottish historians have begun to turn their attention to the ways in which merchants conducted their trade. Particular attention has been paid to the rôle of the burghs in trade, their trading precincts, the regulations concerning the sale and purchase of goods within the burghs, the weights and measures of commodities and the customs dues paid when exporting goods abroad.[55] Rather less analysis has been made of the means by which merchants transported goods abroad and the business and financial arrangements which they made between themselves. A few Scottish exports passed across the land border with England. Some of these, such as beasts and chattels, were destined for sale in Northumberland and Cumberland, while others (principally wool) were shipped abroad from Berwick. Although English

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54. I.H. Stewart, The Scottish Coinage (revised edition, London, 1967), chapters 4-9, passim; J. Gilbert, 'The Usual Money of Scotland and exchange rates against foreign coin', Coinage in Medieval Scotland, ed. D. Metcalf (British Archaeological Reports no. 45, 1977), 131-153; Grant, Independence, 80-81, Appendix B, Table III; Stevenson, Thesis, 291-292.
55. Ewan, Thesis, passim; Stevenson, Thesis, especially chapter 3; H. Booton, 'Inland Trade: a Study of Aberdeen in the Later Middle Ages', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 151-153; E.P.D. Torrie, The Gild of Dunfermline in the Fifteenth Century (University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1984), especially chapter 5.

customs duties were higher than those of Scotland, English kings permitted Berwick to export Scottish wool, hides and fells at a concessionary rate. Consequently, at least until the mid-fifteenth century, Berwick continued to handle a sizeable amount of Scottish trade.[56] Nevertheless, most of Scotland's foreign trade passed through Scottish ports. The west-coast burghs traded chiefly with Ireland, France and Spain, but throughout the middle ages their share of overseas trade was dwarfed by that of the burghs situated on or near the east coast, between Aberdeen and the English border.

Many of the towns located on the coast possessed 'natural harbours' which, perhaps, amounted to nothing more than an exposed beach head.[57] Others, such as Inverkeithing or Montrose, were advantageously positioned on sheltered bays. Perth and Stirling developed on rivers which were navigable by seaborne vessels. A large number of burghs were, however, positioned neither on the sea nor on a navigable river. These towns, therefore, acquired ports through which their trade could be directed: Cupar possessed a haven on the river Eden, Dunfermline used Gellet (Limekilns), Edinburgh used Leith, while Aberlady became Haddington's port.

Many of the earliest ports were undeveloped. Blackness,

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56. A.E. Goodman, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society', Scotland and England 1286-1815, ed. R. Mason (Edinburgh 1987), 24-26. See also below, 122
57. A. Graham, 'Archaeological Notes on Some Harbours in Eastern Scotland', PSAS, ci (1968-9), 203.

for example, was used as a port by 1304, but it was not until 1465 that Linlithgow, which had been granted the port in 1389, was permitted to construct a harbour there. It was not until the sixteenth century that harbours were built at Dunbar and Pittenweem.[58]

Where harbours had been built, it was necessary to keep their structures well maintained. Harbour dues ('cannage') had been levied since at least David I's reign. Part of the proceeds were used to keep harbours and their entrances in good repair. By 1337 the burgesses of Berwick complained that Robert de Tugal, the sheriff of Berwickshire, had pocketed the dues, so that 'la dit Hauen est en poynt destre perdu'.[59] Dr. Ewan has demonstrated that harbour improvements were carried out in the fourteenth century at Arbroath, Crail, Leith and, possibly, also at Perth and Aberdeen.[60] Such work continued in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1428 a levy was imposed on ships and goods using Leith 'in augmentation of the fabrik and reparatioun of the port'; it is, perhaps, not without significance that in 1428 the Edinburgh customers reported the presence of a shipwreck at Leith.[61] With the harbour again in disrepair in 1445 the levy was reimposed, while in 1475 James III confirmed the introduction of a

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58. Graham, 'Harbours', 217, 234, 263.
59. Early Scottish Charters, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow 1905), 43, 62, 296, 401; NP, no. 11.
60. Ewan, Thesis, 10-11.
61. Edin. Recs., i, 3; ER, iv, 439.

permanent impost on shipping using Leith, in order to meet the cost of further repairs and building work at the harbour. In 1505 and 1508 stones were removed from the entrance-channel to the harbour.[62] In ca.1506 a new harbour, with two piers, was built at Newhaven, in Edinburgh, though it was intended primarily for military, rather than commercial, purposes.[63] Improvements to the harbours of other towns are also recorded. In 1447 James II, with the consent of the burgesses of Dundee, ordered the raising of shore dues at Dundee to pay for enlarging and repairing the port, since 'by reason of defective repair great damage threatened the shipping frequenting the said port'.[64] Between 1447 and 1451 Aberdeen's harbour was probably also in disrepair, since during these years the town's trade passed through the port of Footdee rather than Aberdeen itself. In 1453 £50 was spent on the construction of a bulwark at Aberdeen harbour.[65]

Although there were also small, unsophisticated ports in the Baltic, Scottish trade appears to have been chiefly centred on the Baltic's larger ports, such as Stralsund and Danzig. These harbours were generally more sophisticated than their Scottish counterparts and several, such as Danzig and Elbing, possessed cranes to

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62. Edin. Recs., i, 7, 25, 99, 113.
63. Graham, 'Harbours', 256.
64. Dundee Chrs., 24-26.
65. ER, v, 306, 341, 389, 431; V.E. Clark, The Port of Aberdeen (Aberdeen 1921), 7. A barge and a hulk, both possibly German, had been shipwrecked near Aberdeen's port in 1444 (DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 684).

facilitate the loading and unloading of vessels.[66] Of course, it was just as necessary for Baltic towns as for their Scottish counterparts to maintain the upkeep of their harbour. As in Scotland, harbour dues were levied for this purpose.

From the thirteenth century the most common type of vessel used in the long distance trade of northern Europe was the cog, a normally single-masted, flat-bottomed ship, which was capable of loading approximately one hundred lasts. In the fourteenth century other, larger flat-bottomed vessels (barges and hulks) were developed. The hulk, like the cog, had one sail, but, by the mid-fifteenth century, a three-masted vessel (the carvel) was also in use. In northern Europe, however, the carvel did not supersede the barge or the hulk, which remained the most commonly used type of vessel until the seventeenth century. In addition to cogs, barges, hulks and carvels, smaller ships were also built. These ranged in size from the kraier (25-50 lasts), to the even smaller balinger and budse.[67] These smaller vessels were occasionally used in trade between Scotland and the Hanseatic towns. A budse, for example, sailed from Scotland to Danzig in 1444; a Bremen kraier visited Scotland in 1452; and a Stralsund kraier is recorded at Aberdeen in 1478.[68]

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66. Danzig Bild einer Hansestadt (Katalog einer Ausstellung des Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preussisch Kulturbesitz, Berlin 1980), 46-49; E. Carsten, Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing (Elbing 1937), 106-107.
67. Dollinger, Hanse, 186-191; G.V. Scammell, The World Encompassed (London 1981), 77-80. The size of Hanseatic ships was always described in lasts. One last is roughly equal to two metric tons.
68. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15; LUB, ix, no. 126; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 557.

Nevertheless, cogs, barges and hulks are mentioned more frequently in sources relating to Scottish-Hanseatic trade. Edward II complained that German cogs were trading in Scotland in 1309, while a Bremen cog visited Blackness in 1402. A hulk from Königsberg sailed to Leith in 1483 and a Scottish barge returned to Aberdeen from Danzig in 1509.[69] Although some Scotsmen certainly owned carvels in the fifteenth century, they cannot be traced in service on trade routes to the Baltic.[70]

There was no necessary correspondence between the class and the size of a vessel. Hulks and barges were sometimes bigger than carvels. In ca.1455 a list of vessels anchored at Sluys was drawn up for the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold. The list included a barge of 500 tons, belonging to the bishop of St. Andrews ('a very fine ship'), and a 140 ton carvel, owned by the bishop of Aberdeen. Other Scottish barges, of 350 tons, 150 tons and 28 tons, were also recorded, together with a twenty ton Scottish balinger.[71] The Sluys list suggests that Scottish ships were larger than those of other countries: the six Scottish ships were among the biggest noted by Philip's officials and out of a total of over one hundred vessels, that belonging to the bishop of St. Andrews was the largest of all. The size of Scottish

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69. Rot. Scot.,i, 78; Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 334(3); HUB, x, no. 1077; DA Aberdeen, ACR, viii, 1017.
70. E.g. ER, vi, 3; vii, 293; CDS, v, no. 1063. A Scottish carvel was, however, in the service of the king of Denmark in 1511 (HR, C, vi, no. 184).
71. R. Vaughan, Philip the Good (London 1970), 240.

ship crews recorded in English sources also points to Scotsmen possessing particularly large vessels. In 1408, for example, two Scottish ships, each with crews of sixty, are noted. Since small ships of 75 lasts were usually crewed by twelve sailors, while about twenty sailors were required for a ship of 125 lasts, the two Scottish ships were, perhaps, of 375 lasts (750 tons).[72] Nevertheless, many smaller Scottish ships are also recorded. A vessel with only eight mariners received an English safe-conduct in 1408, while in 1493, James IV ordered that all seaports were to have balingers of twenty lasts built.[73] When Dr. Nicholas West, an envoy of Henry VIII, visited Leith in 1513, he found 'only nine or ten small topmen with other small balingers and crayers'.[74]

Most of the Hansa's ships were constructed in the Hanseatic shipbuilding yards, though in 1480 some Danzig merchants bought a ship which had been brought to Scotland by French pirates.[75] Some ships were also built in Scotland. Matthew Paris, the English chronicler, recorded the building of a ship at Inverness for the count of St. Pol in 1249.[76] There is

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72. CDS, iv, no. 764; Dollinger, Hanse, 203.
73. CDS, iv, no. 766; APS, ii, 235.
74. James IV Letters, appendix II.
75. HUB, x, no. 778. Stralsund, for example, had thirteen independent shipbuilders in 1426. Fritze, Am Wendepunkt der Hanse, 30.
76. Matthaei Parisiensis, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, (London 1872-83), v, 93.

little evidence of shipbuilding in Scotland in the fourteenth century, but the industry was vibrant in the fifteenth century. Robert Gray, the crown's master of works, supervised the construction of a barge for James I and a similar ship for the queen in 1435. Repair work on a carvel was carried out at Leith in 1450, and again in 1455, and in 1465 ships were being built near Berwick.[77] The year after the parliamentary statute ordering the building of ships in 1493, James IV spent £512-9s-9d on the building of a barge and two boats and the repair of a warship, the 'Christopher', at Dumbarton.[78] Subsequently, James had other ships, including the 'Margaret', the 'Treasure' and the 'James' built and his greatest ship, the 'Great St. Michael', was launched in 1512.[79]

Nevertheless, the construction of ships in Scotland was neither cheap nor easy. Many of the raw materials required for such work had to be imported. On the east coast, timber was scarce. Even in the thirteenth century the monks of Lindores sought timber for fuel from as far away as Glen Errochty.[80] In the fourteenth century Froissart noted the complaints of Scotsmen about their French allies who, when visiting Scotland in 1385, wasted timber by cutting it down and using it for shelter.[81]

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77. ER, iv, 626; v, 384, 387; vi, 3; vii, 370.
78. APS, ii, 235; TA, i, 245-254.
79. Reid, 'Seapower in the Foreign Policy of James IV', Medievalia et Humanistica, xv, 100-101.
80. Anderson, Forestry, 142-144, 237-243; Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores 1195-1479, ed. J. Dowden (SHS, 1903), 79.
81. The Chronicle of Froissart, translated out of the French by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, annis 1523-25, ed. W.P. Ker (London 1901-1903), iv, 64.

Timber was sent from Alloway for the construction of the new harbour at Newhaven in 1504.[82] While timber was available in the remoter areas of the north and west, it was a major undertaking to transport it to the seaports where ships were built. In 1435 timber was sent by sea from the north for shipbuilding at Leith.[83] For the work carried out at Dumbarton in 1494, wood was floated down the river Leven from the Loch Lomond area. A sixteenth-century writer, Florence Wilson of Elgin (ca.1500-ca.1551), remembered how in his childhood he had seen '... the local people throw the trees ... into the river [Tay]... and then placing themselves upon these trees ... they are wont to ride as if they were on a boat over the rapids...'.[84] The types of timber best suited for the production of ship masts, normally firs, were particularly scarce in Scotland. In 1512, James IV informed King Hans of Denmark that a Danish sailor, whom he had commissioned to seek out ship masts in the north of Scotland, had failed to find any suitable timber.[85]

To compensate for the shortage or inaccessability of Scottish timber, some wood was imported for shipbuilding. Eastland boards were used for the construction of ships near Berwick in 1465. Norwegian, French and Dutch timber was used for the construction of James IV's 'Great St. Michael'. In 1512 James contracted John Barton, John

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82. TA, ii, 449.
83. ER, iv, 625.
84. TA, i, 247-8; W. Linnard, 'Timber Floating: an Early Record on the Tay and the Use of Coracles or Currachs', Scottish Studies, xxv (1981), 77-79.
85. James IV Letters, no. 435.

Balyerd and William Cristal to buy timber for shipbuilding in Normandy.[86] A mast for one of James I's ships was imported from Zeeland in 1424, while James IV sought masts in England, Danzig, Holstein and Norway.[87] Other commodities used in shipbuilding, such as iron, had also to be imported, while, for work carried out on the west coast, coal had to be transported from the Forth valley. Scottish shipwrights too were scarce. James IV employed Frenchmen and Spaniards in this capacity, as well as a Portuguese man who complained about his low wages.[88]

That Scottish shipbuilding flourished despite such difficulties is partly due to restrictions imposed on the sale of ships in other countries. To limit foreign commercial competition, the Hansa proscribed the sale of ships to foreigners in 1426. Ferdinand and Isabella issued similar restrictions on the sale of Spanish-built ships.[89] Nevertheless, Scots were able, on occasions, to circumvent such restrictions. A budse was acquired from Bremen in 1445 and in 1473 certain unnamed Scots paid £184 for a foreign vessel which had been captured by men from Hamburg.[90] James IV paid £35 for a 'brokin' Portuguese vessel in 1498. Breton yards were building ships for James IV in 1504 and 1508, while

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86. ER, vii, 370; Reid, 'Seapower in the Foreign Policy of James IV', 101; James IV Letters, no. 402.
87. ER, iv, 626; TA, iv, 296, 331; James IV Letters, nos. 213, 230-232, 435, 436.
88. TA, iv, 75, 335, 341, 482, 502, 511, 527.
89. Dollinger, Hanse, 191; James IV Letters, no. 163.

William Brownhill arranged for a ship to be refitted at St. Sebastian.[91] A market also existed in Scotland for pirated vessels: in 1459 two captured English ships were sold at Kirkcudbright.[92]

Merchants were able to compensate for the lack of available Scottish shipping by using foreign vessels. A parliamentary statute of 1428 ordained that:

> ... quhare scottis schippis may nocht be gottyn that [merchants] may fure their gudis and thare merchandice in schippis of vther cuntries. [93]

As far as Scottish trade with northern Europe is concerned, this merely legalized an existing state of affairs. During the Wars of Independence Scottish merchants had regularly freighted their goods on German and other foreign vessels. By the fifteenth century there is evidence of Scottish merchants using Scottish, German, Norwegian, Danish, French and Low Countries' shipping.[94] Such diversity was not particularly unusual. English, Castilian, Gascon, French, Dutch, Italian and Portuguese shipping was, for example, all used on Anglo-Castilian trade routes.[95]

Since at least the fourteenth century merchants from different Scottish burghs sometimes jointly shared cargo space on the same vessel. In 1302, for example, Gregory of Gordon, John Mercer of Perth and William of

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91. TA, i, 388; ii, 445, 461; iii, 135; iv, 460; James IV Letters, no. 163.
92. ER, vi, 495.
93. APS, ii, 16 (The permission was granted for one year only).
94. E.g., DA Aberdeen, ACR, ix, 722; SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 August 4; SRO, E.71/29/2, HUB, vii(1), no. 469; x, no. 769.
95. W.R. Childs, Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages (Manchester 1978), 149.

Edinburgh chartered a Lübeck ship, while in 1372 merchants from Edinburgh, Dundee and Perth jointly chartered a vessel sailing to Bruges.[96] Likewise, merchants from different Hanseatic towns sometimes banded together to freight a ship. In 1402, for example, a Bremen vessel visiting Scotland contained goods belonging to merchants from Bremen, Lübeck and unspecified Prussian ports.[97] On other occasions, ships carried goods belonging to both Scottish and German merchants: one sailing to Danzig in 1444, for example, was laden with cargoes owned by merchants from Danzig and twelve different Scottish burghs.[98]

Neither ships nor merchants necessarily exported goods to or from their home ports. Finlay Usher, a Scottish merchant, sent a cargo of herring from Skania to Flanders aboard a Zeeland vessel in 1381. In 1447 Thomas Forman, an Aberdeen merchant, bought a last of Prussian wheat from an Edinburgh merchant and arranged for it to be delivered to him by ship in Rattray, Aberdeen or Leith, 'quhar it suld happin the said schip to arrive'. A Danzig ship sailed from Wismar to Edinburgh in 1463, but returned to either Rostock or Stralsund. Some Hanseatic ships also called at a Scottish port while sailing between the Baltic and the Low Countries: a Greifswald ship arrived at Aberdeen from Nijmegen in 1439.[99]

Since the fourteenth century, if not earlier, goods

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96. CDS, v, no. 327; Rot.Scot., i, 948.
97. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 317(4), 329(3), 334(3).
98. See below, 166-170.
99. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 584; DA Aberdeen, ACR, iv, 498; HUB, viii, no. 1245; LUB, vii, no. 808.

cocketed at one Scottish port were also regularly sent to another for export. This was probably because it was easier at some ports than at others to find a ship to export goods. Despite, for example, Haddington possessing its own port at Aberlady, the town's merchants sometimes exported their goods through Dunbar, Leith or North Berwick. Exports from Perth frequently passed through Dundee, whose merchants in turn sometimes sent their goods for export to St. Andrews.[100] On the whole, however, it was the larger ports which attracted merchandise from the smaller ones. In 1329, for example, the Edinburgh customers recorded the export of goods cocketed at Linlithgow, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Lochmaben, Tarbert and Stirling. By the early sixteenth century, when Edinburgh's share of foreign trade far outstripped that of other Scottish ports, goods cocketed at Banff, Dingwall, Dundee, Dunfermline, Dysart, Forres, Haddington, Inverkeithing, Kinghorn, Linlithgow, Montrose, Perth, Pittenweem, St. Andrews, Stirling and Tain all passed through Edinburgh.[101]

By the later middle ages, the ownership of ships was usually divided between several merchants and a skipper. Hanseatic vessels were commonly owned by four partners in the fourteenth century and by eight or

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100. E.g. ER, iii, 4, 114, 405; vii, 217, 293.
101. ER, i, 175; SRO, E71/29/2; SRO, E71/29/3. On Aberdeen's export and import trade via Leith, see Booton, 'Inland Trade', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 155.

more in the fifteenth century.[102] By then Scotsmen too might possess an eighth share in a ship. In 1493 Thomas Small, a Dundee merchant, sued James Rollock of Dundee for withholding money owed for an eighth share of two vessels and an eighth share of the profit made by the vessels on voyages to Zeeland and Danzig.[103] Nevertheless, even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the quarter or half ownership of Scottish ships was not uncommon and many continued to be the possession of a single man.[104] This was particularly the case with ships owned by members of the nobility and, of course, by the king, whose vessels were often hired out for commercial purposes when they were not required for military engagements.[105] Merchants who jointly owned a ship usually came from the same town, though there are also examples of ships owned by merchants from different towns. In 1321 a ship,

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102. Dollinger, Hanse, 200.
103. ADC, i, 274-275.
104. E.g. CDS, iv, no. 23; Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515, ed. G. Donaldson (SRS, 1952), nos. 253, 254 (a particularly interesting example where the quarter ownership of a vessel was vested in a woman); CDS, iv, no. 764; Protocol Book of Gavin Ros N.P. 1512-1532, edd. J. Anderson and F.J. Grant (SRS, 1908), no. 885.
105. Reid, 'Seapower in the Foreign Policy of James IV', 97-98. Robert I, James I, James II, James III and James IV are all known to have possessed ships and although there is no evidence, it seems likely that the later fourteenth-century kings did too. Bishops also hired out their vessels for commercial purposes. In 1459, for example, the bishop of Aberdeen sought payment from Andrew Alanson, an Aberdeen merchant, for goods shipped on the bishop's ship, the 'Christopher' (DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 394).

which was probably trading with Scotland, was half-owned by a Lübeck merchant, with the other half belonging to two merchants from Lübeck and Stralsund. Another German vessel visiting Scotland in 1402 jointly belonged to merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg. In 1525 the 'Christopher' was owned by men from Cupar and St. Andrews. There is even a reference to a Scot (Arthur Bruce) and a German (Peter Stralk of Hamburg) sharing the possession of a ship in the early sixteenth century.[106]

In Hanseatic towns, the crews of ships were hired by the skippers of ships from among the population living in or near the sea ports. Their conditions of service were laid down in maritime law.[107] Relatively little is known about Scottish crews, though, by the later fifteenth century, it was perhaps difficult to find sailors. Parliament threatened 'idill men' with banishment, if they refused to serve aboard the fishing boats which it had ordered to be built in 1493.[108] The apparent reluctance to serve at sea was, perhaps, due to the danger of sea travel and the cramped conditions which had to be endured aboard ships. Lengthy voyages also meant that sailors had to spend long periods away from their families, while, when ships were tied up in harbour, their crews were not normally paid.[109]

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106. PUB, vi, no. 3544; Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 329(1), 337(1); ADCP, 220; James IV Letters, no. 512.
107. Dollinger, Hanse, 203; The Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. Sir T. Twiss (London 1871-1876), iv, passim.
108. APS, ii, 235. By contrast, in 1458, parliament had attempted to restrict unfreemen from joining 'the multitude of sailors' (ibid., 49).
109. K. Fritze, Die Hansestadt Stralsund (Schwerin 1961), 68-69.

By at least the fifteenth century some crews were of mixed nationality. In 1478, for example, Richard Mill of Dundee was engaged as the steersman aboard a Stralsund vessel, while the crew of James IV's 'Great St. Michael' included Spaniards, Frenchmen and possibly a German (Wolf Duchman).[110] James also employed a French pilot on the 'James', while the 'Gabriel' had a French skipper.[111] Diversity of nationality among a ships's crew was not, however, unusual elsewhere in Europe in the later middle ages and still common in later sixteenth-century Scotland.[112]

By the later middle ages several members of a ship's crew performed specialized occupations. In addition to the skipper, many vessels carried a quartermaster.[113] Carpenters ('timbermen') frequently sailed with ships so that emergency repair works could be carried out quickly.[114] Pilots and steersmen are frequently referred to.[115] Ship-caulkers, boatswains, cooks, gunners and priests were also employed on James IV's ships.[116]

The speed with which vessels travelled depended largely on the chance of favourable winds. In good conditions a ship might average a rate of 15 km per hour, but, in less propitious circumstances, only four to five kilometres per hour could be maintained.[117] Dr. Stevenson

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110. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 557; TA, iv, 503-505.
111. TA, iv, 506-507.
112. Childs, Castilian Trade, 167; M.H.B. Sanderson, Mary Stewart's People (Edinburgh 1987), 128.
113. E.g. Protocol Book of James Young, no. 1687.
114. E.g. Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, no. 885.
115. E.g. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(i), 572; vi, 546, 557.
116. TA, iv, 502-507.
117. Dollinger, Hanse, 192.

has shown that ships bound for the Low Countries from Scotland were usually at sea for six weeks, though on occasions journey times were even shorter. Claus van der Stege, a Lübeck skipper, left Aberdeen on 20 September 1499 and arrived at Vere on 23 October. Letters from the duke of Guelders to James IV sometimes took only five weeks to arrive.[118] Sailings to the Baltic obviously took longer. Professor Lythe has argued that, in the later sixteenth century, ships undertook only one return voyage from Scotland to Danzig per year and a letter written to James IV and dated in Danzig on 8 October 1508 did not arrive until 13 January 1509. Nevertheless, the king 'wondered at the messenger's delay' and it was possible to cover the route much quicker. The skipper Hans Dertholt, for example, is recorded twice arriving from Scotland in the 1471 Danzig customs account.[119] Obviously journey times from Norway and the western Baltic to Scotland were usually shorter - Alexander III's daughter, Margaret, departed Scotland on 11 August 1281 and arrived in Norway for her marriage to King Eric on 15 August - though on occasions it still took up to two and a half months for messages sent from the king of Denmark to reach Scotland.[120] One of the principal reasons for the delay in communications between Scotland and the Baltic was the

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118. Stevenson, Thesis, 167-168; James IV Letters, no. 14.
119. S.G.E. Lythe, 'Scottish Trade with the Baltic 1550-1650', Economic Essays in Commemoration of the Dundee School of Economics 1931-1955, ed. J.K. Eastham (Coupar Angus 1955), 73; James IV Letters, no. 213; WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/3, fos. 131v, 165.
120. Barrow, Bruce, 9, James IV Letters, nos. 36, 86.

Hansa's ban on winter sailings, instituted because of the danger which ice posed to shipping. The restriction, which, by the fifteenth century, lasted from 11 November to 22 February, applied to foreign as well as Hanseatic shipping, though ships sailing for the North Sea could proceed after 11 November, so long as they had left their port of departure before that date. Foreigners failing to beat the deadline were, however, forced to spend an unprofitable three months of idleness in the Baltic.[121]

Medieval skippers generally preferred to sail close to the coastline, where shelter from a storm could be more easily found. Judging from the number of references to shipwrecks in England, ships sailing between the Low Countries and Scotland stayed close to the English coastline, even during the Wars of Independence.[122] Vessels sailing between Scotland and the Baltic could not, however, avoid a dangerous voyage across the North Sea. Even after ships had arrived in the Kattegat, they had to negotiate the dangerous cross-winds off the Jutland peninsula, though once in the Baltic they could again hug the coastline. From the early fifteenth century all ships sailing into and out of the Baltic were supposed to pass through the Sound and pay a toll at Elsinore. It was possible to avoid this toll station by sailing through the Belt, but if skippers were detected,

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121. Dollinger, Hanse, 193-194.
122. E.g., CCR, 1318-23, 284, 297, 298.

they were liable to pay a fine.[123] Apart from harbour dues and customs, this was the only toll payable by ships sailing to the Baltic, though the prolific number of tolls levied on German rivers perhaps explains why Scottish ships appear to have sailed only as far as coastal ports, rather than venturing further inland.

Adverse weather, attacks during periods of warfare and piracy were the principal risks faced by seamen, though in 1405 there is a reference to a ship with Scotsmen aboard catching fire while on the open seas.[124] There were several methods by which skippers and shipowners could safeguard themselves against loss. The most obvious - insurance - does not appear to have been used. To guard against attack, some ships were armed. In 1416 the crews of Scottish ships visiting Holland were granted the right to arm themselves in times of war. In 1514-5 the Bergenfahrer of Lübeck, Rostock and Wismar armed themselves against an expected onslaught by Scottish pirates.[125] The possession of a foreign safe-conduct also gave shipowners and merchants the right to sue in foreign courts for the restitution of captured ships and goods. Scots, therefore, regularly acquired English safe-conducts,[126] while the privileges which some Hanseatic towns acquired for their merchants trading

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123. C. Hill, The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic (Durham, N.C., 1926), 11; HUB, viii, no. 1245.
124. CDS, v, no. 936.
125. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 940; HR, C, vi, nos. 576, 578, 647.
126. E.g. CDS, iv, nos. 764, 766, 794.

in Scotland included a general safe-conduct for all the merchants of that town.[127] Sailing in convoy was another safeguard against attack. By the fourteenth century Hanseatic ships frequently sailed in groups of between two and five and, by the fifteenth century, Hanseatic fleets sailing to the Bay of Bourgneuf were often composed of over one hundred vessels. The number of ships sailing on the Scottish-Hanseatic trade route was never large enough to permit a convoy of similar numbers, but smaller convoys were common. In 1513, for example, three vessels left Leith for Stralsund within three days of each other, perhaps intending to meet each other outside Leith harbour, while small clusters of between two and nine ships regularly arrived in Danzig from Scotland at, or about, the same time.[128] On occasions ships bound for Scotland joined the Bay fleet, leaving the main convoy at an appropriate juncture.[129]

Navigational techniques were rudimentary in northern Europe compared to those used by Mediterranean seamen. No sea charts are known of: experience and a good memory were probably among the prime qualities of a good skipper. In good visibility, towns could be recognized from afar by distinctive buildings, such as church spires. Pilots, with a special knowledge of local hazards, had been used to guide ships since at

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127. E.g. HUB, vii(i), no. 556; viii, no. 223.
128. SRO, E71/29/3; e,g, WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/3, fos. 175v-177. See also Stevenson, Thesis, 173.
129. HUB, viii, no. 366.

least the thirteenth century. Compasses were used by some Hanseatic skippers by the later fourteenth century, and James IV also equipped some of his vessels with them. Until the early modern period, however, a sounding line was the only navigational instrument with which most Hanseatic, and probably most Scottish, vessels were normally equipped.[130] Sea laws, based primarily on the thirteenth-century laws of Oléron, were reasonably similar throughout northern and western Europe.[131]

While skippers nearly always carried merchandise on their vessels which belonged to themselves or their partners, most of the cargo space on a fully laden ship was taken up by goods belonging to other merchants. Sometimes only between two and four merchants chartered a ship, but not infrequently ships contained goods belonging to a dozen or more merchants. The relationship between skippers and merchants was not always cordial. Once goods were aboard a ship, their fate lay in the hands of the skipper, rather than the merchant. In certain circumstances (for example, to escape from pirates or to avoid shipwreck) the skipper might deem it necessary to jettison his load. Laws had to be devised to regulate the circumstances when this was justified and the amount of compensation which a merchant ought to receive for the loss of his goods.[132]

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130. Schildhauer, et.al., Hanse, 130; TA, iii, 386; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 572.
131. Twiss, Black Book, iv, p. xxvi; Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 131.
132. Twiss, Black Book, iv, 74-79, 271, 293, 338-341, 401.

On other occasions, a skipper might not take his cargo to the destination which had been previously agreed with the merchants who had chartered his vessel. In 1454, for example, William Halyburton and John Barnes of Haddington and John Colin of Edinburgh agreed not to pursue a court case against the skipper Hartwig Hartwigesson, who, instead of delivering the Scotsmen's goods to Scotland, apparently took them to Lübeck. Hartwigesson agreed to deliver the merchandise to Scotland at a later date.[133] It was to safeguard against disputes between skippers and merchants that the Edinburgh town council ordained in 1438 that written contracts be made between skippers and merchants. It was, perhaps, at the instigation of the burghs and merchants that parliament passed a similar statute in 1467.[134]

In the early middle ages, and not infrequently in the later middle ages too, merchants travelled with their merchandise to foreign parts. Frequently they were accompanied by one or two servants and they normally also journeyed with other merchants for greater security. From the thirteenth century, however, the development of various forms of commercial partnership allowed merchants to conduct several simultaneous ventures while remaining in their home town. By enabling

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133. HUB, viii, no. 366. The Danzig council settled another dispute between a Danzig skipper and ten merchants from Edinburgh and Haddington in 1478, though the skipper did not deliver the merchants' goods to Leith until 1483 (HUB, x, nos. 681, 1077).
134. Edin.Recs., i, 5; APS, ii, 87. These statutes, however, still did not prevent disputes arising between merchants and skippers and their crews. See, for example, DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 85 for a dispute between a Danzig merchant and the crew of a ship at Aberdeen.

merchants to spread their capital between ventures, partnerships also minimized the risks of loss. One of the earliest forms of partnership to develop was the Italian commenda and its Hanseatic equivalent, the sendeve, by which merchants contracted associates to take their goods abroad. The goods remained the sole property of the sedentary partner and the sedentary partner normally instructed his associate on how much the goods were to be sold for and what goods were to be purchased on his behalf in foreign parts. In return the travelling partner received either a commission on the profits made from each venture or a fixed salary. In many ways this type of arrangement was akin to an employer-employee relationship, though the junior associate could be a merchant of some standing.

Subsequently, more sophisticated forms of partnership were also developed. The vera societas was closest in nature to the sendeve. One partner provided the capital, while the other conducted the business. Profit and loss were, however, usually shared equally by the partners. Hanseatic wedderlegginge partnerships and the Italian collegantia were more common than the vera societas and characterized by the fact that all the partners brought capital into a venture, while one or a few of them additionally contributed their labour. Some wedderlegginge, however, more closely resembled the Italian compagna, in which all the participants brought both capital and labour into a venture. Wedderlegginge were usually formed by between two and four merchants and were normally of a fixed duration,

rather than permanent. They were also frequently formed by members of the same family, who might live in different towns. Alternatively, younger members of a partner's family, who were not themselves partners, might be stationed abroad to act as factors for the partnership and to learn simultaneously the practice of commerce. Most Hanseatic merchants participated in several different partnerships at the same time; relatively few invested all or most of their capital in just one partnership. It was not until the sixteenth century, with one exception, that large commercial companies were established in Hanseatic towns, similar to those which existed somewhat earlier in Italy and southern Germany. The exception was the Teutonic Order, which, in addition to its military rôle, had widespread commercial interests, both within its own territorial domain and abroad.[135]

By at least the fifteenth century most of these various types of business partnerships were used by Hanseatic merchants trading in Scotland. When the ownership of goods is ascribed to a single German merchant, it must be assumed that either the merchant travelled with his goods or, more probably, that a commenda style of partnership had been formed, with, perhaps, the skipper of a vessel being entrusted with the sale of the goods.[136] Three Bremen merchants, Lubertus de Borstelle, Tidericus de Stocken and Spaneke, who

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135. Dollinger, Hanse, 215-222; Postan, Trade and Finance, 68-71.
136. For examples of cargoes owned by one German merchant, see appendix no. 3.

Comparatively little is known about the partnerships formed between medieval Scottish merchants, though Dr. Ewan has argued that even in the fourteenth century 'trading partnerships appear to have been the order of the day'.[141] In support of her argument she cites the frequent grant of English safe-conducts to single, or groups of two, named Scottish merchants, together with enumerated but unnamed socii. The number of socii on each safe-conduct varied, but was normally between two and six.[142] The socii clearly had some kind of relationship with at least one of the merchants named on the safe-conduct. In Dr. Ewan's opinion they were prospective business partners: they were not named because the partnership had not been finalized when the named merchant applied for the safe-conduct. If she is correct, the number of participants in a Scottish commercial partnership varied between three and eight. Compared to Hanseatic practice, eight was an unusually high number of business partners. Can, however, the English safe-conducts be taken as evidence of a business partnership? The existence of a partnership can only be assumed when the ownership of goods is ascribed to two or more merchants, or when one merchant was clearly acting on the behalf of another. The safe-conducts do not provide evidence of either kind of arrangement. The socii may

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141. Ewan, Thesis, 230.
142. E.g. Rot.Scot., i, 869, 870, 872, 874, 876.

be simply servants of the sort who had accompanied merchants abroad since the early middle ages, while a group of two or more named merchants on a safe-conduct only proves that the named merchants were travelling together. A comparison of the fourteenth and fifteenth century safe-conducts is, perhaps, illuminating in this respect. The latter, like the former, were normally issued to between two and four named merchants and their servants. Unlike the former, however, the fifteenth-century safe-conducts almost always name a single ship, on which the merchants were travelling.[143] Merchants jointly chartering a ship were not necessarily in partnership.

Although the English safe-conducts are, therefore, of dubious value in identifying partnerships between Scottish merchants, more convincing evidence of their existence also survives. Some type of business partnership is indicated when one person (sometimes specifically designated as a factor) can be traced either selling or buying goods on behalf of another merchant. References of this kind are quite common from the fourteenth century. A royal brieve, dated to before ca.1330, sought protection from foreign princes for the agents of merchants travelling abroad. John Blabir of Aberdeen bought goods in Danzig on behalf of Patrick Leslie in 1495. In 1515 Alexander King

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143. E.g. Rot.Scot., ii, 402, 405, 411-414, 417, 426-427, 438, 440, 443.

> ... markit ane last of ter in danskin of Andrew Cullanis mark and laid the said ter in the schip that Johnne Aberdour and John Ramsay came furcht of Coupinhavin to Edinburgh to the proffit of the said Andrew. [144]

Noblemen too engaged factors - the earl of Orkney employed one at Aberdeen in 1444 - and even kings used commercial agents. James I, for example, regularly commissioned John Ducheman to export and import goods on his behalf, while William Muir exported coal to Copenhagen in 1513 'for the king'.[145]

The exact nature of the relationship between the factor and the man who engaged him is not clear in any of these examples, but all of them are probably indicative of a commenda style of partnership, formed between a sleeping partner who invested capital in a commercial venture and an active partner who provided his labour. As elsewhere in Europe, it was not uncommon for what appear to be partnerships of this variety to have been established between members of the same family. In 1490, for example, David White is recorded as the 'procurator and factor' in Aberdeen of his brother Hans, who was living in Danzig.[146] The employment of resident, as opposed to itinerant, factors probably depended largely on the particular

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144. Duncan, Formulary E Scottish Letters and Brieves 1286-1424, no. 62; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 680; ix, 442. (Merchants normally identified their cargoes by marking them with distinctive insignia).
145. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 692; ER, iv, passim; SRO, E71/29/3.
146. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 167.

destination of trade. In Danzig or the Low Countries, where Scottish trade was regular, it was probably easy for Scottish merchants to find resident factors to act on their behalf, perhaps, though not necessarily, from among the Scottish emigrant community. Margaret Manuel, a resident of Middelburg, acted as Donald Crum's factor in Zeeland in the early sixteenth century, while James IV employed Benedict Hawsang, a Danzig resident, as his factor in the eastern Baltic. In those areas where Scottish trade was less frequent, itinerant factors (perhaps the skipper of a ship) are likely to have been more commonly engaged. In 1463, for example, the factors of David Menzies were granted a safe-conduct for travel to England.[147] Relations between merchants and their factors were not, however, always cordial. Merchants sometimes accused their factors of attempting to defraud them of their profits.[148]

There is evidence that some Scottish merchants also formed more sophisticated partnerships of the wedderlegginge or collegantia variety. This type of arrangement is suggested when two or more merchants are recorded as jointly owning the same merchandise. In 1444, for example, John and James Binny and Thomas Paterson owned a cargo of cloth and salt sent to Danzig.

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147. James IV Letters, nos. 132, 213; Rot.Scot., ii, 405.
148. E.g. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 197-198, 212.

Gilbert Clark and John Grub together owned a consignment of salt and other goods sent from Scotland to Danzig in 1471, while in 1513 Edward Crawford and George Atkinson jointly owned thirty chalders of salt sent from Leith to Danzig.[149] These types of partnership were, however, probably unusual between Scottish merchants. Of seventy-five cargoes sent from Edinburgh to Danzig aboard two ships in 1444, only four were the property of more than one merchant. The Danzig Pfahlgeld records rarely ascribe the ownership of Scottish goods to more than one man. Similarly, the cargo belonging to Atkinson and Crawford was the only one belonging to two or more merchants which was sent on seven ships from Leith to the Baltic in 1512-13.[150] Indeed, even as late as the early seventeenth century, collegantie and compagnie partnerships were uncommon in Scotland outside Edinburgh.[151]

The development of partnerships was one aspect of the medieval commercial revolution. In the early middle ages commercial activity had also been restricted because merchants had to pay for goods immediately on purchase. If they did not have enough ready cash at hand, they could not complete their transactions. An equally important factor behind the subsequent expansion of commerce was the increasing use which

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149. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 August 5; WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/3, fo. 131v; SRO, E71/29/3.
150. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15; WAP Gdańsk 300/19/1-10; SRO, E71/29/3.
151. J.J. Brown, 'Merchant Princes and Mercantile Investment in early seventeenth-century Scotland', The Early Modern Town in Scotland, ed. M. Lynch (London 1987), 129.

merchants made of money loans and credit to overcome a shortage of ready cash. Both types of arrangement were commonly resorted to in the Hanseatic towns and elsewhere in Europe by the thirteenth century and, not surprisingly, there is evidence that Scottish merchants entered into similar agreements.[152] The bulk of such evidence is to be found in frequent references to debt. Between 1396 and 1417, for example, forty-one Scots or groups of Scots were in debt to the Teutonic Order. In the later fifteenth century, several Scots and Germans arranged for the repayment of mutual debts through Alexander Halyburton, the conservator of the Scottish staple in the Low Countries.[153] But although debts are frequently recorded, it is not always clear how the debts were incurred, or whether interest charges were levied on them. Some more specific evidence of both monetary loans and credit does, however, also survive. Loans to finance trade were probably common in Scotland even in the thirteenth century. In 1287 John, son of Henry Burnet, borrowed 70 merks from Jedburgh Abbey and its daughter house, Restenneth Priory, in Angus. The loan was repayable over twelve years, but there is no mention of any interest charge on the loan.[154] Burnet is likely to have been a merchant and the loan can probably be

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152. Postan, Trade and Finance, esp. 1-27; Pounds, Economic History, 404-409; Dollinger, Hanse, 267-271.
153. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 75-77; Halyburton's Ledger, 85, 98, 128, 134.
154. W. Fraser, History of the Carnegies, earls of Southesk and of their kindred (Edinburgh 1867), ii, no. 30. John Burnet is perhaps the same John Burnet for whom Andrew Murray and William Wallace interceded with Lübeck and Hamburg in 1297 (see below, 218). I am grateful to Professor Barrow for this suggestion.

classed as a business loan, which Burnet would use to finance trade and make a profit. Although the church disapproved of usury, canon law had come to accept this sort of loan. It continued to disapprove of interest charges on 'distress loans', or loans to people who had fallen into hardship. Secular money-lenders, therefore, devised various methods to disguise the imposition of interest charges on loans. Repayments in foreign countries and in different currencies, using, from the debtor's point of view, a deliberately unfavourable exchange rate, were a particularly common method of disguising interest charges. In 1390, for example, four Scottish knights borrowed £26-13s-4d from two Edinburgh burgesses in Bruges. The debt was to be repayed at Bruges, together with half a gold noble 'for the labour' of the two burgesses, which clearly implies that an interest payment was levied on the loan.[155] Similarly, in 1493, George Clark paid £16-6s 'and 2 fremd penys of gold' to the factor of another Scottish merchant, John of Twedy, in the Low Countries.[156] This second example, may, however, indicate the payment of a deferred credit for merchandise, rather than the repayment of a money loan. Specific evidence of deferred credit is also common by the fifteenth century. Some of the Scots who were in debt to the Teutonic Order between 1396 and 1417 owed money for supplies of grain. In 1478 two Danzig merchants sent their factors to collect

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155. SRO, AD1/27. See also Appendix no. 2.
156. Halyburton's Ledger, 31.

credit repayments from Aberdeen merchants, while, in the early sixteenth century, Peter Strallk of Hamburg died before he had repaid an Edinburgh merchant, Arthur Bruce, for a share in the latter's ship.[157] Interest charges on credit repayments are difficult to trace, but it can be assumed that, as elsewhere in Europe, they were regularly levied. They certainly were by 1587, when the Scottish parliament enacted the first secular legislation against excessive interest charges, restricting rates to 10% 'or fyve bollis victuall'.[158]

Most medieval loans and credit transactions involving Scottish merchants were probably arranged between individuals. Loans could, however, also be borrowed from banks. By the twelfth century the Templars were, in effect, acting as bankers to the kings of England and France and by the early fifteenth century the Teutonic Order was apparently providing a similar service to some Scottish nobles. The earl of Douglas owed the Order £216, while the earl of Angus was in debt to the Order to the tune of £20.[159] It was the Italians, however, who established the largest medieval banks. Their first ventures into Scotland were not happy. Agents sent to collect money raised for the papal crusading tax of 1273 were arrested and Alexander III forbade the export of the money.[160] The Italian banks

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157. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 75-77; HUB, xi, no. 147; James IV Letters, no. 512.
158. APS, iii, 45.
159. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 75-76.
160. 'Bagimond's Roll', ed. A.I. Dunlop, Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, vi (SHS, 1939), 8-9.

did not establish branches in Scotland, though Scots did subsequently borrow from their branches in Bruges.[161]

The development of bills of exchange greatly facilitated the transfer of money overseas and they were certainly used by Scottish merchants by at least the later fifteenth century.[162] The dispatch of a bill of exchange was also one method of avoiding the regular restrictions imposed on the export of bullion from Scotland from the later fourteenth century.[163] Another method was for merchants to leave the profits of their trade abroad: some certainly left currency with Andrew Halyburton, the conservator of the Scottish staple in the Low Countries.[164] The increasing use of credit and bills of exchange had not, of course, divested merchants completely of the need to use ready cash and medieval Scottish merchants were used to dealing in a variety of foreign units of account and foreign coinage. The Aberdeen burgh records, for example, include many references to English, French, German, Italian, Low Countries', Spanish and even Hungarian coinage.[165] In the trade conducted between Scotland and the Hanseatic towns, there are references to the use of Scots, Prussian, Rhenish, Wendish and, because it was one of the few medieval

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161. Stevenson, Thesis, 50, 217-218.
162. Pounds, Economic History, 415-420; P. Spufford, Handbook of Medieval Exchange (London 1986), xxx-xxxvii; Halyburton's Ledger, passim.
163. APS, i, 554, 572; ii, 5, 24, 86, 105-106, 166, 172.
164. E.g. Halyburton's Ledger, 85, 227.
165. DA Aberdeen, ACR, i-ix, passim; ASR, i-iii, passim, especially iii, 23. Halyburton's Ledger also includes references to numerous foreign currencies, viz. English, French, Low Countries, Rhenish and Spanish.

currencies not to be heavily debased, also to English currency.[166] Because goods were bought and sold (whether by bill of exchange or by cash) in such a wide variety of currencies, whose exchange rates were liable to fluctuate because of the regular debasement of coinage, merchants and towns recorded the exchange rates, which they or their merchants used most frequently.[167]

Written tables of currency exchange rates were just one manifestation of the growth of lay literacy, which lay at the root of the later medieval commercial revolution.[168] Written details of commercial partnerships and contracts between skippers and merchants had

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166. E.g. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 319, 333, 338, 346; HUB, ix, no. 143.

167. See, for example, A. Hanham, 'A medieval Scots merchant's handbook', SHR, 1 (1971), 107-120. The omission of Scottish coinage from a list of exchange rates drawn up by the Wendish towns in 1410, suggests that Wendish merchants rarely dealt in Scottish currency (LUB, v, no. 347). Similarly, the Wendish mark was not included on a list of exchange rates drawn up in Aberdeen in the early sixteenth century (DA Aberdeen, ASR, iii, 23). For the exchange rate between Scottish and German (and other) currencies in the later middle ages, see J. Gilbert, 'The Usual Money of Scotland', Coinage in Medieval Scotland, ed. D. Metcalf, 136-149. On the widespread debasement of European coinage in the later middle ages, see J. Day, 'The Great Bullion Famine of the Fifteenth Century', Past and Present, lxxix (1978), 3-54; A. MacKay, Money, Prices and Politics in Fifteenth Century Castile (London 1981), passim, especially 23-41; P. Spufford, 'Coinage and Currency', Cambridge Economic History, iii, 851-863.

168. On the relationship between the development of schools in the Hanseatic towns and Hanseatic trade, see Dollinger, Hanse, 216-217. In Scotland, most of the larger burghs probably had a grammar school by the fifteenth century (J. Grant, History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland (London 1876), 1-75; J. Scotland, The History of Scottish Education (London 1969), i, 16-21).

to be kept, in case of disputes arising between the parties, while the transfer of money was facilitated by written bills of exchange. To keep track of their personal finances, especially if they were involved in several business ventures at the same time, merchants also needed to keep account books. While notaries might have been engaged to record these matters, the lack of material relating to trade in the surviving Scottish notarial protocol books suggests that Scottish merchants normally maintained their own records.[169] Few Scottish merchants' handbooks survive, though the ledger of Andrew Halyburton, the conservator of the Scottish staple in the Low Countries between 1500 and 1507, is a notable exception. Halyburton listed the sales and purchases which he made on behalf of other merchants, keeping a separate account for each merchant. His accounting system was simple when compared to the double-entry book-keeping, which contemporary Italian merchants used. In this, however, his practice was not unlike that of Hanseatic merchants.[170]

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169. J. Durkan, 'The Early Scottish Notary', The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, edd. I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh 1983), 38.
170. Halyburton's Ledger, passim. Halyburton was active in the Low Countries from 1493, before his appointment as conservator. For an example of a Hanseatic merchant's account book, see Die Handelsbücher des Hansischen Kaufmanns Veckinchusen, ed. M. Plesnikov (Berlin 1973).

A final point to be made about the conduct of overseas trade in later medieval Scotland concerns the social background of the participants. As has already been noted, kings and nobles were involved in trade, as well as merchants.[171] At the other end of the social scale, parliament's decree of 1467 that only the 'famous and worshipful' could trade abroad, and the plethora of legislation enacted across northern Europe from the later fifteenth century against Scottish pedlars, points to the fact that substantial numbers of lesser men were also involved in trade.[172] By contrast, no German kings or nobles are known to have traded with Scotland in the later middle ages and there is no direct equivalent to the Scottish pedlars among the Germans who traded in Scotland.[173] On the whole, the conduct of Scotland's medieval commerce was also a predominantly, though not exclusively, male preserve. A few women certainly participated directly in Scotland's Baltic trade. Marion Hogg of Edinburgh, for example, sent a cargo of cloth to Danzig in 1444.[174] Other women occasionally acted on behalf of their husbands, usually if he was away from his home town. In 1445, Elaine Elge of Dundee advanced a claim for compensation,

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171. See above, 60, 74-75.
172. APS, ii, 87. On the legislation against Scottish pedlars, see below, 140, 311.
173. Some German miners and skilled military engineers and gunners did, however, find employment in Scotland. See, for example, ER, vii, 144 and James IV Letters, no. 378 (for references to miners) and ER, iii, 82, 92, 117, 118, 133, 170, 660, 665; v, 32 and TA, i-iv passim (for references to military experts).
174. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15.

following the capture of her husband's goods by Bremen pirates. In 1524 the wives of certain Edinburgh merchants complained that Robert Foggo, skipper of the 'Martin', had secretly left Copenhagen, leaving their husbands stranded, with 'nocht ane penny in thar purs'.[175] And many Scottish women, such as the Aberdeen dyer's wife who bought two bolls of grain on credit from the Teutonic Order in the early fifteenth century, were probably also consumers of goods brought by merchants from the Baltic.[176]

As elsewhere in northern Europe, then, Scottish merchants had, by the later middle ages, adopted some of the innovative Italian commercial practices which facilitated the conduct of trade. The extent to which they copied Italian practices was, however, limited and there remained many impediments to trade. Most of Scotland's exports were, for example, sent abroad by sea, and ships remained vulnerable both to attack by pirates or political enemies and to delay or wreck by inclement weather conditions. Meanwhile, the apparently prosperous nature of the thirteenth-century Scottish economy was upset by a combination of warfare, population decline and climatic regression. Scots were unable to manufacture or grow any commodity which could adequately compensate for the collapse in the demand for Scottish wool, while the demand for imports remained high. The geographical pattern of

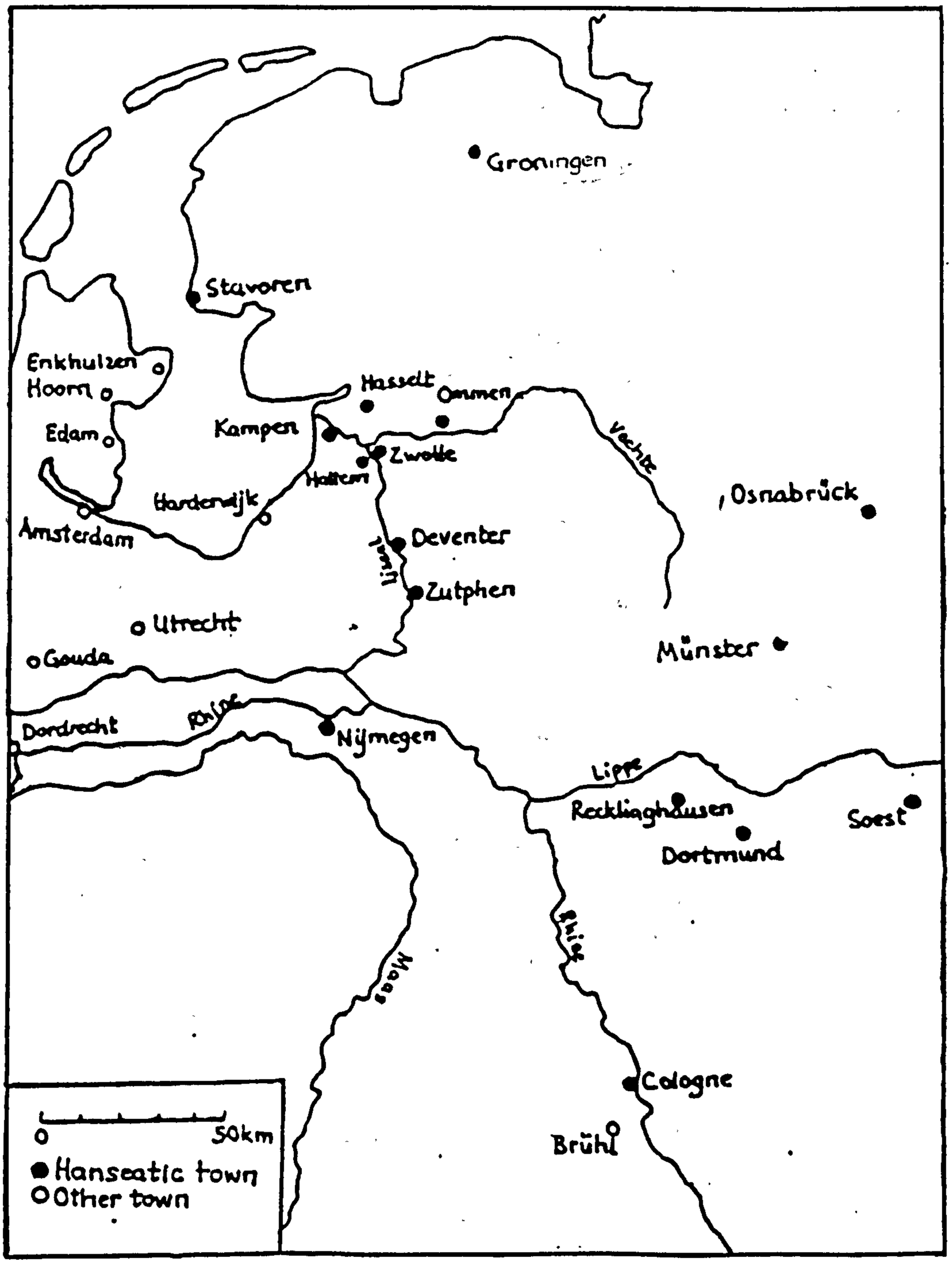
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175. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 August 1. ADCP, 202-203.
176. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 77.

medieval Scottish trade was, therefore, determined by where Scotsmen could find a market for those goods which they did produce and also where they could best acquire those goods which were not produced in Scotland. Because the economies of the various groups of Hanseatic towns were profoundly different in nature, Scots could buy and sell goods with greater ease in some towns than others. Thus, in order to assess the overall importance of Scotland's relations with the Hansa, an examination must be made of Scotland's relations with individual groups of Hanseatic towns.

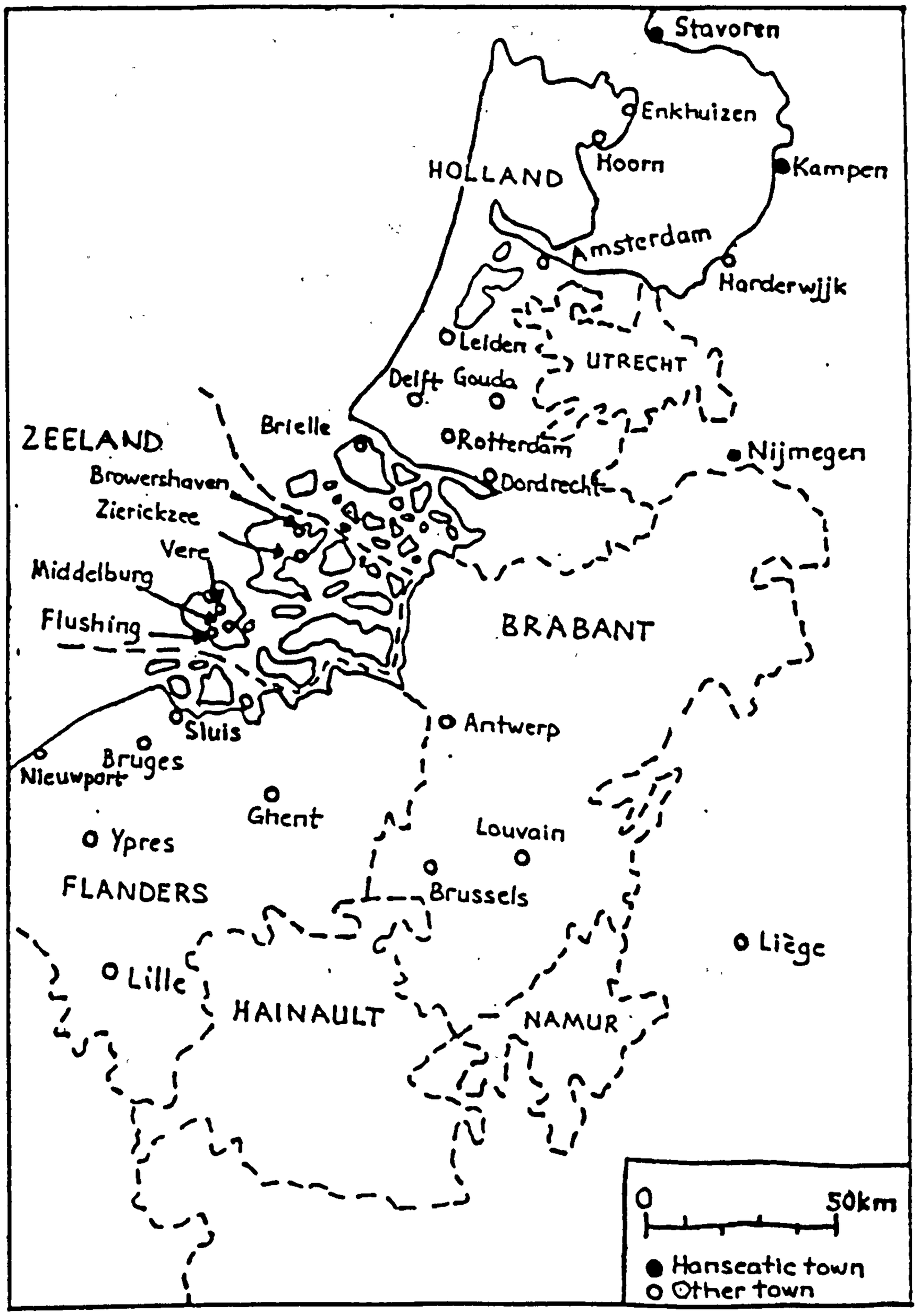
MAP ONE

IMPORTANT HANSEATIC TOWNS IN WESTERN GERMANY



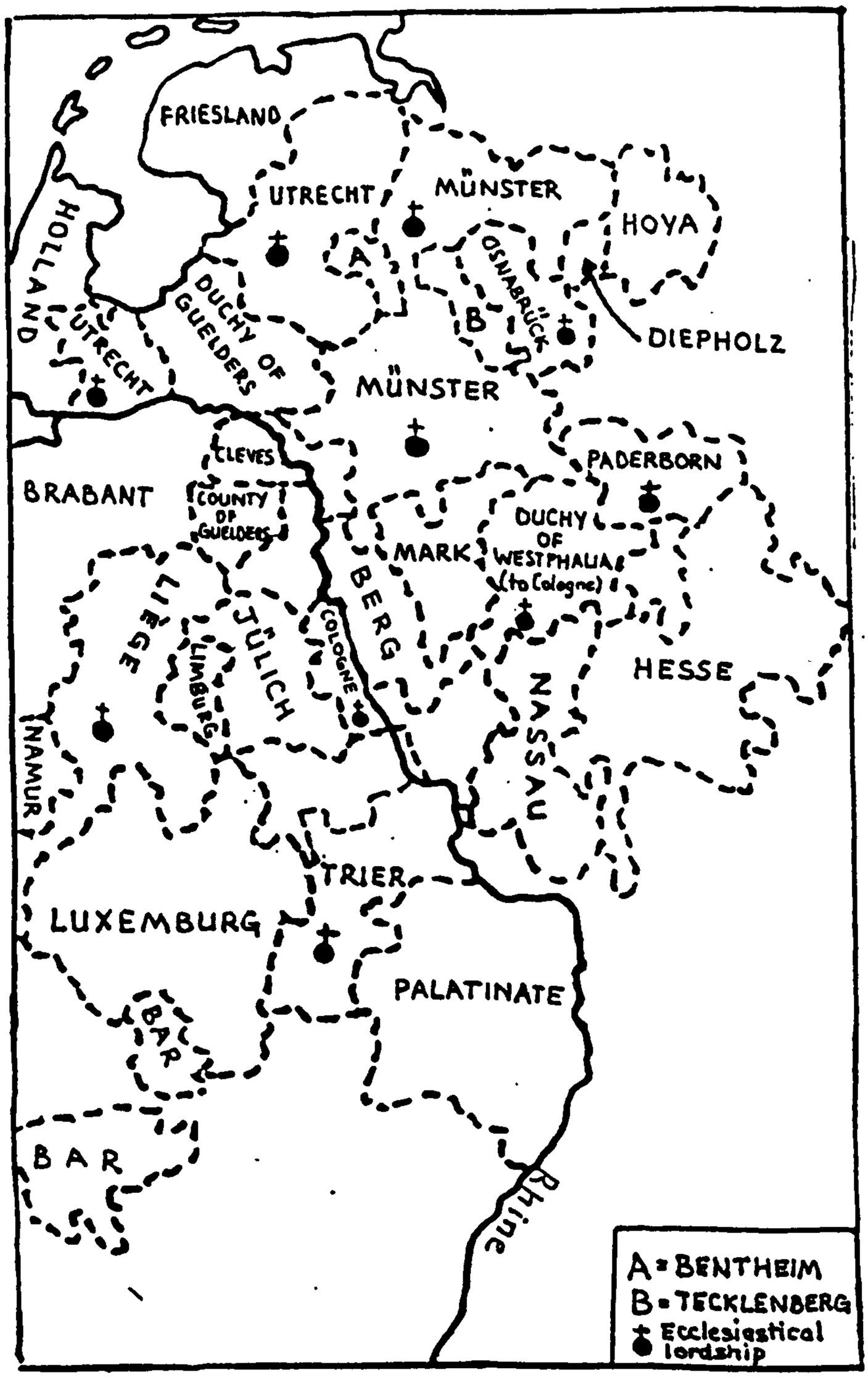
# MAP TWO

## THE LOW COUNTRIES



MAP THREE

PRINCIPALITIES IN WESTERN GERMANY



# CHAPTER TWO

## SCOTLAND AND THE TOWNS OF WESTERN GERMANY

The areas of the medieval Holy Roman Empire which lie geographically closest to Scotland are situated on the North Sea littoral. Amsterdam and Vere are just under four hundred miles by sea from Leith, about one hundred miles closer than Hamburg and four hundred and fifty miles nearer than Danzig. Cologne, the largest town of medieval Germany, is about five hundred miles from Leith. Not only were these parts of Germany relatively close to Scotland, but skippers sailing between Scotland and the western regions of the Empire possessed an additional advantage compared to Baltic-bound skippers. They could avoid lengthy voyages across the open seas. In times of peace, the English coastline provided fragile medieval vessels with convenient shelter at least from westerly storms. It is, therefore, to be expected that much of the earliest Scottish contact with the Empire would be focused on the latter's western provinces. The term 'western Empire' is not, however, one which contemporaries would have used. Partly this reflected the fragmentation of imperial authority in the later middle ages. The tendency towards fragmentation was already under way by the thirteenth century. The Emperor Frederick II accelerated the process with his grants Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis (1220) and Constitutio in favorem principum

(1231), which entrenched both spiritual and secular lords in their privileges. The devolution of political authority gained ground during the interregnum from 1250 to 1272. It proved beyond the capabilities of King Rudolph I, elected in 1272, or any of his successors, to counter the decentralization of power. The princes of the Empire won an unprecedented degree of autonomy, not least in the sphere of diplomatic and economic affairs.[1] By the later thirteenth century seven magnates dominated the region west and north of the Maas: the counts of Holland and Zeeland, Guelders, Brabant, Hainault, Namur and the bishops of Utrecht and Liège. In the upper Rhineland and Westphalia political fragmentation was even more acute. The largest domains were possessed by the archbishops of Cologne, whose lands included the duchy of Westphalia, and by the bishops of Münster. The counties of Jülich, Cleves, Mark and Berg were the most significant secular domains. The power of these princes did not, however, go unchallenged. Towns strove to acquire a degree of autonomy from their lords similar to that which princes had exacted from Emperors. Membership of urban leagues afforded protection against the encroachment of princes and, in the case of the Hanseatic League, the opportunity for merchants to benefit from the commercial privileges

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1. G. Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany (Oxford 1952), 233-240.

of the league abroad. There were three distinct groups of Hanseatic towns in the western Empire.[2] Throughout the medieval period Cologne dominated the Rhenish group. The highest concentration of Hanseatic towns anywhere in Germany (about eighty in total) was, however, in Westphalia. Here, Dortmund, Soest, Münster and Osnabrück were the largest towns. The third or Dutch group of Hanseatic towns lay along the Ijssel and Zuider Zee. It included Deventer and Kampen, both sizeable towns with a population of over ten thousand in 1400. There were no Hanseatic towns west of the Maas and Ijssel. The urban centres of Holland were comparatively small throughout the middle ages, although by the fifteenth century they conducted a sizeable trade. To the south the larger towns of Zeeland and Brabant, in particular, conducted considerable trade with Scotland. Since, however, the relations of these two provinces with Scotland have been recently examined in detail by A.W.K. Stevenson, there is no necessity to study them again in the present survey.[3] Besides, it is apparent that, even excluding the southern Low Countries, there were quasi-independent principalities and towns elsewhere in the western Empire, with which it might be expected

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2. Dollinger, Hanse, 161-165.
3. Stevenson, Thesis; A.W.K. Stevenson, 'Trade with the South, 1070-1513', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 180-206. See also J. Davidson and A. Gray, The Scottish Staple at Vere (London 1909); Rooseboom, Staple.

that the Scots could have had commercial and diplomatic relations. It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate both how and why these relations seem to have remained limited in the later middle ages.

(i) The Thirteenth Century

The earliest Scottish contacts were probably with Holland. In 1162 King Malcolm IV's sister Ada married Florence III, count of Holland. Historians have generally interpreted the marriage as an attempt by Malcolm to assert his independence from Henry II of England.[4] In addition, or alternatively, the marriage may have cemented an already extant friendly relationship between Scotland and Holland, for which no documentation has survived. Whatever the case, the comital house of Holland maintained its interest in Scottish affairs after the 1162 marriage. Florence, a younger son of Ada and Count Florence and provost of Utrecht cathedral, was elected bishop of Glasgow in 1202. By 1203 he had become chancellor of Scotland, though he appears to have spent little time in Scotland.[5] After this Scottish historians have tended to forget about the Dutch link, until Count Florence V presented his claim to both the Scottish crown and the earldom of Ross during the Great

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4. RRS, i, 18; Duncan, Scotland, 226; for Florence's visit to Scotland to marry Ada, see 'Annales Egmundenses', in Fontes Egmundenses, ed. O. Oppermann (Historisch Genootschap, Werken, third series, volume 61, Utrecht 1933), 168.
5. RRS, ii, 30, 60.

Cause in 1291.[6] In the intervening years, however, the counts of Holland had not forgotten about Ada's marriage. They seem to have believed that the earldom of Ross was Ada's dowry.[7] Count William I, son of Count Florence III, had staked a claim to the earldom.[8] So, possibly, did Count William II. On 27 April 1248 William granted his sister Alexandra and her husband Jean d'Avesnes

> ... feudum ac terram que progenitores nostri comites Hollandie a domino illustri Scotorum rege et suis progenitoribus hactenus tenuerunt... [9]

The location of this fief is not specified, but, in light of the claims advanced by Count William I and Count Florence V, it might have been Ross. If it was, the grant would apparently invalidate the claims of William's son, Florence V, in 1291.

There is no indication that William I, William II, Alexandra or Jean d'Avesnes ever came to Scotland to pursue their claims. That makes William II's interest in Scotland somewhat ironic, since, as the papal candidate for the imperial throne in 1252, he lectured

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6. G.G. Simpson, 'The claim of Florence, count of Holland, to the Scottish Throne, 1291-1292', SHR, xxxvi (1957), 111-124. (See also the review of this article by J. Kossmann in Revue du Nord, xl (1958), 541-542); Barrow, Bruce, 39-49.
7. Barrow, Bruce, 45; the earldom of Ross had,however, been granted to Malcolm mac Heth in 1157. Malcolm did not die until 1168. Duncan, Scotland, 166, 167, 191.
8. S.J. Fockema Andreae, Willem I graf van Holland 1203-22 en de Hollandsche noogheemraadschapper (Wormerveer 1954), 11-13, 38-39.
9. C. Duvivier, La Querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre, i (Brussels and Paris 1894), 186-187; no. 110. I am grateful to Dr. M.G. Dickson for pointing this document out to me.

the German nobility on his right to dispose of fiefs as he pleased, if barons failed to perform homage within a year and a day of their succession.[10] Neither is there any evidence that the ongoing, rather than close, relationship between Scotland and Holland was supplemented by commercial contact.[11] This is probably to be explained by the small size of the Dutch towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and their consequential inability to entice Scottish trade away from the larger markets of Flanders.

There are, however, a few indications of Scottish commercial interaction with other parts of the western Empire in the period before the Wars of Independence. The earliest of these contacts were probably forged neither in Scotland nor the Empire. By the twelfth century Scottish and Rhenish merchants were both trading in England. They evidently used the same ports. In 1214, for example, King John ordered the bailiffs of Southampton to arrest Flemish ships, but allow ships of the Empire and Scotland ('... tam de terra domini imperatoris quam domini regis Scociae ...') to leave the port unhindered.[12] Ten years later Henry III issued a similar arrest order to the bailiffs of Yarmouth, decreeing that the ships of Scotland and Cologne be granted safe passage.[13] Flanders,

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10. G. Barraclough, Medieval Germany (Oxford 1967), ii, 129.
11. This is claimed by R.L.G. Ritchie, The Normans in Scotland (Edinburgh 1954), 353-354.
12. HUB, i, no. 116.
13. HUB, i, no. 169; CDS, i, no. 882.

too, was frequented by Scottish, Rhenish and Westphalian merchants, although German commercial activity did not become significant there until the early thirteenth century.[14] By then Bruges was already one of the largest commercial entrepots north of the Alps and, although there is no direct evidence of Scots and Germans trading with each other in Bruges, it seems highly probable that they did.

At an unknown date, certainly before the end of the thirteenth century, German merchants began to trade directly in Scotland. The most extravagant claims, now widely accepted, concerning the strength of thirteenth century Scottish-German commerce, were advanced by James Dilley, who argued that Cologne merchants possessed a commercial depot (or 'factory'), called the White Hall, at Berwick.[15] The evidence to support this theory is, however, less than conclusive. It is not until 1334 that the existence of a White Hall at Berwick can be proven. In that year, Edward III confirmed a grant made in 1333 by John Crabbe to Thomas Ughtreth of

> ...a tenement called le Whithalle in Segate Street Berwick...and of a tenement sometime of James de Colonia ... and a garden in Berwick which the same James sometime held.[16]

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14. Dollinger, Hanse, 62-64; Stevenson, Thesis, 157ff.
15. Dilley, Thesis, 30; Dilley, 'Merchants', 153-154; Barrow, Bruce, 14; Duncan, Scotland, 515; J.R. Hunter, 'Medieval Berwick-upon-Tweed', Archaeologia Aeliana, (5th series), x, (1982), 83.
16. CPR, 1330-1334, 554; Rot.Scot., i, 274.

Dilley argued convincingly that the extent of this property would be well suited for use as a commercial factory. Moreover, Seagate was ideally located for merchants, since it was close to the wharves.[17] Although there is no proof, it is possible that this was the same property which Alexander of Cologne held at Berwick in the later thirteenth century. It is, however, upon this tenuous link that Dilley's claim of the existence of a commercial factory belonging to Cologne merchants before the wars of independence rests.[18] There are two further reasons to doubt the very existence of a Cologne factory at Berwick. The wording of the 1334 confirmation is ambiguous. The White Hall may have been the property of James of Cologne, but the inspeximus more plausibly refers to two separate tenements, one called the White Hall, the other belonging to James of Cologne. Even if the properties were synonymous, it is strange that, if the White Hall was a commercial factory, it is described as belonging solely to James of Cologne. Other factories did not belong to one single merchant. The depot of Cologne merchants in London, the Guild Hall, was the corporate possession of all the people and citizens of Cologne.[19] Even at Berwick, the

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17. Dilley, Thesis, 30.
18. Ibid., 28. This argument has been omitted from Dilley, 'Merchants', possibly because the further assertion that Alexander was pro-English and transferred the Seagate property to the pro-Scottish James in 1318 lacks any foundation. Alexander was dead by 1297. Stevenson, Documents, ii, 154, no. 418.
19. HUB, i, no. 14.

Flemish Red Hall was apparently the possession of all Flemish merchants.[20]

Nevertheless, there are indications that some men from Cologne had settled in or near Berwick before the Wars of Independence. In addition to the above mentioned Alexander of Cologne, a Godfrey of Cologne held land in the Merse and had taken a Scottish wife.[21] In 1296 Christina, widow of Gotschalk of Cologne, petitioned Edward I in respect of an estate seized by the invading English forces.[22] The ancestors of James of Cologne had held land in St. Marygate, Berwick, since at least the later thirteenth century.[23] Archaeologists have also discovered Rhenish Langerwehe pottery at Berwick dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, though clearly this was not necessarily imported by Germans.[24] The Scottish evidence of contact with the western Empire is supplemented by German source material. One of the most prominent families in thirteenth century Soest was called Schotte, a name thought to have derived from the family's trading connections with, and possibly residence in, Scotland.[25] There are also numerous

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20. Little is known about the Flemish Red Hall, but contemporary references refer to it as 'Flemish', rather than as belonging to one specific Flemish merchant. Cf. The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. H. Rothwell (London 1957), 275. It is possible that the Red Hall was rebuilt after Edward I sacked it in 1296. It is referred to again in 1314 (CDS, v, no. 596).
21. Liber. Melrose, ii, 337, no. 372.
22. Stevenson, Documents, ii, 96, no. 375.
23. Rot.Scot., i, 266.
24. Hunter, 'Berwick', 81.
25. F. von Klocke, Alt Soester Bürgermeister aus sechs Jahrhunderten, ihre Familien und ihre Standeverhältnisse (Soest 1927), 101.

references to the existence of a 'Scottish lane' in thirteenth-century Cologne. This may have been an area where Scottish merchants settled, similar to the 'Schottendyk' recorded at Bruges from the 1290s.[26] There is, however, no evidence that any Scots other than the famous theologian John Duns Scotus, visited Cologne in the thirteenth century.[27] Abbot Bower, writing in the mid-fifteenth century, claimed rather improbably that Alexander III had banned Scottish merchants from trading overseas, because of the risks involved. This, he claimed, attracted foreign merchants to Scotland.[28] Although no such prohibition is known, it is undoubtedly true that merchants from all over western Europe visited Scotland.[29] Perhaps, therefore, it is as likely that the Cologne topographical references apply to an area inhabited by Cologne merchants visiting Scotland.

Virtually nothing is known about the nature of the trade conducted by Cologne and Soest merchants in Scotland before the Wars of Independence. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Germans purchased wool, fells and hides (the principal Scottish exports) and also cod,

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26. H. Keussen, Köln im Mittelalter. Topographie und Verfassung (Bonn 1918), 275-276. References to this street date from ca.1200 and continue until the mid-1310s.
27. D.E.R. Watt, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D.1410 (Oxford 1977), 168; C. Balić, 'The Life and Works of John Duns Scotus', John Duns Scotus 1265-1965, edd. J.K. Ryan and B.M. Bonansea (Washington 1965).
28. Chron. Bower, ii, 130.
29. D. Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation, (London 1805), i, 445-446.

which was known as 'L'Abberdan' in thirteenth-century Cologne.[30] It is unlikely, however, that Scottish wool found its way to the Rhenish and Westphalian cities in any great quantity. They were not great centres of cloth production which required large supplies of raw wool. As in England, therefore, the west Germans probably acted principally as middlemen, exporting Scottish staples to the textile manufacturing centres of Flanders. By way of return, Cologne merchants possibly brought Rhenish wine and metal goods, as they did in England, as well as a range of products purchased at the Flemish fairs. Westphalians, traditionally the middlemen in trade between the Baltic and Low Countries, perhaps also brought Baltic wares, such as timber, furs and grain, to Scotland.[31]

Due to the loss of thirteenth-century Scottish, German and Low Countries' customs records, it is also impossible to quantify the value of the thirteenth-century trade between Scotland and the western Empire. If the existence of a commercial factory belonging to Cologne merchants at Berwick could be safely accepted, trade must have been substantial. But it can not. That a Soest family acquired the name Schotte suggests that Scottish trade was of considerable significance to it at least. On the other hand, the epithet was also a mark of

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30. Kuske, Quellen, iv, 480.
31. Dollinger, Hanse, 19, 60-64; Schildhauer, et.al., Hanse, 11-12, 30-34, 59, 63.

distinction, unusual enough to distinguish the family from others. The meaning of the Cologne topographical references remains conjectural. It also remains true that Flemish names far out-number German ones in the contemporary Scottish sources. Consequently, it must be assumed that although western Germans participated in Scottish trade, their share had not overtaken that of the Flemish merchants.

(ii) The Wars of Independence

Despite the many uncertainties concerning Scottish-German commercial contacts in the thirteenth century, two factors are uncontestable. They flourished in an atmosphere of Anglo-Scottish peace and they appear to have been focused primarily on Berwick, the largest and wealthiest of the Scottish burghs. The invasion of Edward I in 1296 abruptly changed the scenario. The sack of Berwick and slaughter of its citizens was hardly conducive to trade. Although Edward I encouraged the repopulation of the town, the English capture of Berwick was also detrimental to commercial activity in the longer term.[32] While the English garrison which occupied the town until 1318 required merchants to supply it, the underlying basis of Berwick's earlier prosperity was gradually eroded. As Robert I's forces recovered and pushed southwards, Berwick was increasingly cut off from its hinterland. By 1314 the political situation made it unlikely that Berwick's

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32. NP, 9.

merchants could enjoy their exclusive right to purchase wool in Berwickshire, granted by Edward I in ca.1306.[33] Much of the wool which had been hitherto exported through Berwick probably found new outlets through the Forth ports. To the south too, the town's burgesses faced increasing competition with the revival of the market at Tweedmouth.[34] Meanwhile, despite their more limited resources, the burgesses were also expected to contribute to the town's defences.[35] By 1314 they were petitioning Edward II for a moratorium on payment of the town's fermes.[36] Given the town's plight, it is perhaps surprising that Berwick's international trade did not cease completely. Some contacts with Flanders and the Wendish towns were maintained.[37] There is no evidence, however, that trade with the western Empire continued, though this may be due to the paucity of the source material. Neither is there any indication as to the fate of the Cologne settlers between 1296 and 1318.

The precarious state of Berwick's economy was alleviated by the Scottish recapture of the town in 1318. The earliest surviving Scottish customs accounts, dating from 1327, show that within a decade Berwick had regained much of its former prominence, far out-stripping its closest geographical rival, Edinburgh.[37a] Western Germans also reappeared in the towns. In addition to

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33. NP, no. 14.
34. NP, no. 22.
35. CPR, 1313-17, 671.
36. CDS, v, no. 591.
37. NP, nos. 21, 23; see also below, 203, 210.
37a. See Appendix no. 1.

the property which James of Cologne possessed (in Marygate, Uddingate and at Nether Lamberton), Christopher of Cologne, a German-born burgess of the town, held land in Crossgate.[38] Indeed, Christopher appears to have been a merchant of some standing. He was contracted to supply wheat from Picardy for the celebrations of the wedding between Edward III's sister, Joan, and Robert I's son, David, in 1328.[39] Other German merchants, some certainly from Cologne, were active at Berwick in 1320, 1321 and 1333.[40]

Nevertheless, the economic revival was shortlived, for the town was again captured by Edward III's forces at the beginning of the second War of Independence in 1333. Perhaps mindful of the effect of the previous English occupation, attempts were made by the town's burgesses to safeguard their wellbeing in the light of the new political circumstances. The surrender agreement of 1333 confirmed the burgesses in possession of their tenements.[41] Despite this, many of the burgesses were ousted from their property. The small community of Cologne merchants probably disappeared finally shortly after 1333. Christopher of Cologne was ejected from his property on account of his Scottish sympathies. He was held on bail at Newcastle from 1334 to 1335 but released in October 1335 on condition that he did not return to either Berwick or Scotland.[42] James of Cologne was

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38. Rot.Scot., i, 264, 266, 274, 336; NP, no. 5.
39. CPR, 1327-30, 409.
40. CCR, 1318-23, 284, 297; CCR , 1333-37, 35-36.
41. NP, 9.
42. NP, no. 54; Rot.Scot., i, 381.

also ousted from his lands, possibly in similar circumstances to Christopher. By 1333 some of James' property was already in the hands of John Crabbe, the Flemish pirate.[43] Crabbe had initially supported the Scottish cause in the wars, but defected to the English in 1332.[44] Since it is unlikely that Crabbe, therefore, held property in Berwick before it fell to Edward III's forces, it is probable that James was ejected only after the town's capture. He had lost his other possessions by 1335 at the latest.[45] After the departure of Christopher and James, there is no evidence that the western German presence in the town continued.

While the Wars of Independence effectively spelt the end to west German trading interests at Berwick, they also provided a stimulus to a new form of trade between Scots and west Germans. The Scots required arms and provisions, which were not easily obtainable once the English fleet mounted its blockade of the Scottish coast. Nonetheless there were plenty of foreigners prepared to run the risks of supplying the Scots. Their motives are difficult to gauge (they have left us nothing comparable to the libri segreti of later medieval Italian merchants), but were probably concerned less with political sympathy for the Scots than the opportunity of making a profit. Historians have long since recognised the contribution of merchants

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43. CPR, 1330-1334, 554; Rot.Scot., i, 274.
44. E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, 'Two John Crabbs', SHR., xxxix (1960), 31-34.
45. Rot.Scot., i, 336. James and his family perhaps moved to Fife. A James of Cologne, merchant of St. Andrews, is recorded in 1362 (Rot.Scot., i, 859).

from the Low Countries and Germany in sustaining the Scottish war effort.[46] Dilley compiled a list of thirty-one Germans active in Scottish trade during the first War of Independence.[47] He identified only five of these, in addition to James of Cologne, as western Germans: Lutekyn de Longe, Wilfred le Wyse, Christian Sunthaus and Wider de Isply (all from Dortmund) and Siward de Crane (from Cologne). In fact, the evidence implicating these five is less than conclusive. Their goods were arrested in connection with the 'Wydeslade affair'. William de Wydeslade was a London merchant, who in 1316 freighted a Brabant ship at Sluys with a cargo of almonds, sugar, saffron, pepper, brasil and cloves destined for England. The ship was attacked near Winterton in Norfolk and taken to Scotland. Wydeslade blamed the piracy on merchants from Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Frisia and nine Hanseatic towns.[48] Edward II took up the case and wrote inter alia to five western German towns (Cologne, Dortmund, Recklinghausen, Osnabrück and Münster) demanding compensation. By 30 September 1316, Edward had received no reply to his intercessions. He, therefore, ordered his sheriffs to seize goods to the value of £300 from merchants of the implicated towns.[49] It was not, however, until 23 July 1320 that the goods of the five west Germans were arrested.[50] The lengthy delay was not due to

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46. Barrow, Bruce, 199; Nicholson, Scotland, 82. Dilley, 'Merchants' gives the impression that only Germans were important in this trade. Stevenson, Thesis, 276, gives an equally misleading impression that only Flemish merchants were important.
47. Dilley, Thesis, 48-49; Dilley, 'Merchants', 154-155.
48. HHUB, ii, nos. 366, 372, 367.
49. CCR, 1313-18, 366.
50. CCR, 1318-23, 248.

inefficiency on the part of the English authorities. Merchandise belonging to Wendish, Soest and Münster merchants had been seized prior to 1320, but Edward had been forced to order its return.[51] Hanseatic merchants had invoked a clause of the mutuum, a series of commercial privileges which Edward had granted to them in 1317, which prohibited the general seizure of Hanseatic goods in retribution for the misdemeanours of any particular Hanseatic merchant.[52] It had been necessary to invoke this clause because since 1318 Wydeslade had pressed for compensation to be exacted from the compatriots of his malefactors.[53] Wydeslade's demands were apparently determined by his inability to name any of his attackers. He certainly never accused the five western Germans specifically of complicity in the attack on his ship. It seems probable, therefore, that the five were innocent victims caught up in Wydeslade's desperate attempts to exact compensation. This would also explain why it was four years after Edward II's first seizure orders before their goods were arrested. Consequently, the most that can be claimed is that men from Cologne, Dortmund, Soest, Osnabrück, Münster and Recklinghausen may have participated in the incident, though even then a note of caution must be sounded. The Hanseatic towns denied all responsibility for this particular episode, and blamed Zeelanders, Frisians and Scots.[54] That was perhaps to be

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51. CCR, 1313-18, 376, 392-393, 398-399; CCR, 1318-23, 89, 155, 158-159; LUB, ii, no. 1048.
52. CCR, 1318-23, 45-47.
53. CCR, 1318-23, 106.
54. LUB, ii, no. 1047; CChW, i, 447.

expected. Nevertheless, Wydeslade's identification of the origins of his attackers was so general that it suggests not only that he did not know the culprits individually, but that he was also uncertain as to their home towns.

The exclusion of the five western Germans from Dilley's list of those Germans 'undoubtedly active in Scottish trade' reduces the west German proportion of his list from 9.3% of the total to one solitary name, that of James of Cologne.[55] In fact, the west German participation in Scottish trade during the Wars of Independence was probably slightly more substantial than this would imply, although it is impossible to quantify its exact extent. The jejune nature of contemporary Scottish and German source material enforces an over reliance on the English record material. This necessarily identifies only those Germans whom the English authorities believed to be contravening the prohibitions on Scottish trade. Those who avoided suspicion, have also avoided posterity. Moreover, it is not always clear from the English sources where exactly guilty or suspected merchants came from, or, indeed, which Scottish ports they visited and how often they visited them. Nevertheless, the English authorities clearly suspected that some west Germans were supplying and assisting the Scots. As early as 1297, Edward I

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55. Dilley, 'Merchants', 154. Henry of Recklinghaus was probably from a Wendish town, not Recklinghausen. In 1314 Adam le Clerk accused him 'and others from Lübeck, Greifswald and Stralsund' (sic.) of attacking his ship, Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 57 and below, 208-210.

ordered the arrest of a Cologne ship on these grounds, though the charges were denied by the Cologne council.[56] In 1310 merchants from Dortmund and Harderwijk were arrested for allegedly helping the Scots to besiege the castles of Dundee and Aberdeen and for concomitant acts of piracy against English vessels, though they were subsequently released.[57] Edward I also sent letters of complaint about this affair to the count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland.[58] In ca.1312 and 1315 Edward II protested to the count that his subjects were once again assisting the Scots.[59] Some of the English suspicions have an air of paranoia about them. It is, for example, difficult otherwise to account for the arrest of two Zeeland ships at Whitby in 1319, simply because their skippers could not prove that they had no intention of visiting Scotland.[60] Nonetheless, the English suspicions, particularly with regard to Scottish contact with the imperial Low Countries, were not entirely without foundation. The arrest of a Gueldrian ship near Perth in 1339 indicates that there was at least some trade with the northern Low Countries.[61] Most contact was, however, with the southern imperial Low Countries. In 1314 Edward II petitioned Count William of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland on behalf of William Getur, a burgess of English-held Berwick, whose

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56. HUB, i, no. 1265.
57. CCR, 1307-13, 276-277; HUB, ii, no. 171; HHUB, ii, no. 207. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 196.
58. Ibid., no. 208.
59. Ibid., no. 214; Rot.Scot., i, 136.
60. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 274.
61. CCR, 1339-41, 135; Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 394.

ship had been captured by Scots and taken to the count's domains for sale.[62] In 1318 a Zierickzee vessel, skippered by William Wold, was captured by English mariners near Hunstanton in Norfolk. Aboard they discovered letters of cocket and other papers, which proved that the ship had been trading at Aberdeen.[63] In the 1320s moves were made to formalize Scottish-Dutch commercial relations. Count William granted safe-conducts in 1321 to two merchants from St. Andrews and Berwick (by then once again in Scottish hands), coming to trade in his domains.[64] Two years later, at the request of King Robert, this was extended to incorporate all Scottish merchants.[65] Robert granted reciprocal rights to Dutch merchants in August 1323.[66]

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to permit an evaluation of the effect of these treaties on Scottish-Dutch trade. It is likely, however, that such trade as there was, was centred on Zeeland, rather than the small towns of Holland or the landlocked towns of Hainault. The surviving references to Scottish-Dutch trade relate almost entirely to ports such as Middelburg and Zierickzee. By 1327 these relations had become somewhat strained due to the

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62. CCR, 1313-18, 227. William, count of Hainault, inherited the counties of Holland and Zeeland in 1299 after the death of Count John. Professor Barrow has pointed out to me that Getur was probably kin to, or identical with, the well-known William le Jetour of Gt. Yarmouth.
63. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, nos. 249, 267; CPR, 1317-21, 114; CCR, 1313-18, 521.
64. Rooseboom, Staple, no. 3; Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 302.
65. Ibid., no. 310. The original of this document is in The Hague, but a copy of a copy made in December 1323 is included among a collection of documents relating to trade between Scotland and the Low Countries in Göttingen (SA Göttingen, Cod. Ms. Hist. 67, XVI, fos. 493r, 493v).
66. Rooseboom, Staple, no. 4; Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 311.

misdemeanours of Herman van den Neuenhof, a captain of one of Robert I's ships, probably of German extraction and possibly related to the Dortmund family of that name.[67] Herman had been imprisoned at Middelburg for failing to pay debts to two German merchants. His escape, coupled with Robert's refusal to force payment of the debts, led Count William to threaten the arrest of Scottish goods in compensation.[68] Whether the seizures were executed is unknown, but Herman apparently remained in Robert's service, receiving three payments from the royal chamberlain in 1329.[69] Nevertheless, Edward III still felt it prudent to request the count to forbid his subjects from hiring or granting ships to aid the Scots.[70]

It is a striking fact that neither Edward I, nor Edward II, nor Edward III deemed it necessary to send such requests to the Rhenish and Westphalian lords and towns. Yet, considering the activity of Cologne merchants in Scotland before the Wars of Independence, it seems likely that Cologne would have been the recipient of a letter, similar to that sent to Lübeck and Hamburg in 1297, inviting the resumption of trade with Scotland now that the English had been temporarily expelled from Scotland.[71] Although, as stated above, merchants from these areas were occasionally suspected of complicity with the Scots, little was ever proved against them. Apart from the

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67. On the Dortmund family of this name, see Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 50, 371.
68. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 343.
69. ER, i, 115, 116, 242.
70. CCR, 1333-7, 717. A similar request was sent to the count of Guelders. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, 214, note 2. Foedera (R), ii, 949.
71. See below, 194-195.

activities of Herman van Neuenhof and the small community of Cologne merchants at Berwick, there is only one other recorded infringement of the English prohibitions on trade with Scotland by a merchant possibly from the western Hansa. Yet, arguably, the actions of Herman Clipping, a merchant from either Dortmund or Lübeck, were the most audacious of any German merchant in Scotland during the Wars of Independence.[71a] In the summer of 1308 a Scottish force, assisted by German merchants, recaptured the port and burgh of Aberdeen. The fall of Aberdeen was of great strategic importance. It followed Robert I's defeat of the Comyns at Inverurie and the recapture of all the northern castles, save Banff, from the English and their allies. Aberdeen was the chief supply point of the English forces in the north-east and its loss greatly reduced the prospects of an English recovery. Clipping was suspected by the English government of playing a leading rôle in the venture. He was arrested at Ipswich in February 1316 and summoned to appear before the English parliament at Lincoln.[72] Clipping, however, escaped from the custody of the Ipswich bailiffs, provoking Edward II to order the seizure of Clipping's merchandise at Boston.[73] Perhaps stung by the government's quick response, Clipping made his own way to Lincoln. There, he appealed to the king for the restoration of his possessions, which Edward granted once Clipping had found five mainpernors.[74]

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71a. On the Dortmund branch of the Clipping family, see Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 45, n.2; on the Lübeck branch, see ibid., nos. 1, 4.
72. CCR, 1313-18, 271; LUB, ii, no. 1043.
73. CCR, 1313-18, 288-289; LUB, ii, no. 1045.
74. Rot.Parl., i, 341.

Eventually the case against him was quietly dropped. This was not a tacit recognition of his innocence. Since 1316, Edward had been attempting to re-establish cordial relations with the Hansa. These had been soured by Edward's revocation of the carta mercatoria, a series of commercial privileges granted to foreign merchants by Edward I. Edward II was not prepared to allow Clipping's perceived treachery to hamper his negotiations with the Hansa. He stated this implicitly in May 1316 when he ordered the return of Clipping's goods.[75] It was more explicitly stated when Edward reaffirmed Hanseatic privileges in the mutuum of 1317. In a corollary to the main decree, the king declared himself 'willing to show leniency to Clipping in order to facilitate [the] larger aim' of coming to an agreement with the Hansa.[76] There can be little doubt as to Clipping's participation in the Scottish recapture of Aberdeen. At no stage was he declared to be not guilty. Moreover, Clipping was subsequently to display similar disregard for political authority when it clashed with his own commercial interests. In 1320 Edward ordered the arrest of Clipping's goods for exporting wool from England to the Low Countries in contravention of the English staple charter.[77]

Herman Clipping was not, however, typical of Rhenish and Westphalian attitudes and actions during the Wars of

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75. LUB, ii, no. 104.
76. CCR, 1313-17, 672; CPR, 1317-21, 23; HUB, ii, 3, no. 303.
77. CCR, 1318-23, 260-261.

Independence. Many of his compatriots provided direct and indirect assistance to the English cause. Some, such as that afforded by Ingelram of Cologne, the delinquent canon of Jedburgh, was of doubtful benefit. Ingelram probably arrived at Jedburgh after the election of the anglophile Abbot William in 1296. With the revival of Scottish fortunes in the late 1290s, the position of the anglophile canons at Jedburgh was no longer secure, notwithstanding the abbey's proximity to the English stronghold at Roxburgh. In 1299 Ingelram was evacuated to Bridlington.[78] At an unknown date he returned to Jedburgh, but was expelled by the abbot. In 1309 he returned again, in possession of an order from Edward II to the abbot and convent to readmit him and treat him favourably.[79] The abbot was less than pleased. Ingelram had been expelled for setting fire to the monastery and stealing two silk cloths, a Bible, a Life of the Saints, two chalices and other ecclesiastical ornaments.[80] But Ingelram was as untypical in his own way as Herman Clipping. Most of the assistance proffered to the English was of a more practical nature. Some was not dissimilar to that extended by other Germans to the Scots. Another Ingelram of Cologne, for example, a burgess of Newcastle, supplied barley to Edward II's household on its way north for the

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78. CCR, 1296-1302, 326.
79. CCR, 1307-13, 236; CDS, iii, no. 112.
80. PRO, SC1/18/151; CDS, ii, no. 969. Bain ascribes this document to 'post 1299'. It is probably datable to shortly after 13 December 1309. The abbot stated that Ingelram had twice returned to Jedburgh with royal entreaties of clemency. The second of these was probably the letter of 13 December 1309, referred to in note (79) above.

Bannockburn campaign.[81] Moreover, Rhenish and Westphalian merchants were among the most active foreign traders in England.[82] The customs dues which they paid undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the English to sustain the war effort both in Scotland and on the Continent. Yet, the English customs revenues and other traditional royal incomes were not sufficient to meet all military expenditure. The shortfall had to be met by borrowing. Edward III's loans from the Bardi and Peruzzi banking companies are well known.[83] With the collapse of the Italian banking companies in 1343 and 1346 the English crown sought other lenders. Hanseatic merchants were among those who filled the breach. Some, such as Tideman Lemberg, a Dortmund merchant, lent considerable amounts to the crown from the 1340s.[84] More modest Hanseatic loans were not uncommon before that. Typifying the commercial opportunism and political indifference of the German merchants then active in Scottish trade, Herman Clipping was one of eight merchants who lent 255 marks-4s-½d to Edward III in 1331.[85]

German aid to the English cause developed in other ways too. The count of Hainault 'And with him men that

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81. CCR, 1313-18, 18.
82. See below, pp.116,117
83. A. Beardwood, Alien Merchants in England 1350-77 (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 3-7.
84. L. Winterfeld, Tidemann Lemberg, ein Dortmunder Kaufmannsleben aus dem 14.Jahrhundert (Bremen 1925); Dollinger, Hanse, 225-228.
85. CCR, 1330-33, 219, 274.

worthy war ... of Almanyhe' assisted Edward II at Bannockburn.[86] Direct military assistance increased dramatically during Edward III's campaigns. The counts of Hainault, Jülich and Namur, and their retinues all provided the king with assistance against the Scots.[87] Forty German knights fought with Edward Balliol at the battle of Dupplin Moor in 1332.[88] The English garrison at Edinburgh castle in 1335-6 included seven German knights, one of whom, Edmund Birkelin, was an eminent member of the Cologne patriciate. Sir John de Whitefeld, a German knight, received payment in 1338 for his services as part of the English garrison at Stirling. Gerard de Aldenove of Almain also received payment for services in Scotland in 1341. Several Germans helped to garrison Berwick in the later fourteenth century.[89]

In addition to the commercial, financial and military support extended by western Germans to the English, there was also a more intangible and passive mode of assistance. It was exemplified by Zutphen merchants in 1322, whose fear of English retribution when storms drove their ship aground suspiciously close to the Scottish border at Bamburgh, prompted them to declare that they neither wished nor dared to trade in or visit Scotland.[90] Naturally such explicit statements of adherence to the

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86. J. Barbour, The Brus (Spalding Club 1856), 252.
87. R. Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots (Oxford 1965), 13-24, 35-40, 199-201, 212-214,218, 223, 249. Trautz, Die Könige, 194-216.
88. Ibid., 205.
89. CDS, iii, 360; CCR, 1337-9, 613; CCR, 1341-43, 164; CDS, v, nos. 4207, 4220, 4827, 4843.
90. CPR, 1321-4, 158.

English trading prohibitions are rare. Yet, simple compliance with the regulations was perhaps the most effective support to the English, since it limited the ability of the Scots to acquire arms and provisions. It seems likely that the vast majority of foreign merchants trading in England were indeed ready to comply with the prohibitions, either because they viewed Scottish trade as unprofitable or because they dared not risk the sequestration of their commercial assets in England by antagonising the English government. The relatively small number of western Germans guilty or suspected of breaking the English prohibitions pales into insignificance compared with all the western Germans known to have been active in contemporary English trade.[91] While this also applies to Wendish and Flemish merchants, the western Germans, other than those from Zeeland, appear to have been even more reluctant than Wendish and Flemish merchants to trade in Scotland during the Wars of Independence.

Several reasons perhaps explain their reticence. The towns of Holland, Guelders, Frisia and the Overijssel were still relatively small and their trade was also small compared to that of the Flemish towns.[92] It is not surprising, therefore, that there is little evidence of merchants from these towns participating in Scottish trade during the Wars of Independence. The Rhenish and Westphalian towns, however, were not so insignificant.

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91. It is impossible to enumerate all these merchants here, but a sample of their names can be found in CCR, passim; CPR, passim; HUB, passim; and Kunze, Hanseakten, passim.
92. Dollinger, Hanse, 253.

By the late thirteenth century Soest's population was already 13,000 and that of Cologne was even bigger.[93] It is true that they are geographically further away from Scotland than the Flemish towns. Neither are they coastal ports. From the thirteenth century the Rhine and the Lippe were no longer navigable by larger vessels.[94] Nevertheless, the Rhenish and Westphalian towns did conduct a considerable amount of overseas trade, particularly with England. In 1157 Cologne merchants became the first Germans to receive trading privileges in England. From that date they possessed their own trading depot at the Guild Hall in London. The London-Cologne commercial axis remained of crucial significance to Cologne merchants throughout the middle ages.[95] The Westphalians arrived in numbers in England later than the Colognese. Nevertheless, their trade was already significant by the later thirteenth century. In 1275 Dortmund merchants alone were responsible for a fifth of all Hanseatic wool exports from England.[96] Even some of the smaller Westphalian towns, such as Attendorn, conducted a sizeable trade with England at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[97] The Westphalian influence was also strong in the Hanseatic Kontor established in London in 1281. Several of the Kontor's first aldermen came from Dortmund.[98] Given the sizeable and

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93. Dollinger, Hanse, 162.
94. Ibid., 166.
95. Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 62-63; Dollinger, Hanse, 19, 60-62, 165-166; 321, 390, 394-396.
96. Winterfeld, Tidemann Lemberg, 21.
97. J. Brunabend, Attendorn (Attendorn, 1957), passim.
98. L. von Winterfeld, Dortmunds Stellung in der Hanse (Lübeck 1932), 21.

long established trade which existed between the Rhenish and Westphalian cities and England, it would not be surprising if these cities and their merchants had not, with the exception of a few adventurers such as (possibly) Clipping, complied with English prohibitions on trade with Scotland. They had too much to lose by collectively antagonizing the English crown and since before the Wars of Independence probably only a small number of western Germans had traded in Scotland, most were not being requested to sacrifice an important part of their commerce. Moreover, the traditional trading practices of the western Germans did not conflict with the diplomatic policies of their nominal overlords during the Wars of Independence. The loose, but traditional, friendship between England and western Germany was not based on hostility towards the Scots, but upon common apprehensions about the growth of French power and influence. These fears were given formal expression in 1294 when Edward I's ambassadors concluded an alliance at Dordrecht with the envoys of Adolf of Nassau, king of the Romans.[99] Adolf was, however, deposed in 1298, ensuring that the pact had little practical effect. The new German king, Albrecht of Habsburg, could afford to be more congenial to French interests, since his own patrimonial lands were in the east, well away from the French border. A marriage alliance between the Habsburgs and Capetians in 1299 appeared to confirm

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99. G. Barraclough, 'Edward I and Adolf of Nassau. A Chapter of Medieval Diplomatic History', Cambridge Historical Journal, vi (1940), 225-262; Trautz, Die Könige, 130.

the German king's political realignment. Nonetheless, faced with his new royal responsibilities, Albrecht soon recognized the vulnerability of his western border. Although the English alliance was not formally renewed, Albrecht came to support Edward's anti-French allies in Burgundy, Savoy and Flanders.[100] From a Scottish viewpoint this royal Anglo-German community of interest was of less significance than it might have been, due to the lack of any real central authority recognized by the Germans.

Of much greater importance to the Scots was Edward's success in building an alliance with the princes of western Germany. Edward's prestige in the region had been high since his mediation of disputes between Holland, Brabant and Guelders in 1284.[101] In 1290 his daughter, Margaret, married Duke John of Brabant. In 1293 another daughter, Eleanor, married Count Henry of Bar. Pensions were paid to several princes, including the archbishop of Cologne. In 1295 Edward assumed responsibility for the debts owed by the count of Guelders and the duke of Brabant to the count of Flanders. The fruits of Edward's attention to the west German princes were displayed in 1297, when the counts of Mark, Waldeck, Jülich, Guelders and Cleves provided military assistance during Edward's abortive invasion of Flanders.[102]

These comital houses had never enjoyed close relations with Scotland. In this respect, Holland was

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100. Trautz, Die Könige, 178.
101. Ibid., 128.
102. Ibid., 127, 133, 142.

markedly different and the Scots might conceivably have expected some diplomatic support from that quarter. Count Florence V's claim to the Scottish throne in 1291-92 had not per se damaged Scottish-Dutch relations. Florence had been on particularly good terms with some Scots at the Great Cause. He and Robert Bruce had concluded an agreement to support each other against the other claimants.[103] His relations with John Balliol, the eventual winner, can not therefore have been warm. They perhaps did not improve if, as seems likely, John was forced to bribe Florence to withdraw his claim.[104] This perhaps explains why King John apparently made no attempt to ally with Holland. Florence was, in any case, an important member of the Edwardian coalition in the Low Countries. By January 1296, however, the prospects for a Dutch-Scottish alliance were more auspicious. With the rupture of Anglo-Scottish relations, John was in desperate need of allies, while Florence had deserted the English cause. Yet still no diplomatic overtures were apparently made between the two. Florence might have been more willing to come to an accommodation had the Bruces been in power. But by the time that the earl of Carrick had committed himself to the Scottish resistance, Florence was dead. He was murdered in July 1296, possibly with English connivance.[105]

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103. G.G. Simpson, 'The claim of Florence, count of Holland, to the Scottish throne, 1291-1292', SHR, xxxvi, 115-116; Barrow, Bruce, 46-47.
104. Simpson, 'Florence', 117-118; Barrow, Bruce, 48.
105. Documents Illustrating the Crisis of 1297-8 in England, ed. M. Prestwich (Camden Society, fourth series, 1980), 34.

Florence was succeeded by his anglophile son John, who had married another of Edward's daughters in 1296. Holland, thenceforth, returned to the English coalition.[106]

Although Edward's close diplomatic interest in the Empire waned after the Anglo-French reconciliation of 1303, he maintained friendly, private relations with several of the imperial princes.[107] Until the end of Edward's reign the Scots remained diplomatically isolated in the region, while their trade remained minimal. After 1307, Edward II was less assiduous in cultivating his father's German allies. This allowed the Scots to undertake a limited diplomatic offensive. Although the bilateral treaties agreed between William, count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland and Robert I in 1323 were ostensibly concerned with commercial affairs, William was also implicitly recognizing Robert as the legitimate king of Scotland - five years before the English government and a year before the papacy were prepared to take such a step.[108]

Count William's hostility to Edward II was confirmed in 1326 when his daughter Philippa was betrothed to Edward's son. This was the count's price for assisting Edward's estranged wife Isabella to overthrow the English king.[109] Yet, ironically, the marriage was ominous for the Scots. It foreshadowed a return to

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106. Prestwich, Documents, 34. Edward's refusal to allow his daughter to join her husband in Holland caused some strain to relations between England and Holland, but Dilley, Thesis, 62-64, is wrong to state that Count John was downright hostile to Edward I and allied to Scotland.
107. Trautz, Die Könige, 186.
108. See below, 220-221. Barrow, Bruce, 232, 245-247, 250, 255-260.
109. M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399 (Oxford 1959), 83.

Edward I's imperial alliances once Edward III had consolidated his position. Edward rebuilt his grandfather's anti-French imperial coalition based on family connections and financial inducements.[110] In several respects the revived coalition went beyond that of Edward I, leading, for example, to the German military involvement in Scotland during the 1330s. It also, apparently, resulted in a decline in Scottish-Dutch trade.[111] There is, however, some evidence to suggest that the Scottish government mounted a limited diplomatic counter-offensive. Edward's appeal to his brother-in-law, the count of Guelders, in 1336 to prohibit trade with Scotland, was followed by the dispatch of a Scottish embassy to the count, possibly to plead for the continuation of commerce.[112] Nevertheless, it was largely impossible for the Scots to compete with either Edward I's or Edward III's diplomacy. They did not possess the financial resources to do so and, more importantly, there was neither a diplomatic community of interest, nor, save with Holland, a tradition of diplomatic relations between Scotland and the imperial principalities. Although neither of the Edwardian alliances was primarily directed against Scotland, their effect was to limit diplomatic and commercial support of the Scottish cause to the francophile powers and the more independently minded Flemish and north German towns.

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110. McKisack, Fourteenth Century, 119-120; Trautz, Die Könige, 198-204, 224, 227-246.
111. See above, 109, 113-114, and below 126.
112. ER, i, 450.

(iii)The Later Fourteenth Century

With the reestablishment of more peaceful Anglo-Scottish relations from the later 1340s, the immediate political and economic pressures which had discouraged contacts between Scotland and western Germany were largely removed. Berwick's trade partially revived, despite the fact that the king's sheriff had siphoned off the harbour dues to the point where, by 1337, the harbour was almost lost.[113] The guarantee incorporated in the town's surrender agreement of 1333, whereby the burgh's merchants could continue to export wool and hides from Scotland at the Scottish rate of customs, rather than the higher English rate, was honoured. Until the early fifteenth century, wool and hides from independent Scotland, the areas of English occupation and Northumberland were exported from Berwick.[114] Indeed, the cargoes of ships sailing from the town to the Zeeland ports of Middelburg and Vere in 1395 apparently contained at least twice as much Scottish as English wool and sometimes ten times as much.[115] Although ships were passing from Berwick to Zeeland, most of the town's overseas trade was now directed towards Flanders.[116] Archaeologists have discovered some Rhenish pottery at Berwick, dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but there is no indication in documentary sources that merchants or ships from the Rhenish

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113. NP, no. 11.
114. A.E. Goodman, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society?', Scotland and England 1286-1815 ed. R. Mason (Edinburgh 1987), 24-25.
115. PRO, E.122/3/13.
116. CCR, 1346-49, 348. For trade with Zeeland, see PRO, E. 122/3/1; E.122/3/11; E.122/3/13; E.122/193/8; Smit, Bronnen, A, i, nos. 677, 704.

or Westphalian towns visited or resettled in the town.[117]

Contacts between the rest of Scotland and western Germany in the later fourteenth century followed a similar pattern. Commerce with Zeeland was encouraged when David II transferred the Scottish staple to Middelburg in 1347, following a dispute with Bruges.[118] Although the staple returned to Bruges within months, Zeeland skippers, from Middelburg, Vere and Westkappele, regularly visited Scotland in the later fourteenth century and transported merchandise belonging to Scottish merchants to Flanders.[119] Some Zeeland merchants also visited Scotland, purchasing Scottish produce for re-sale in Flanders.[120]

While commerce with Zeeland blossomed delicately, contacts with the rest of western Germany stagnated. Christopher of Cologne resumed his trade with Scotland and in 1343 received 40s from the Aberdeen customers for the sale of some cloth.[121] Christopher, however, was an isolated example. Few other western German visitors to Scotland can be traced in the records. In 1350 Conrad Schönweder and Henry Rump, two clerics from the diocese of Cologne, persuaded David II to petition Pope Clement VI on their behalf, with a view to obtaining benefices.[122]

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117. Hunter, 'Berwick', 83. It must, however, be remembered that the town records of Berwick are scant for this period.
118. APS, i, 514-515; RRS, vi, no. 110; Rooseboom, Staple, no. 5; Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 451.
119. Ibid., nos. 457, 527, 529, 584, 720.
120. Ibid., no. 482.
121. ER, i, 531.
122. RRS, vi, 46, no. 25; Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv, ed. H.V. Sauerland, iii (Bonn 1905), nos. 890, 891.

Both petitions were, however, made during David's captivity in England and it was probably there that David encountered the two clerics. John of Cologne, a moneyer, was employed by the Scottish government in the 1350s, while a Marion of Cologne and a James of Cologne received English safe-conducts to visit Scotland in 1363 and 1374 respectively.[123]

Similarly, there is little evidence that Scots visited the western German towns in the fourteenth century. Scottish merchants do not appear to have journeyed further than the Zeeland ports, while no Scottish students are recorded on the matriculation lists of the University of Cologne (founded in 1389) until 1419.[124] Neither is there any indication that David II, Robert II or Robert III sought to mount diplomatic initiatives or alliances in the region. The only Scots known to have visited any of the western Hanseatic cities in this period were the mercenaries Thomas and 'Geboen' of Irvine, employed by the Cologne council in 1391.[125] Not surprisingly, therefore, the contemporary town chronicles of the Rhenish and Westphalian towns showed virtually no interest in, or knowledge of, Scottish affairs. That of Cologne, for example, includes only two perfunctory references to Scotland. It notes the Franco-Scottish alliance of 1345 and erroneously records that David II was captured by

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123. ER, i, 617; Rot.Scot., i, 869, 962.

124. Keussen, Matrikel, i, 212 (nos. 124, 7; 124, 8).

125. HA Köln, HUA, K/4308.

Edward III in 1356.[126]

Yet, despite the lack of evidence concerning direct contact between Scotland and the western Empire in the fourteenth century, Rhenish wine, some cloth from Cologne and a little Rhenish pottery certainly found their way to Scotland.[127] The commodities probably arrived by way of the towns of Flanders and Zeeland. Merchants from the two countries certainly encountered each other in Flanders: the surviving records of the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges contain several references to Scots.[128] These encounters were not, however, always harmonious. In ca.1360 Dortmund merchants complained that Scottish pirates had relieved them of their goods in the River Zwin.[129]

Nevertheless, western Germans, other than those from Zeeland, apparently failed by and large to resume their direct trade with Scotland after the termination of the Wars of Independence. There are several possible explanations for this, all of which lack certainty in the absence of more detailed record material. Because of the Wars of Independence, Scottish-German trade had declined for almost forty years. Western German merchants had become even more entrenched in their trade with England. There they could purchase goods similar to those obtainable

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126. 'Cronica van der hilliger stat von Coellen', Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, xiv (Göttingen 1968), 681, 696.
127. ER, i, 433, 609, 617; ii, 6, 78, 133, 222, 449, 454, 475, 531, 620; iii, 40, 675. Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Aberdeen, ed. J. Murray (Edinburgh 1982), 171, 176; J. Wordsworth, 'The Archaeological Evidence of Medieval Inverness', The Middle Ages in the Highlands, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness 1981), 74-75.
128. See HR, A, i-iv, passim.
129. HR, A, i, no. 250.

in Scotland. They, therefore, required good reasons to return to Scotland. In fact, both political and economic conditions were still not conducive to the revitalization of Scottish-German trade. The English crown still occasionally discouraged German trade with Scotland. In 1367 Edward III granted safe-conduct to merchants from Hindelopen and Stavoren, on condition that they did not trade with Scotland.[130] More importantly, there was a lack of any firm basis to Scottish-German trade. Scotland provided a limited market for the traditional produce of western Germany. The number of references to commodities such as Rhenish wine and cloth in Scotland is not great and Scottish requirements could have been easily met by the purchases of Scottish merchants in the Low Countries. There was similarly little demand for Scottish produce in the western German towns, particularly after the apparent decline of the cod fisheries in the later thirteenth century. Moreover, Scottish exports were directed by law to the Scottish staple, which, for most of the fourteenth century, was situated at Bruges. Enticed by the privileges obtained at Bruges, direct Scottish trade with both the western and northern Hanseatic towns declined.[131]

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130. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 521.
131. See also below 222-228, on Scotland and the Wendish towns. There are very few foreign merchants of any description recorded in the fourteenth-century Scottish records. For the few exceptions, see ER, iii, 96, 122, 186, 495, 662. There are similarly few indications of foreigners trading in Scotland recorded in the English sources, which provide so much information on this matter for the period of the Wars of Independence.

The only possible niche, therefore, left for western German merchants in Scottish trade was as middlemen, transporting goods from Scotland to the Low Countries and vice versa. For several years in the early fourteenth century, however, there was positive discrimination against foreigners acting in this capacity. From 1331 aliens were required to pay double the amount of customs dues which Scottish merchants paid, at all Scottish ports except Berwick. To foreign merchants this reduced the profitability of Scottish trade, by decreasing the competitiveness of Scottish wool compared to English wool. The patchy survival of the fourteenth-century Scottish customs accounts makes it difficult to evaluate the effect of the double levy on the structure of Scottish foreign trade over a lengthy period. Because the customs accounts before 1331 record only the total amount of exported goods and the total customs dues paid, the alien share of trade visible in the accounts after 1331 can not be compared with similar statistics before 1331. Nevertheless, it would be expected that the double levy would lead to an increase in the share of overseas trade conducted by Scottish merchants, whose profit margins had not been affected by the new dues. From 1331 to 1333 the proportion of the export trade conducted by Scottish merchants amounted to approximately five-sixths of the total. It was even higher in the subsequent years when similar calculations can be made.[132]

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132. ER, i, 365-374, 419-428, 529-541; ii, 7-24, 64-70, 84-99.

Although the double levy is not recorded in the customs accounts after the 1360s, Rhenish and Westphalian merchants still do not appear to have been enticed back into Scottish trade, even during the boom years of exports in the 1370s.[133] This boom was not, however, reflective of the health of the Scottish economy. Demand for Scottish wool in the Low Countries was abnormally high because of restrictions imposed on the export of English wool.[134] Indeed, there was probably a decline in the quality of Scottish wool during the fourteenth century, caused by the deteriorating climate. By the 1390s, when English wool was again readily available, several textile manufacturing centres in the Low Countries, such as Aardenburg, Douai and Ypres, had prohibited the use of Scottish wool in the production of cloth.[135] Although these restrictions were not imposed at Flemish towns such as Tourcoing and Werviq, important suppliers of cloth to the Hansa, the overall demand for Scottish wool apparently declined. Exports of wool slumped markedly from the late 1390s, reaching their nadir in 1402.[136] If the quality and demand for Scottish wool declined, so did its value. Again, therefore, merchants' profit margins were reduced, providing another disincentive for Rhenish and Westphalian merchants to return to Scottish trade.

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133. ER, ii, 372-375; 396-409; 469-485; 510-534; 550-569; 600-617; iii, 1-15.
134. Grant, Independence, 79.
135. Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire l'industrie drapière en Flandre, edd. G. Espinas and H. Pirenne (Brussels 1906-1924), i, 49; ii, 307; iii, 637.
136. Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre, ed. H.E. Sagher (Brussels 1951-1966) 413, 441, 527-531.

Much of this argument is necessarily based on the impression, given by the scarcity of the source material, that there was no trade between Scotland and the western Hanseatic towns. Lack of supporting evidence from source material, while not conclusive proof of a lack of trading links, does suggest that (as in the situation in contemporary northern England) there was no significant trade between Scotland and the western Hanseatic towns. In the thirteenth century, the value of northern English wool was only marginally higher than that of Scottish wool.[137] As with Scottish wool, its value declined markedly in the later fourteenth century. The response of western German merchants in northern England can be more accurately assessed because of the more detailed nature of surviving English customs accounts. The English 'particular' accounts show conclusively that western Germans increasingly withdrew from trade in northern England, concentrating their activities on the ports of southern England.[138]

While trade with the western Hansa stagnated, diplomatic contacts between Scotland and the western Empire failed to recover from the isolation foisted upon the Scottish government by Edward III's alliances dating from 1327. As with the lack of commerce, it is difficult to account with any certainty for something which did not happen. But again, there are several possible explanations for the lack of diplomatic contact. With the decline of Anglo-Scottish warfare, it could be argued that there was

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137. HUB, iii, 407-408.
138. I am grateful to Dr. J. Fudge for this information, based on his study of the English customs accounts (PRO, E.122).

no longer any necessity for the Scots to make diplomatic alliances. This argument is not convincing. Although there was no longer sustained military intervention in Scotland, sporadic outbursts of hostility continued. A second diplomatic alliance, in addition to the traditional friendship with France, would, therefore, have been of some use to the Scottish government. Part of the reason why this was not attempted lies in the continuation of the alliance between Edward III and the imperial princes, directed against France. Richard II also cultivated these alliances.[139] Nevertheless, the Scottish government was also partly to blame. It failed to take advantage, as Robert I had done in the 1320s, of periodic breakdowns in the English coalition.[140] Likewise, there was no attempt to follow the English precedent of diplomatic marriages. David II, it is true, had no children of his own, but his heir apparent and ultimate successor, Robert II, had a prodigious number of offspring, all of whom were married to members of the Scottish nobility.[141] Thus, when Anglo-Scottish relations took a turn for the worse, the Scottish government relied solely on the unimaginative and frequently unreliable alliance with France. Relations with the western Empire were confined to commercial contacts with Zeeland.

(iv) The Fifteenth Century

During the fifteenth century, there was generally

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139. J.J.N. Palmer, 'English Foreign Policy 1388-99', The Reign of Richard II. Essays in Honour of May McKisack, edd. C. Barron and F.R.H. du Boulay (London 1971), 75-86.
140. R. Vaughan, Philip the Bold, 11, 86-88.
141. Dunbar, Kings, 166-170.

little improvement in the depressed level of Scottish exports. Wool remained the principal Scottish export, but not once did the sacks exported even match that number sent abroad in the 1390s. In 'good' years, such as the 1460s, the number was still only about a third of those recorded in the boom years of the 1370s. Likewise, exports of hides rarely exceeded the levels of the fourteenth century.[142] There were, however, some changes in the structure of Scottish trade. Edinburgh's growing domination of the export trade is well known.[143] But while the Scottish export trade increasingly converged on one port, there was also a diversification in the destination of trade. From the early fifteenth century trade with the eastern Baltic and France developed. From the 1490s there was a dramatic growth of commercial contact with the latter in particular.[144] The diversification of markets was also evident within the confines of the western Empire. Scottish contacts with Zeeland, in particular, flourished, encouraged by both a corresponding increase of commercial disputes with Bruges and the gradual decline of Bruges' position as the pre-eminent trading centre in the Low Countries. Middelburg was the principal beneficiary of this movement. The Scottish staple was transferred there briefly in 1416, from 1423 to 1427 and again after 1483.[145] The transfer

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142. These statistics are based on the customs returns, ER, vols. iii-xi.
143. Stevenson, Thesis, 257-258.
144. See below, 287-289. On trade with France, see Stevenson, Thesis, 262.
145. On the staple and its movements, see ibid., 88-102.

of the staple also benefited the smaller Zeeland ports. Technically it ought not to have done, since the staple ordinance directed all Scottish mercantile activity to Middelburg. Clearly, however, skippers and merchants interpreted this liberally and regularly visited neighbouring Vere in particular. Middelburg and Vere (to which the staple was transferred in 1508) had canvassed strongly for the right to possess the Scottish staple. Part of the reason for their success was the growing importance of the towns and fairs of Brabant, which were more readily accessible from Zeeland than Flanders. By the later fifteenth century considerable numbers of Scottish merchants were active in the Brabant towns of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.[146]

There was also some tentative expansion of Scottish trade with the northern Low Countries. Skippers and merchants from unspecified towns in Holland were visiting Scotland by the early fifteenth century and those from Amsterdam by the mid-fifteenth century.[147] Dordrecht was visited by Scots from at least the mid-fifteenth century too and it was probably from there, the site of Cologne's wine staple, that large amounts of Rhenish wine found their way to Scotland.[148] By the 1470s there was some trade with Hoorn and Brielle and at least one Scottish merchant had settled in Brielle by 1484. By then Scottish merchants had also settled at Delft and by the

146. Stevenson, Thesis, 205-208.
147. DA Aberdeen, ACR, i, 229; iv, 6; v(1), 29, 226, 229; SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1446; HUB, viii, no. 1126; x, no. 385.
148. ER, iv, 678; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 642-643; vi, 18, 155, 809; Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1174.

1490s there was some trade between Rotterdam and Leith.[149] Scots do not, however, appear to have penetrated the north of Holland in any great numbers. Contacts with Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Hindelopen, Wokum and also Utrecht, were largely confined to terse exchanges about piracy.[150] To the east, contacts with Guelders were at most sporadic, though the arrival of a ship from Nijmegen at Aberdeen in 1438 and James IV's attempts to purchase horses in the duchy indicate that they were not non-existent.[151] Although there is no indication that Scots visited the sizeable Hanseatic towns of the Overijssel, merchants from Kampen certainly traded in Scotland. Due to the paucity of the Kampen records it is not clear when this trade began, but at least one Kampen merchant was trading at Edinburgh in 1420.[152] By 1435, when the Edinburgh council granted the skippers and merchants of Kampen the privilege to trade in Edinburgh for a period of five years, these contacts were probably quite important.[153]

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149. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1835, 1838, 1989; B, i, nos. 54, 60. In addition to these references, and those in notes (147) and (148) above, there are several references to 'Dutchmen' visiting Scotland in the fifteenth century. Although their home towns are not recorded, some certainly came from Holland. (See, for example, SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1446). The word 'Dutchman' was, however, also used of Germans more generally. Although most of these 'Dutchmen' were skippers, some were merchants. A John Ducheman was regularly employed by James I to supply the king with goods purchased in the Low Countries (ER, iv, 434-436, 447-448, 467, 472-473, 640-647, 684).
150. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1168, 1172, 1234, 1831, 1834, 1838. See also chapter six on Scotland and the Hanseatic embargo.
151. LUB, vii, no. 808; James IV Letters, no. 233.
152. BUB, v, no. 156; HUB, vi, no. 319. (This document is missing from SA Bremen).
153. HUB, vii(1), no. 94.

During the Dutch-Hanseatic war, from 1438 to 1441, Kampen and Deventer, although both Hanseatic towns, complied with a Dutch request to terminate their trade with the Baltic, but they simultaneously sought Dutch permission to maintain their trade with Scotland.[154] There is only minimal evidence to suggest that Kampen's dealings with Scotland continued subsequently. Yet, they presumably did, since in 1486 the Kampen council imposed a levy on all skippers sailing to Scotland, in order to help meet the costs of an embassy to the king of France.[155] Other than the arrangements made during the Dutch-Hanseatic war, there is no evidence of trade between Deventer and Scotland, and neither, with one possible exception, is there any indication of trade with the other Hanseatic towns of the Ijssel-Zuider Zee area. The curious exception is Stavoren, which, uniquely for a Hanseatic town, obtained two charters of commercial privileges for its merchants trading in Scotland, one from James IV in 1499 and the other from James V in 1525.[156] In fact, these charters are not proof of a vibrant trade between Scotland and Stavoren. There is very little evidence concerning such trade at all.[157] The charters did not even encourage such a development, since they did not bestow any real privileges on Stavoren merchants,

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154. HUB, vii(1), no. 574.
155. HUB, xi, no. 86.
156. HUB, xi, no. 1139; RSS, i, no. 392. (This document is missing from HA Köln). HA Köln, HUA 1/16328; ADCP, 223.
157. An Aberdeen merchant visited Stavoren in 1461. (DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 416).

other than officially extending royal protection to them.[158] It is, therefore, somewhat puzzling as to why such charters were issued at all. The 1499 one was granted at the request of Dodo Annonis, a Stavoren merchant. His motives in making this request are unknown, but perhaps it was intended as nothing more than an attempt (which apparently failed) to stimulate and extend Stavoren's foreign trading interests.

Indeed, it is probably in the context of the dramatic growth of commercial activity in the northern Low Countries in the fifteenth century that the cautious expansion of trading connections between Scotland and the region ought to be viewed. Scotland was a convenient port of call for Dutch vessels sailing from the Baltic. The Dutch certainly brought Baltic wares with them to Scotland.[159] Meanwhile, the growth of the towns of southern Holland had attracted merchants from not just Scotland, but all over Europe. If the reason for the development of Scottish links with Holland and the Overijssel are to be found in the commercial expansion of the northern Low Countries, this would also explain why the diversification of trade did not extend to the Hanseatic towns of Westphalia,

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158. See also below, 242, 293, 314.
159. HUB, ix, no. 541(1).

whose trade was in decline by the fifteenth century.[160]

Likewise, there is little evidence of a revival of trade with Cologne. The fifteenth century Rhenish pottery discovered at, for example, Kirkwall and Inverness, is not an indication of Scottish-Rhenish trade since it may have been brought there by anyone, from almost anywhere.[161] Similarly, although Rhenish wine and paper were obtainable in Scotland, they did not necessarily come directly from Cologne and the Rhineland.[162] In the early fifteenth century Scottish merchants bought supplies of Rhenish wine at Cologne's wine staple in Dordrecht. By the 1490s, Andrew Halyburton, conservator (i.e. principal official) of the Scottish staple in the Low countries, acquired his supplies of Rhenish wine at Bergen-op-Zoom.[163] There is little evidence that Scottish produce found its way to Cologne in the fifteenth century. Again, that which did, such as the Scottish pearl bequeathed by the Cologne merchant

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160. Dollinger, Hanse, 163. This lack of contact between Scotland and Westphalia is reflected in the Westphalian urban chronicles. Most of these make no mention of Scotland although the sixteenth-century writer Dietrich Westhoff of Dortmund believed (mistakenly) that a king of Scots was involved in a war between the duke of Saxony and archbishop of Cologne in 1254. 'Chronik des Dietrich Westhoff von 750-1550', Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, xx, 190.
161. J. Wordsworth, 'Excavations of the Settlement at 13-21 Castle Street, Inverness, 1979', PSAS, cxii (1982), 366; N.A. McGavin, 'Excavations in Kirkwall 1978', PSAS, cxii (1982), 413.
162. ER, iv, 563, 564, 678, 679; vi, 308, 499, 502; vii, 95, 163; viii, 256; x, 488, 611; xi, 265. For evidence of the consumption of Rhenish wine in Scotland in the early sixteenth century, ER, xii, 114, 375, 470, 600; xiii, 235; TA, ii, 44, 127, 475.
163. Halyburton's Ledger, 22, 25, 90, 109, 123; ER, iv, 768; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 642-643; vi, 18, 155, 809.

Thys van Spey in his will of 1479, could readily have been acquired in the Low Countries.[164] It is significant, indeed, that remittances intended for Scottish students, studying at Cologne, were sent to Bruges, where the council arranged for their onward dispatch, presumably because few Scottish merchants ventured further inland.[165]

Yet, despite the apparent lack of trade, several Scots did visit and reside in fifteenth-century Cologne. The first Scottish students matriculated at the university in 1419. Thereafter a steady stream of Scottish students headed for the city. It was to Cologne, too, that the town council of St. Andrews turned in 1443, for advice on regulating the relationship between itself and Scotland's first university.[166] Little elaboration is necessary on either the intellectual influence of Cologne on the early Scottish universities or the impact of Cologne's Scottish graduates in both Scotland and Germany, which have been thoroughly examined elsewhere.[167] Some of the

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164. Kuske, Quellen, ii, no. 788. Records of tolls payable by Hanseatic merchants in Zeeland in 1475 and 1519, including references to Scottish wool and hides, are also preserved in Cologne. HA Köln, Hanse III K8, fos. 98r, 114r; Hanse III K35, fos. 103r, 107v, 108r.
165. IAB, vi, 39.
166. HA Köln, Brb. 16, fo. 108r; St. Andrews University Library, Manuscripts Department, Brown Book, 214; Calendar of St. Andrews Charters, edd. D. Hay Fleming and H. Paton (Edinburgh 1952), 41-44.
167. R. Lyall, 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth century', Innes Review, xxxvi (1985), 55-73; J. Durkan, William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow (Glasgow 1951), 9, 12, 34, 35, 39, 41, 43, 46, 54, 56, 57; J.H. Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle (Glasgow 1962); J. Durkan and J. Kirk, The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow 1977), passim.

Scottish students, however, stayed on in Cologne after completing their studies and enjoyed a considerable academic reputation. Robert Stoddart, for example, had matriculated at the university in 1454. From 1457 he taught in the arts faculty, regularly presenting students for examination. On four occasions (in 1462, 1472, 1481 and 1485) he was elected dean of the faculty and in 1489 he became rector of the university.[168] Stoddart also became a canon of St. Mariengraden, eventually dying in Cologne in 1490.[169] His decision to seek a livelihood in teaching was not unique for a Scottish graduate of Cologne. In 1479 Peter Davidson, who matriculated at Cologne in 1467, went on to teach theology at the new university of Copenhagen.[170] Perhaps, however, the most conspicuous of the Scottish academic emigres in Cologne was Thomas Lyall. Lyall matriculated in theology in 1461, having already studied at Paris and Louvain.[171] Following receipt of his doctorate in 1486 he taught in the university and was elected rector in 1489, 1502 and 1509.[172] He was frequently named as both

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168. Keussen, Matrikel, i, 574 (no. 262, 8); ii, 273 (no. 405), 275 (no. 406). Lyall, 'Students', 63.
169. HA Köln, HUA, 2/14124; Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln, xxxix, ed. E. Kuphal (Köln 1928), 42, 53, 54.
170. Keussen, Matrikel, i (no. 313, 97). Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln, xxxvi-xxxvii, ed. J. Hansen (Köln 1918), no. 1702.
171. Keussen, Matrikel, i, 677 (no. 291, 66).
172. Lyall, 'Students', 64; Keussen, Matrikel, ii, 263 (no. 403), 269 (no. 404), 53 (no. 45), 534 (no. 456), 535 (no. 457), 538 (no. 458), 641 (no. 483), 645 (no. 484).

an executor in the wills of Cologne graduates and as an arbiter in the settlement of disputes.[173] In theological matters too his esteem was high. In 1489, before he became rector, he was appointed by the archbishop of Cologne to assist the Inquisitor Jakob Sprengler in the seizure and examination of heretical works belonging to a mathematician-cum-astrologer.[174] At the request of the emperor, Lyall also examined the Jewish Talmud, for heretical sections concerning the Virgin, and, in 1513, he presided over a hearing against Johann Reuchlin, who out of 'favour and friendship to the blind and accursed Jews' had allegedly propounded similar heresies.[175] Of course, as might be expected, Scottish students were not always quite so virtuous as Lyall. On occasions some fell foul of the Cologne authorities, usually for offences of breach of the peace. Alexander of Scotland, for example, together with his mistress or prostitute, was accused in ca. 1500 by Claus Schott of assaulting the latter's wife.[176] Even Robert Stoddart had an inauspicious start to his career, being fined ten marks for an assault on another Scottish student in 1457.[177]

Nevertheless, despite occasional misdemeanours of this nature, the Scottish students were generally welcomed

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173. Hansen, Mitteilungen, nos. 1804, 2061, 2144, 2202, 2373, 2376, 2378, 2489, 2538, 2551, 2641.
174. Ibid., no. 1901.
175. HA Köln, Rp. 1a, fo. 44 v.
176. Hansen, Mitteilungen, no. 2317..
177. Lyall, 'Students', 63.

in Cologne. It is inconceivable, then, that they were the targets of an edict issued by the Cologne council on 19 May 1473, which ordered that certain undesirable Scotsmen and women be driven out of the city. A month later the council appointed officials to hunt out any remaining undesirables and put them in prison.[178] By 1486 the number of these Scots was again giving cause for concern and a fresh edict was issued ordering their expulsion.[179] The ordinances shed little light on the allegedly undesirable activities of these Scots. Unfortunately, there is little evidence which identifies individual Scots against whom the edicts may have been directed. One possible exception is the reference in a will to a Scottish needlemaker called Simon and his wife Gillian.[180] They, it may be assumed, were the type of humbler person to whom the edicts applied. Yet, not all the Scots in Cologne came from modest backgrounds. In 1484, Robert Gillespie, a settler from Aberdeen, conveyed property, inherited from his late father in Aberdeen, to two other Scots resident in Cologne.[181] The elder Gillespie, who probably died in 1463, was a merchant of some importance in Aberdeen and a regular member of the town council.[182] There is no

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178. Akten zur Geschichte der Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert ed. W. Stein (Bonn 1895), ii, 499, no. 331.
179. Ibid., ii, 592, no. 455.
180. HA Köln, Schreinsurk.Schöff., 2/548/37.
181. HA Köln, Brb. 34/35, fo. 99.
182. Gillespie's name appears regularly in the Aberdeen council registers. (DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), passim.) He was dead by 11 January 1464, when his wife and daughter disputed the possession of a belt owned by Gillespie (ACR, v(1), 526).

indication in either the Cologne or the Aberdeen records as to why the younger Gillespie had emigrated to Germany. He is not included on the university matriculation lists and, considering the dearth of references to trade between Scotland and Cologne, it seems unlikely that he was a merchant trading with Scotland. Some possible assistance in establishing Gillespie's activities comes from similar and contemporary edicts issued against Scots by the towns of Prussia.[183] It is noteworthy that the 1473 Cologne ordinance was applicable to Poles as well as Scots. Since 1466 the Prussian towns were under Polish suzerainty. It may have been not from the geographically closer west, but from the east, along the well-established Hanseatic trade routes, that the undesirable Scots had arrived in Cologne. Some Scots were certainly to be found in Breslau, Frankfurt-am-Main, Leipzig and Lübeck, all on trade routes between Cologne and Prussia.[184]

In Prussia the Scots were chiefly notorious for their activity as pedlars, selling cheap merchandise to the poorer sections of the population. The Scots in Cologne, it is to be expected, may have pursued similar occupations. If Gillespie had become a pedlar it would be a significant indication of the depressed condition of the later medieval Scottish economy that the son of an influential merchant regarded peddling as a worthwhile occupation. Of course, it must be remembered that not all pedlars were men of

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183. See below, 312.
184. See below, 142, 248, 309-310 and for Scots in Leipzig, Fischer, Germany, 242

limited means. One, by the name of David Learmonth, was of sufficient stature to be admitted to the burgess-ship of Frankfurt-am-Main in 1471.[185] The Cologne ordinances are, however, distinct from those of Prussia in one important respect - that they explicitly applied to women as well as men. There is no indication at all concerning the activities of these women, though the names of two of them (Gillian, the wife of Simon the needlemaker, and Elizabeth Fuller) have survived.[186] That they were in Cologne at all suggests that their husbands were intending to settle there for some time. It is also an interesting coincidence, if nothing more, that two days after the 1486 edict, the Cologne council was investigating the problems caused by prostitutes working in an area of the city inhabited by students. According to the council, the students' studies were suffering from their proximity to the prostitutes.[187]

Whatever the activities of the Scotswomen and men were, the 1486 edict was probably no more successful than that of 1473 in driving the Scots out of the city. Undesirable Scots continued to be arraigned before the council in the early sixteenth century. The term 'Scot' was, however, to acquire the meaning of any pedlar in Germany, irrespective of nationality.[188] This may have

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185. Stadtarchiv Frankfurt-am-Main, Bürgerbuch, iv, fo. 34Or.
186. HA Köln, Schreinsurk.Schöff., 2/548/37; Brb.34/35, fo. 99.
187. Stein, Akten, 592-3, no. 456.
188. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', 10-11.

been the case in Cologne from as early as 1513, when a Scot called Judas Fleisch, whose name does not sound very Scottish, fell foul of the Cologne authorities.[189]

The Cologne authorities, and for that matter the authorities of other German cities, do not appear to have held the Scottish government responsible for the problems created by the large emigration of Scots. No letters were apparently sent to the Scottish government concerning the problem. Since there was little, if any, trade between Scotland and Cologne and no obvious political conflicts of interest, it might be assumed that there is little more to be said about relations between Scotland and Cologne. In fact, precisely because contacts were so limited, there was little incentive to patch up those quarrels which did arise. And quarrels did arise, stemming largely from the activities of Scottish pirates.

One example, demonstrating both the lack of trade and the consequential poor state of relations between Scotland and Cologne in the fifteenth century is examined elsewhere.[190] A similar tale was to unfold in the 1480s and 1490s. During the winter of 1481-82 an English force blockaded Berwick by land and sea. The threat to James III's authority was heightened in April 1482. James' brother, Alexander, won Edward IV's support

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189. HA Köln, Rp. 1a, fos. 93 r, 94 v, 95 r, 107 v; Rp. 1b, fos. 90v, 91v, 92r, 105 v, 116 v; Rp. 3, fos. 6v, 35r., 37r; Rp. 4, fo. 122.
190. See chapter six on Scotland and the Hanseatic embargo.

in his bid to usurp the Scottish throne. Together with Richard, duke of Gloucester, Alexander marched north with an army to press his claims. In July James summoned the Scottish host to defend his crown.[191]

By 27 July the Anglo-Scottish hostilities had come to the notice of the Hanseatic Kontor in London. The Kontor's alderman wrote to Danzig, warning of the danger which vessels armed by both sides presented to Hanseatic shipping.[192] The warning was either too late or given with the benefit of hindsight. On the same day, Cologne complained to Edinburgh that David White, one of James III's captains, had attacked an English vessel bound for Antwerp.[193] The ship was laden with cloth belonging to at least two Cologne merchants, Johann Slossgyn and Gerhard von Mar.[194] Its contents were taken to Edinburgh and sold. On 4 July 1483 Maximilian, duke of Burgundy, wrote to James III, requesting compensation for the attack.[195] Several unnamed Hanseatic merchants, probably including Slossgyn and von Mar, subsequently took their complaints about White's piracy to the Scottish lords of council in October 1484.[196] Their lawyer produced an impressive array of affidavits supporting the merchants' claims (from the Hanseatic Kontor, the customers, the mayor and aldermen of London), but the court failed to find in their favour. The Cologne

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191. Nicholson, Scotland, 489-497; N. Macdougall, James III. A Political Study (Edinburgh 1982), 140-155.
192. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/16/131.
193. HA Köln, Brb.32, fo. 167.
194. HA Köln, Brb. 32, fo. 167; Hanse III K10, fo. 23v; see also below, 267
195. SRO, State Papers, SP13/20.
196. ADC, i, *92, *93, *108, *114, *115.

merchants then appealed to Maximilian to issue letters of marque which would allow them to indiscriminately attack Scottish shipping until compensation was paid.[197] Maximilian's relations with Scotland were, however, friendly.[198] He declined to issue the letters of marque and, instead, sent a herald to Scotland to negotiate on the dispute.[199] This appeal failed to find a solution. Before the end of 1485, Lübeck and possibly Danzig had appealed Maximilian anew to issue Cologne with the letters of marque.[200] Again, however, Maximilian declined, acting apparently on the advice of his own town of Antwerp.[201] In May 1487, five years after the original Scottish attack, Cologne reported to the Hanseatic diet that still no compensation had been forthcoming from the Scots.[202] The diet wrote to James III, again requesting justice for the Cologne merchants.[203] At long last this solicited a favourable response from the Scottish government. On 19 September 1487, Andrew Painter, bishop of Orkney, promised the diet that the next session of parliament would discuss the matter.[204] Parliament duly convened in Edinburgh in October and an embassy, composed of a clerk and two burgesses, was appointed to negotiate the matter.[205] The sudden Scottish amenability was doubtless because parliament was under the impression

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197. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/16/138.
198. See below, 411-419
199. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/16/138.
200. HUB, x, no. 1249.
201. HA Köln, Brb., 37, fo. 42.
202. HR, C, ii, no. 160.
203. HA Köln, Hanse III K10, fo. 35 r.
204. HA Köln, Hanse III K10, fo. 44 r.
205. APS, ii, 42.

that Maximilian had now issued the letters of marque. He had not, and this perhaps explains why nothing more is heard of the Scottish mission. If it did travel abroad, no settlement was reached. On 14 April 1490 Cologne again approached Maximilian to grant the letters.[206] Even Antwerp had become exasperated by the Scottish intransigence.[207] Finally Maximilian, too, lost his patience and granted the letters, probably early in 1491. Cologne skippers immediately began to attack shipping.[208] This prompted commissioners from Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee and Haddington to appoint a second Scottish embassy in August 1491.[209] Again, it is not clear whether this mission travelled to the continent, but, if it did, again no settlement was reached. An envoy from Maximilian did, however, arrive in Scotland in July 1492.[210] It is possible that one of the letters which the council prepared for him to return to Germany with concerned the matter.

Then, on 4 July 1494, the Burgundian council suddenly quashed the letters of marque without precondition.[211] The circumstances in which the Scottish government achieved this diplomatic coup are a little unclear, but it involved a third Scottish embassy, led by Bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen. In June 1495 Elphinstone was

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206. HA Köln, Brb. 37, fo. 42.
207. HA Köln, Hanse U3/352. Antwerp certified that although Scots could still visit the next Whitsun market at Antwerp, it would expect that negotiations leading to a final peace would already be under way.
208. HA Köln, Hanse III K11, fo. 3.
209. D A Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 243.
210. TA, i, 200-201.
211. HUB, xi, no. 1034.

present at the imperial diet at Worms, where he was attempting to arrange a marriage between James IV and Maximilian's daughter Margaret.[212] According to Hector Boece, when this failed 'not to seem to have accomplished nothing by his embassy, he brought to so satisfactory a conclusion ... a quarrel of longstanding between the people of Cologne and his countrymen'.[213] Boece is notorious for his unreliability and Elphinstone's modern biographer is, therefore, deliberately coy about the whole matter.[214] Clearly Boece's chronology was faulty. The letters of marque were quashed eleven months before the marriage negotiations at Worms. Nevertheless, there are grounds for accepting the gist of Boece's tale. On 18 July 1496 the bishop complained to the lords of council that he had not received payment from the town council of Edinburgh, owed to him

> ... for expenses made be him in the partis beyond sey in the redemying and annulling of the letter of marque purchest by the Culanaris.[215]

He had been allowed to export three lasts and six sacks of wool and sixteen lasts of salmon free of duty from Aberdeen in 1495 '<u>in recompensam laborum ex expensarum in partibus Flandrie</u>'.[216]

The appointment of a figure such as Elphinstone to settle the affair was unprecedented in the stormy history

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212. See below, page 413.
213. Boece, <u>Vitae</u>, 81.
214. Macfarlane, <u>Elphinstone</u>, 308.
215. <u>ADC</u>, ii, 35-36.
216. <u>ER</u>, x, 539.

of disputes about piracy between Scotland and the Hanseatic towns in the middle ages. Normally such missions were left to clerks or burgesses.[217] Elphinstone was not only bishop of Aberdeen, but also Keeper of the Privy Seal, a commissioner of crown lands and an auditor of the exchequer. His appointment does not, however, necessarily imply that the Scottish government viewed this dispute with unprecedented seriousness. Elphinstone had other reasons for travelling abroad. Following his business at the Burgundian court, he journeyed to Rome, to report to Pope Alexander VI on the state of his diocese. While in Rome, from December 1494 to February 1495, he also obtained the foundation bull for the new university of Aberdeen. Before his departure from Scotland, parliament had already discussed the prospects for the king's marriage. Elphinstone had probably been empowered then to discuss the matter with Maximilian. At all events, he did not return to Scotland from Rome. By Easter 1495 he was in Bruges (perhaps awaiting further instructions about the prospective royal marriage). He then travelled to Worms. The mission to quash the letters of marque was perhaps then an attempt to kill four birds with one stone.[218]

Nevertheless, Elphinstone was well acquainted with the facts surrounding the dispute with Cologne. He had been one of the lords of council before whom the Hanseatic merchants had brought their complaint in 1484-85.[219] He

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217. E.g., see below, 176-179.
218. Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 232, 292, 308.
219. ADC, i, *92, *93, *108, *115.

was also eminently well qualified to negotiate on commercial matters. He was both a lawyer and an experienced diplomat. He had, for example, been one of the principal Scottish representatives at the Anglo-Scottish negotiations of 1484. The ensuing treaty incorporated a number of clauses relating to mercantile shipping, including, interestingly, methods for dealing with those who had pirated goods from foreign ships - exactly the circumstances which had led to the dispute with Cologne.[220]

Boece's assertion that, following Elphinstone's mission, 'not even the slightest trace of enmity remained' between Scotland and Cologne is, however, impossible to accept.[221] Cologne skippers continued their attacks on shipping. Scottish merchants complained about this to the Burgundian council in 1497, while James IV sent further complaints to Archduke Philip of Burgundy in 1500.[222] In 1497 Cologne too wrote to Philip, requesting that the letters of marque should not be quashed.[223] Cologne was apparently unaware that they already had been, a fact which the Burgundian council confirmed in October 1497.[224]

The letters of marque were not reissued. Despite having striven for fifteen years to secure compensation for its merchants, not a penny had been forthcoming from

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220. Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 132-135.
221. Boece, Vitae, 81.
222. HUB, xi, no. 1039; RSS, i, no. 510.
223. HA Köln, Brb. 39, fo. 155.
224. HUB, xi, no. 1039. A copy of the verdict, dated 12 May 1498, has been missing from the Hamburg archives since 1945 (SA Hamburg, Ll 31).

the Scots. The Scottish government's inflexibility was based on formidable foundations. Maximilian had proved a worthy ally. His amenability to Scottish interests was strengthened by the views of Antwerp, which had allied itself closely with Maximilian's policies in the Burgundian Netherlands since 1483.[225] Antwerp was reluctant to see Cologne skippers attack Scottish shipping, since this might affect Scottish merchants visiting Antwerp. Antwerp saw no reason to jeopardize its own lucrative trade with Scotland on Cologne's behalf. Moreover, although the Hansa had initially canvassed actively on Cologne's behalf, the incompetent use of the letters of marque by Cologne skippers had left Cologne isolated even within the Hansa. Before 1497 there is no evidence that Cologne had successfully captured a single Scottish vessel. This is supported by Cologne's protestations in 1497 that until then the licence to attack Scottish shipping had brought no compensation.. Cologne privateers had, however, been active in 1491 and 1493 attacking Danzig vessels, which they suspected contained Scottish cargoes.[226] This alienated Scotland's principal Hanseatic trading partner, which might otherwise have been induced to use its influence over the Scots on Cologne's behalf. The Wendish towns, too, were estranged. The immediate cause of the

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225. C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Burgundian Netherlands 1477-1521', New Cambridge Modern History, i, ed. G.R. Potter (Cambridge 1957), 233.
226. HA Köln, Hanse III K11, fos. 3r, 4r, 7r; Hanse III K12, fo. 81r; Brb., 37, fo. 330r; WAP Gdańsk, 300D/24B/36; 300D/24B/57; 300D/24B/58.

Scottish complaint to the Burgundian council in 1497 had been the arrest of a Scottish ship and cargo in Zeeland at the instigation of Johann von Stralen, a citizen of Cologne. The ship had been taken to Hamburg and bought in good faith by Hamburg merchants. After the Burgundian council had ordered the return of the vessel and its contents to the Scots, Hamburg, supported by the other Wendish towns, was indignant that it had been duped by Stralen. An acrimonious dispute between Cologne and the Wendish towns began and continued for several years.[227] Similar to the period of the Hanseatic embargo on Scotland earlier in the century, the Hansa was, therefore, once again riven by internal divisions, which prevented the adoption of a coherent policy designed to bring the Scots to heel.[228] Left to its own devices, Cologne was unable to force the Scots to negotiate, let alone yield ground. Since there was no Scottish trade with Cologne, the Cologne authorities could not threaten to seize Scottish goods in Cologne, in order to coerce the Scottish government into action. In the 1410s, this had been a source of strength to Cologne, allowing it to pursue a hard line against Scotland during the discussions about the embargo. Now it was shown to be a source of considerable weakness.

Yet there was one method of applying pressure on the Scots which was not apparently tried: use of the Scottish

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227. HA Köln, Hanse III K12, fos. 141r, 159r, 160r, 125r, 126r, 126v.
228. See below, chapter six, passim.

students. It is not such a ludicrous idea as it seems, because the Cologne authorities had on one occasion used the Scottish student population to settle a commercial dispute. It was the only recorded occasion during the middle ages, when a western Hanseatic city successfully acquired compensation from the Scots for an act of piracy.

On 24 June 1422 woad belonging to Dietrich Poylch, a Cologne citizen, was pirated from a Bergen vessel and taken to Aberdeen.[229] The customary letters of complaint were dispatched to Scotland. Perhaps aware that on previous experience this had failed to induce the Scots to pay compensation, Poylch arranged for a Scottish embassy on its way to Rome to be waylaid at Brühl, about 20 km. south-west of Cologne. In the ensuing fracas an eminent, but unnamed, Scottish cleric was murdered. In letters to the papal pronotary, Herman Twergh, and to the Scottish regent, the duke of Albany, Cologne denied any complicity in the ambush, but it again requested the Albany government to provide compensation for Poylch.[230] As usual, the Scottish government did not respond. Then, in 1423, the Scottish students at Cologne were induced to petition Albany on Poylch's behalf. Poylch appointed James of Haddington, a Scottish student, as his representative and James duly returned home to seek compensation. So

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229. HA Köln, Brb. 9, fo. 49.
230. HA Köln, Brb. 9, fos. 45-46, 84-85. Hanse U2/72. In 1423 Cologne wrote to the duke of Albany and all Scottish judicial officials, confirming that Poylch had appointed Johann von Stralen as his representative in the case. HA Köln, Brb. 9, fo. 85.

too did Richard Creich, as the official representative of the Scottish students.[231] Their mission was apparently so successful that the Cologne council sent a request to Scotland to settle even earlier, unresolved acts of piracy.[232]

It remains a mystery as to why this method was not apparently tried sixty years later. It remains equally true that had there been any Scottish merchants visiting Cologne in the fifteenth century, the simple remedy to all disputes about piracy would have been to seize their goods. In response to Scottish piracy in 1411, the count of Holland ordered the confiscation of Scottish goods at Browershaven.[233] Problems concerning piracy with the Dutch towns were, however, resolved much more quickly than those with Cologne, probably because both sides recognized the disruption to profitable bi-lateral trade which a protracted dispute could cause. Thus, in August 1478, nine Edinburgh merchants complained to the court of Holland about the seizure of their goods by pirates from Hoorn. By October the Hoorn council had ordered the restitution of the goods.[234] Not that there was never a necessity to issue letters of marque. On occasions the Burgundian authorities even issued Scots with letters of marque against their own subjects. But when, as in the 1420s, letters were granted to the Dutch, the Scots quickly came to heel.[235] Intransigence made

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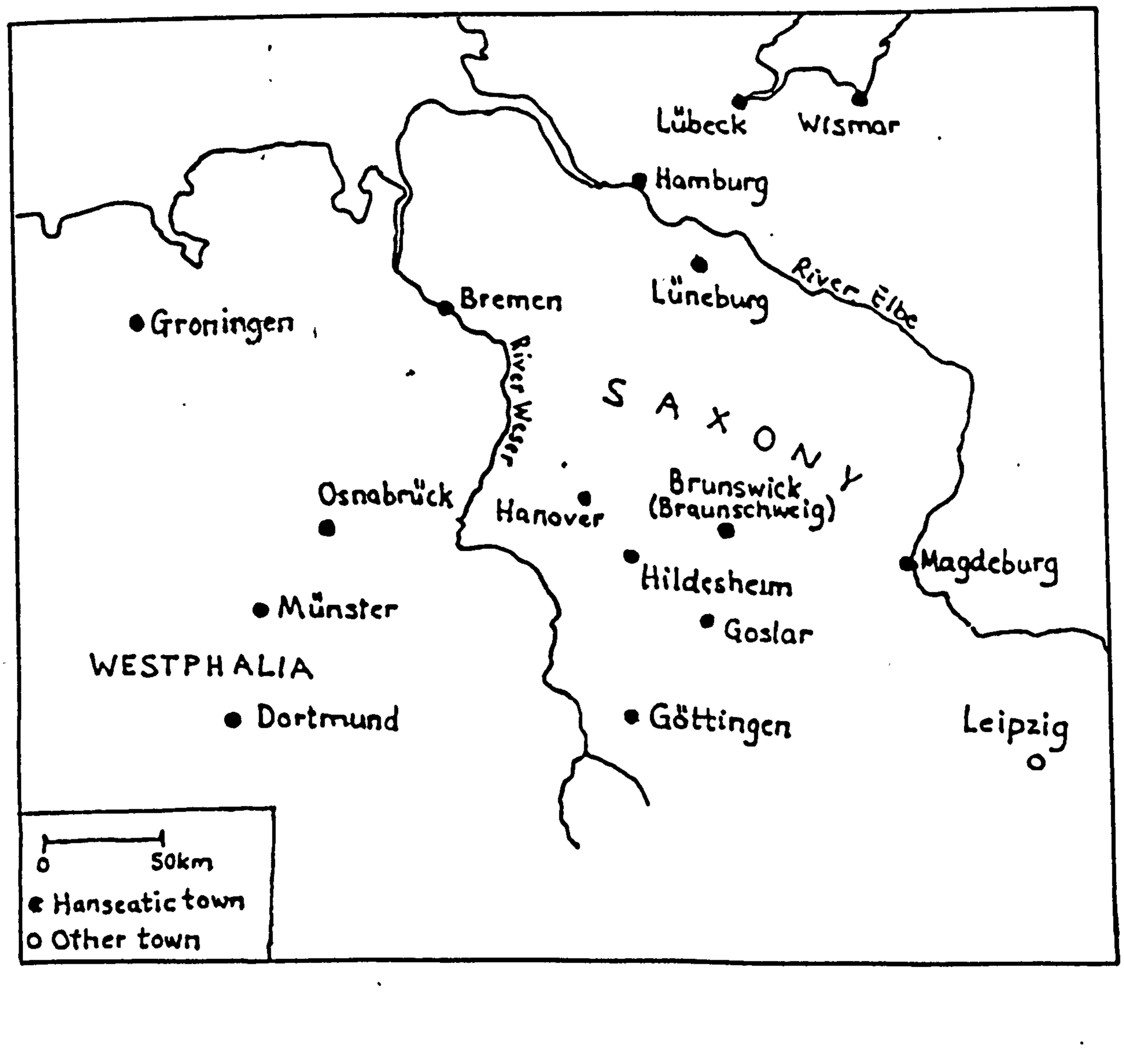
231. HA Köln, Univ. A25, fos. 40-41; CDS, iv, no. 921; Rot.Scot., ii, 240.
232. HA Köln, Brb. 9, fo. 129.
233. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 885.
234. Smith, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1831, 1834, 1835.
235. Ibid., nos.1168, 1172; see also chapter six on Scotland and the Hanseatic embargo.

no sense if it threatened to close an important export market.

The expansion of Scottish trade with the northern Low Countries in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the arrival of Scottish students and pedlars in Cologne and even the activities of Scottish pirates contributed to a greater awareness of Scotland in western Germany. Nevertheless, relations between Scotland and western Germany remained essentially ephemeral outside Zeeland and Brabant. The limited diversification of trade did not prevent the decay and decline of the Scottish economy after the Wars of Independence. Indeed, the collapse of Scottish trade with the Rhenish and Westphalian cities was the most glaring casualty of this decline, while its failure to revive demonstrated how limited the diversification of trade was in the fifteenth century. Piracy, too, was symbolic of economic decline. In this respect alone, the lack of strong ties between Scotland and the western Hanseatic towns was a source of some strength to the Scots, as their resolute intransigence to Cologne's complaints on the subject proved.

MAP FOUR

IMPORTANT HANSEATIC TOWNS IN SAXONY



# CHAPTER THREE

## SCOTLAND AND THE SAXON TOWNS

The history of Scotland's medieval relations with the Saxon towns of the Hansa can be written almost exclusively in terms of Scotland's relations with Bremen. This is largely for geographic reasons. Situated on the River Weser, Bremen was the only major Saxon town with an outlet to the North Sea. The city had gained prominence from Carolingian times as an episcopal centre and subsequently it also acquired fame as a commercial centre. Doubtless with exaggeration, Adam of Bremen wrote in ca. 1075 that the merchants of the whole world congregated in Bremen.[1] By the later middle ages, Bremen's trading connections were impressive, if not quite as extensive as Adam had suggested. They extended to Scandinavia, the British Isles, the Low Countries and inland to Saxony and Westphalia. The focus of Bremen's trade on the North Sea littoral set the city apart from the neighbouring Wendish group of towns, whose trade with north-western Europe was balanced by their equally important connections with the Baltic and eastern Europe.

There is, however, no conclusive evidence of contact between Bremen and Scotland in the early medieval period. Adam of Bremen's confused description of Scotland's location -

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1. Magistri Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum, ed. B. Schmeidler (Monumentis Germaniae Historicis 1917), 204.

> A meridie Fresos tangit cum ea parte Saxonum qui nostrae diocesi pertinent Hammaburgensi. A solis ortu habet Danos ostiumque Baltici maris et Nortamnos, qui ultra Daniam consistunt. Ab aquilone vero idem oceanus insulas preterlabitur Orchadas, deinde infinitis orbem terrae spaciis ambit, sinistrorsum habens Hyberniam Scothorum patriam, quae nunc Irland dicitur... [2] -

suggests that Adam did not know much about Scotland or its location and believed that Scotia meant Ireland. Adam had also heard, though not in any detail, about the Norse invasions of England and Scotland in the later tenth century.[3] Much later, a Bremen chronicle, written in the fourteenth century, noted the consecration of two English bishops, and one Scottish bishop at the third Lateran Council in 1179. The only Scottish bishop known to have attended the council is Gregory, bishop of Ross, though two others, Turpin of Brechin and Simon of Dunblane, were consecrated at about the same time.[4]

Considering Bremen's importance as a commercial centre, it might be expected that merchants from Bremen would have played a notable rôle in supplying the Scots during the Wars of Independence. In fact, in sharp contrast to merchants from western Germany and particularly to those from the Wendish towns, the evidence that they did is scanty. Henry of Bremen was implicated in the le Clerk affair in 1314, but it is not certain that he came from Bremen.[5] Similarly, Tidemannus Breme and his

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2. Gesta Hammaburgensis, ed. Schmeidler, 239.
3. Ibid., 95.
4. 'Die Bremer Chronik von Rinesberch, Schene und Hemeling', Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, xxxviii, 64; Duncan, Scotland, 264-265.
5. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 57. On the le Clerk affair see below, 208-210.

wife, Elisot, whose names appear on the Aberdeen burgh court roll of 1317, may have come from some other German town.[6] At no stage were Bremen merchants or their goods singled out by the English authorities for arrest in retribution for suspected trading links with Scotland. Yet, despite the lack of substantive evidence, it is possible that some Bremen merchants did trade in Scotland at this period, successfully avoiding detection by the English authorities. By 1318 the Saxon towns certainly considered that their relations with Scotland were good. On 14 August the town council of Brunswick wrote to Bremen concerning an attack made by Scotsmen on a ship which belonged to Otto of Reval from Bremen.[7] The ship contained merchandise belonging to Brunswick merchants and was destined for Flanders. Envoys representing the two Saxon towns were sent to Robert I to seek compensation. Brunswick declared that it would not pursue its complaint if Robert dealt with the matter satisfactorily. On 29 August Bremen confirmed that Otto too would await Robert's response.[8] Both towns appeared confident that Robert would find in their favour. The dispatch of an embassy to the king was one of the earliest examples of diplomatic recognition of the Bruce government.[9] It is possible, then, that Bremen

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6. Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407 ed. W.C. Dickinson (SHS 1957), 9, 17.
7. BUB, ii, no. 184; HUB, ii, no. 327. (This document is now missing from SA Bremen.)
8. Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, AI 1, no. 41.
9. On foreign recognition of the Bruce government, see below, 220-221.

was one of the unnamed German towns to which Robert granted 'graciam, et favorem et omnes consuetudines ac libertates' in 1321.[10]

If evidence of Bremen's participation in Scottish trade during the Wars of Independence is jejune, it is non-existent for the mid and later fourteenth century. It is possible that Bremen skippers, if not merchants, visited Scotland during this period, but it is not until the early fifteenth century that they can be traced.[11] In 1400 Henry IV of England mounted an invasion of Scotland. Although singularly unsuccessful, it prompted the Scots to retaliate, both on land and at sea. With the assistance of French ships, the Scots began to attack English shipping in 1402.[12] An English fleet, commanded by Lord Gray of Codner, responded by attacking shipping off the Scottish coast. On 16 April 1402 the Bremen skipper Otto Poleman was sailing to Berwick-upon-Tweed when storms diverted him to Scotland. There, two skippers from Newcastle attacked his vessel.[13] They captured Otto's cargo of wheat and wax and took Otto's son to Newcastle, where he was imprisoned for five weeks. On 29 August, a ship belonging to Nicholas Rotermund of Bremen and another skippered by Herman Vlotow of Bremen were attacked in Blackness harbour by

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10. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 25; NLS, Adv.MS.662(ii).
11. For Scottish merchants' domination of the Scottish export trade at this period, see below, 226.
12. Grant, Independence, 44.
13. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 334(1), 335 (1), 336 (1); HR, A, v, no.445 (4).

Lord Gray's fleet.[14] Rotermund was detained for fourteen days and nine of his crew were slain. The English had intended to take the captured vessel to London, but before it arrived there it was again attacked by John Golding of London and sunk. The English subsequently justified the seizure of Rotermund's ship on the grounds that it had been assisting the Scots in their war with England, though, in letters presented to the Anglo-Hanseatic peace talks held in The Hague in 1407, the authorities of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and the Scottish regent, the duke of Albany, denied the accusation.[15]

The English attacks on Hanseatic vessels visiting Scotland continued after 1402. On 6 May 1403 mariners from Hull, Boston and Blakeney captured a vessel belonging to Kolingh of Bremen.[16] The attack occurred 'twischen Engelande unde Scotland in der openbare zee'. The ship's cargo included a consignment of Scottish cloth. Kolingh's vessel had, therefore, probably been trading in Scotland. The English certainly believed that Reyner Kukens, another Bremen skipper, was destined for Scotland, when they attacked his vessel on 8 April 1404.[17]

The complaints arising from these attacks give some indication of both the commodities sold and bought by the

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14. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 334(3, 6), 335(3), 336(3, 5); HR, A, v, no. 445(1).
15. BL, Cotton MS, Nero B II, fos. 44-46.
16. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 334(4), 336(2); HR, A, v, no. 445(3).
17. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 334(5), 335(5), 336(3); HR, A, v, no. 445(2).

Bremen skippers and merchants who visited Scotland in the early fifteenth century.[18] Grain (principally wheat and flour) dominated the list of imports, though ale, timber and wax were also common. All of these were typical German commodities of trade, though they may have been brought from Saxony, the Wendish towns, the eastern Baltic or via the Low Countries. Linen cloth is also frequently mentioned. This may have been finished in the Hanseatic towns or, again, it may have come from the Netherlands. In addition, a few other comestibles, such as swine carcases, mead and herring, possibly from Skania, are recorded. The most unusual entry is to a barrel of steel, which would probably be used for the production of arms.[19] Only Kolingh's ship appears to have been freighted in Scotland before it was attacked. Skins and cloth formed the largest part of his cargo, though wax and five pounds of spermaceti are also mentioned. That no wool is recorded on the ship would suggest that it was bound not for the Low Countries, but rather Bremen or the Baltic, where the demand for wool was limited, due to the lack of large textile manufacturing centres.

Because no detailed Scottish port books survive, it is impossible to assess the share of Scottish trade handled by Bremen skippers and merchants in the early fifteenth century. It is known, however, that both the ships of Rotermund and Vlotow visited Linlithgow's port of Blackness. The total number of ships arriving at Blackness

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18. See Appendix no. 3.
19. This is one of the earliest references, if not the earliest, to the import of steel to Scotland.

in 1402-3 is not known, but six ships and five boats departed from the port in that year with cargos of customed goods.[20] Since Rotermund's ship, at least, appears to have been attacked before it was unloaded, his vessel can probably not be included among the eleven vessels. Nevertheless, if one assumes that most ships arriving at Blackness also left the port with at least some customed goods, the visit of two Bremen ships to Blackness in 1402-3 points to a significant amount of trade being conducted by Bremen skippers and merchants through Blackness in that year at least. When this trade began and how long it was sustained for cannot be ascertained. After the cessation of Anglo-Scottish hostilities in 1406, evidence of Scotland's commerce with Bremen again declines, though it does not disappear completely. In 1420 the authorities of Kampen wrote to Bremen about Peter Kunretorff, a Kampen citizen, who had died in Scotland, but whose ship and goods had found their way to Bremen.[21] In ca. 1425, Bremen merchants, 'de uth Schotlande quemen', recaptured the goods of Hamburg merchants from 'juncher Sibeth', a pirate from Harderwijk.[22] It is not, however, until the 1440s that more detailed evidence of Scotland's contacts with Bremen again survive.

Any examination of the contact between Bremen and Scotland during the middle decades of the fifteenth century

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20. ER, iii, 566.
21. BUB, v, no. 156; HUB, vi, no. 319. (This document is now missing from SA Bremen).
22. BUB, v, no. 279. (This document is now missing from SA Bremen).

must begin with the work of J.P. Cassel, the eighteenth century Bremen historian. Cassel published various tracts on Bremen's foreign relations during the middle ages. Among these was Merkwürdische Urkunden eines Vertrags zwischen Jakob II König Schottland und der Stadt Bremen, in which Cassel published four fifteenth-century documents.[23] The first, from 1445, concerns the appointment of ambassadors by the Scottish government who were empowered to treat with the Bremen authorities about certain acts of piracy committed by Bremen pirates on Scottish merchants. The second, also dated 1445, is a report by the ambassadors on their negotiations. The third, from 1446, is a notarial instrument recording the release of fourteen Scots who had been captured by Bremen pirates. The fourth is a grant of privilege and protection to merchants from Bremen visiting Scotland, issued by James II in 1454. While it might be thought that these documents would whet the appetites of later historians, this has not happened. Cassel's collection of documents remains the most comprehensive printed collection to illuminate relations between Scotland and Bremen in the fifteenth century. Volume seven of the more recent Hansisches Urkundenbuch, covering the period between 1433 and 1451, was only partly published, while volume seven of the Bremisches Urkundenbuch, also covering the mid-fifteenth century, has still not been published, although it has

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23. (Bremen 1769).

been awaited since the 1940s.[24] Cassel's work, for its part, is extremely rare: there is not even a copy in the National Library of Scotland. T.A. Fischer did not consult it. His only reference to Bremen in the fifteenth century is to note the 1454 privilege.[25] As for other historians, the rupture in relations between Scotland and Bremen in the 1440s because of piracy receives only a cursory mention from Bremen's most recent historian, Herbert Schwarzwälder.[26] Among Scottish historians, only P.F. Tytler and A.I. Dunlop have commented on this forgotten link. Tytler reprinted Cassel's first document and translated the second from German, though he did not waste space in interpreting either. Annie Dunlop was rather more generous and her account remains the best and most accessible account of Scottish-Bremen relations at this period. Nevertheless, even her narration of events, based on the work of Cassel, is limited and can be expanded.[27]

In the 1440s Bremen was involved in widespread piracy against shipping in the North Sea. Dutch ships were particularly at risk. In 1443, for example, Utrecht requested Bremen to return a cargo of hides captured by Bremen pirates.[28] Other similar requests, from Groningen,

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24. HUB, vii, part one, ed. H. von Runstedt (Weimar 1939) covers the years from 1433 to 1442. BUB, vii, is due for publication in 1988 or 1989.
25. Fischer, Germany, 7.
26. H. Schwarzwälder, Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen (Bremen: 1975), 118.
27. P.F. Tytler, History of Scotland (3rd ed., Edinburgh 1845), iii, 502-5; Dunlop, Kennedy, 87, 358-362.
28. Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Ostzeehandel, Eerste Deel, 1122-1499, ed. H.A. Poelman (s'Gravenhage 1917), ii, no. 1700.

Zierikzee, Harderwijk and Amsterdam followed.[29] The piracy committed on Dutch shipping was a hangover from the 1438-41 Dutch-Hanseatic war and was partly an expression of continued Dutch-Hanseatic commercial rivalry. It was also symptomatic of Bremen's declining commercial status. Neither the town nor its hinterland were rich in natural resources. Nor was Bremen a great manufacturing centre. Its traditional trade with Norway and England had been taken over by merchants from other Hanseatic towns. With their trade in decline, Bremeners were driven into preying on the trade of others. The other Hanseatic towns were displeased by Bremen's activities. In June 1443 Wismar wrote to Lübeck, reporting that the Bremen pirate 'Grote Gherd' ('Big Gerry') had brought thirteen captured Dutch ships to Golvitz.[30] Wismar added that it had prohibited its citizens from dealing with Gherd and it urged Lübeck to issue similar instructions to its citizens. In July 1443 Lübeck requested Danzig to register anyone who purchased the captured Dutch vessels in order that the Hansa, 'whose feud with the Dutch was reconciled, could account with the Dutch'.[31] In August the Lübeck council and representatives from Hamburg and Wismar wrote the ambassadors of the Wendish towns in Kampen, where they were negotiating with the Dutch, to deny any link between Bremen's piracy and the Wendish towns.[32]

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29. Poelman, Bronnen, nos. 1734-1736, 1742, 1747, 1781.
30. HR, B, iii, no. 49; LUB, viii, no. 136.
31. HR, B, iii, no. 52.
32. Ibid., nos. 152, 262, 281.

Nevertheless, the attacks of Bremen privateers continued. With indiscriminate attacks taking place on Dutch shipping, it was little wonder that before long the shipping of other countries also suffered. In 1445 two lions were captured by Bremen pirates from a ship off the south coast of England.[33] In 1446 a vessel belonging to the queen of France (Marie of Anjou) was seized.[34] Even German merchants were not immune from attack. In May 1444 Cologne wrote to Bremen regarding the seizure of a cargo of wine belonging to one of its merchants, Johann Dasse.[35] In 1445 the Livonian towns wrote to Bremen, seeking compensation for two Pernau merchants, whose goods had been taken from a ship near the mouth of the River Scheldt.[36]

Indeed, it was the damages inflicted upon German merchants which first bring to light the effect of the Bremen depredations on Scottish trade. In May 1444 the Danzig council wrote to its counterpart in Bremen.[37] Three Danzig merchants, Reynold Nedderhof, Hans von dem Walde and Hans Segebad, had exported merchandise from Scotland to Danzig on two ships. Segebad's son, Johann, was accompanying the cargo of salt, hides and other goods, described as 'as much as could be carried', when the two ships were captured by privateers from Bremen. The Danzig authorities sought restitution for their three citizens. They also interceded on behalf of Coerdt Coerdens of Braunsberg and, at the behest of Jakob Brot

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33. Schwarzwälder, Bremen, 118.
34. HR, B, iii, no. 250.
35. HA Köln, Brb. 17, fo.19v.
36. HR, B, iii, no. 220.
37. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/4, fos. 122v-123v.

of Danzig, they requested the release of Jakob Brothagen, Brot's son, who had been aboard one of the captured ships and subsequently detained in Bremen. The Bremen authorities apparently paid little attention to Danzig's request. On 29 May 1444, Danzig again wrote to Bremen on behalf of Nedderhof and von dem Walde, listing precisely the merchandise which the Danzig citizens had lost: rye, salt, woolfells, otter and fox skins and cloth.[38] The masters of the two ships were named as Thomas Johnson and Peter Johnson. The letter added that Nedderhof and von dem Walde had empowered Segebad, their partner, to seek compensation on their behalf.

The second Danzig letter also received scant regard in Bremen. Von dem Walde then brought the matter to the attention of the Teutonic Order, which maintained nominal sovereignty over Danzig. On 4 July, the grand master of the Order, Conrad von Erlichshausen, wrote to Bremen on von dem Walde'e behalf, seeking not only compensation, but also the expenses for sending the various messages to Bremen.[39] He added laconically that, unless these conditions were met, he would assist his subjects in their right. This letter too had little effect. On 22 December a fourth message demanding compensation was dispatched by the Danzig council to Bremen, but that, too, appears to have joined most of the others in the Bremen council's wastepaper bin.[40]

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38. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/4, fo. 125. On the Danzig merchants named in these letters, see below, 303-304.
39. SA Bremen, 1/Z 1444 Juli 4.
40. Literally! Only the grand master's letter is preserved in Bremen. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/4, fos. 147v-148v.

These letters recorded only the losses suffered by the Prussian merchants. That Scottish merchants owned goods aboard the same ships as the Danzigers is, however, clear from six letters written to Bremen by Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Perth, Cupar and Dundee.[41] The letters were all written in the summer of 1445, but it is clear from the Perth and Cupar letters that the piratical incident to which all the letters refer occurred earlier. Merchants from both burghs had declared before their respective councils that,

> ...in anno domini millesimo quadra-
> gesimo quarto a suis bonis et mercibus
> ... per incolas et inhabitantes ville
> breme ... fuerat spoliati.

Both letters interestingly use exactly the same words. There is no conclusive evidence as to why the Scottish burghs took so long to respond to the attacks, but the dating of the letters, followed shortly afterwards by the crown's appointment of ambassadors to negotiate with Bremen on the matter, suggests that this was a planned diplomatic initiative.

The first of the Scottish letters to be written was that from Edinburgh. It was dated 14 July 1445. That from Linlithgow followed on 4 August. Perth wrote on 10 August, Cupar on 12 August and, finally, on 13 August the Dundee council wrote two letters. The crown's ambassadorial appointments were declared on 14 August.[42] That the Scottish parliament discussed the matter is

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41. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15, August 10, August 12, August 13/1, August 13/2.
42. SA Bremen, 1/Z 1445 August 14.

clear from the letter which named the crown's ambassadors. The government, then under the direction of the Livingston-Douglas faction, had taken its action 'ex matura deliberacione nostri Parliamenti'. Parliament had assembled in mid-June 1445 in Perth. By 28 June it had transferred to Edinburgh.[43] Representatives from the burghs were also in Edinburgh for the exchequer audit, which began on 5 July and lasted until 7 August.[44] That Edinburgh was the venue for both forums where the diplomatic initiative may have been discussed, both officially and unofficially, may explain why the Edinburgh letter was written three weeks before those of the other burghs. The representatives of the other burghs required time to return home before those burghs could take action. In any event, the six letters, written on paper and sealed with the seals of the five burghs, arrived in Bremen.

The letters reveal much about those merchants who had suffered at the hands of the Bremen pirates. It would appear that, in total, three ships were attacked, although the Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Perth letters refer to only two. The first is described as a barge, whose skipper was Thomas Johnson of Leith. The second was a smaller, Flemish ship, called the 'Busch' and skippered by Peter Joyse of Dunkirk. Both descriptions are similar to those given in the letters of complaint

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43. APS, ii, 33, 59.
44. ER, v, 176-199.

sent to Bremen from Danzig. The Cupar letter refers only to Johnson's ship. The Dundee letters, however, refer to a third ship, skippered by John Howison of Leith, in addition to the other two. There is no mention of the crews of any of the ships. Neither is there any evidence of the ships' destination, though it is clear from the Danzig letters that at least Johnson and Joyse's vessels were bound for Danzig.

The Scottish letters list the merchants whose goods had been captured from the three vessels, though, in Dundee's case, this information is included only in the second of the burgh's letters. Each town named only its own merchants or those from nearby. There is no mention in any of the Scottish letters of the Danzig merchants.

The biggest list of merchants is contained in the Edinburgh letter. Eighty merchants had merchandise on Johnson's ship, while thirty had cargoes on the Flemish 'Busch'. Most of the merchants came from Edinburgh, though Ramsey of Lanark, William Boy of Lanark, John Barcar of Canongate, William Dickson of Selkirk, John Burn of Dunfermline, John Harcars of Dunfermline, Thomas Parry of Haddington, Thomas Bardy of Inverkeithing and John Welsh of Dysart also possessed wares on Johnson's ship, while John de Kympont of Peebles had goods on Joyse's ship. Only four merchants had goods on both ships. Because the Edinburgh burgh records are so sparse for this period, few of the names can be traced to other sources, though John de Harlaw and

Hugo de Bar, for example, were trading with wool and salt in Vere in 1456.[45] John Jeffreyson was presumably the same merchant who had sponsored the grant of privileges issued to Wismar merchants trading in Scotland in 1440.[46] The Linlithgow letter names twelve merchants, including James Binny, who was already dead. His executors were pursuing his claims. No distinction is made in the Linlithgow letter as to which ship or ships contained the merchandise of the burgh's merchants. The Perth letter names seventeen merchants, including two members of the prominent Bunch family, John and Alexander. Again, it is not clear which merchants had goods on which ship. The Cupar letter lists only three merchants, all with goods on Johnson's ship. Finally, the Dundee letters enumerate eleven merchants. Of these, Peter de Durdy was presently not in Dundee, so his wife, Elaine, had advanced his claims. Alexander Landsman was the only Dundonian with cargoes on two ships, those of Johnson and Howison. Seven Dundonians had merchandise on Johnson's ship, three on Joyse's and two on Howison's. Again, only a few of the merchants can be traced to other sources, though one, James Fotheringham, paid Dundee's burgh account to the exchequer in 1447, 1448, 1450 and 1453.[47]

The six Scottish letters also list the cargoes captured by Bremen pirates and their values. Among the Edinburgh

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45. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1448.
46. StA Wismar, II Hanseatica C 25.
47. ER, v, 282, 321, 402, 566.

group of merchants, cloth was the most common cargo. It accounted for over 85% of the total value of goods freighted by this group on Johnson's ship and an even higher percentage of the value of goods on Joyse's ship.[48] Most of this cloth is not described in detail, though that of James Flockhart is described as coloured and that of John Jeffreyson as white. Only two of the Edinburgh group of merchants were definitely not shipping cloth. Henry Scott owned a cargo of lambskins ('futefells' and 'lentirnware') while Lawrence Elphinstone was sending salt. A further six merchants had goods described simply as 'de bonis'. At most, only nineteen merchants, including these six, exported goods other than cloth as well as cloth. On Johnson's ship, John Welsh and John Law exported cloth and salt. William Scot and Walter Young owned cloth 'and other goods'. Two more on Joyse's ship had cloth and 'other goods'. There is greater variation in the value of each merchant's cargo.[49] At the lower end of the scale, Tassy Barron exported £3-12s of cloth on Johnson's ship. Henry Scott's skins were valued at £3. The smallest cargo valuation on Joyse's ship was £3 of cloth, exported by both James Unthank and Robert Bisset. By far the largest consignment on Johnson's ship belonged to John Jeffreyson. He owned £135 of white cloth on Johnson's ship. James Lauder, with £70-2s of cloth, had the largest consignment on Joyse's ship.

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48. See Appendix no. 4, Tables 2, 3.
49. See Appendix no. 4, Table 4.

The nine Linlithgow cargoes show a greater variation than those of Edinburgh. Cloth was again the most common commodity, but it is described as white, grey or coloured. Unlike the single Edinburgh reference, coloured cloth featured prominently. It was included among all but two of the Linlithgow cargoes. Hides were included in two cargoes, salt in one, precious stones (possibly Scottish pearls) in one and 'other things' in three. In terms of value, the largest freight belonged to a group of three merchants, John and James Binny and Thomas Paterson. It was worth £140-8s.

The Perth and Cupar letters state only the total value of goods lost by each burgh's merchants on each ship. The Dundee letters value each merchant's goods, but do not specify the goods which composed each cargo. The largest consignment belonged to Thomas Small and was worth £43-6s. The total value of all the Scottish owned goods in the three ships was £4618-18s-6d, of which more than three quarters belonged to the Edinburgh group of merchants.[50]

With the availability of such detailed cargo lists it might be hoped to relate these figures to the customs returns, in order to discover the proportion of Scottish exports seized by the Bremen privateers. For a number of reasons, this is difficult. The first mention of the attacks is in May 1444. The relevant account is, therefore,

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50. See Appendix no. 4, Table 1.

probably that for 1443-4, which was audited at Stirling between June and July 1444.[51] Not all of the customs returns from this audit survive. Those of Linlithgow and Cupar are missing. Those of Perth and Dundee survive, but, since the Bremen letters reveal no detailed commodity lists for these burghs, correlation of the two sets of statistics is difficult. The Edinburgh account also survives, but includes no figure for custom paid on cloth, the principal commodity captured by the Bremen pirates. Parliament had ordained the levy of a custom on exported cloth in 1426, but it was not collected between 1438 and 1452.[52] Had it been collected, £302 of revenue ought to have accrued to the exchequer from the cloth exported by the Edinburgh group of merchants alone. In those years between 1426 and 1513 when the cloth custom was levied, the largest amount ever raised at Edinburgh was £295-13s in 1498. On only twelve occasions in the same period did the total revenue raised at all Scottish ports from the cloth custom exceed £302.[53] The amount of cloth handled by the Edinburgh merchants alone in 1444 was, then, exceptionally large. Had Scottish cloth exports been as large as this, it seems unlikely that the government would have allowed such a lucrative form of customs revenue to fall into abeyance. If, however, the cloth was not Scottish, no revenue would have been paid on it. At no point is

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51. ER, v, 143-157.
52. APS, ii, 8; see above, 44.
53. ER, xi, 121. The figure of £302 was exceeded nationally in 1492, 1493, 1496, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1502, 1503 and 1510-13. (ER, x-xiii, passim).

the cloth described as Scottish in the Bremen letters, though it was valued in Scottish currency. The cloth may, therefore, have been produced in the Low Countries or England. There is certainly some evidence in the Bremen letters that the Scots were exporting at least some foreign wares. In the letter from Edinburgh, one merchant, Andrew Goldsmith, lost wine, hardly a Scottish product, to the pirates. Moreover, since 1437 Anglo-Hanseatic relations had been strained. They reached a nadir in 1447 when Henry VI suspended Hanseatic privileges in England.[54] Scottish merchants may, therefore, have taken advantage of the situation to export English cloth to the Baltic.

Whatever the origin of the cargoes, the three ships which the Bremen pirates attacked undoubtedly sailed from Scotland. It is not known, however, whether the three vessels visited the ports of all five burghs involved in the diplomatic initiative, or whether merchants from four of the five burghs were exporting their goods through the fifth town's port. If the latter was the case, it is likely that Leith, which already handled most Scottish exports, was the entrepot which was used. The Exchequer Rolls provide only limited information on the total number of ships leaving Scottish ports.[55] In 1443-4 fifteen ships departed from Leith. An attack on even two ships, therefore, amounted to a heavy blow against Leith's

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54. Postan, Trade and Finance, 264-276.
55. See Appendix no. 4, Table 5.

overseas trade. If the ships attacked by the Bremen pirates had visited all the burghs, Dundee's losses were catastrophic. Both ships recorded in the 1443-4 audit and presumably one of the two ships listed in the 1444-5 audit would have been captured.

Having detailed the merchants, commodities and value of the cargoes, the letters sent by the five burghs to Bremen proceed to name ambassadors appointed to act on each burgh's behalf. Edinburgh named John Jeffreyson and Stephen Hunter, two Edinburgh burgesses. Linlithgow designated the same two merchants to look after its interests. Perth appointed one of its own bailies, Andrew Ireland. Cupar also nominated Ireland. Dundee too chose Ireland, together with one of its own merchants, Thomas Small. When, however, the crown formally appointed ambassadors on 14 August, Small was not included. Instead, Thomas Preston headed the list, followed by Jeffreyson, Hunter and Ireland. Jeffreyson had possessed the largest cargo on Johnson's ship and he also had close contacts with the Wendish towns.[56] Hunter owned the third most valuable cargo of the Edinburgh group on Joyse's ship. Both, therefore, had a clear interest in pursuing the Scottish complaint. Ireland had not suffered any losses, but, as a bailie, he was one of the most important figures in Perth politics. He served regularly on the council until 1473.[57] He enjoyed royal confidence again, appearing

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56. See below, 247.
57. MAG Perth, 1/1, 93.

æ a witness to the Anglo-Scottish truce of 1451.[58] In 1472 he witnessed another royal charter concerning Perth.[59] Small owned the largest cargo among the Dundee merchants. Preston was the royal nominee, described in the letter of appointment as 'our familiar'. Previously, he, or a namesake, had acted as a customer of woollen cloth at Edinburgh, a collector of custom from incoming ships and subsequently he became a bailie of Edinburgh, rendering the burgh's accounts at the 1454 audit.[60]

The remit of the ambassadors was specified in the letters from all of the burghs and also by the crown. Any two of the envoys had full power to appear before the authorities of some or all of the representatives of Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, Stralsund and Rostock or anyone who had power to discuss the restitution of the goods seized by the pirates. They were to obtain letters of quittance and generally do whatever was necessary and opportune. There are two possible reasons why the Scottish ambassadors were empowered to meet the authorities of the Wendish towns as well as those of Bremen. The Linlithgow, Perth, Cupar and Dundee letters all imply that in addition to the Bremen pirates, others were also involved in the attack. The Linlithgow letter mentions 'quarundam aliarum civitatum adiacencium'. The Perth

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58. CDS, iv, no. 1240.
59. RMS, ii, no. 1648.
60. ER, v, 38, 635; Edin. Recs., i, 6-7.

and Cupar letters, again mirroring each other, refer to the Bremen pirates 'cum suis complicibus'. Dundee stated that the Bremen pirates had acted together with seventy-seven men from other towns. The Edinburgh letter had been addressed to the Wendish group of towns as well as Bremen. Mariners from the Wendish towns may, then, have assisted the Bremen pirates. On the other hand, the Scottish burghs perhaps knew of the Wendish towns' disapproval of Bremen's activities and hoped that the Wendish towns could apply some pressure on their recalcitrant neighbour. Scottish-Wendish relations were certainly friendly at this period. The Edinburgh letter asserted that the piracy had occured 'sub spe et fiducia pacis inter regnum Scocie ex parte una et partes Almannie ex parte altera'.[61]

Following the crown's official appointment of the ambassadors, there is no further documentation concerning the embassy until it reached a settlement. It is not known how the ambassadors travelled to Germany, but, since there is no evidence of them being issued with a safe-conduct to travel through England, they probably sailed to Bremen directly. The next that is heard from the ambassadors was on 16 October 1445, when Jeffreyson, Hunter and Ireland issued a letter in German to elaborate upon the reconciliation agreed with Bremen.[62] Preston's name does not appear on this document. It, therefore,

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61. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15.
62. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Oktober 16.

seems unlikely that he participated in the negotiations. Apparently, the conduct of this chapter of Scottish diplomacy was left entirely to the representatives of the burghs.

In the preamble to the settlement, Bremen was offered a verbal backsheesh. This stated that Bremen was not liable for the 1444 attacks because of 'the delay' (presumably in presenting the complaint) and because of earlier attacks committed by Scots on Bremen shipping. Nevertheless, the rest of the agreement proved to be a complete capitulation by the Bremen authorities. There were five substantive points to the settlement. Bremen was to give the Scots a ship, described as a 'butze' and called the 'Rose'. In addition, anchors, tackling, rope and forty lasts of beer (!) were to be handed over to the Scots. In return, Bremen was deemed to be 'quit, free and completely forgiven'. The second clause elaborated on the earlier attacks by Scotsmen on Bremen shipping, which had been mentioned in the preamble. Three specific incidents were noted. None is dated. The first was on a ship in the Forth. The second was on a larger ship, seized off the Dutch coast. The third was on a kreyer captured near Arbroath. Bremen's losses for these attacks were put at 6,000 nobles. These were declared quit and compensated for, though there is no suggestion that the Scots had to pay for them. This may be because the alleged Scottish piracy had occurred many years previously. Indeed, it is

possible that the English, not the Scots, were responsible for the attack which had taken place in the Forth. It closely resembles complaints about an incident in 1402.[63] The declaration continued with a third point. The three Scottish ambassadors promised that their complaints would never be revived in either the courts spiritual or temporal. The fourth clause stated that any Scotsmen and their merchandise captured in the future by Bremen pirates, from aboard the ships of powers hostile to Bremen, were to be allowed to go free unmolested. The ships, crews and goods of such enemies, however,

> ... vor ene benompte summe goldes, alz se des denne myt den vrunden, der van Bremen enes worden, unde laten dat schip myt den luden unde der Schotten gude vort in den market seghelen.

These allies ('vrunden') were probably the Wendish towns. That they were included as guarantors of the agreement would confirm that their relations with Scotland were friendly at this point. The fifth and final point of the agreement promised Bremen merchants security and safe-conduct when visiting Scotland, 'as they have been used to do in peace and love for long years before'. Jeffreyson, Hunter and Ireland then affixed their seals to the document. They did not, however, return to Scotland immediately.

On 16 April 1446 the ambassadors reached a second agreement with the Bremen authorities.[64] This concerned

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63. See above, 159-160; on the size of the ships mentioned, see above, 51-52.
64. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1446 April 16.

two of the ships whose capture had caused the mission to be dispatched to Bremen. The ships are not named, but were probably those of Johnson and Joyse (even though this was Flemish), since these were the two ships which had figures so prominently in the Scottish complaints. This agreement was again written in German and Preston's name was again missing. The tenor of it was that,

> '... den breven unde schedingen hebben de Ersame Rad van Bremen in allen stucken unde articlen vulgedan unde vns sodane schip unde gude na inholde der schedesbreve vorbenompt alle geantwort vnde gatliken entrichtet.'

With the return of their ships and goods, the Scottish diplomatic victory was complete.

That a settlement was reached so quickly is surprising. Bremen's disputes with other towns and countries were not settled with such alacrity. The dispute with the French, arising from the attack on Queen Marie's ship in 1446 had not been settled by 1460.[65] Charles VII had apparently lost any hope of a settlement by 1460.[66] A settlement with the Dutch towns was achieved in 1466, but the dispute between Bremen and the Dutch had been in progress considerably longer than that between Bremen and Scotland.[67] The Cologne authorities were still

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65. HR, B, iv, no. 880.
66. HUB, viii, no. 115; O. Held, 'Die Hanse und Frankreich von der Mitte des 15.Jahrhunderts bis zum Regierungsantritt Karls VIII', HGb, xviii (1912), 133-134,155, 174.
67. Poelman, Bronnen, ii, nos. 1806, 1814, 1820.

seeking compensation for Johann Dasse in November 1445, a year and a half after they had first raised the matter.[68] Even the Danzig merchants, whose merchandise had been on the same ships as that of the Scots, failed to acquire compensation as quickly as the Scots had. Danzig again submitted an appeal for compensation to Bremen in 1446.[69] By this time Hans Segebad was dead. His son, Johann, had failed to acquire compensation. In April 1446 two new representatives, one from Danzig and the other from Lübeck, were empowered to pursue the matter further. They too failed. In 1448 Nedderhof, by now Bürgermeister of Danzig, appointed another two representatives, again one from Danzig and the other from Lübeck, to press his claims.[70] The Danzigers now presented not a demand for complete restitution of their goods, but a demand for a monetary settlement of 175 Rhenish gulden. This proposal was eventually accepted, but not until later that year, after yet more correspondence.[71]

This was a remarkable state of affairs. Both Danzig and Cologne were important members of the Hanseatic League, yet they had been met with extreme tardiness, if not unwillingness, on the part of Bremen authorities to meet their claims. The Scots, on the other hand,

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68. HA Köln, Brb. 17, fo. 174.
69. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/4, fo. 183.
70. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/5, fo. 21v.
71. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/5, fo. 22r.

had achieved a settlement within eight months of having first raised their complaints. It is difficult to explain why Bremen was so much more amenable to Scottish than Hanseatic pressure. Perhaps Bremen's stake in Scottish trade was greater than the surviving documentary evidence would suggest and, indeed, more important than its trade with either Cologne or Danzig. If this was so, Bremen would have had an important incentive to settle with the Scots. These events also highlight the Hansa's inherent weakness and lack of unity. Bremen, in particular, had never been a compliant member of the Hansa.[72] Its merchants had been excluded from Hanseatic privileges in 1284, following the city's refusal to comply with the blockade of Norway. Only in 1358, after a period of recalcitrant independence, did Bremen resume its membership of the League, only to be briefly excluded again in 1424.

It was not long after the agreement of peace terms between Bremen and Scotland that the terms of the settlement were tested. A band of Bremen pirates, led by Heryger Rotermund, arrived in the Forth estuary in April 1446.[73] Rotermund captured goods belonging to Edinburgh merchants from aboard two vessels, one called the 'Helbbrock' and the other known as the 'Micheal of Holland'. On 23 April, the Edinburgh

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72. For Bremen's relations with the Hansa, see Dollinger, Hanse, passim; Schwarzwälder, Bremen, passim; H. Schwarzwälder, 'Bremens Aufnahme in die Hanse 1358 in neuer Sicht', HGb, lxxix (1961), 58-79.
73. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1446 April 23.

council and the Bremen pirates agreed that the merchandise owned by the Edinburgh burgesses should be returned. The two sides could not agree, however, whether the Scots should pay for their return. If the Edinburgh merchants could obtain certificates confirming the Scottish-Bremen accords, Rotermund expected no payment. Should they fail to produce such certificates, the Edinburgh merchants agreed to pay £400 gross of Flemish money to the pirates in Bremen. This transaction was to be made through six Hanseatic intermediaries, Henryk van Blire of Danzig, Hans Russe, Peter Wolle, Martin Nortman of Rostock, Zariacus of Stralsund and Hans Segebad of Danzig.

On 6 June 1446 the Edinburgh council and merchants wrote the Bremen authorities.[74] They complained that four armed Bremen vessels had arrived in Leith on 21 April and

> ... navesque nostrorum amicorum onustas bonisque et mercanciis nostris et vicinorum nostrorum hostili modo inuasserunt. Ac nostras mercancias ceperunt et deberunt ...

It was then requested that Bremen certify,

> ... quod bona nostra antefacta per gentes vestras sic capta eisdem virtute pacis appunctare minime pertinere deberent.

Finally, Thomas Clerc, John Halyburton and William de Sideserfe were appointed as envoys to treat with Bremen on the matter. Clerc appears twice in the Exchequer Rolls, receiving

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74. SA Bremen, 1/Z, 1446 Juni 6.

paper and a payment for the writing of the rolls.[75] Halyburton is more difficult to trace, since his is a common name. Sideserfe was an Edinburgh merchant. On 26 June 1446 he received a safe-conduct with five other merchants to pass to England.[76] In June 1448 he obtained another English safe-conduct to travel to France.[77] There is no evidence that three envoys ever travelled to Bremen, but it must be presumed that at least one of them did, since the letter from the Edinburgh authorities and the earlier agreement reached with Rotermund, are preserved in the Staatsarchiv Bremen. Neither is there any evidence concerning the outcome of the mission, but since no further documentation on the matter survives, it must be presumed that a satisfactory settlement was reached.

On 27 June 1446 the fourth clause of the October 1445 agreement was again put into operation. This was in relation to another incident, which was recounted in a notarial instrument, drawn up by Elyardus Post, a canon of Bremen, between fourteen captured Scotsmen and three Bremen councillors.[78] The background to this incident is not recorded in any detail, but the Scots had apparently been arrested aboard a foreign ship, while sailing to Scotland. The ship perhaps had Breton or Burgundian connections, since the document states that Bremen was at war with both of these territories. It is possible that it was the same ship as that belonging

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75. ER, v, 3, 510.
76. CDS, iv, no. 1187; Rot. Scot., i, 328.
77. CDS, iv, no. 1207.
78. SA Bremen, 1/Z, 1446 Juni 27.

to Queen Marie of France.[79] Both are described as hulks and both were sailing to Scotland when attacked. The fourteen Scots who were captured included a knight, Robert Colville. They were relieved of their goods and taken to Bremen. Wishing to remain friendly with Scotland ('volentes amice cum eis agere'), the Bremen authorities ordered that the Scots be freed, quit, absolved and discharged. For their part, the Scots agreed not to pursue any claims for compensation against Bremen in the courts.

The final occasion when the Scots apparently tried to invoke the 1445 agreement occurred in 1462, when Bremen pirates captured an Aberdeen vessel. On 6 April, Gilbert Waus, John Neilson, William Baxter and John Walker brought complaints about the attack to the notice of the Aberdeen council.[80] The attack is not dated, but took place 'in the last raiss maid till the estland before this raiss'. The four Aberdonians had lost merchandise valued at 800 Rhenish gulden. Three procurators, John Waus, John Fechet and Simon Crawford, were appointed to journey to Bremen and seek compensation. Again, however, nothing is known about the outcome of this mission.

While the 1445 accords were apparently still made use of in 1462, their effect on trade between Scotland and Bremen is more difficult to assess. Some Bremen skippers and merchants certainly continued to visit Scotland. In

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79. See above, 166.
80. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 445.

1452 a ship skippered by Peter Schichter of Bremen, and freighted with the goods of Martin Cloke, another Bremen citizen, was attacked by Lübeck pirates, while en route from Scotland to Holland.[81] But the frequence and importance of this trade is not known. On 3 February 1454 James II granted merchants from Bremen special protection when visiting Scotland.[82] This had been foreshadowed by the October 1445 agreement, but James now not only confirmed what his ambassadors had then agreed, but elaborated on it. Special protection and safe-conduct was extended to include the servants, intromitters, factors, ships and, significantly, victuals of all Bremen skippers and merchants visiting Scotland. Again, it is not clear how Bremen merchants responded to James II's grant, though John Forisbeith, an Aberdeen merchant, freighted a Bremen cog with a pack of cloth in 1456.[83] The grant did.not, however, give Bremen merchants any particular commercial advantages over other Hanseatic merchants, as Dr. Dunlop claimed: Wismar merchants had been granted similar privileges in 1440.[84]

The 1454 grant was issued at a time when grain was in short supply in Scotland. Statutes against the hoarding of corn were passed by parliament in August 1452.[85] Within six months of the grant's issue,

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81. Smith, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1391; LUB, ix, no. 126; HUB, viii, no. 232.
82. Merkwürdische Urkunden ... der Stadt Bremen, ed. J.P. Cassel, no. 4; HUB, viii, no. 223. (This document is now missing from SA Bremen, though a transcript of it survives. (Cop. Arch.226a)).
83. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 266.
84. Dunlop, Kennedy, 361; StA Wismar, II Hanseatica C 25.
85. APS, ii, 41.

parliament decreed that,

> ... strangearis that brings in wittalis be fauorabily tretyt and thankfully payit... [86]

In years of dearth Scots normally sought foreign grain supplies in the eastern Baltic. In the 1450s, however, Scotland's relations with Danzig were somewhat strained.[87] It is possible that James was attempting to secure an alternative source of grain supplies in Saxony. While the 1454 grant can, therefore, be related to a domestic agrarian crisis in Scotland, it also contained an international dimension. James promised to intercede on Bremen's behalf with his allies. Presumably this was an indication that James would attempt to settle the dispute between Bremen and France, arising from the seizure of the French queen's ship. The idea that Scotland and France act as a mediator for each other's disputes with third parties was then in vogue. From 1457 Charles VII was using his influence to bring together his common allies of Denmark and Scotland.[88] Whether James interceded for Bremen with France is unknown, but it is an interesting coincidence, if nothing more, that there was a Scottish embassy in France in 1458 and the very next year moves were at last afoot to end the controversy over Marie d'Anjou's 'holk'.[89]

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86. APS, ii, 41.
87. See below, 331-333.
88. Dunlop, Kennedy, 197-199.
89. HR, B, iv, no. 672; HUB, viii, nos. 734, 735.

Evidence for contact between Bremen and Scotland in the final decades of the fifteenth century is minimal. No Scottish merchants are known to have visited Bremen again in the medieval period.[90] Rather it was to the eastern Baltic, Stralsund and Norway that they turned for commodities such as grain, flax and timber. Saxony had never been a major exporter of either flax or timber, while its supplies of grain were less abundant than those of the eastern Baltic. Some Bremen merchants and skippers did, however, continue to visit Scotland, though their visits appear to have been confined to the northern isles.[91] Since the early fifteenth century, the Hanseatic diet had prohibited Hanseatic merchants from visiting the isles.[92] The intention behind such decrees was to protect the commercial dominance of the Hanseatic Kontor at Bergen over Norwegian trade. Trade from northern Norway, the Faroes, Shetland and Orkney was to be funnelled through the Kontor by Norwegian merchants.

By the later fifteenth century, however, some Hanseatic merchants were circumventing the Kontor. From the 1480s, the Kontor and the Norwegian authorities complained frequently about Hanseatic merchants visiting Orkney and Shetland. Complaints were recorded in 1481,

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90. Neither are any Scots known to have emigrated there. There is no reference to Scotland in R. Prange, Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlichen Betrachtung (Bremen 1963).
91. On Hanseatic trade in Shetland, see K. Friedland, 'Der hansische Shetlandhandel', Hansische Studien IV, edd. K. Fritze et. al. (Weimar 1979) and K. Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants and their Trade with Shetland', Shetland and the Outside World 1469-1969, ed. D.J. Withrington (Aberdeen 1983).
92. HR, A, vi, nos. 262 (89, 90, 92), 275, 276.

1484, 1487, 1494, 1498 and regularly in the early sixteenth century.[93] One German merchant, from an unknown town, can certainly be traced in Orkney in 1487. Hector Boece, writing in the sixteenth century, noted the presence of a Bremen merchant on Yell in Shetland at the end of the previous century.[94]

Indeed, it was principally merchants from Bremen, and also those of Hamburg, who were breaking the Hanseatic regulations. The Kontor accused merchants from Bremen specifically of visiting the islands in 1498 and 1506. Hamburg merchants were similarly accused in 1506.[95] Responding to the Kontor's complaints, the Hanseatic diets of 1498 and 1517 reminded Bremen of the prohibition on trade in the islands.[96] Nevertheless, the diet's strictures failed to prevent either Bremen or Hamburg merchants from trading there. The notoriously weak diet had no power to enforce its decrees. Likewise, Shetland and Orkney were too remote for either the Norwegian authorities or the Kontor to be able to prevent the trade which they so strongly objected to. Moreover, after 1468-9 and the transfer of Orkney and Shetland to the Scottish crown, neither technically had a legal right to do so, though the fact that the Norwegian authorities still voiced an interest in the islands' trade would

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93. HR, C, i, nos. 350, 510; ii, nos. 160, 270(28); iii, nos. 353(85, 87, 152), 356; iv, nos. 68, 79(12, 67, 70, 73, 123, 193-4, 198).
94. ER, ix, 490; A. Goodlad, 'Five Centuries of Shetland Fisheries', Shetland, ed. Withrington, 109.
95. HR, C, iv, no. 68; v, no. 114.
96. HR, C, iv, no. 79; vii, no. 39.

support the contention that the transfer of Shetland at least was envisaged only as a short term expedient.[97]

This does not, however, explain why the islands were so attractive to the merchants of Bremen and Hamburg. The islands possessed plentiful supplies of stockfish. A healthy market for this fish existed not only in Bremen and Hamburg, but also in the neighbouring Westphalian towns, such as Osnabrück.[98] At the same time, it was in neither Bremen's nor Hamburg's interests to maintain the commercial dominance of the Bergen Kontor. It was merchants from Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock, rather than those from Bremen or Hamburg who handled most of the Hansa's Norwegian Kontor's trade. Unfortunately, there is no statistical data available to assess the extent of Bremen's or Hamburg's trade in Orkney and Shetland before 1513. No customs accounts for either the islands or the two towns survive. Until the 1550s neither does any correspondence arising from lawlessness or piracy.[99] All that can be stated is that the frequency of complaints about the trade suggests that it was substantial enough to undermine the economic position of the Bergen Kontor.

The Saxon towns were not medieval Scotland's principal trading partners. Even the contacts with Bremen were limited. Nevertheless, by the early

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97. B.E.Crawford, 'The Pawning of Orkney and Shetland', SHR, xlviii (1969), 46; B.E. Crawford, 'The Pledging of the Islands', Shetland, ed. Withrington, 42-43.
98. HR, C, vii, no. 39.
99. For evidence of Bremen's later contacts with Shetland, see E.V.K. Brill, 'Whalsay and the Bremen Connection', Shetland Life, xvii (March 1982); E.V.K. Brill, 'More Bremen Connections with Shetland', Shetland Life, xxx (April 1983); J.W. Tonkin, 'Two Hanseatic houses in the Shetlands', HGb, xciv (1976), 81-82.

fifteenth century Bremen merchants and skippers brought considerable supplies of grain to Scotland. During James II's reign, contacts assumed a diplomatic character, following an outbreak of piracy by Bremen citizens. Both Bremen and Scotland were eager to settle their differences. Latterly, however, commercial contact appears to have declined. Save for Shetland's fish, Scotland had produced little to attract large numbers of Bremen merchants. Likewise, Saxony produced few commodities which Scots could not obtain elsewhere. Commercial realities saw the demise of close contacts.

MAP FIVE

IMPORTANT HANSEATIC TOWNS IN NORTHERN GERMANY



# CHAPTER FOUR

# SCOTLAND AND THE WENDISH TOWNS

## (i) Early contacts and the Wars of Independence

On 11 September 1297 a Scottish force led by William Wallace and Andrew Murray defeated an English army led by John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, at Stirling Bridge. Exactly one month later, on 11 October 1297, Wallace and Murray, 'leaders of the army of Scotland', wrote to the authorities of Lübeck and Hamburg.[1] Their invitation to the German towns to resume their trade in Scotland is undoubtedly the most famous document pertaining to Scottish-German relations in the middle ages. Dated at Haddington, it demonstrated to the outside world the extent of the Scottish recovery. Even part of the vulnerable south-east of Scotland had been recaptured from the English. The letter also indicated a change in the political leadership of Scotland. Wallace and Murray did not style themselves 'guardian', the usual term to denote those responsible for conducting the affairs of state during the incapacity of the monarch. Nevertheless, by writing to Lübeck and Hamburg, Wallace and Murray were effectively performing this rôle. The obvious political significance of the letter should not, however, detract from its commercial implications.

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1. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 12; NLS, Adv. MS. 662(1). Similar letters which have not survived may have been sent to Scotland's other established trading partners, such as Flanders, Cologne and perhaps Stralsund and Greifswald, which, despite their comparatively recent foundation, already maintained considerable commercial links with western Europe. Dollinger, Hanse, 158-159. Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 61; K. Fritze, Die Hansestadt Stralsund (Schwerin 1961), 38-39.

Wallace and Murray clearly considered that supplies brought by foreign merchants would be an important ingredient in the ability of Scotland to maintain its independence. They also apparently believed that merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg could be induced to undertake this task. Such an expectation is unlikely to have been held without foundation. It is, therefore, probable that merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg already conducted a considerable amount of trade with Scotland before 1297. A similar impression is given by other documents. In 1294 Philip IV of France prohibited Hanseatic merchants from importing goods purchased in Scotland.[2] Between 1294 and 1298 twelve different German merchants, mainly from the Wendish towns, exported wool from Newcastle. Since the quality of wool from southern Scotland was similar to that from northern England, there is no reason to suppose that Wendish merchants did not venture further north.[3] In 1321 Robert I granted privileges to merchants from Lübeck, similar to those which his predecessors had granted.[4] If he is to be taken literally, this must mean in accordance with a grant made by either King John (1292-96) or, more probably, given the refusal of the Bruce régime to recognize the legitimacy of Balliol's reign, by Alexander III and at least one of his predecessors.

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2. HUB, ii, no. 1173; LUB, i, no. 617; MUB, iii, no. 2283.
3. Hanseakten, no. 368. For the comparative value of English and Scottish wool at Douai in the thirteenth century, see HUB, iii, 407-408.
4. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 25; NLS, Adv.MS. 662(2).

In the thirteenth century some Scottish-Wendish trade may have been conducted directly between Scotland and the Wendish towns. A significant proportion may also have involved Wendish skippers and merchants transporting Scottish wool to the Low Countries for the production of textiles. Large numbers of merchants from Hamburg and Lübeck were active in Flanders from the thirteenth century. Streets in Bruges were named after them in 1280 and 1306 respectively.[5] Scots, of course, were also trading extensively at Bruges by this period. It, therefore, seems probable that Scottish and Wendish merchants also traded directly with each other in Flanders. By then the mercantile interests of Lübeck and Hamburg had penetrated England too. In 1266 and 1267 Henry III granted each town's merchants the right to establish their own 'Hansa' at the Steelyard in London, based on the precedent of the rights already granted to Cologne's merchants in 1157.[6] Wendish merchants not only visited London but also other east-coast English ports. At Dunwich they certainly encountered Scotsmen. In August 1260 Henry III ordered that an inquisition be held there, following complaints by Soloman and Tideman, merchants of Hamburg, that Lucas, a Scotsman, and his son Richard had attacked their ship. The two Scots appear to have been resident in England. Together with other men from

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5. Dollinger, Hanse, 64; HUB, iii, 474.
6. HUB, i, nos. 633, 635, 636. On Cologne's privileges in England, see above, 116.

Dunwich they had seized some of the Germans' cargo of corn, thrown the rest overboard, maltreated the merchants and finally broken up the vessel.[7] It was only after three further inquisitions into the matter and the arrest of English goods in Hamburg that tempers cooled.[8] Even then, Richard nurtured a grudge against the Hamburgers. In 1270 he falsely laid claim to a vessel which William, son of John, had bought from Soloman.[9]

The third important fulcrum of Wendish-German trade was Scandinavia. Wendish Germans were instrumental in the foundation of many Swedish towns, including Stockholm in ca.1250. The commercial privileges of Lübeck merchants in Sweden were confirmed and extended in 1251. There was, however, little Scottish contact with Sweden before the sixteenth century, so it is unlikely that Scottish and Wendish merchants encountered each other there.[10] Much the same can be said about Denmark: German emigration and commerce were well developed by the later thirteenth century, but strangely, given the proximity of the two countries, there is little indication of Scottish contact with Denmark until the fifteenth century.[11] Some herring from Denmark's Skanian provinces was, however, imported to Scotland by the early fourteenth century.[12] It is conceivable

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7. C.PR, 1258-66, 103.
8. Ibid., 105, 108, 183, 188; CCR, 1259-61, 69-70; CDS, i, nos. 2234, 2247.
9. Ibid., no. 2619.
10. Dollinger, Hanse, 55-58;J. Dow, 'Scottish trade with Sweden 1512-1580', SHR, xlviii (1969), 64.
11. Dollinger, Hanse, 58; Barrow, Bruce, 15.
12. ER, i, 134-135.

that Skanian herring was imported to Scotland before then since, even by the mid-thirteenth century, the Skanian herring fairs were of international repute. Nevertheless, fish was apparently one of Scotland's most important exports in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Aberdonian cod was consumed in the Low Countries and western Germany.[13] Salmon was widely available. There were even abundant supplies of local herring for sale, particularly at Crail, Inverness and the west coast ports of Ayr and Dumbarton.[14] The demand for imported fish can not, therefore, have been great, at least until the apparent migration of the cod and herring shoals from the Scottish coast in the fourteenth century.[15]

If Scotland had few contacts with Sweden and Denmark, the same is not true of its ties with Norway. Scottish-Norwegian relations had improved steadily since the nadir into which they had fallen in 1263, when war had broken out over the sovereignty of the western isles. The Treaty of Perth reestablished peaceful relations between the two countries in 1266 and in 1281 Margaret, the daughter of Alexander III, married Eric II of Norway.[16] Their daughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway, was the heiress to the Scottish throne in

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13. Kuske, Quellen, iv, 480; Stevenson, Thesis, 246-247
14. D. Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation (London 1805), i, 325, 376, 426-427; ER, i, 69, 71, 89, 159-161; 176, 198-199.
15. No cod is referred to in the fourteenth-century Exchequer Rolls. Although herring from Crail is still referred to in the mid- and later fourteenth century (e.g. ER, ii, 62, 575, 596; iii, 24, 57, 73, 103, 235, 308, 369, 423, 450, 479), references to herring from elsewhere disappear.
16. APS, 420-421; DN, viii, no. 9; Dunbar, Kings, 97. Margaret died in 1283.

1286. Following the Maid's death in 1290, Eric advanced a dubious claim of his own to the Scottish throne during the Great Cause in 1292.[17] By the mid-1290s there are indications that Scottish-Norwegian relations had again worsened. Between 1291 and 1312 the Scots withheld payment of the annual instalment of one hundred merks, which had been agreed at Perth in 1266 in return for the cession of the western isles. Payments of the elder Margaret's dowry had also ceased in 1286. In an attempt to force the Scottish government to honour its obligations, Eric and his successor, Hakon, sought the support of Edward I of England and briefly, in 1295-6, of Philip IV of France.[18] Norwegian interest in Scottish affairs, therefore, continued, albeit from a less friendly stance compared with the rapprochement of Alexander III's reign. That interest was confirmed when Eric provocatively took Isabella Bruce, daughter of the earl of Carrick, as his second Scottish wife in 1293, hardly a choice calculated to have met with the approval of King John, given the continuing Bruce-Balliol enmity.[19]

Meanwhile, the increasing diplomatic intercourse between Scotland and Norway was paralleled by the growing domination of the Wendish towns over Norwegian commerce.

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17. Barrow, Bruce, 15, 28-29, 39-43, 65. Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, edd. E.L.Stones and G.G. Simpson (Oxford 1978), i, 19-20; ii, 154-157.
18. R. Nicholson, 'The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian treaties of 1295', SHR, xxxviii (1959), 114-132.
19. Dunbar, Kings, 103.

German commercial privileges were greater in Norway than elsewhere in Scandinavia, on account of the Germans' important rôle as suppliers of grain to a country which could not feed itself. A German settlement existed at Bergen from the thirteenth century.[20] Some knowledge of Scottish political events had percolated through to this community by at least 1300, when an either crazed or impious woman from Lübeck, then resident in Bergen, claimed to be Margaret, the Maid of Norway. Margaret had, of course, died in Orkney ten years previously. The 'false' Margaret was burned in 1301 and her husband was beheaded.[21] News of these events was, in turn, transmitted back across the North Sea. Andrew of Wyntoun, writing in the early fifteenth century, confused the two Margarets, recording that when the Scottish ambassadors arrived in Norway to collect the heir to the Scottish throne,

> Dede than wes that Madyn fayre
> That of lawch suld have bene ayre
> And appereyd till have bene
> Be the lawch off Norway Quene
> Bot that madyn suet for-thi
> Wes put to dede be martyry. [22]

It was, of course, the false Margaret's death which more closely resembled that of a martyr. Indeed, the site of her burning became a shrine of popular pilgrimage shortly after her death.[23]

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20. Dollinger, Hanse, 59-60; J.A. Gade, The Hanseatic Control of Norwegian Commerce during the Late Middle Ages (Leiden 1951), 31-37.
21. J. Anderson, 'Notes on some entries in the Iceland Annals regarding the death of Princess Margaret, 'The Maiden of Norway', in A.D. 1290...', PSAS, x(2) (1873-4), 411, 414-415.
22. Chron.Wyntoun (Laing), ii, 278.
23. Anderson, 'Notes', 416.

If news of Scottish affairs was reaching Norway and vice versa, there had to be some method of transmitting that information. Some was probably passed through Orkney, which, although still a part of the Norwegian realm, already had strong connections with the Scottish mainland. It was probably in Kirkwall that payments of the annual were made during Alexander III's reign.[24] On occasions Scotsmen can also be traced visiting the Norwegian court directly, while Norwegians can also be found in Scotland.[25] Unfortunately, there is little evidence as to how these travellers reached their destination. Some Scottish ships may have sailed to Norway. Norwegian ships certainly sailed to Scotland. Provisions to guarantee the safety of Norwegian merchants visiting Scotland were incorporated in the Treaty of Perth.[26] Nevertheless, by the later thirteenth century such visits were perhaps less frequent. In ca.1286 Alv Erlingsson, jarl of Tornberg, complained to James the Steward, one of the Scottish guardians, about the impounding of a Norwegian ship at Berwick. Erlingsson added that Norway had not been weakened by war to such an extent that it would tolerate such action.[27] This was an allusion to the events of 1284-5, when the Wendish towns had blockaded Norway,

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24. Regesta Norwegica, edd.N. Bjørgo and S. Bagge, ii (Oslo 1978), nos. 51, 76, 86, 278, 299, 322, 353, 391, 434, 470, 497, 527, 632.
25. Ibid., ii, no. 444; B.E. Crawford, 'The Earls of Orkney-Caithness and their Relations with Norway and Scotland 1158-1470' (University of St Andrews, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1971), 114, 119, 209-215.
26. APS, i, 420-421; DN, viii, no. 9.
27. Regesta Norvegica, ii, no. 444.

starving it to submission in retribution for Norwegian attempts to curtail German commercial privileges. By the later thirteenth century the heyday of Norwegian domination of the northern seas was waning. Traditional Norse vessels were not designed to transport the bulky goods, such as grain, which now figured so largely in north European commerce.[28] In the early fourteenth century some English and Scottish ships still plied the North Sea to Norway, but increasingly it was German skippers who carried Norway's grain imports and fish exports.[29] Not all German vessels sailed to or from their home ports. Some travelled to or from English and Flemish ports. These could have readily called at Scottish ports en route. Indeed, given the German domination of north European shipping by this date, it is highly probably that German vessels brought at least some of the news about Scotland to Norway.

The first certain indications that Germans from the Wendish towns were visiting Scotland, however, date from the outbreak of the Wars of Independence. In 1296 a Stralsund ship was attacked off Bamburgh by the men of Newcastle.[30] Presumably it had been trading in Scotland just as Edward I's forces mounted their invasion.

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28. Dollinger, Hanse, 72-73, 186-188; Gade, Hanseatic Control, 41-42.
29. Merchants from St. Andrews were in Norway in 1312 (DN, ii, no. 114). For examples of English trade with Norway in the early fourteenth century, see Foedera (R), ii, 110, 133, 207, 208, 209, 233.
30. Ancient Petitions relating to Northumberland, ed. C. Fraser (Surtees Society 1961), no. 209.

Another Stralsund vessel was burned at Berwick in ca. 1296. In 1312, following the retaliatory arrest in Stralsund of goods belonging to Roger Bishop, a burgess of Berwick, Edward II informed the Stralsund authorities that they were not entitled to seek compensation from the English 'especially as they who were in the ship adhered to the Scottish rebels'.[31] In March 1297 Edward I granted Reginald Pycheford of Scarborough a third Stralsund vessel, which had been captured from the 'king's enemies' (i.e. probably the Scots, though conceivably the French).[32] While some Germans thus suffered attacks on their shipping during the initial phases of the English invasion of Scotland, others took advantage of the confused situation. Ditardius, Wassail and Herman de Alen, three Lübeck merchants, were able to slip away from Dundee in 1297 without paying £80 in customs dues.[33]

Subsequently, in an attempt to prevent supplies from reaching the Scottish resistance, the English mounted periodic naval blockades of the Scottish coast.[34] Despite this, merchants and skippers from the Wendish towns tried to run the blockade in order to continue their trade with Scotland. At Christmas 1302 a Lübeck vessel heading for Aberdeen was driven by storms to Newcastle. There, the English authorities

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31. CCR, 1307-13, 451; CDS, iii, no. 252; HUB, ii, no. 206; PUB, v, no. 2713.
32. CCR, 1296-1302, 56-57.
33. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 21.
34. W.S. Reid, 'Sea Power in the Anglo-Scottish War 1296-1328', Mariners' Mirror, xlvi (1960), 7-23.

arrested Gregory de Gordon, John Mercer of Perth and William of Edinburgh, three Scottish merchants, whom they discovered aboard the vessel, together with their merchandise.[35] In 1321 William Wulfhagen, a Hamburg merchant, was trading at Scottish-held Berwick.[36] Ships belonging to Stralsund merchants probably also continued to visit Scotland.[37] Nevertheless, the English fleet's blockades of Scotland were not a complete failure. In ca.1305 Herman Sidentop of Lübeck and Tidman Felescape of Gotland arranged for the arrest of goods belonging to merchants from Berwick at Aardenburg in Flanders. This was in reprisal for the seizure of their own goods off Aberdeen by one of the English ships mounting the blockade. Presumably while trading or intending to trade in Scotland, seven German merchants were also arrested by the English in 1306-7.[38]

There is no evidence that those Wendish merchants who continued to trade in Scotland during the Wars of Independence did so from their home ports. Indeed, since the English government never apparently appealed to the Wendish towns to proscribe trade with Scotland during the wars, it seems most unlikely that Wendish Germans were trading in large numbers with Scotland directly from their home towns. This is not the

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35. CDS, v, no.327; Notices of Original Unprinted Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland (Maitland Club 1842), no. 121.
36. CCR, 1318-23, 297; HUB, ii, no. 378; HHUB, iii, no. 1057.
37. PUB, vi, no. 3544.
38. NP, no. 21; CDS, v, p. 214.

conundrum which it would appear to be. The Wendish towns were neither important manufacturing nuclei nor important centres for the distribution of local agricultural produce. Their prosperity was based largely on their merchants' rôle as commercial middlemen. It was, therefore, natural for Wendish merchants and skippers to participate in trade between Flanders and Scotland. Herman Sidentop's cargo, for example, was aboard a Flemish vessel when it was detained by the English blockade. William Wulfhagen, the Hamburg merchant who visited Berwick in 1321, returned with goods to Sluys. Thus, the complaints which successive English kings forwarded to the towns and princes of the Low Countries, concerning trade between the Netherlands and Scotland, can not be interpreted simply as a protest against the activities of Flemish merchants.[39] Germans participated in this trade too. Indeed, in 1309 Edward II complained specifically about the aid which Baltic merchants ('Esterlings'), based in Flanders, were extending to the rebellious Scots.[40]

Although most Scottish-German trade during the Wars of Independence was conducted through the Low Countries, German merchants probably also made use of two other supply points. It is possible, though not certain, that some Wendish merchants brought merchandise to Scotland from Norway. In 1316, for example, Englishmen attacked a Lübeck ship, which was sailing from Norway and possibly bound for Scotland. Lübeck merchants, known to have supplied the Scots, can

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39. Foedera (R), ii, 70, 202, 210, 389; Rot.Scot., i, 78, 136, 193.
40. Foedera (R), ii, 70; Rot.Scot., i, 78.

also be traced trading in Norway.[41] Although the Scottish trading connections with Flanders and possibly with Norway were not welcome to the English, there was little that the English government could do to prohibit them. The third supply point for Wendish merchants trading in Scotland was, however, England itself. In 1310, for example, goods belonging to William Witteby of Hamburg were seized at Hull, apparently because he was suspected of trading with Scotland.[42] This illicit trade appears to have been particularly rife at Boston. Several Wendish merchants suspected of supplying the Scots were arrested there in 1310 and 1312.[43] Although they were all subsequently released, official suspicions about a fifth column (to use an anachronistic term) at Boston continued. On 11 March 1315 Edward II appointed Adam de Lymberg to investigate transgressions of the English prohibitions on trade with Scotland at Boston.[44] Within a month of Adam's appointment, a commission of inquiry was held into charges that John and Richard Tonsendpont from Boston and six merchants from Lübeck had freighted a ship destined for Scotland.[45]

Wendish merchants were also accused of indulging in another form of illicit activity to supply the Scots: piracy. The best known example of piratical activity, allegedly designed to benefit the Scots, occurred as early as 1297, when merchandise belonging to Jakob Fisch

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41. DN, xix, nos. 423, 436, 503.
42. HHUB, ii, no. 206.
43. CCR, 1307-13, 276-277, 496.
44. CPR, 1313-17, 259.
45. CCR, 1313-17, 316; HUB, ii, no. 254.

of Lübeck, was taken from a vessel in the River Elbe by Herman Stedding and several accomplices from Hamburg.[46] Fisch accused Stedding of selling the captured goods in Scotland. He did not, however, complain about the attack to the English authorities until early in 1309. Due to an administrative mix-up it was March 1310 before the sheriffs of London arrested the goods of five Hamburg merchants who were deemed to be Stedding's accomplices.[47] The Hamburg council complained about the seizures to Edward II in June 1310.[48] In the event, the arrested goods were released because Fisch failed to pursue his case. The reasons for this are unclear, but it is unconvincing to argue that Fisch feared *a priori* that the jury would be biased against him.[49] In respect of Hanseatic privileges in England, half the jury would have been composed of Hanseatic merchants. There is no evidence to suppose that the Hanseatic jurors would have been naturally predisposed to find against Fisch. Although Stedding was a Hanseatic merchant, so too was Fisch. It is, therefore, tempting to speculate that Fisch's reluctance to pursue the case arose from his own uncertainty concerning the fate of his pirated cargo. The certainty of tone evident in his accusations against Stedding contrasts starkly with the twelve year delay in presenting

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46. HHUB, ii, no. 183; HUB, ii, no. 147.
47. CChW, i, 288; CLLB, D, 216-217; 220-221; HUB, ii, no. 166; HHUB, ii, nos. 184, 196, 199; LUB, ii, no. 1032.
48. HHUB, ii, no. 206; HUB, ii, no. 168.
49. Dilley, 'Merchants', 145.

those complaints. If the accusation was genuine, why did Fisch not make it earlier? By 1309-10 the political climate in England was ripe for Fisch to bring his charges. The war in Scotland was going badly for England. The English government was displaying increasing annoyance at the aid given by foreign merchants to the Scots.[50] Fisch was perhaps, therefore, shrewdly playing on the English government's distrust of foreign merchants. This, too, would explain why Fisch wished the crown to deal directly with the matter, rather than have the case passed on to a perhaps less prejudiced jury. In addition, Fisch may have accused Stedding out of purely personal dislike. At any rate, accusations of piracy must be treated with caution. The motives behind such accusations may have been genuine, but they may also have been determined by less altruistic reasons.

There was a similarly unsatisfactory judicial conclusion to another case of alleged Wendish piracy which benefited the Scots in 1314. Then, Adam le Clerk complained that Heinrich Recklinghausen, Hernald Clast, Hernald de Fevere, Peter de Fevere, Wilhelm Timberman, Hernald Treep and others from Lübeck, Stralsund and Greifswald had attacked his ship, which was sailing from Nantes to English-held Perth. The ship was captured between Great Yarmouth and Blakeney

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50. Foedera (R), ii, 70; Rot.Scot., i, 78; CCR, 1307-13, 225, 276-277, 338, 387.

and taken to Aberdeen, where its contents were sold.[51] The case was of particular interest to the English crown because le Clerk had been, and was again to be, commissioned by the crown to supply the English forces in Scotland.[52] An official inquiry into the matter reported in May 1318 that Edward II's letters of complaint to the three Wendish towns, delivered by Adam's attorney, had been 'treated with contempt and left unopened'.[53] On 24 June the king, therefore, ordered the sheriffs of London, Yorkshire and Norfolk and Suffolk to seize goods belonging to merchants from the Wendish towns.[54] The bulk of the seizures appear to have taken place in Boston and Ravensrod. In October 1318 the 'Swetmond', a Lübeck ship, and the merchandise of eight Lübeck merchants were apprehended at Ravensrod. In December commodities belonging to another eight were detained at Boston.[55] These arrests were not, however, of goods belonging to the perpetrators of the attack on le Clerk and were, therefore, contrary to the privileges of Hanseatic merchants in England. Directions had to be issued to return the goods.[56] In June 1319 the bailiffs of Ravensrod and Boston were again ordered to make seizures of Wendish goods, this time exempting those belonging to Hanseatic merchants.[57] Again, however, the former detained the ship and goods of seven Lübeck merchants

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51. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 57; Rot.Parl., i, no. 121.
52. CPR, 1313-17, 543.
53. PRO, SC1/34/117; CLLB, E, 86; HUB, ii, no. 324; LUB, ii, no. 1051; PUB, v, no. 3193.
54. CCR, 1313-17, 543.
55. CCR, 1318-23, 47; HUB, ii, no. 334; LUB, ii, no. 1052.
56. CCR, 1318-23, 66-67, 289-290; LUB, ii, no. 1058.
57. CCR, 1318-23, 83.

who were members of the London Hansa.[58] Embarrassingly, Edward II was obliged to order the return of the goods for a second time.[59] Unable to acquire restitution of his goods, Adam's misery was compounded when he was seriously assaulted in Westminster in 1320.[60]

While the Fisch and le Clerk cases are amongst the best documented examples of alleged Wendish piracy which benefited the Scots, they were not the only ones. Some of these accusations were of a dubious nature and, therefore, similar to the Fisch case. The goods of merchants from Greifswald, Hamburg and Lübeck were among those seized in 1319 (but subsequently released) in connection with the Wydeslade affair.[61] Other accusations appear to have been of a more substantial nature. In February 1317 Richard Skandelby, a burgess of English-held Berwick, complained that his ship had been attacked by men from Lübeck, Rostock and Stralsund. Several of the crew had been killed, the ship was taken to Scotland, while Skandelby himself was ransomed for 50 merks.[62]

The involvement of the English government in all these cases was to no apparent avail. Hanseatic

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58. CCR, 1318-23, 170-171; LUB, ii, nos. 1054, 1055.
59. Select Cases concerning the law merchant 1239-1799, edd. C. Gross and H. Hall (Selden Society 1930), ii, pp. xci-xcii; LUB, ii, no. 1056; iii, no. 422; CCR, 1318-23, 180.
60. CPR, 1317-21, 540, 542m 594. Adam tried again to acquire compensation in 1328 and 1346 (CCR, 1327-30, 267-268; CPR, 1343-8, 152).
61. CCR, 1318-23, 45-47, 89, 155, 158-159, 248. For the details of this matter see above, 104-106.
62. CDS, iii, no. 537.

privileges in England decreed that only those specifically involved in a crime could be arrested. It was difficult to prove allegations of piracy against specific merchants, because it was frequently difficult for the victims of piratical attacks to identify their assailants. Even when they were identified, as in the Fisch and le Clerk cases, it was difficult for the English authorities to track down the culprits, since their peripatetic lifestyles dictated that they rarely stayed in one place for a lengthy period. Moreover, pirates could go to considerable lengths to avoid detection, as is illustrated by the charges brought against John Witte of Lübeck in 1315. Witte, a merchant with extensive commercial interests in England and the Low Countries, was accused of resetting pirated goods in Scotland.[63] He was further accused of removing the identificatory insignia from the pirated goods and replacing them with his own to avoid detection. Although Witte was found not guilty of these charges, Dr. Dilley has convincingly argued that the verdict may have been influenced by the fact that, in accordance with Hanseatic privileges in England, half the jury was Hanseatic.[63a] Witte was certainly no stranger to the English authorities in their attempts to prevent trade with Scotland. In 1314 a ship from Rye, equipped to mount the blockade on Scotland, attacked several vessels

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63. CLLB, E, 60; HUB, ii, no. 271. On Witte's trade in England, see also CPR, 1313-7, 614; DN, XIX, nos. 423 (at p.475), 436 (at p.516).

63a. Dilley, 'Merchants', 148-149.

in the Zwyn estuary. One of these contained goods belonging to Witte, which, Witte claimed, were destined for Harwich.[64] In this case, the English authorities gave Witte the benefit of the doubt. Nevertheless, his cargo included iron, steel and copper, commodities which the Scots certainly sought for the production of arms. Although the men of Rye appear to have been acting without official authorisation in their attack, the Scottish reliance on supplies purchased in Flanders was well known to the English government. In 1315 John of Brittany, the English admiral, was ordered to mount a similar raid on shipping anchored in the Zwyn estuary and destined for Scotland.[65] Witte's goods are not known to have been seized in that raid, but they were singled out for arrest by the Boston bailiffs in connection with the le Clerk case in 1318. He was also one of the merchants whom William Wydeslade's lawyer attempted to sue in 1318.[66] Meanwhile, a separate incident demonstrated Witte's lack of respect for English rules and regulations. In 1325 he secretly departed from London with wool for which he had paid only part of the purchase price.[67]

The English records are the most important surviving source for the illumination of the activities of Wendish merchants in Scotland during the Wars of Independence. By

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64. CPR, 1313-7, 234-235.
65. Foedera (R), ii, 265; CCR, 1313-8, 218-219.
66. CCR, 1318-23, 47, 106, 289-290.
67. CCR, 1323-7, 548; 1327-30, 74.

their nature, however, they tend only to record those merchants who fell foul of the English authorities and not those who escaped detection. Although the evidence which they present is, therefore, limited, the English records also provide some information regarding the ports which Wendish merchants visited and the commodities in which they dealt.

On the eve of the Wars of Independence Berwick was Scotland's most important town. The presence of a Stralsund ship there in 1296 is not, then, very surprising.[68] After Berwick returned to Scottish sovereignty in 1318, the town quickly regained its prosperity, so that it is again not surprising to find a Hamburg merchant trading there in 1321.[69] In the intervening years, however, and again after 1333, Scottish supplies had to be delivered to other ports. Dundee was certainly visited by Lübeck merchants in 1297 and by other German merchants in 1306. The rise of Leith, a port infrequently mentioned in the thirteenth century sources, dates from the period of Berwick's English occupation. It may be assumed that Wendish Germans were active there and also at Perth, another of the 'big five' Scottish ports, although there is no evidence of this. Flemish merchants, however, were active at both of these ports.[70] The fifth member of the

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68. CCR, 1307-13, 45.
69. On Berwick's revival see above, 101-102 and below, appendix 1. HUB, ii, no. 378; HHUB, iii, no. 1057.
70. CDS, v, p. 213; ER, i, 93, 97, 100.

quintet was Aberdeen and there is ample evidence that after its recapture (possibly with the assistance of Lübeck merchants) it was both a regular destination of German and Flemish merchants and a welcome recipient of pirated goods.[71] Aberdeen's popularity in this respect was probably based on its distance from the Anglo-Scottish frontier. It became particularly difficult for the English effectively to blockade the town by sea, when, after 1308, they had no safe haven in the vicinity which could act as a supply point for their fleet. Moreover, it was the first of the 'big five' ports to be recaptured by Robert I's forces: Dundee did not fall until 1312, Perth till 1313, Edinburgh till 1314 and Berwick till 1318. There is no evidence of Wendish activity at the smaller Scottish ports, though again this can not be ruled out. Flemish 'and other foreign merchants' were probably trading at Dunfermline abbey's ports by 1321 and Flemish merchants can certainly be traced at Inverkeithing between 1327 and 1329.[72]

The English government was particularly anxious to prevent arms and victuals from reaching the Scots. Horses, armour, corn and meat were all at times included within the prohibitions which it issued against trade

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71. E.g., NP, no. 21; CCR, 1307-13, 432; 1313-8, 7, 46, 528. the German merchant Herman Clipping, who played a prominent rôle in the recapture of the town by the Scots, may have come from either Lübeck or Dortmund. See above, 110.
72. Dunf. Reg., no. 361; ER, i, 78, 95.

with Scotland.[73] Presumably these were the commodities which were particularly sought after by the Scots. Arms and armour were, therefore, probably not being produced in sufficient quantities in Scotland, while climatic regression and the ravages of warfare had probably caused a decline in arable production and livestock breeding.[74] The goods which Wendish merchants specifically brought to Scotland are frequently not elaborated upon in the sources. Of those which are, some, though not all, fit into the categories of arms and victuals. Both of these were discovered aboard the ship arrested in the Tonsendpont case at Boston in 1315. Le Clerk's freight included no arms, but lampreys, salt and lambskin furs ('budge'). Fisch's cargo included wax and other unspecified goods. Wendish merchants may also have been responsible for the import of timber ('Eastland boards'), which was used to build a chapel above the tomb of Robert I at Dunfermline in 1329.[75] Little, however, is known about the commodities with which Wendish merchants returned from Scotland. The only clue in this regard is from the three Lübeck merchants who left Dundee in 1297 without paying the customs dues liable on wool and hides.[76] These were the principal Scottish exports and it is likely that other Wendish merchants also purchased them in Scotland. In addition, it is possible that they exported some other goods, such

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73. E.g. CCR, 1307-13, 225, 387; 1313-8, 218-219, 308-309.
74. See above, 33-41.
75. CPR, 1313-7, 316; HUB, ii, no. 254; Hanseakten, no. 57; ER, i, 215.
76. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 21.

as salmon and pelts, which at least one English merchant exported from Perth in the early fourteenth century.[77]

While it is clear that individual Wendish merchants were visiting Scottish ports, it does not necessarily follow that the authorities of the Wendish towns extended diplomatic support to the Scottish cause. Indeed, given the lack of any politically common interests between Scotland and the Wendish towns, it was probably a matter of complete indifference to the latter who controlled Scotland, so long as their merchants' interests were safeguarded. Although some Wendish merchants clearly expected to make profits from their trade in Scotland, for most the lure of lucrative trade in England was probably more enticing. Thus, Wendish merchants continued to trade in England throughout the Wars of Independence. In December 1302 Peter le Graper, bailiff of Newcastle, bought iron from Lübeck merchants in order to refortify English-held castles in Scotland.[78] Hamburg merchants supplied victuals to the English garrison at Berwick in 1306-7.[79] In 1323 Nicholas Pape of Hamburg was contracted to supply wheat and other victuals for Edward II's Scottish campaigns.[80] In addition, as was the case with western German merchants, the payment of English customs dues and simple compliance with the English prohibitions on trade with Scotland were an enormously important source of indirect aid to English policy in

77. Ancient Petitions relating to Northumberland, ed. C. Fraser, no. 211.
78. CDS, ii, no. 1392.
79. CDS, v, no. 492(iv).
80. HHUB, ii, no. 569; HUB, ii, no. 399; Rot.Scot., i, 138.

Scotland. It is not, therefore, surprising, that throughout the Wars of Independence there is no evidence that the Wendish towns sought an alliance with the Scottish government. As far as is known, the diplomatic relations between the two were initiated entirely by the Scottish government, or, perhaps more specifically, in conjunction with the wishes of Scottish merchants. The reasons for this are obvious. Scottish merchants wished to safeguard their own livelihood at a time when trade was liable to disruption by political foes. In March 1294, when English domination of the Balliol government had alienated the French, Philip IV had prohibited Hanseatic merchants from importing Scottish goods to France.[81] After the subsequent realignment of Scottish foreign policy, English attempts to prevent the Scots from trading in the Low Countries were not totally without success. In 1319 the towns of Mechlin and Ypres and Duke John of Brabant had agreed not to assist the Scots.[82] Since foreign supplies were required to promote the war effort, the Scottish government was at one with Scottish merchants in the desire to keep trade routes open, while any diplomatic recognition of the Scottish government was also to be welcomed. The first of the diplomatic overtures to the Wendish cities was that mounted by Wallace and Murray in 1297, on the recommendation of 'trustworthy merchants'. The official response of Hamburg and Lübeck to the Scottish request that they

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81. HUB, ii, no. 1173; LUB, i, no. 617. The effectiveness of this order is open to doubt. A Berwick ship sailed to Dieppe in June 1294 (CDS, ii, no. 74).
82. Foedera (R), ii, 392, 394.

reestablish trade with Scotland is unknown. So, too, is the towns' reaction to the suggestion that they 'promote the business of John Burnett and John Frere, our merchants'.[83] But, no attempts were apparently made by Lübeck and Hamburg to prevent their merchants from trading in Scotland. No further diplomatic communication is known of until after Robert I had become king in 1306. By 1318 the Saxon towns considered themselves to be on friendly terms with Robert, but it is not clear whether this amicability extended to the Wendish towns.[84] There is certainly no proof for Dr. Dilley's assertion that 'envoys were travelling fairly regularly between Scotland and the German states'.[85] Indeed, the grant made by Robert I to the merchants of Lübeck and other German cities ('civitatum Almannie') on 22 April 1321 comes like a bolt from the blue.[86] Robert's reference to the 'German towns' is tantalizingly inexplicit. He probably did not have in mind literally all the towns of Germany. At the broadest level he may have meant the home towns of all those merchants who claimed Hanseatic status abroad, thereby incorporating towns in western Germany, Saxony, and the eastern Baltic, as well as the Wendish towns. Alternatively the phrase may refer to only those towns associated with Lübeck in the Wendish League.

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83. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 12a; NLS, Adv.MS.662(1). A John, son of Henry Burnet (of Montrose?) borrowed money from Restenneth priory twelve years earlier (see above, 77).
84. See above, 158.
85. Dilley, 'Diplomacy', 82. The evidence which Dilley cites (CCR, 1318-23, 284, 297) does not state where the Scottish envoys arrested by the English authorities were heading.
86. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 25; NLS, Adv.MS.662(2). The document in NLS is a copy of the original and not, as Dilley thought, a second grant by Robert I to German merchants (Dilley, 'Diplomacy', 83).

Whatever Robert's intention, that he sent the letter to Lübeck, the acknowledged leader of the Wendish towns, would suggest that it was with the Wendish towns, in particular, that he hoped to establish firmer and more official contacts.

The 1321 grant was the first of a series of communications on commercial matters made by Robert I. In July 1321 he wrote to Bruges confirming the assignation of customs duties levied on goods leaving Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Musselburgh and Queensferry to Dunfermline abbey.[87] By December Robert was in contact with Count William of Holland concerning protection for Scottish merchants visiting the count's domains.[88] Although the background to the German grant is unknown, it may have been the conclusion, rather than the initiation, of a process to woo the Wendish towns. A comparison with the grant bestowed by Robert on merchants from Hainault, Holland and Zeeland in 1323 provides an interesting parallel. That concession was granted only after almost two years of a steady warming of Scottish-Dutch relations.[89] Nevertheless, this comparison has its limitations. There is no indication that Lübeck and the other Wendish towns, as opposed to Count William, bestowed a reciprocal grant on Scottish merchants. Indeed, it seems most unlikely that they did. The Wendish towns did not concede reciprocal privileges in return for those

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87. Dunf.Reg., no. 361; Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Musselburgh and Queensferry were the four burghs dependent upon Dunfermline abbey. G.S. Pryde, The Burghs of Scotland (Oxford 1965), nos. 106, 112, 113, 114.
88. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 302.
89. See above, 107-108.

which their merchants acquired in England or Scandinavia. Moreover, the actions of Count William were as much political as commercial, determined by his growing hostility towards Edward II of England. By contrast, Robert's grant to the German towns was devoid of similar political implications, at least from the German point of view. There was no question of Wendish merchants abandoning their lucrative links with England. From a purely commercial point of view, the grant must also have been of little significance to the German towns. German merchants were now officially welcomed by Robert I to trade in Scotland; unofficially they had been since Robert first ascended the throne in 1306. The grant bestowed no extraordinary privileges on German merchants. It was couched in conservative terms. Robert's actions were, he claimed, in accordance with those of his predecessors. If the document was of little obvious significance to its recipients, its importance must be explained in terms of its value to the author. This can be assessed in both political and commercial terms.

The tacit acceptance of Robert's grant (after all it was not returned) bestowed implicit recognition upon the legitimacy of Robert's position as king. As such the grant was part of Robert's wider attempts to end the diplomatic isolation of the Scottish government. De facto French recognition, forthcoming in November 1308, had come a priori because of Anglo-French hostility.[90]

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90. Barrow, Bruce, 183.

Anglo-French hostility was not, however, as acute as it had been during John's reign. Consequently, French support of Robert was more circumspect than that which King John had received. It did not extend to encouraging Pope John XXII to recognize Bruce. Indeed, the Franco-Scottish alliance was not formally renewed until 1326. Robert was, therefore, forced to look elsewhere for diplomatic acknowledgement. Norwegian recognition (forthcoming by 1312 at the latest) and the implicit Hanseatic recognition of 1321 were particularly valuable because these were powers less naturally hostile to England.[91] Since the French were reluctant to use their influence with the papacy on Bruce's behalf, this kind of less biased support from northern Europe was perhaps one of the most impressive tools which Robert could muster in his persistent, if before 1324 fruitless, attempts to persuade the pope of the legitimacy of his rule. It is perhaps not without significance that the grant to the German towns was issued within a year of the Declaration of Arbroath failing to convince Pope John of Robert's legitimacy, despite its eloquent portrayal of internal Scottish solidarity for the king.

The political uses of the 1321 grant should not, however, detract from the fact that it was a document

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91. The Scottish-Norwegian treaty of Inverness (1312) renewed the treaty of Perth (1266) and arranged for the settlement of various other bilateral problems. (Barrow, Bruce, 200-201). For the text of the treaty and another related document, see DN, ii, no. 114; xix, nos. 481, 482.

ostensibly concerned with commerce. At first sight, its overt intention was to encourage German trade in Scotland. The Scots required arms, in order to pursue their campaigns, and other goods which could not be produced in Scotland. They also needed to export their own commodities in order to pay for imports. There was nothing new in this. Indeed, it seems belated, if not illogical, for Robert to issue his grant when the Scots were on the offensive; when the English blockade of the Scottish coast had lapsed; when the English government was no longer dispatching requests to the towns and princes of the Low Countries to prohibit Scottish trade;and when supplies were consequently probably easier to come by. It is,therefore, tempting to suppose that Scottish-Wendish trade required a stimulus in 1321 because it was in decline, despite the generally more favourable scenario for foreign trade. Between 1296 and 1317 the evidence of Wendish activity in Scotland is reasonably impressive. Between 1317 and 1321 it declined dramatically: only one Wendish merchant can be traced with certainty in this period.[92] This may simply reflect the jejune nature of the source material, but if the decline of trade was as real as it is apparent, the 1321 grant was, perhaps, intended to reverse the situation. If it was, it had little obvious success. In October 1321 , the Lübeck council deliberated in a case between Wessel von Berge of Lübeck and Gottschalk of Lübeck from Lübeck and Hartwig von Hamm of Stralsund,concerning

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92. CCR, 1318-23, 297; HUB, ii, no. 378; HHUB, iii, no. 1057.

the ownership of a ship ('kogkonis'). In its judgement the council stated:

> ... nec ipse Wezcelus in Schocia vel nusquam alibi pro dicto kogkone actionem faciet vel querelam... [93]

Henry of Eastland, possibly a Wendish merchant, is recorded in Scotland between 1327 and 1329.[94] These examples apart, no known Wendish merchants visited Scotland between 1321 and the end of the first War of Independence in 1328. It is difficult, if not impossible, to account for this apparent decline in Scottish-Wendish trade. If it did happen, and is again not just a reflection of the patchy documentary evidence, it must be assumed that for some reason Scottish trade became less attractive to Wendish merchants. There are a number of possible reasons for this: the demand for goods imported by Wendish merchants may have declined; Wendish merchants may have had difficulty in supplying the commodities which Scots required; Scottish produce may have been less available for export; there may have been a drop in the demand for Scottish exports abroad; mercantile competition may have increased on Scottish trade routes; or Wendish merchants may, for some other reason, have been lured away elsewhere.

Although the Scots were now on the offensive in the wars, they still required arms to pursue their campaigns in northern England. There is no indication

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93. PUB, vi, no. 3544.
94. ER, i, 116.

that the demand for other traditionally imported commodities diminished. Indeed, Robert's implicit invitation to the German merchants to visit Scotland is unlikely to have been made if the demand for imports was declining. In the fifteenth century parliamentary decrees that foreign merchants be treated favourably invariably coincided with a shortfall in Scottish grain production.[95] After the mid-1310s there are also grounds for supposing that Scottish grain was in short supply. A shortage could only be compensated for by imports. The first of the putative explanations for the apparent disappearance of Wendish merchants from Scottish trade, therefore, seems unlikely. As has already been shown, there may be a greater likelihood in the other suggestions.[96]

Firm conclusions regarding the importance of Wendish trade in Scotland during the Wars of Independence are impossible, given the lack of statistical data. Nevertheless, Wendish activity seems to have been considerable on the eve of the war and to have been sustained during the first decade of the war. Subsequently, the possible fall in Wendish trade was accompanied by a series of factors which might account for it.

(ii) The mid- and later fourteenth century

The dearth of evidence concerning Wendish acitivity in Scotland continues after 1328, when peace was re-established by the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton. This

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95. E.g., APS, i, 41.
96. See above, 30, 36-38, 42 and below, 226.

is despite the generally improved climatic conditions of the later 1320s and 1330s and the lapse of English restrictions on Scottish trade. The apparent redrawing of Wendish trade routes in the previous decade perhaps accounts for this, though the double customs levy, imposed from 1331 on alien merchants visiting all Scottish ports except Berwick, was an added disincentive; the renewed ravages of warfare after 1332 were another factor detrimental to commerce.[97] Once direct English military intervention in Scotland resumed in 1333, Edward III employed many of the tactics which his father and grandfather had used to prevent foreign aid reaching the Scots. In 1333 he sent John de Hildesle, a canon of Chester, to the count of Flanders and the towns of Bruges, Ghent and Ypres to appeal for the termination of all assistance given to the Scots. In 1336 similar requests were dispatched to the king of Norway and the counts of Guelders and Holland.[98] Again, however, no appeals were sent to the Wendish towns themselves, suggesting that if Edward III did suspect Germans of assisting the Scots, they did so not directly from their home towns, but rather from Norway or the Low Countries. Edward's government was also aware that supplies could reach the Scots from England itself. Protections and safe-conducts granted by him to both

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97. On the double customs levy, see below, note 103; on the ravages of warfare, see above, 33-34.
98. Foedera (R), ii, 862, 949.

English and foreign merchants frequently stipulated that on no account should corn, in particular, be taken to Scotland.[99] On occasions he even required merchants to produce end-user certificates to prove that they had not visited Scotland.[100] Meanwhile, English coastal towns were again expected to provide vessels for royal service off the Scottish coast.[101]

There are some grounds for supposing that these preventitive measures were more effective than those of Edward II, at least in so far as German merchants are concerned. There are no records of Germans attempting to flout Edward III's regulations or of them indulging in piratical activity to aid the Scots. Of the foreigners who were still aiding and trading with Scotland, those from Flanders predominated.[102] Nevertheless, the overall foreign share of Scotland's overseas trade was now minimal. By the early 1330s Scottish merchants handled over 80% of exports from all ports except Berwick. The Scottish proportion grew even larger in subsequent years.[103] The apparent malaise of Wendish commercial activity in Scotland continued

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99. E.g. CPR, 1330-4, 425, 428, 429, 431; CPR, 1334-8, 54, 164, 256, 335, 340.
100. Ibid., 414.
101. E.g. CPR, 1330-4, 418.
102. CCR, 1333-7, 77, 213; ER, i, 371, 450-451. Some Frenchmen were also visiting Scotland at this period (Chron.Fordun, ii, 355). One Hamburg vessel did visit Berwick in 1335-6 (PRO, E.122/193/8). Some timber from the Baltic is also recorded at Berwick and in the Exchequer Rolls in 1329, 1332 and 1339, though it may have been imported by Scottish merchants via the Low Countries (ER, i, 215, 411; CDS, iii, no. 1307).
103. ER, i, 365-374, 419-428, 529-541; ii, 7-24; 64-70, 84-99. The equivalent figure for Berwick between 1331 and 1333 can not be determined because the double customs levy imposed on foreigners did not apply there.

throughout the mid-fourteenth century, though the usual caveat of jejune contemporary records still applies. Indeed, for this period the problem of defective sources is exacerbated. After 1337 the English government devoted more of its attention to continental warfare. References to Scotland in the English Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, which are so useful for the earlier period, therefore, decline dramatically. At the same time there are extensive gaps in the Scottish Exchequer Rolls for the years between 1333 and 1359, while Wendish sources remain patchy. The first list of poundage dues levied on ships at Hamburg and Lübeck in 1368-9 include no indication of trade with Scotland, though this may be a reflection of the danger of sea travel to the western Baltic during the Danish-Hanseatic war of 1367-70.[104] This war was obviously one factor militating against the peaceful conduct of trade. The Black Death perhaps also contributed to a decline in trade.[105] Nevertheless, there are indications that some Wendish merchants were still visiting Scotland. To ensure compliance with the Hanseatic embargo on trade with Flanders in 1358, the Wendish towns ordained that any skipper visiting inter alia Scotland must obtain a certificate from the Scottish authorities to confirm that he had visited Scotland and not Flanders.[106] Hankyn Teutonico, possibly a Wendish merchant, received a payment

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104. Die hansischen Pfundzollisten des Jahres 1368, ed. G. Lechner (Lübeck 1935); Das hamburgische Pfundzollbuch von 1369, ed. H. Nirrnheim (Hamburg 1910).
105. See above, 31, 38-39.
106. HR, A, iii, no. 240.

from the Edinburgh customers between 1362 and 1364.[107] In addition some commodities of Baltic origin also reached Scotland in the mid-fourteenth century. German beer, one of the few manufactures of the Wendish towns, is recorded in the Exchequer Rolls in 1373. 'Eastland boards' (i.e. Baltic timber) were used for construction work in the king's chamber and stable at Edinburgh in 1366.[108] Most Baltic timber was exported from the Prussian ports, but Wendish merchants virtually monopolized the transport of eastern Baltic produce to the west until the 1380s, when Prussian ships began to use the Sound route and trade directly there themselves. Although these Baltic wares may have been imported by Scotsmen or via the Flemish fairs, it is possible that Wendish merchants visited Scotland at least spasmodically during the mid-fourteenth century. At the same time Scotland was probably not one of the most important spheres of Wendish activity. Partly this was because Scottish merchants probably continued to dominate Scotland's export trade. It was, perhaps, also due to the arrival of Scottish merchants in the western Baltic, who, on their return journeys, could probably supply most of the Baltic products, such as beer, timber and fish, for which a demand existed in Scotland. The first uncertain indications that Scots were trading in the Baltic date from the early fourteenth century. The name 'Schotte'

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107. ER, ii, 132.
108. Ibid., 246, 451. Eastland boards were also used for repair work carried out at Berwick castle in 1362 (CDS, iv, no. 68). Other boards, whose origins are not specified, are recorded in the Exchequer Rolls for 1364, 1368, 1372, 1375, 1377 and 1379 (ER, ii, 165-166,308, 437, 462, 472, 557, 565, 608).

is recorded in Stralsund from 1310. Although it may not have referred to Scotsmen, merchants from English-held Berwick were certainly trading there by 1312.[109] The constitution of the guild of shopkeepers at Anklam prohibited Scots from selling linen cloth and other goods retail within the town, thus circumventing the shopkeepers' trade. This edict appears in the second part of the guild's statutes. This second section was originally thought to date, like the first part, from 1330, but this is now considered unlikely.[110] Nevertheless, the Anklam council confirmed the guild's privileges in 1335 and further prohibited Danes, Wends (i.e. Slavs) and Scots from becoming guild members.[111] The Anklam council was following a precedent already established by Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns. Since Anklam was a small and insignificant town, the anti-Scottish statute was, perhaps, a preventitive measure, intended to forestall Scottish mercantile activity in Anklam, rather than a response to an already extant problem. Yet, presumably Scottish traders were active in Lübeck, the commercial centre of the western Baltic, otherwise the prohibition, with its specific reference to Scots, would not make sense.

The reasons for this apparently new Scottish activity in the Baltic are uncertain. It would, however, be surprising if the Scots had arrived specifically either to purchase the produce of the Wendish towns or to sell

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109. Das zweite Stralsunder Stadtbuch, ed. R.Ebeling (Stralsund 1903), nos. 58, 231; CCR, 1307-13, 451; CDS, iii, no. 252; HUB, ii, no. 206; PUB, v, no. 2713.
110. Fischer, Prussia, 4; Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', 19, note 42.
111. PUB, ix, no. 5324.

their own merchandise. The wealth of the Wendish towns was not based upon locally manufactured goods or local agricultural produce, but rather on the transport and sale of commodities obtained in Scandinavia, England, the eastern Baltic and the Low Countries, commodities which Scots could obtain closer to home in the Flemish fairs. Neither can there have been much demand for wool, the principal Scottish export, in the Wendish towns, since they were not notable centres of cloth production. A more credible explanation for the Scottish presence in the Wendish towns is that it was an adjunct to the activities of Scottish merchants in Skania. The Skanian herring fairs were the largest of their type in fourteenth century Europe. 'Eastland' herring had been imported into Scotland since at least 1329, a date approximately contemporaneous with the earliest recorded restriction imposed on Scottish traders in the nearby Wendish towns.[112] Rather than travel to Skania with empty vessels, some Scots perhaps attempted to supply that market which did exist for their produce in the Wendish towns, which were the closest centres of population to the Skanian fairs. By the later fourteenth century Scottish cloth was apparently the most saleable Scottish product. Cheaper and coarser than that produced in the Low Countries or England, it found a market among the poorer inhabitants of the Wendish towns. By 1370 it was imported to Stralsund in sufficiently large quantities

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112. ER, i, 134-135.

for the town's council to prohibit its sale. Presumably this trade was proving a threat to the well-being of Stralsund's own merchants.[113] By then, however, it was not only in the Wendish towns that Scottish merchants were providing unwelcome competition to Hanseatic interests.

In October 1369 the Hanseatic diet ordained that Scotsmen, Englishmen and Welshmen were not to be allowed to salt herring at the Skanian fairs.[114] This decree was designed to restrict foreign competition at the fairs, since herring could not be transported over long distances unless they were preserved with salt. It was issued a month after the joint Hanseatic-Swedish invasion of Skania in pursuance of the Hansa's war with Valdemar IV of Denmark and Hakon VI of Norway. The Hanseatic victory in the war, confirmed by the Peace of Stralsund in 1370, heralded the Hansa's emergence as the strongest political power in the Baltic. The military victory was used to protect the Hansa's economic interests. The Peace of Stralsund abolished new tolls which Waldemar had imposed on Hanseatic merchants visiting Skania in 1361. The Skanian castles of Hälsingborg, Malmö, Skänor and Falsterbo were ceded to the Hansa for fifteen years.[115] Although the Peace of Stralsund made no mention of the activities of foreign merchants in Skania, the Hansa

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113. HUB, iv, no. 335, note 5.
114. HR, A, i, no. 510(11). The Hansa had a virtual monopoly over the salt used in Skania, since the most important local supplies came from the mines in the Hanseatic town of Lüneburg.
115. D.J. Bjork, 'The Peace of Stralsund 1370', Speculum, vii (1932), 462-471; Dollinger, Hanse, 100-101. Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 108-112.

soon used its political supremacy to extend its commercial monopoly over the fairs. The Hanseatic diet of 1377, meeting at Lübeck, repeated the restrictions imposed in 1369 on the activities of Scots in Skania.[116] At the Stralsund diet of 1378 the restrictions were tightened still further. The salting and sale of Skanian herring took place in 'Vitte'. These were quasi-autonomous strips of land granted to particular Hanseatic towns by the king of Denmark. They contained churches and cemeteries, as well as commercial buildings, and were supervised by a 'Vogt' appointed by the town in possession of each 'Vitte'. The diet now ordered the 'Vogt' neither to admit Flemings, Brabanters, Englishmen, Scotsmen or Welshmen to the 'Vitte' nor to protect them.[117]

The Scottish reaction to the restrictions is not known, but there was certainly outrage in the English parliament.[118] The reenactment of the restrictions probably resulted in a decline in Scottish activity at the fairs. Nevertheless, Skanian herring continued to be imported to Scotland and, although most of this trade was perhaps now conducted by Wendish merchants, at least a few Scots continued to visit the fairs. In 1381 Finlay Usher, a Scottish merchant, was dispossessed of a cargo of Skanian herring when a Zeeland ship, sailing from the

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116. HR, A, i, no. 522; ii, no. 150.
117. HR, A, ii, no. 158(10).
118. HUB, iv, no. 378; H. Palais, 'England's First Attempt to Break the Commercial Monopoly of the Hanseatic League 1377-80', American Historical Review, lxiv (1959), 852-865.

Baltic to Flanders, was pirated by Englishmen.[119]

Friction between Scotland and the Wendish towns was not confined to Skania. It had arisen as early as the 1340s in the Low Countries. In 1345 a ship belonging to Ludekin Sibrant of Hamburg was seized off the Flemish coast by men from Cupar, Inverness and St. Andrews. The incident was viewed with particular displeasure by the Hansa, perhaps because Sibrant's cargo included cloth belonging to Albert of Lüneburg, a consul of Hamburg.[120] It was only after three years that the matter was finally settled in agreements reached by the three Scottish towns and the German Kontor at Bruges.[121] Although the Bruges authorities confirmed these agreements on 7 June 1348, the Hansa remained suspicious of the Scots.[122] A week later the four most important Scottish burghs (Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dundee and Perth) appointed Adam Tor and William Fith as ambassadors to negotiate further on the matter, with a view to guaranteeing the agreement already concluded by the three smaller Scottish burghs.[123] On 29 August Tor penned his name to an agreement designed to repair the damages caused to the Flemings by the Scots' earlier actions.[124] The prolonged delay in reaching a final

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119. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 584. Skanian herring was also imported illicitly into Scotland in 1379, following a piratical attack on a Hanseatic vessel, and in 1392, after the capture of an Amsterdam ship (CCR, 1377-81, 276-277;Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 718). The last occasion on which it is known to have been imported was in 1402: Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 329(1), 337(1).
120. HUB, iii, no. 63; HHUB, iv, no. 273.
121. HUB iii, no. 127; HHUB, iv, no. 357; CAEB, i, no. 273.
122. HUB, iii, no. 130.
123. HUB, iii, no. 131;CAEB, i, no. 274.
124. IAB, i, no. 464.

settlement to the dispute was one of the factors which had annoyed the Hansa. If the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges is to be believed, the delay was due partly to the authorities of Bruges, who sided with the Scots and hindered Hanseatic measures against the Scots. (The exact nature of these measures is not clear).[125] Bruges' support for the Scots can best be accounted for in terms of self-interest, arising from the importance of Scottish trade in the town. As recently as 1347, following a dispute over commercial privileges, the Scottish government had banished all Flemings from Scotland and temporarily transferred the Scottish staple from Bruges to Middelburg.[126] Although the staple returned to Bruges shortly afterwards, Bruges was doubtless anxious lest a lack of sympathy for the Scots resulted in the renewed transfer of the staple to Zeeland. At most, however, Bruges can only have encouraged rather than instigated the Scottish reluctance to settle differences with the Germans. The reasons for the apparent Scottish intransigence are not known. Nevertheless, Cupar, Inverness and St. Andrews were not ports noted for their contacts with the Hanseatic towns in the medieval period. Their seeming unwillingness to reconcile with the Hanseatics may have stemmed from their indifference to the effects which their actions would have on trade with the Wendish towns. This probably also explains why the four principal burghs,

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125. HUB, iii, no. 204; HR, A, i, no. 159.
126. RRS, vi, nos. 110, 111; APS, i, 514-515.

whose contacts with German merchants were probably more frequent and which, in any case, had exercised a supervisory rôle over the smaller burghs since at least the thirteenth century, were required to act as guarantors for the 1348 agreements.[127]

Although the guarantee was forthcoming, it failed to bring harmony to Scottish-Wendish relations. Complaints about the losses suffered when Scots attacked Sibrant's ship were voiced again in 1358, though now the incident was used primarily as a grievance against the Bruges authorities during the prelude to the rupture of Flemish-Hanseatic relations between 1358 and 1360.[128] Following the termination of this dispute, and further incidents of Scottish piracy, Bruges confirmed both the earlier Scottish-Hanseatic agreements and the right of the Germans to compensation.[129]

Although relatively little pertinent evidence from the mid-fourteenth century survives, that which does points to at most limited Wendish commercial activity in Scotland, growing Scottish activity in the western Baltic and increasing friction between Scottish and Wendish merchants in, firstly, the Low Countries and, latterly, the Baltic itself. From the 1380s there is more conclusive evidence that Wendish merchants and skippers were visiting both Scotland and English-held Berwick. In 1380, for example, a Lübeck ship, laden with unspecified goods, was captured by Englishmen from Hull.[130] On 25 October

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127. Duncan, Scotland, 603.
128. HR, A, iii, nos. 240(7), 266.
129. HR, A, ii, nos. 250, 251.
130. CCR, 1377-81, 414; Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 208.

1383, Robert of Glenesk, a Scottish notary, drew up an agreement in Edinburgh between three citizens from Sluys and fifteen merchants and skippers from Lübeck, Rostock and Colberg, following a piratical attack earlier in the month by the Sluys men on the Hanseatic merchants.[131] A Stralsund ship delivered victuals, arms and armour to Berwick in 1384.[132] In 1388, following a renewed Hanseatic embargo on trade with Flanders, Hanseatic skippers were again instructed to obtain certificates from the Scottish authorities to prove that they had been in Scotland and not Flanders.[133] Unfortunately little is known about the nature of this trade, although it is likely that Wendish merchants were still acting as commercial middlemen, transporting goods to Scotland from other parts of Europe and vice versa. The Lübeck ship involved in the 1380 incident was probably heading for Flanders; the fifteen Hanseatic merchants whose names appear on the 1383 notarial instrument were intending to trade in Norway. Wendish activity on the Scottish-Norwegian trade route may have been especially vibrant in the later fourteenth century. Richard II of England dispatched envoys to Norway in the 1380s not, as one might expect, via the ports of eastern England, but rather via Scotland, from whence they presumably expected to find passage on a ship bound for Norway.[134]

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131. HR, A, iii, no. 348. The agreement did not settle the controversy. See HUB, iv, nos. 791, 891.
132. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 220.
133. HR, A, iii, no. 381(2).
134. Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II, ed. E. Perroy (Camden Society, 3rd series, 1933), no. 34.

Nevertheless, the apparently 'renewed' Wendish activity in Scotland may be largely illusory and simply a reflection of the jejune nature of the mid-fourteenth century source material. If there was a revival of trade, it seems much more likely that it occurred in the 1370s rather than 1380s. Scottish wool exports were particularly buoyant in the early 1370s, reaching a peak of 9,252 exported sacks in 1372-3.[135] Clearly during this period there was a high level of demand for Scottish wool in the textile manufacturing centres of the Low Countries, which was matched by large enough supply of Scottish wool to meet that demand. Furthermore, it was not difficult to entice Wendish merchants away from their traditional trade in England. Throughout the 1370s Anglo-Hanseatic relations were poor. Tension culminated in April 1378 when Hanseatic privileges in England were suspended.[136] Between 1379 and 1380 (when Hanseatic privileges in England were reconfirmed) there was a significant decline in the amount of wool exported by aliens from England, though alien cloth exports held up better.[137] It might, therefore, be expected that during these years Wendish merchants were particularly anxious to acquire alternative supplies of wool and, perhaps, cloth. Scotland was the obvious alternative source for these commodities. Since no

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135. ER, ii, 372-384.
136. Postan, Trade and Finance, 248-249.
137. E.M. Carus Wilson and O. Coleman, England's Export Trade 1275-1547 (Oxford 1963), 51, 80, 122, 138.

customs were levied on Scottish cloth exports until 1426, the effect of the Anglo-Hanseatic friction on Scottish cloth exports can not be gauged.[138] Although Scottish wool exports did not reach the levels of the early 1370s, there is some evidence of an upswing in exports during 1378-80 and a decline thereafter. Four of the six most important exporting burghs (Edinburgh, Dundee, Haddington and Linlithgow) exported more wool in 1378-9 than in 1377-8, while Aberdeen and Perth exported less.[139] Except for Linlithgow, the other five burghs also recorded an increase in 1379-80.[140] Although wool exports from Linlithgow rose in 1380-81, they fell dramatically elsewhere: by over a quarter at Haddington compared to the previous year, by over a third at Aberdeen and Dundee, by over two-fifths at Edinburgh and by over 70% at Perth.[141] Part of this decline may be due to the reaffirmation of Hanseatic privileges in England which occurred mid-way through the 1380-1 year of account, though it is unlikely that the siphoning off of Wendish trade can account for the drop of exports alone. In any case, there was a marked improvement in exports during 1381-2, although they still remained lower than in 1379-80. The principal reason for the particularly bad figures of 1380-1 is probably to be found in the after effects of the plague, which again swept Scotland from 1379 to 1380. In

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138. APS, ii, 8.
139. ER, ii, 550-569; 600-617.
140. ER, iii, 1-15.
141. ER, iii, 44-56.

addition there was renewed unrest in the Flemish towns, which probably resulted in a drop in the demand for all foreign supplies of wool.[142]

(iii) The fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

The upturn in Scottish exports in 1381-2 was not sustained. The total volume of exports declined in the later 1380s and remained generally depressed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[143] It is in the context of this unfavourable economic climate that Scottish-Wendish relations in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries must be examined. The source material for this period is, however, generally fuller than that for the previous two centuries, though particularly for the early fifteenth century, it is still not perfect. There is no Scottish evidence from this period to suggest that Wendish merchants were still trading in Scotland. Indeed, there are suggestions from the Wendish sources that they were not. A table of currency exchange rates drawn up by the representatives of Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar and Lüneburg in 1410, included references to coinage from England, the Low Countries, the Rhineland, Denmark and the Wendish towns themselves, but not to Scottish currency, which, it might be presumed, was because merchants from the four towns rarely dealt in Scottish coinage.[144] Nevertheless, there are some

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142. In the early 1380s English wool exports also generally declined, probably because of the effects of the plague and unrest in Flanders. Carus Wilson and Coleman, England's Exports, 51, 122.
143. See above, 43-46.
144. LUB, v, no. 347.

salutary reminders that too much can not be read into the silence of many sources. In 1407 representatives from England and the Hanse met in The Hague to discuss several bilateral commercial grievances. The Germans complained about various incidents of English piracy, some of which relate to attacks on goods belonging to Wendish merchants trading in Scotland. Christian Ghellerstede of Lübeck and his partner, Johann Schilling, lost goods from a Bremen ship which was attacked in the Forth in 1402.[145] In the same year a ship jointly owned by merchants from Hamburg and Lübeck was escorted by English mariners to Holy Island, on suspicion that it had been freighted at one of the Forth ports.[146] Three years later five Lübeck merchants had goods aboard a ship belonging to Herman Lang, which was attacked near Berwick by pirates from Hull, Fleet and Scarborough, while on a voyage from Scotland to Flanders.[147] Wendish reactions to the Hanseatic embargos imposed on Scottish trade in 1412 and 1419 also imply that the level of trade between certain Wendish towns and Scotland was much greater than the silence of other source material would suggest. Hamburg and Stralsund both showed reluctance to comply with the embargo, presumably because their trade with Scotland was of some importance.[148] Ultimately

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145. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 329(3), 330(3), 332(3). For the background to the English attacks, see above, 159.
146. Kunze, Hanseakten, 329(1), 330(1), 332(1), 333(1), 337(I), 338(1).
147. Ibid., nos. 329(19), 330(10), 332(10).
148. See below, 356.

both towns officially agreed to impose the embargo, but the Stralsund authorities were still attempting to prevent trade with Scotland in 1419, while at least one Hamburg skipper, Arnold Bleke, visited Scotland in 1424.[149] News of Scottish affairs was also reaching other Wendish towns. A Lübeck chronicle recorded the Scottish involvement in the battle of Verneuil in 1424, proclaiming that the Scots,

> ...vochten menliken und slughen der Engeleschen vele to der erden. 150

After 1436 Wendish merchants and skippers could again legally visit Scotland. It is difficult to assess the frequency with which they did not only because of the patchy source material. Even when Germans are recorded in Scotland, it is not always clear where, exactly, they came from. Hans Stryver, recorded at Aberdeen in 1461 or Hans Naute, who visited Aberdeen in 1474, are probably German, but they may have come from the Wendish towns or Prussia or Holland.[151] From the specific evidence which is available it appears that some Wendish towns largely ignored the renewed opportunity to trade in Scotland. There is no evidence of contact with Barth, Demmin or Lüneburg. The first evidence that shipping from Anklam was active in Scotland dates from 1516.[152] A Greifswald ship visited Aberdeen in 1439, but Greifswald citizens can not be traced trading

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149. SLM, ii, nos. 420, 421, 422; WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fos. 8v-9, 29v.
150. 'Der Rufus-Chronik von 1395-1430', Chroniken der deutschen Städten, xxviii, 200-201. Verneuil was, nevertheless, an English victory.
151. DA Aberdeen, ACR, V(1), 418; vi, 303.
152. ADCP, 489; James V Letters, 73-74.

with Scotland again until 1489 and 1514.[153] A ship left Edinburgh for Wismar in 1441, but, despite James II's grant of privileges and protection to merchants from Wismar in 1440, there is no indication of a sudden influx of Wismarians into Scotland.[154] Hamburg, too, played no discernible part in trade with mainland Scotland, though Hamburg skippers and merchants were active in Shetland by the later fifteenth century.[155] Evidence of Rostock's involvement in Scottish trade is marginally greater. After departing from Scotland in 1445 two ships, freighted by Rostock merchants, were attacked by pirates from Nieuport and Lombardy. A Rostock ship was at Aberdeen in 1499 and another at Aberdeen in 1508.[156] Ships from Lübeck are recorded visiting Scotland in 1441, 1463, 1475 and 1499, while a Lübeck merchant, complaining about piracy rather than trading, visited Scotland in 1444.[157] By comparison with the other Wendish towns, the evidence concerning the activities of Stralsund merchants and skippers in Scotland is the most prolific. They can be traced in 1446, 1451, 1461, 1464, 1478, 1489, 1497, 1499, 1504, 1509 and 1513.[158] It may be added that James IV wrote to

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153. LUB, vii, no. 808; StA Stralsund, Städtische Urkunden, no. 1786; DA Aberdeen, ASR, i, 167; Edin.Recs, i, 148.
154. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1231; StA Wismar, II Hanseatica C25. For further evidence of trade with Wismar in 1463, see HUB, viii, no. 1245; LUB, x, no. 344.
155. See above, 189-191.
156. HR, B, iii, 270, note 9; vii, nos. 494, 505; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 952; viii, 856. A Rostock merchant was probably also in Edinburgh in 1446 (SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1446 April 23 ).
157. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1231; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 693; HUB, viii, 1255(III, 16); x, no. 472; HR, B, vii, no. 536; CPR, 1467-77, 605; SRO, E.71/1/1.
158. SA Bremen, I/Bc 1446 April 23; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 116, 120, 124, 509; vi, 547, 549, 553; vii, 131-133, 135, 983; ASR, i, 668; iii, 164, 121; SRO, E.71/29/3; SLM, v, no. 564.

all the Wendish towns to encourage their inhabitants to trade in Scotland.[159] All in all this hardly amounts to an impressive list, though it could doubtless be added to, had a greater number of Scottish burgh records survived. Most of these examples relate to Wendish ships or skippers rather than merchants. It is unlikely that this is a mere coincidence. Scottish merchants probably continued to dominate the Scottish export trade as they had done since the fourteenth century. The earliest Scottish 'particular' customs accounts would appear to support this contention. The returns from Stirling for 1499-1500 and 1508-9 and from Haddington for 1504 include no obviously foreign names at all.[160] The 1498-9 Edinburgh account includes the names of only a few foreigners (a skipper, Grotkine Brewinbek, and possibly two merchants, Hans Duchman and Clais Teinnman), while the Leith cocket book of 1512-3 lists a few German skippers, but no German merchants.[161]

From the available evidence most Wendish trade in Scotland was focused on Aberdeen. There is also evidence of Wendish contact with Edinburgh. Edinburgh dominated Scotland's foreign trade, so, pace the surviving evidence, it is likely that this was the burgh visited most frequently by Wendish shipping.[162] For the

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159. James IV Letters, nos. 327, 487.
160. SRO, E.71/16/1; E.71/27/1; E.71/27/2.
161. SRO, E.71/29/1; E.71/29/3.
162. Minutes of the Edinburgh town council, for example, are extant only from 1551. Transcripts of earlier records were copies by the town clerk, Alexander Guthrie, in 1570. An examination of the sixteenth century transcripts, preserved in the City of Edinburgh District Archive, has not revealed any information on international trade other than that already published in Edin.Recs, i.

other ports, there is relatively little evidence of Wendish activity. Blackness, Linlithgow's port, was visited by German ships in the early fifteenth century, but following the decline of Linlithgow's trade in the mid-fifteenth century, these visits probably declined. Shetland was visited by Hamburg merchants in search of fish. An Anklam ship was trading at St. Andrews in 1516. There was, perhaps, some contact with Inverness too: Stralsund skippers were contracted to deliver a consignment of beer there in 1464.[163] There is no indication of a Wendish presence at the west coast ports or at the larger east coast towns of Dundee, Perth or Haddington. For geographical reasons alone, the lack of contact with the former is not surprising, though a Danish ship was at Ayr in 1488.[164] The possibility that Wendish ships visited the latter can not be ruled out, though, at least in the case of Perth, it is perhaps not likely. No Perth ships are recorded in the earliest surviving Sound Toll Registers for 1497 and 1503. Neither are there any references to Wendish trade in the Perth Guild Book, suggesting that Perth's contacts with the Baltic were not great.[165] By contrast, at least by the early sixteenth century, Dundee appears to have specialized in Baltic trade.[166] While most of this trade may have been

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163. Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 329(3), 330(3), 332(3); ADCP, 489; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 509. On German commercial activity in Shetland, see above, 189-191.
164. ER, x, 47.
165. See Appendix no.6; MAG Perth, 1/1.
166. See below, 277-278.

conducted by Dundonians, and with the eastern rather than western Baltic, it seems likely that at least the occasional Wendish ship visited the port.

The evidence of Scottish mercantile activity in the Wendish towns is rather greater than that of Wendish activity in Scotland. Although the surviving documentation is still incomplete, it appears that Stralsund was the Scots' favourite trading centre. Within two years of the raising of the Hanseatic embargo on Scottish trade in 1436, merchants from Aberdeen and Edinburgh were again trading there.[167] At the Hanseatic diet of 1442 delegates complained that foreigners (by implication Scots) were trading at Stralsund in a manner prejudicial to Hanseatic merchants. They were spending lengthy periods, even entire winters, in the town and opening cellars for the cutting and retail sale of cloth. Consequently the diet reenacted legislation of 1417 and 1434, which proscribed both lengthy sojourns by non-Hanseatic merchants in Hanseatic towns and the use of cellars as retail outlets.[168] While this may have prevented Scots from selling goods from their cellars, it did not stop them from spending lengthy periods in Stralsund. Some were admitted to the town's citizenship. Thomas Smith was a Doppelbürger of Edinburgh and Stralsund in 1464.[169] By 1490 John Robertson was a citizen of Stralsund, as was Hans Willis by

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167. DA Aberdeen, ACR, iv, 154; HUB, vii(1), 235, note 2.
168. HR, B, ii, no. 608.
169. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 155a; NLS, Ch. 57.

1494. Another two (and possibly four) are recorded in the first decade of the sixteenth century and one more name can be added to the list in 1515.[170] Other emigrants did not gain citizenship but lived in the Stralsund area for several years. In 1499 a Scotsman called Jakob Dreppen owed Martin Schmid of Stralsund three Rhenish gulden. A Scottish priest was living in the Tachenmacherstrasse in Stralsund in 1514.[171] In 1539 several merchants from Bergen, on the nearby island of Rügen, wrote to the merchants' guild of Stralsund, complaining about the activities of Scottish pedlars, their servants, boys and women:

> ... se ... syn lopen dach by dach in allen hüsere in dam barge, ock im closter, vp den karckhoüen, in allen dorperen, hüs by hüs, hilge dach warckeldach, gene tiet tho beschonen, myt were, dat alle nycht tanelick sy, vnde maken alle ware vnde kopenschop mj. vordarff dure... [172]

Some, if not all of the emigrants continued to maintain contact with Scotland. Thomas Smith was taking a consignment of beer to Scotland when he died en route. James IV granted Nicholas Mathieson, probably a Scotsman, 'permission to bring foodstuffs, arms and any kind of merchandise' from Stralsund to Scotland.[173] Nevertheless, even before the mid-sixteenth century, the Scottish emigrants were becoming increasingly assimilated within

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170. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', appendix, nos. 9, 29, 31, 72, 75, 77, 87, 95.
171. StA Stralsund, Testament no. 833; StA Stralsund, St. Marien Urkunden, no. 63. A street named after the Scots (the Schottengang), is recorded in Stralsund in 1534 (M. Haman, 'Wismar-Rostock-Stralsund-Greifswald zur Hanszeit. Ein Vergleich', Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Heinrich Sproemberg, ed. H. Kretzschmar (Berlin 1965), 98.
172. E.V.K. Brill, 'A sixteenth century complaint against the Scots', SHR, xxvii (1948), 188.
173. James IV Letters, nos. 327, 487.

Stralsund society. In 1542, James V wrote to Christian III of Denmark about Balthasar Daniel, a Scotsman who had emigrated to Stralsund, married there and eventually acquired citizenship. His long residence in Stralsund had led Danish harbour masters to assume that he was German and they had, therefore, denied Daniel the right to enjoy Scottish trading privileges at Elsinore.[174]

Stralsund was not the only Wendish town to attract Scottish settlers. The 1442 Hanseatic edict implied that Scotsmen were also at Wismar and Greifswald. Although there is little evidence about a Scottish community at Wismar, James II's grant to Wismar merchants in 1440 may be related to such a community.[175] The grant was issued at the request of John Jeffreyson, an Edinburgh merchant. His reasons for promoting the charter are unknown but clearly he must have had close contacts with Wismar. The settlement at Greifswald remains obscure until the later fifteenth century. Between 1497 and 1529, however, at least nine Scotsmen were recorded there.[176] The Greifswald community, like its Stralsund counterpart, maintained its links with Scotland. In 1529 James V wrote to King Frederick I of Denmark requesting protection for Robert Henryson, a Scottish citizen of Greifswald, who had been contracted to send merchandise to Scotland.[177]

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174. James V Letters, 441.
175. St A Wismar, II Hanseatica C25.
176. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', appendix, nos. 10, 32, 62, 81, 86, 90, 97, 98.
177. James V Letters, 154.

Scotsmen were also visiting Lübeck. It was there that Thomas Smith of Edinburgh and Stralsund died, whilst engaged in trade between Stralsund and Scotland. By contrast there is no evidence that Scotsmen domiciled in Scotland were trading between Scotland and Lübeck in the fifteenth century, though they were by the 1530s.[178] Some probably poorer Scotsmen were, however, working and living in Lübeck even in the fifteenth century. In 1466 Gilbert Richardson from Edinburgh died there. Richardson was at least a regular visitor, if not a resident in, Lübeck, where he was confusingly known by another name, Albert Scot.[179] In 1467 Robert Mitchelson, a pedlar from Brechin, took an oath to keep the peace following a spell of imprisonment for his 'unspeakable trade'.[180] Simon of Dysart, a linen weaver, who had moved on to Breslau by ca.1470, claimed that he had previously worked in both Lübeck and Hamburg.[181] A few other Scots are recorded among Lübeck's judicial records. Cases involving debts owed by Albert Nicholson, a Scotsman, are recorded in 1483 and 1488. In 1510 the possessions of another Scotsman, William Conner, 'unlanges vorstorven', were the subject of another case between two Germans.[182]

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178. James V Letters, 221.
179. AH Lübeck, Anglicana 155b; NLS, Ch.58. An Albert Schotte alias von dem Berge [Edinburgh?] was recorded in Stralsund in 1463. SLM, v, no. 598.
180. HUB, x, no. 397.
181. Fischer, Germany, 242.
182. LR, nos. 301, 407; ii, no. 302.

Evidence of a Scottish presence in the other Wendish towns before 1513 is virtually non-existent. None are known of at Schwerin, Rostock or, save for a passing Scottish envoy, at Lüneburg.[183] It is not until the mid- or later sixteenth century that Scots are recorded at Barth, Demmin and Wolgast.[184] At Hamburg, too, there is little indication of Scottish activity. No Scottish bound ships are recorded in either the 1400 or 1418 Pfundzoll lists, although a ship belonging to David Harvey of Aberdeen did sail there in 1465.[185] This lack of Scottish activity echoes the lack of Hamburg activity in mainland Scottish trade. Yet it is puzzling because Hamburg beer was regularly imported into Scotland. Either, by a quirk of fate, almost all the evidence concerning trade between Scotland and Hamburg has been lost, or, alternatively, the Hamburg beer was imported from elsewhere.

With the increasing amount of documentation concerning Scottish-Wendish trade from the fifteenth century, comparatively more is known about the commodities of that trade. Beer was certainly imported from the Wendish towns. It is recorded, for example, at Edinburgh in 1438, at Aberdeen in 1445, at Leith and Dunbar in 1456, in the accounts of the queen's chamberlain in 1461, en route for Scotland in 1464, at Edinburgh in

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183. StA Lüneburg, AB.56(1), fo. 416.
184. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', appendix, nos. 49, 59, 61, 70.
185. Das hamburgische Pfund- und Werkzollbuch von 1399 und 1400, ed. H. Nirrnheim (Hamburg 1930); Das hamburgische Pfundzollbuch von 1418, ed. R. Sprandel (Köln-wien 1972); DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 570.

1499, at Stirling in 1503 and at Aberdeen in 1517.[186] Most of this was probably produced in Hamburg, if not imported directly from there. Hamburg was the most important brewing centre in north-western Germany throughout the middle ages, followed by Wismar. Wismar's production was, however, in decline from the early fifteenth century and there is no evidence that Wismar beer was ever imported to Scotland, except from a vessel pirated in 1466.[187] Brewing was also practiced in other Wendish towns, though beer exports were not so significant from these towns. Nevertheless, the brewers of Stralsund had revolted in 1427-8 partly because of the closure of the Scottish export market during the Hanseatic trade embargo on Scotland. Two Stralsund skippers brought beer to Aberdeen in 1464. Beer was also imported to Aberdeen from Rostock in 1499.[188]

Vessels sailing to Scotland directly from the Wendish towns also brought grain. Although grain was a less significant component of Wendish trade compared to Prussian trade, Greifswald and Stralsund, in particular, exported considerable amounts of it. Exports could be either in the form of harvested barley, rye and wheat or as finished products such as flour and malt. From the patchy evidence which survives concerning the Wendish grain trade with Scotland, rye and flour appear

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186. ER, v, 36; vi, 114, 118, 131; vii, 60; xi, 235; TA, ii, 256; LUB, x, no. 532; DA Aberdeen, ACR, iv, 413; ix, 728.
187. K. Fritze, Am Wendepunkt der Hanse (Berlin 1971), 25-27; HR, B, vi, no. 778.
188. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 509; vii, 952. See also below, 340.

to have predominated. In 1444, for example, Mathew Crukin delivered rye to Aberdeen from Stralsund; flour came to Aberdeen from Stralsund in 1478; and rye meal was shipped between the same towns in 1499.[189] Merchants from other Wendish towns also sent grain to Scotland. In 1402, for example, Lübeck merchants brought flour to one of the Forth ports, while rye was aboard a Rostock vessel arriving at Aberdeen in 1508.[190]

Timber was another important commodity exported by the Wendish towns, particularly from Stralsund, Wismar and, to a lesser extent, Rostock. There are few recorded examples of timber coming to Scotland specifically from the Wendish towns, though Baltic timber was brought to Aberdeen from Stralsund in 1444.[191] Nevertheless, Eastland boards are frequently recorded in the Scottish sources. In the 1460s alone they were imported from an unknown location to North Berwick, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Perth and Dundee. They were used chiefly in building work, at, for example, Edinburgh castle in 1464, Falkland palace in 1465, Dunbar castle, Stirling castle and Linlithgow palace in 1466, at Linlithgow again in 1468 and at Stirling again in 1469. Eastland boards were also used for building ships near Berwick in 1465 and for repairing the tron at Perth in 1468.[192] Given that timber accounted for only 1% of the exports from

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189. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 687, vi, 559; vii, 983. For other examples of rye, imports, see ACR, vi, 553 (in 1478); vii, 135 (in 1489); for flour imports, see Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1172, 1234 (in 1440).
190. Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 329; DA Aberdeen, ACR, viii, 856.
191. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 687.
192. ER, vii, 288, 320, 401, 404, 425, 485, 587, 660.

Danzig to Scotland in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it is possible that many of the Eastland boards used in Scotland came from Stralsund, the Wendish port which appears to have had the greatest contact with Scotland.[193]

Some salt was also brought to Scotland from the Wendish towns. It was shipped from Stralsund to Edinburgh in 1508. A Greifswald merchant also sent salt to Edinburgh in 1514.[194] This salt probably came originally from the Lüneburg salt mines. Lüneburg salt was much purer than its Scottish equivalent, which would explain why salt was a commodity both imported to and exported from Scotland.

Those Wendish merchants who arrived in Scotland from the Low Countries probably brought with them a range of products available there, some of which may even have originated in the Baltic. Neither was it unknown for Wendish merchants to arrive from England. Heinrich Polseyne, a Stralsund merchant, attempted to sell goose feathers from Holy Island at Aberdeen in 1489.[195] Cargoes pirated from Wendish vessels were also frequently sold in Scotland, both by Scottish and foreign pirates. Thus, in 1491 Frenchmen sold wheat from a Wismar vessel in Scotland. The cargo of a Hamburg vessel brought to Dundee in 1516 included honey, artillery, copper and 'a

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193. See below, 298. Timber could also have come from Königsberg or via the Low Countries. It was not until the later fifteenth century and early sixteenth century that timber imports from Norway became common.
194. Edin.Recs., i, 114, 148.
195. StA Stralsund, Städtische Urkunden, no. 1786; DA Aberdeen, ACR, i, 167. Feathers were used for bedding and stuffing cushions (TA, iv, 33, 79, 202, 246).

small serpentyne'.[196] The most striking difference between the Scottish imports from the western Baltic in the fifteenth century compared to those of the fourteenth century is the lack of any recorded herring imports. Partly this was because the Skanian herring fairs declined in the fifteenth century, but there had also been a revival in the Scottish herring industry. A new export duty was imposed on herring in 1424. No Scottish herring is known to have been sent to the Baltic; rather it found a market in the Low Countries, England and particularly France.[197]

Unfortunately, few customs accounts from the Wendish towns survive to illuminate those products which were sent from there to Scotland. The Lübeck Pfundzoll records of 1492-6 include only one relevant reference to a pack of Scottish cloth exported from Lübeck to Mecklenburg or Pomerania in 1495.[198] There is, however, also evidence from other sources of Scottish cloth arriving in the Wendish towns. A Scottish merchant was contracted by Stralsund merchants in 1464 to purchase a consignment of cloth in Scotland. Scottish cloth is also recorded at Hamburg in 1489 and on all three ships leaving Leith for Stralsund in 1513.[199] Anklam

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196. HR, C, ii, no. 522; ADCP, 63-64.
197. APS, ii, 6. For herring exports to England, France and the Low Countries, see, for example, PRO, E.122/10/10; SRO, E.71/29/2; E.71/29/2.
198. F. Burns, 'Die lübeckischen Pfundzollbücher von 1492-6', HGb, xiii (1913), 460.
199. LUB, x, no. 532; Hamburger Burspraken 1346 bis 1594, ed. J. Bolland (Hamburg 1960), ii, 190-191; SRO, E.71/29/3

merchants bought three different types of cloth at St. Andrews in 1516: russet, mellay and white kersay.[200] Scottish salt was also arriving in the Wendish towns. Lübeck merchants exported some to Wismar in 1441.[201] In 1495 Lüneburg, anxious to preserve its monopoly of local salt supplies, complained to neighbouring towns that their merchants were buying cheap, Scottish salt to regrate with the better quality produce of Lüneburg. Stralsund promised to fine any merchant found guilty of this offence.[202] No salt is recorded on the ships sailing from Leith to Stralsund in 1513, but it was sent to Copenhagen in the same year. By the early sixteenth century coal, too, was sent eastwards. Six chalders were sent from Leith to Stralsund in 1513, while a small market for Scottish coal had also developed in nearby Denmark. Some white staves were also sent to Stralsund in 1513.[203] No skins, however, were sent on the ships sailing to Stralsund from Leith in 1513, in stark contrast to the cargoes of ships departing for Danzig in the same year.[204]

The overall impression is that Scots and Germans alike had difficulty in filling the holds of ships sailing from Scotland to the Wendish towns. The ships sailing to Stralsund from Leith in 1513 were virtually empty. Some merchants even took to re-exporting

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200. ADCP, 489. Russet was a homespun cloth; mellay, a cloth of mixed weave or colour; kersay, a coarse woollen cloth.
201. Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1231.
202. HUB, xi, no. 866; StA Luneburg, AB.6(1), 96. Lüneburg had already attempted to limit the sale of French and other foreign salt in the Baltic in 1471. StA Lüneburg, AH IV, no. 1(a) 5, a.3043.
203. SRO, E.71/29/3; TA, iv, 72.
204. SRO, E.71/29/3.

imported goods. A German skipper took wine and alum to Elsinore in 1479.[205] Probably for the same reason, some Wendish ships did not return to their home ports. Rather they sailed on to the Low Countries, where the market for Scottish staple products was greater. In 1463, for example, a Lübeck vessel, laden with unspecified Scottish goods, was attacked by pirates from Brouwershaven off the Zeeland coast. In 1476 another Lübeck ship was taking grain from Scotland to Flanders. Although grain must have been a very rare export, another German merchant, Frederick Theotonicus, purchased barley in Orkney in 1487. Somewhat later, in the 1550s, Hamburg merchants exported wheat.[206] While Wendish merchants transported Scottish goods to the Low Countries, they could also purchase Scottish produce there. Cloth, made in the Low Countries from Scottish wool, was the most important of these commodities.[207] This cloth was of a better quality than that obtainable in Scotland, because Scottish wool was blended with other wool of a better quality prior to production.

Despite the increasing number of references to Scottish-Wendish trade in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there remained several impediments to trade. Bilateral relations oscillated between spells of overt hostility, apparent amicability and back to

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205. HUB, x, no. 715.
206. HUB, viii, no. 1255; x, no. 472; CPR, 1467-77, 605; ER, ix, 490; ADCP, 637.
207. HR, B, vi, no. 221(24).

thinly disguised enmity. The first period of enmity, which led to the Hanseatic embargo on Scottish trade between 1412 and 1415 and again from 1419 to 1436, is discussed elsewhere.[208] After the lifting of the embargo not only did legal trade quickly resume, but the Scots appear to have sympathized with the Wendish towns during the Dutch-Hanseatic war of 1438-41. In an attempt to stop Dutch trade in the Baltic, the Wendish towns had blockaded the Sound. This affected the trade of non-combatants too. In June 1438 the grand master of the Teutonic Order complained to Lübeck, Wismar, Hamburg and Lüneburg that the blockade was hindering trade between Prussia and Scotland.[209] By September 1440, however, four Scottish ships were granted a special dispensation by the Wendish towns to pass through the blockade.[210] It is unlikely that this permission would have been granted had the Scots shown any sympathy for the Dutch towns in the conflict. Several Dutch mariners had attacked Hanseatic shipping freighted with cargoes either destined for Scotland or belonging to Scottish merchants. On 25 August 1439 the Aberdeen council certified that the previous day certain Dutchmen had attacked a Greifswald ship which had arrived there from Nijmegen.[211] In December 1439 John Friesel (Fraser?), a Scottish merchant, received permission from the duke

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208. See below, chapter six.
209. HR, B, ii, no. 237.
210. LUB, vii, no. 840; HR, B, ii, no. 393.
211. LUB, vii, no. 808.

of Burgundy to arrest goods belonging to men from Amsterdam and Hoorn, following an attack on a ship sailing from Stralsund to Scotland. In May 1440 Alan Gibson of Edinburgh was given similar permission because he had lost a consignment of flour from the same ship.[212] The most overt expression of Scottish support for the Wendish towns came in April 1440 when James II granted protection to merchants from Wismar visiting Scotland. The first known evidence concerning trade between Scotland and Wismar dates from the following year, when a vessel on its passage from Scotland to Wismar was attacked by pirates from Hoorn.[213]

The signs of Scottish-Wendish reconciliation continued after the cessation of the Dutch-Hanseatic hostilities in 1441. When relations between the Hansa and Flanders deteriorated in the 1450s, and again when Franco-Hanseatic relations were poor in the 1470s, the Scots offered their good offices to reconcile the disputants. In September 1450 the Hanseatic diet met to formulate policy against Flanders following infringements on Hanseatic trading privileges in Bruges. The following summer, Lübeck informed other foreign merchants at Bruges, including Scottish merchants, of the diet's decision to institute a trade embargo on Flanders. As in 1358 and 1388 Hanseatic merchants visiting Scotland were ordered to obtain certificates from their

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212. HUB, vii(1), 235, note 2; Smith, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1168, 1172, 1234.

213. StA Wismar, II Hanseatica C25; Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1231.

port of destination to prove that they had not circumvented the prohibition.[214] In May 1452 representatives from the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Scottish mercantile communities in Bruges attempted to negotiate a settlement to the Flemish-Hanseatic dispute.[215] Although this mediation was unsuccessful, the Scots had clearly perceived themselves to be acceptable intermediaries in the dispute. There was some justification for their belief. Scottish-Flemish relations were good in the 1450s. The Scottish staple was situated in Bruges and in the 1440s the Scots had rebuffed several invitations by the Middelburg council to transfer the staple to Zeeland.[216] At the same time, there appear to have been no major problems encumbering Scottish-Hanseatic relations - there are no known examples of Scottish piracy on Hanseatic shipping in the 1440s or 1450s. Moreover, although the Scots had close ties with Bruges, they were not oblivious to the ability of the Bruges authorities to curtail or otherwise infringe foreign merchants' privileges. The Scottish staple had been removed from Bruges on account of similar grievances in 1347 and again from 1425 to 1428.[217] Nevertheless, the Scottish intercession was not entirely altruistic. The Hansa's decision to remove its staple from Bruges held repercussions for Scottish trade too. Baltic commodities would have been more difficult to come by

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214. HR, B, iii, no. 650, especially (3); HUB, viii, no. 64.
215. HUB, viii, no. 203.
216. Stevenson, Thesis, 59.
217. Ibid., 54, 59.

at Bruges, while, with fewer merchants active at Bruges, Scottish exports may have been more difficult to sell. Hanseatic skippers transporting Scottish staple goods to the Low Countries could no longer sail to the Bruges ports, as they were legally required to do by the Scottish staple ordinance. Though this was probably only one of the contributory factors, exports of Scottish wool fell markedly in the 1450s compared to the previous decade.[218]

The second example of Scottish mediation in one of the Hansa's many disputes in the fifteenth century occurred in the 1470s. Relations between France and the Hansa had been strained ever since Bremen pirates had attacked a ship belonging to the queen of France in 1446.[219] Despite attempts to heal the rift, French reprisals on Hanseatic shipping continued sporadically throughout Charles VII's reign and early in that of Louis XI. Ships from Stralsund and Wismar, for example, fell prey to French privateers off the Scottish coast in 1451 and 1466.[220] On 4 April 1470 Louis appointed the count of Roussillon (his bastard son) and Sir William Moneypenny (a Scottish knight and lord of Concressault) as his ambassadors. They were charged with negotiating a peace treaty and a commercial treaty with Danish and

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218. ER, v, 420-439, 491-509, 549-561, 617-632; vi, 1-24, 113-134, 292-305, 392-398, 488-502, 580-595. Other factors which perhaps contributed to the decline were the outbreak of plague in 1455 and civil unrest in Ghent between 1452 and 1453.
219. See above, 166, 185-186.
220. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(1), 116, 120, 124; HR, B, vi, no. 778.

and Hanseatic representatives.[221] Roussillon, as French admiral, had jurisdiction over maritime disputes in France. Moneypenny was an experienced Scots diplomat. He had been involved in the negotiations for James II's marriage and was well known at the French court.[222] Roussillon, and probably Moneypenny, held exploratory talks with Hanseatic merchants in London later that month.[223] After returning to France in May, they invited the German Kontor at Bruges to send envoys to negotiate a peace treaty.[224] Ambassadors from the kings of France and Scotland brought both verbal and written messages to the Hanseatic diet, meeting in Lübeck in May 1470, to assure the assembled representatives of Louis' willingness to conclude a pact with the Hansa.[225] The diplomatic manoeuvering was, however, conducted under the shadow of the Anglo-Hanseatic war of 1470-4, during which the Hansa began to attack French, as well as English, shipping. Although this temporarily scuppered the Franco-Hanseatic detente, the joint Scottish-Danish initiative for peace recommenced in 1472.[226] Moneypenny arrived in Scotland with fresh

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221. HR, B, vi, nos. 321, 322.
222. R. Gandilhon, Politique Economique de Louis XI (Paris 1941), 107; Dunlop, Kennedy, passim.
223. HR, B, vi, no. 323. Moneypenny, in his capacity as an ambassador of the king of France, received a safe-conduct to travel from France to England on 27 January 1470. (Foedera (O), xi, 650).
224. HR, B, vi, nos. 323, 324.
225. Ibid., nos. 331(2), 338.
226. For the concomitant negotiations to arrange a treaty of friendship between Denmark and France, see B.E. Crawford, 'Scotland's foreign relations: Scandinavia', Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.M. Brown (London 1977), 89.

news of Louis' desire to arrange a truce with the Hansa, effective until September 1473. He also suggested that James III and Christian I of Denmark arbitrate in the dispute. James dispatched Bishop William Tulloch of Orkney to Denmark with news of Louis' terms.[227] After consultation the Hansa declined to accept such a short truce, but declared itself ready to agree to one of ten or twelve years' duration.[228] By April of 1473 Scottish and Danish ambassadors were again negotiating with Louis.[229] Tulloch was certainly in France at some point between July 1473 and March 1474 and indeed he probably had travelled to France directly from Denmark.[230] Three other Scots (John de Moravia (Murray), captain of the guard, Sir John Carlisle and Snowdon herald) were probably also involved in the negotiations. They received payments in 1474-5 'ad expensas navium domini regis tempore quo erant missi in Francia et Dacia pro negociis regis'.[231] On 12 October 1473 Carlisle

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227. HR, B, vi, nos. 575, 576.
228. Ibid., no. 577.
229. Ibid., no. 652.
230. ER, viii, 254-255. This reference to Tulloch's presence in France is included in the account of the Edinburgh customers for the period from July 1473 to July 1474. The bishop was, however, certainly back in Scotland by March 1474, when he witnessed a charter at Edinburgh. (ER, viii, 240). He can not be traced in Scotland at all in 1473. On 27 May 1472, Christian had appointed Tulloch to hold exploratory talks with Louis concerning a prospective marriage between Christian's son and Louis' daughter (Diplomatarium Christierni Primi, edd. H. Knudsen and C.F. Wegener (Copenhagen 1856), no. 183). Tulloch had been involved in the negotiations leading to the marriage between James III and Margaret of Denmark, in 1468. (B.E. Crawford, 'The Pawning of Orkney and Shetland', SHR, xlviii (1969), 43, 49).
231. ER, viii, 293.

also received a tenement in Wigtown 'pro ejus servitio'.[232] The mission was apparently successful. Two Hanseatic representatives arrived in France to learn more of its efforts. In August 1473 Louis informed the Hanseatic delegates assembled at Utrecht (where they were negotiating an end to the Anglo-Hanseatic war) that he was willing to accept a truce of ten years' duration.[233] Meanwhile, although the proposed marriage did not materialize, the Scottish government's diplomatic activity had also brought about a Franco-Danish alliance.[234] The Scottish involvement in the diplomatic missions to France in 1472-3 was not, then, 'totally unproductive'.[235] Indeed, it may have been the prospect of a successful mediation of the Franco-Hanseatic dispute which led James III to assume that his claims to the French county of Saintonge would be looked upon favourably by Louis XI.[236]

The improvement of Scottish-Wendish relations, exemplified by the Scottish attempts to mediate in Hanseatic disputes during the 1450s and 1470s, had been essentially due to two factors. Scottish piracy had caused the hostility of the early fifteenth century. Although the Scottish coast remained an area of piratical activity and although pirated goods continued to be sold at Scottish ports, the Scots were apparently not themselves responsible for the piracy. It was Dutchmen who attacked

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232. RMS, ii, no. 144.
233. Lettres de Louis XI, edd. J. Vaessen and E. Charavay (Paris 1895), v, no. 748.
234. HR, B, vii, 532.
235. Crawford, 'Foreign relations', 89.
236. APS, ii, 103 (The king's claim to Saintonge was discussed in the parliament of July 1473).

a Greifswald ship near Aberdeen in 1439 and Dieppe pirates who seized a Stralsund vessel off Aberdeen in 1451.[237] Although Nicholas Sarnholt, a Lübeck merchant, travelled to Aberdeen in 1444 to complain about the sale of goods in the town, which had been pirated from his brother's vessel, he did not accuse any Scotsmen of the attack.[238] That no litigation or diplomacy concerning most of these cases survives, suggests that either matters were resolved to the satisfaction of the Wendish victims, or that the Wendish towns did not attach blame to the Scots for receiving stolen goods. With regard to the 1451 case, however, the Aberdeen burgh court took steps to have the matter settled. It decided that the matter was beyond its competence to judge and, therefore, transferred it to the court of the Scottish admiral. Unfortunately, the records of this court have not survived, but that the admiral's court was called upon to deliberate on piracy which did not involve Scotsmen suggests that judicial remedies were now available to the foreign victims of piracy. This was markedly different to the Scottish piracy of the early fifteenth century. Then foreign demands for justice fell on deaf Scottish ears.[239] Even if there were occasional, unrecorded Scottish attacks

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237. LUB, vii, no. 808; DA Aberdeen, v(1), 116, 120, 184.
238. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 693.
239. See below, chapter six. It is also worth noting that in 1466 Stephen Angus, the Scottish conservator in the Low Countries and Claus von Attendorn, secretary of the Hanseatic Kontor in Bruges, allowed Bruges to arbitrate in a dispute about merchandise which Scottish merchants had brought to the Zwyn and which Hanseatic merchants claimed had been taken from them by unidentified pirates (HUB, ix, no. 334).

they would still probably have paled into insignificance compared with the known contemporary attacks committed by Englishmen, in particular, on Hanseatic shipping. In 1449 Robert Winnington organised an attack on 110 Hanseatic ships; in 1458 the earl of Warwick led an assault on a further eighteen Hanseatic vessels sailing from the Bay of Bourgneuf to the Baltic.[240]

The second reason for the apparent amicability of Scottish-Wendish relations relates to the level of Scottish commercial activity in the Baltic. The Wendish towns were anxious to preserve their commercial supremacy in Baltic trade. With economies deriving their wealth principally from commerce, the towns stood to lose greatly from the presence of rival foreign merchants in the Baltic. Scottish merchants, as already shown, were undoubtedly providing some competition.[241] Nevertheless, the Scottish mercantile community was smaller than that of England or Holland and not, therefore, viewed as such a serious threat. Moreover, the refusal of the Hansa to grant English and Dutch merchants commercial privileges in the Baltic generated immense hostility to the Hanseatic merchants in England and Holland. By contrast, Scotsmen never apparently clamoured for commercial privileges in the Baltic. Unlike Englishmen, of course, Scotsmen could not point to the blatant injustice of extensive Hanseatic privileges

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240. Postan, Trade and Finance, 273, 278. For two examples of Hanseatic piracy on ships containing Scottish goods, see SA Hamburg, L140 (dated 1448) and LUB, ix, no. 126 (dated 1453). It is likely that the foreign ships containing the Scottish goods, rather than the goods themselves, were the prime objective of the attacks.
241. See above, 245-248.

in their own country, coupled with a persistent denial of reciprocal rights in the Hanseatic towns. Simultaneously, the number of German merchants active in Scotland was probably not sufficient enough to generate a xenophobic reaction against them. Faced with a decline in Scottish piratical activity and only limited commercial competition from the Scots in the Baltic, there was no reason for Scottish-Wendish relations to be other than friendly in the mid-fifteenth century.

In the later part of the century and in the first decades of the sixteenth century, there was a perceptible cooling of Scottish-Wendish relations. The principal reason for this was the Scottish alliance with Denmark, after it had been renewed in 1492 by the treaty of Copenhagen. As relations between Denmark and the Hansa deteriorated, James IV lent both military and diplomatic support to the Danes against the Wendish towns.[242] Yet the ramifications of the treaty of Copenhagen were not the only causes behind the souring of Scottish-Wendish relations. An increase in the amount of piracy and a growth in the amount of Scottish commercial competition in northern Europe also contributed significantly. Some foreign privateers continued to use Scottish ports as a safe haven for the sale of pirated goods. Following Wendish complaints about piracy in Danish waters in 1485, for example, the Danish King Hans

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242. See below, 396-409.

reported that the two principal culprits, Claus Berckman and Dietrich mit der Bottern, had since sailed to Scotland.[243] In 1491 Tideman Schwerin of Wismar complained to king Charles VIII of France that men from Honfleur had attacked four ships freighted by Tideman and his partners and taken them to scotland.[244] The Scottish government continued to disapprove of this foreign piratical activity in Scottish waters. In 1489 the treasurer paid £100 in compensation to 'the Franche men that had thare schippis and gudis takin be the Denss men'.[245] Lutkyn Mere, a Danish pirate, was captured in the same year by the Scottish authorities. Meanwhile, parliament authorised the dispatch of an embassy to Denmark to demand

> ... reformacioune and restorance ... to our souerane lordis legeis and Justice to be askit of luthkin mere and his complicis quhilkis has done hevy Injuris within oure lordis watteris [246]

Nevertheless, pirates were still able to sell their wares in the Scottish burghs and thereby provide a substitute to legal commercial activity in an era of economic regression.

In addition to the piratical activity of foreigners, there were also occasional outbursts of piracy committed by Scotsmen themselves. During the outbreak of Anglo-Scottish hostilities in 1482, Cologne merchants had suffered especially heavy losses.[247] Merchants from

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243. HR, C, i, no. 587.
244. HR, C, ii, no. 522.
245. TA, i, 115.
246. TA, i, 118; APS, ii, 214.
217. See above, 143-151.

other Hanseatic towns were also affected. In July 1482 the aldermen of the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges wrote to Danzig condemning attacks committed by a Scotsman called Douglas on merchants from Danzig and Hamburg.[248] In 1498 the Hanseatic diet meeting at Lübeck decided to send letters of complaint to James IV since earlier complaints about Scottish piracy from Rostock and Wismar had produced no satisfactory response.[249] The Wendish towns were not, however, themselves averse to the occasional attack of their own on Scottish shipping. In ca.1500 men from Hamburg captured a Scottish ship belonging to George Edwardson.[250] Piracy, therefore, had already soured Scottish-Wendish relations before the Scots firmly committed themselves to the Scottish-Danish alliance by sending military support to King Hans in 1502. After 1502 piracy could be justified as a legitimate pursuit of warfare, though it was restrained by James' refusal to send further military assistance to Denmark and his attempts to act as a mediator in the Baltic conflict. Nevertheless, in 1507, Scotsmen had attacked a vessel belonging to the Bergenfahrer of Rostock.[251] After 1508 James' more jingoistic attitude, the permission which he granted Scotsmen to enlist in Hans' service and Hans' own encouragement to Scotsmen to attack Wendish shipping led to a greater number of piratical assaults by Scotsmen

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248. HUB, x, no. 983. See also ibid., x, no. 958, note 2. The losses of Gerhard von Mar, a citizen of Cologne, were recorded by his brother in Hamburg.
249. HR, C, iii, no. 79.
250. RSS, i, no. 509.
251. HR, C, vi, no. 581(10).

on Wendish shipping. In 1510 the skippers Hinrick Vresen of Lübeck and Hinrick van Sprekelsen of Hamburg were attacked by Scotsmen while sailing to Vere. In the same year men from Lübeck captured the 'Catherine', a Scottish vessel containing the goods of six Dundonian merchants.[252] With no Scottish representatives present at the peace talks held between the Baltic powers in 1512, Scottish-Wendish relations failed to improve. Indeed, the bilateral piracy acquired an existence independent of the Danish-Scottish alliance which had been its raison d'être. Piracy was henceforth justified simply by revenge. In April 1512 Benedict Winflet, a captain of Holstein in the pay of Hamburg, seized two Scottish vessels bound for Flanders, one belonging to David Gourlay of Dysart and the other to Edward Cockburn of Leith. In August James informed Hamburg that if its citizens nursed grievances against Scotsmen 'they should have complained first to James and not to have deliberately attacked his subjects'.[253] Nevertheless, Scotsmen too were resorting to revenge attacks rather than seeking judicial remedies. In the same year they seized two ships sailing from Rostock to Bergen and a third ship bound for Bergen from Stralsund.[254] Lübeck too complained bitterly about Scottish piracy to Lüneburg, but despite Hanseatic requests for restitution (sent to James in 1512 and 1513) and Danish mediation,

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252. HR, C, vi, nos. 629(26, 28); 700(19, 20); Smit, Bronnen, B, i, no. 279; James IV Letters, no. 537; LR, ii, no. 587.
253. James IV Letters, nos. 469, 470, 491.
254. HR, C, vi, nos. 492, 581(10).

it showed no signs of abatement.[255] In 1514 another ship returning from Bergen to Lübeck was captured by Scotsmen.[256] In revenge for the seizure of Gourlay's and Cockburn's ships, the Scots also captured two Hamburg vessels in 1515, taking one to Dundee and the other to Leith. The Scottish government, implicitly now approving the actions of its mariners, informed the Emperor-elect Charles V that the vessels would be detained until the Scottish ships were released by Hamburg.[257]

It was not only this unofficial maritime warfare which served to strain Scottish-Wendish relations. The seizure of goods on land had an equally detrimental effect. On 4 August 1512, for example, St. Andrews merchants, sailing home from Danzig aboard a Dundee vessel, were shipwrecked on the Pomeranian coast. The duke of Pomerania had promised James that he would restore the goods to the merchants. Whether he did or not is not known, but evidently the St. Andrews merchants remained dissatisfied with the outcome. When an Anklam vessel arrived at St. Andrews in 1516, Andrew Balfour crept aboard at midnight and took possession of the ship's mainsail and rudder. When St. Andrews merchants next visited Anklam, they discovered that an arrest order had been placed on all of their goods.[258]

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255. St A Lüneburg, Br.91/22. Lübeck initially thought that the attacks had been on its shipping. It wrote to James IV to complain on 13 September 1512 (HR, C, vi, no. 487). In March 1513 it apologised for the misunderstanding, but urged James to compensate Rostock and Stralsund for their losses (ibid., no. 495).
256. Ibid., nos. 576, 578, 581(10).
257. ADCP, 63-64; James V Letters, 29; Smit, Bronnen, B, i, nos. 305, 306; HR, C, vi, no. 700(22).
258. James IV Letters, no. 538; ADCP, 489; James V Letters, 74

Attempts by the Hansa to seek compensation continued after James IV's death. In 1516 the Bruges Kontor reported that the authorities of Bergen-op-Zoom had refused to arrest Scottish goods, though a Scottish ship was arrested at Vere. In 1517 the Hanseatic diet sent a catalogue of Wendish grievances to the Scottish government. Meanwhile, in a conciliatory gesture, the Dundonian merchants, whose ship had been attacked in 1510, were allowed to bring their complaints before a Lübeck court.[259] The peace process was, however, extremely protracted and not made any easier by continued Scottish attacks directed against both Hamburg shipping, in particular, and Wendish shipping, generally, visiting the Low Countries and Bergen. In 1520 the Hanseatic Kontor at Bergen reported that

> ... van stunden to stunden ... eyn hupe van Schotten unde Frantzen uth geringem orlove unde tolate uns alle overfallen, slaen efte vermorden.[260]

Ironically, it was the Danish government which ultimately persuaded the Scottish regent, the duke of Albany, to seek peace with the Wendish towns. On 14 February 1524 Albany responded to a letter from the new Danish King, Frederick I, stating that if Lübeck, Hamburg and the other Wendish towns were prepared to reach an agreement with him, they should send ambassadors to Scotland. In the meantime, he assured Wendish merchants

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259. HR, C, vii, no. 39 (183); LR, ii, no. 587.
260. HR, C, vii, no. 271 (10). See also ibid, vi, nos. 696(84, 85, 95, 96), 700(15).

that they were welcome to trade in Scotland for a year. There were, however, ulterior motives behind Albany's willingness to seek a rapprochement with the Wendish towns, for he sought Wendish aid against England.[261] In fact, Albany left Alexander Muir, the Scottish conservator in the Low Countries, to conduct the negotiations. In the autumn of 1524 Muir journeyed to Hamburg and he appears to have concluded a satisfactory agreement on most of the points of conflict.[262] By 1529, either through wit or ignorance, James V could marvel

> '... that Scots in the time of James IV were such pirates because James always hated pirates and it is incredible that he tolerated such performances'![263]

Contemporaneous to both the Scottish-Wendish political and maritime conflicts, some of the Wendish towns were also becoming increasingly wary of growing Scottish commercial competition in northern Europe. This was especially vibrant in Denmark and Norway, whose overseas trade had been traditionally dominated by Wendish merchants. By the later fifteenth century the Scandinavian kings were encouraging both native and foreign merchants to challenge the supremacy of the Hansa. Norwegian merchants, who can rarely be traced in the Scottish records after the early fourteenth century, appear in greater numbers by the 1490s. Danish

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261. James V Letters, 98-100.
262. Smit, Bronnen, B, i, no. 419. The dispute between St. Andrews and Anklam had, however, still not been settled by the 1540s (ADCP, 489).
263. James V Letters, 178.

ships and merchants are recorded regularly from the 1470s.[264] Simultaneously Scots were also developing their own trade in Norway, Denmark and Skania.[265] There was a Scottish settlement at Bergen by the 1520s. Nor surprisingly its relations with the older Hanseatic settlement were not always cordial. In 1524, for example, Scots plundered goods belonging to German residents.[266] Other Scottish settlements emerged in the early sixteenth century at Copenhagen, Elsinore, Ystad and Malmö.[267] In the Wendish towns themselves, the fear of Scottish competition arose not because of the actual numbers of Scots trading there, directly from Scotland, but rather on account of the number of Scots acquiring citizenship in some of the towns. This enabled them to circumvent the usual restrictions imposed upon the trade of non-Hanseatic merchants in the towns. The fiercest reaction against this infiltration came not from those towns, such as Stralsund, where Scots had obtained admittance to the citizenship. Rather, it was voiced in those towns where commercial contacts with Scotland were more limited. At the Hanseatic diet of 1498, for example, the Bürgermeister of Hamburg demanded that those born outside Germany, and specifically the English, Scots, Dutch and Flemings 'nicht inn denn anze stedenn to borgher

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264. E.g., DA Aberdeen, ACR, ix, 130, 721-2, 724; ASR, i, 650, 750-751; DN, ii, no. 978; TA, i, 69, 89-90, 94, 96; ER, x, 47.
265. E.g., DN, ii, no. 1046; James IV Letters, nos. 230, 236, 238, 326.
266. DN, vi, no. 694.
267. J. Dow, '"Skotter" in sixteenth century Skania', SHR, xliv (1965), 34-51; T. Riis, 'Scottish-Danish relations in the sixteenth century', Scotland and Europe 1200-1850, ed. T.C. Smout (Edinburgh 1986), 87-91.

nehmen szulde'. Responding for those towns of a less xenophobic nature, the Danzig representative commented dryly, 'Leven herenn, suldenn wy alle unze borghere de nicht in der anze geboren synn uthjagen, sulde unnze stadt schir half weste werdenn'.[268] Nevertheless, despite the conflict with Lübeck and Hamburg in particular in the 1510s and 1520s, Scots continued to emigrate to Stralsund and Greifswald.[269]

It would be desirable to conclude this chapter with an assessment of the importance of Scottish-Wendish trade in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, coupled with an analysis of how the two periods of bilateral hostility and the intervening period of amicability affected the level of commerce. Unfortunately, the dearth of detailed customs records and the loss of most of the Sound Toll Registers before the mid sixteenth century makes an accurate appraisal virtually impossible. There is no record of Scottish shipping in the Hamburg Pfundzoll book of 1418 or in the Lübeck Pfundzoll records of 1492-6.[270] One Lübeck skipper is recorded in the Aberdeen cocket book of 1499-1500, though he departed for the Low Countries rather than the Baltic. No Wendish skippers or sailings to Wendish ports are recorded in the Leith cocket book of 1510-1. Three vessels bound for Stralsund did, however, leave Leith in 1512-3, out of a total of thirty-two vessels.[271]

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268. HR, C, iv, no. 81(14, 23).
269. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', appendix, nos. 29, 32, 91, 96, 98.
270. Sprandel, Pfundzollbuch; Bruns, 'Pfundzollbücher'.
271. SRO, E.71/1/1; E.71/29/2;E.71/29/3.

The first surviving Sound Toll Register is that of 1497. It records twenty-one Scottish ships, out of a total of 795. In 1503, forty-three Scottish vessels passed the Sound, which accounted for 3.5% of the total number recorded.[272] In an attempt to compensate for the meagre evidence, Dr. Stevenson attempted to draw conclusions about the comparative importance of Scotland's foreign trading partners from the number of references to foreign parts in the Aberdeen Council Registers between 1434 and 1509.[273] These appear to show an opening up of trade to the Baltic in the final three decades of the fifteenth century, though in the 1480s and 1490s there are still over four times as many references to trade with the Netherlands.[274] In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the numbers of references to both the Netherlands and the Baltic fall markedly (accounting for only 29% and 6% respectively of the total), while the number of references to France rises correspondingly. Most of the Baltic references contained in the Council Registers refer to Danzig. Of the Wendish towns, Stralsund is referred to most frequently, though there are also very occasional references to Hamburg, Lübeck and Rostock.

The obvious inference to be drawn from these disparate sources is that Scotland's share of overall

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272. See appendix no. 6.
273. Stevenson, Thesis, appendix, table ix
274. The Netherlands accounts for 66% of all foreign references in the 1470s, 73% in the 1480s, and 56% in the 1490s. Baltic references account for 23%, 17% and 12% in each decade.

Baltic trade was small, while the Baltic was also of comparatively minor importance when compared to all of Scotland's overseas trade. Nevertheless, the available evidence must be treated with extreme caution and not solely because it is so patchy. The Hamburg Pfundzoll of 1418 was levied during the brief intermission in the Hanseatic embargo on Scottish trade. The Hamburg council had recently adopted a stronger line against the Scots and supported a reimposition of the embargo. No skipper bound for Scotland in 1418 would, therefore, be likely to admit that to the Hamburg authorities. The Pfundzoll levied at Lübeck in 1492-6 was imposed only on Swedish goods and on Hanseatic vessels and goods which had arrived there or were destined for other Baltic ports. Foreign shipping and all shipping coming from, or leaving for, the North Sea was exempted. The two Leith cocket books date from a period of Scottish-Wendish hostility. As early as 1508 James IV had recognized that Scottish trade with the Wendish towns had been adversely affected by his decision to support the Danes against the Swedes and their Hanseatic allies.[275] By 1510 the situation was even worse with Scots frequently attacking Wendish shipping and the Wendish towns retaliating in kind. It was not, therefore, safe for Wendish shipping to visit Scotland. Indeed, it is surprising that even three ships left Leith for Stralsund in 1512-3, though perhaps

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275. James IV Letters, no. 166.

significantly, Stralsund was less involved in the maritime warfare than Lübeck or Hamburg.[276]

The small amount of Scottish shipping recorded in the earliest surviving Sound Toll Register does not necessarily imply that Scottish-Baltic trade was insignificant. Not only is the number of Wendish and other Hanseatic ships involved in Scottish trade unknown, but there is also some evidence to suggest that the size of Scottish shipping was larger than that used by other countries.[277] Nevertheless, the majority of Scottish ships recorded at the Sound was probably heading for, or coming from, the eastern Baltic rather than the Wendish towns. In the later sixteenth century, when the evidence is more complete, 84.3% of Scottish shipping returning from the Baltic came from Danzig or Königsberg, compared with only 2.6% from Lübeck and 2.8% from Stralsund.[278] The generally greater number of references from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, compared to trade between Scotland and the Wendish towns, would suggest that the dominance of Danzig and Königsberg pre-dated the mid-sixteenth century. Moreover, because of the political situation, it is likely that most of the Scottish ships recorded in the 1503 Sound Toll Register was avoiding the Wendish ports. It should be noted, however, that in 1512-3 only two ships left Leith

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276. See above, 266-271.
277. See above, 52-53.
278. D. Ditchburn, 'Scottish-Shipping at the Sound', An Historical Atlas of Scotland, ed. P. McNeill (forthcoming).

for Danzig, compared to the three departing for Stralsund.

The figures presented by Dr. Stevenson must also be treated with caution. The references from the Aberdeen Council Registers cannot provide an accurate reflection even of Aberdeen's foreign trade, since it was only when problems arose in trade that cases were brought before the burgh court for jurisdiction. Even as a reflection of commercial disputes the registers are incomplete. The 1439 register, for example, includes no reference to a Greifswald ship attacked near the town by men from Sluys, though the council was clearly aware of the matter.[279] Moreover, even if the trends in the Aberdeen statistics are accepted, they cannot be applied to other Scottish ports. Most Scottish exports passed through Edinburgh, not Aberdeen. Aberdeen's share was slightly higher than that of Dundee. In 1503 no Aberdeen ships are recorded at the Sound, compared with six from Dundee and eighteen from Edinburgh. In 1528 ten Dundee vessels and twelve from Edinburgh passed the Sound, but still none are recorded from Aberdeen.[280] A comparison with the customs returns for these years is, perhaps, instructive. In 1502-3 and 1503-4, the Dundee customers returned duty for 661 dozens of exported cloth. The Edinburgh customers reported the export

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279. LUB, vii, no. 808.
280. See appendix no. 6.

of 6829 dozens of cloth. Only 27½ dozens of cloth were exported from Aberdeen. In 1527-8 and 1528-9 the returns on exported cloth from Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen were 13892, 1827 and 164 dozens respectively. Those towns specializing in cloth exports thus appear to have sent more ships to the Baltic than those, such as Aberdeen, which did not. Thus, if Aberdeen's lack of involvement in Baltic trade can be pre-dated to the fifteenth century (and there are signs that it can), the number of references to the Baltic in the Aberdeen Council Registers may well underestimate the overall significance of Baltic trade to the Scottish economy.[281]

It is not, therefore, possible to draw general conclusions about the importance of Scottish-Wendish trade from the statistical data which does survive. Consequently, it is necessary, if somewhat unsatisfactory,

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281. ER, xii, 160-162, 261-264. Cloth exports from Perth were more important than those of Aberdeen, but less significant than those of Dundee. In 1502-4 cloth customs accounted for about 10% of total customs receipts at Perth, compared to about 23% at Dundee. In 1527-9 the equivalent figures are 13% for Perth and 47% for Dundee. No Perth ships are recorded in the earliest Sound Toll Registers either. Dysart, with three and six ships in the two registers, exported little cloth, but large amounts of salt and coal, other commodities for which a market existed in the Baltic.

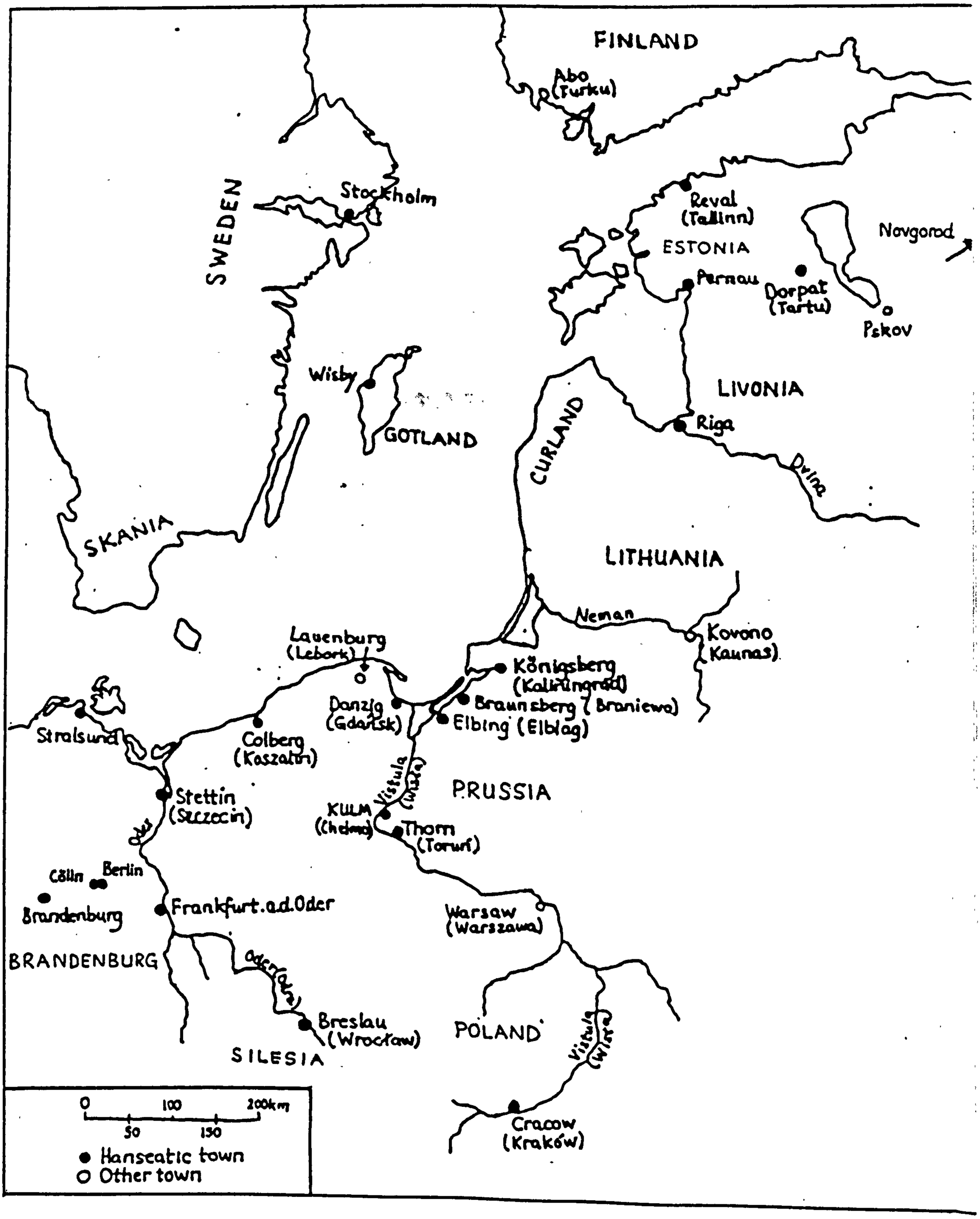
A dispute with Danzig over the use of debased coinage led to a decline of trade between Aberdeen and Danzig in the later fifteenth century. See below, 326-329

to make an appraisal based on the overall impression given by all the available evidence. Scottish-Wendish trade did not stagnate in the same way that Cologne's commercial contacts with Scotland had after the Wars of Independence. There was at least spasmodic trade throughout the fifteenth century. Indeed, with Stralsund, it was reasonably regular. There was also some Scottish emigration to Stralsund and Greifswald in particular. On the other hand, commercial intercourse with the Wendish towns does not appear to have been as prolific as that with either the Low Countries or the eastern Baltic. The depressed state of the Scottish economy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries made Scotland a largely unattractive trading centre for Wendish merchants, though some Wendish shipping continued to visit Scotland. Most direct trade appears to have been conducted by Scottish merchants, but there were also restraints upon Scottish commercial activity in the western Baltic. Although Stralsund especially welcomed Scotsmen, other Wendish towns, wary of foreign competition, sought to limit Scottish activity. Such restrictions were both less regular and less effective than those imposed on, for example, Englishmen, because Scottish activity was proportionally less of a threat than that from other foreigners. Nevertheless, it would be perverse to suppose that these restrictions

and the Scottish-Wendish hostility between 1412 and 1436 and again after 1502 had no effect on trade. The chief restraint on trade was, however, economic rather than political. There was only a small market for Scottish goods in the Wendish towns. Other than Stralsund, the Wendish towns produced and distributed few goods, other than beer, which could not be obtained more easily elsewhere. It was principally to the eastern Baltic that the Scots looked for supplies of grain and flax.

MAP 6

IMPORTANT HANSEATIC TOWNS IN THE EASTERN BALTIC



# CHAPTER FIVE

## SCOTLAND AND THE EASTERN BALTIC

From the later twelfth century, after the founding of Lübeck, German emigrants began to settle along the eastern Baltic coast. Encouraged by the Slav lords, German merchants established themselves in Slav towns, such as Stettin, Danzig and, further inland, at Breslau and Cracow. Elsewhere, new towns were also developed by Germans. Riga was founded in 1201 by Albert, bishop of Livonia. The foundation of Elbing followed in 1237 and Königsberg, named after King Ottokar of Bohemia, was established in 1255. On the River Vistula, the neighbouring towns of Thorn and Kulm were-founded in 1233 by Herman von Salza, the grand master of the Teutonic Order.[1] The Teutonic Order had been invited to Prussia in 1230 by the duke of Massovia, in order to forcibly christianize the local

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1. Dollinger, Hanse, 52-55. The older Slav towns, like the new German towns, gradually adopted German town law. A Ius Theutonicum of unknown origin was, for example, in use in Danzig in 1235 and in 1263 Duke Swantopolk of Pomerelia requested that a copy of Lübeck's laws be sent to Danzig (Danzig, Bild einer Hansestadt (Katalog einer Ausstellung des GSA Berlin, 1980), 15-17). Until 1316 only Germans were admitted to the Bürgerrecht of Cracow, but although Germans dominated the commercial life of the eastern towns, many Slavs still lived in these towns. It has been estimated that in Danzig, for example, 10% of the town's population was of Slav origin in the fourteenth century. In Riga, in the fifteenth century, between 70% and 80% of the population was German, but in Reval Germans accounted for only about 30% of the population (Dollinger, Hanse, 168, 171-176).

population. As it performed its task, the Order carved out a state for itself in Prussia and Culmerland. By 1236 the Ordensstaat had been extended to include Livonia and Estonia and, taking advantage of the confused political situation after the death of the last duke of Pomerelia in 1294, the Order's forces occupied Danzig in 1308. The following year the Order annexed the rest of Pomerelia.[2] Many of the Hanseatic towns of the eastern Baltic were, therefore, part of the Ordensstaat, while the grand master of the Order was the only princely member of the Hansa. The Prussian towns, in particular, enjoyed far less autonomy from the Order than many other Hanseatic towns possessed from their feudal superiors. It was not until 1466, after a thirteen year war between, on the one side, the towns and nobles of Prussia and the king of Poland and, on the other side, the Order, that most of western Prussia (including Danzig, Elbing and Thorn) was ceded to the more benevolent sovereignty of the king of Poland.[3]

The political upheaval in Prussia during the early fifteenth century allowed Stettin to capture some of Prussia's trade, as grain exports were funnelled along the River Oder, rather than the River Vistula. While, however, Stettin was always the most important Hanseatic town situated between Stralsund, in the west, and Danzig,

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2. E. Christiansen, The Northern Crusades (London 1980), chapters 3, 4, 5, 6; F.L. Carsten, The Origins of Prussia (Oxford 1954), 1-9.
3. The most comprehensive history of the Order in the early fifteenth century, written in English, is M.C.B. Burleigh, The German Order and Prussian Society - a Noble Corporation in Crisis, 1410-1466, (University of London, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982). See also Carsten, Prussia, especially chapters 8 and 9.

in the east, it failed to supersede the trade of either of its larger neighbours in the later middle ages. To the south of Stettin, the Hanseatic towns of Brandenburg were relatively unimportant and, in the 1450s, they were forced to secede from the Hansa by the margrave of Brandenburg.[4] There were six Hanseatic towns in Prussia, of which two (Braunsberg and Kulm) were relatively small. Of the others Elbing's trade was the most important until the mid-fourteenth century. Subsequently, Danzig, whose population grew from about two thousand in 1300 to about twenty thousand in 1450, supplanted Elbing. Both towns were situated near the mouth of the Vistula (though Danzig had the advantage of being situated nearer the sea) and both, therefore, vied for the exports of their Prussian and Polish hinterland. Königsberg, which by the early fifteenth century had also overtaken Elbing in importance, was better situated than either Danzig or Elbing to export goods from the east, once more peaceful relations were established between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania in the fifteenth century. Königsberg also exported local supplies of amber. Despite its landlocked position, the sixth Hanseatic town in Prussia, Thorn, conducted a sizeable trade both with western Europe, via the Vistula, and with areas to the south and east, along

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4. Dollinger, Hanse, 159; F.L. Carsten, 'Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns and Its Defeat in the Fifteenth Century', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, xxv (1943), 83-85.

land routes. Breslau, in Silesia, and Cracow, in Poland, were both prosperous towns with similarly farflung trading interests.[5] To the north of Prussia, but separated from it by Lithuania, was Livonia. Of the twelve Hanseatic towns in Livonia, Riga, Reval and Dorpat were the most important. Riga, with a population of perhaps eight thousand in the mid-fifteenth century, dominated the trade routes along the River Dvina and to Smolensk, though an overland route also linked it to Dorpat. The main trade route from the Hanseatic Kontor at Novgorod passed through Pskov to Dorpat, from where merchants could either travel to Riga or the shorter distance to Reval. Both Riga and Reval, as the principal access points from the sea for trade with Novgorod, enjoyed a considerable amount of contact with western Europe too.[6] As in western Germany, then, there were three distinctive groups of Hanseatic towns in the eastern Baltic, and several princes who exercised sovereignty over them, with which Scotland could potentially have had contact.

Compared to the contacts between Scotland and the more westerly Hanseatic towns, which already existed by the later thirteenth century, ties between Scotland and the eastern Baltic were late in developing. Merchants

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5. Dollinger, Hanse, 167-169. On Danzig, see also P. Simpson, Geschichte der Stadt Danzig (Danzig 1913-18); E. Keyser, Das hansische Danzig (Bremen1926); E. Keyser, Danzigs Geschichte (2nd edition, Danzig 1928); on Elbing, see E. Carstenn, Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing (Elbing 1937); and, on Königsberg, see R. Fischer, 'Königsberg als Hansestadt', Altpreussische Monatsschrift, xli (1904), 267-356; F. Gause, Die Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen (Köln-Graz 1965).
6. Dollinger, Hanse, 169-170.

from the eastern Baltic played virtually no discernible rôle in Scottish trade during the Wars of Independence. The merchandise of two Elbing merchants, Eborard le White and Wilhelm Rodman, was arrested in England in 1310, because of the two men's suspected complicity in besieging the castles of Aberdeen and Dundee. Their goods were, however, released, because the merchants were found not guilty of the offence.[7] Much later, in ca.1360, pirates captured a cargo belonging to merchants from Breslau and Thorn off the Scottish coast, though it is not clear whether the pirates were from Scotland, or whether the merchants were intending to trade in Scotland.[8] There is no evidence of Scottish merchants visiting the eastern Baltic in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, though from the 1350s a few Scots did travel to Prussia to assist in the Teutonic Order's crusades.[9] To some extent this lack of contact was due to the small size of the eastern Hanseatic towns when compared to their western neighbours. Although the eastern towns maintained some commercial ties with western Europe, the Hansa's trade in western Europe was dominated at this period by merchants from the more westerly-situated towns, such as Cologne and Lübeck. The principal restraint on Scottish trade with the eastern Baltic was, however, the difficulty of communication. The Umlandfahrt, through the Sound, was not commonly used by shipping until the later fourteenth

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7. CCR, 1307-13, 226-227.
8. HUB, iii, no. 542; Preussisches Urkundenbuch, edd. A. Seraphim et.al. (Königsberg and Marburg, 1882-1975), v, no. 929.
9. See appendix no. 2.

century.[10] Before this merchandise bound for the eastern Baltic was normally sent by ship to Hamburg, where it was unloaded and then taken overland to Lübeck, before being re-shipped further to the east. With the opening up of the Umlandfahrt direct Scottish trade with the eastern Baltic became easier and from the 1380s there is a sudden spate of evidence illustrating the existence of such contact. Merchants from Prussia received payment from the Scottish chamberlain in 1382-3 for timber and military engines. At about the same time the earl of March wrote to Danzig, requesting the continuation of trade between Prussia and Scotland, which had declined following the arrest of a Johann Lang in Scotland.[11] In 1385 a Königsberg ship visited Scotland, while Frenchmen captured Jakob Witten, a Prussian skipper, probably from Danzig, his children and Dietrich Herseved from aboard a vessel in the Forth.[12] The following year the French captured another Prussian ship visiting Scotland, which was skippered by Riquin von Telchen, and which contained goods belonging to two Danzig merchants.[13] Other Prussians exported hides from Edinburgh in 1388 without paying their customs dues of £3-14s, while in 1393, at the behest of Martin Kog, the Danzig council wrote a letter to the council of Linlithgow, concerning the goods of Kog's father, Nicolaus, who had died in

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10. Postan, Trade and Finance, 236.
11. ER, iii, 659; HUB, iv, no. 778; WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/1.
12. HR, A, iii, nos. 404(31), 448(19); WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/3, 81.
13. HR, A, iii, no. 448(2); WAP Gdansk, 300/59/3, 82.

Linlithgow.[14] Scots, too, were journeying to the eastern Baltic. John Dugude of Perth was sent to Prussia in 1382 in servicio regis and in 1391 a Scottish ship, skippered by Adam Bolton, was sailing to Prussia, when it was attacked by pirates. Catherine Schottin, possibly a Scotswoman, is recorded as a citizen of Danzig in 1383.[15]

The apparently sudden burst of contact between Scotland and the eastern Baltic from the 1380s coincides with the apparent revival of Wendish commercial activity in Scotland.[16] As with the latter, it is, perhaps, likely that the trade with the eastern Baltic began during the commercial boom of the previous decade. The earl of March's letter would certainly suggest that trade with Danzig was already well established by 1382. The importance of these relations in the later fourteenth century can not, however, be determined from the sporadic incidents related in the surviving evidence. Such calculations are impossible, given the lack of any detailed 'particular' customs accounts for the period. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that Scotland's new trade with the eastern Baltic was very quick to acquire significance. By 1388 the English government was already complaining that the Prussians were supplying the Scots with arms, victuals and other sustenance.[17] In 1401, in a move similar to the requests sent by English kings to the Low Countries

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14. ER, iii, 186; WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/2, 58.
15. ER, iii, 99; HR, A, iv, no. 28(8). (The ship was jointly owned by William Falconer and Sir John Abernethy, on whom see below, 440-441, 459); E. Keyser, Die Bevölkerung Danzigs und ihre Herkunft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (2nd edition, Lübeck 1928), 42.
16. See above, 235-239.
17. HR, A, iii, no. 404(3).

during the Wars of Independence, Henry IV asked Konrad von Erlichshausen, the grand master of the Teutonic Order, to stop his subjects from trading with the Scots. In a response similar in nature to that of many towns and princes in the Low Countries in the fourteenth century, Erlichshausen declined.[18] Scottish trade was presumably too valuable to his subjects for him to countenance such a move.

Scotland's trade with the eastern Baltic remained frequent and important thoughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and, indeed, later. The evidence of such contact is more substantial for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than for the later fourteenth century. It is, therefore, possible to paint a more detailed picture of the ports involved in the trade during this period, the merchants conducting the trade, the commodities which were bought and sold and the types of merchant participating in the trade. As is to be expected, there are numerous references to the larger Scottish burghs, such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee, trading with the eastern Baltic. References to Perth and Linlithgow are common in the early fifteenth century, but decline from the mid-fifteenth century. References to Haddington, by contrast, are scarce in

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18. GSA Berlin, Urkunden, Schieblade 83, 4; OF3, 88-89. On the requests sent by English kings to the Low Countries, see above, 107-109

the early fifteenth century, but, in line with the increase in the amount of overall Scottish trade handled by the town's merchants, they increase in the later fifteenth century. There is little indication that merchants from the eastern Baltic traded extensively in the northern isles, unlike their colleagues from Bremen and Hamburg.[19] But, unlike the trade between Scotland and other Hanseatic towns, there are indications that the smaller Scottish burghs also maintained at least sporadic contacts with the eastern Baltic. In 1444, for example, merchants from Canongate, Cupar, Dunfermline, Dysart, Inverkeithing, Lanark, Peebles and Selkirk all sent merchandise to Danzig, though most of their goods were probably exported through Leith.[20] St. Andrews, too, conducted some trade with the eastern Baltic, as, perhaps, did some other east-coast ports such as Montrose.[21] It is not, however, until the later sixteenth century that direct sailings between the Anstruther and Pittenweem region and the eastern Baltic are recorded. In addition to the burghs and their merchants, some knights and nobles

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19. See above, 189-191.
20. SA Bremen, 1/BC 1445 Juli 15; August 4; August 10; August 12; August 13/1; August 13/2.
21. For evidence of contact between St. Andrews and the eastern Baltic, see, for example, WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/7, fo. 4v; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 135; James IV Letters, no. 538. The bishop of St. Andrews also sent men to Prussia in 1406 for the construction of a church (Rot.Scot., ii, 178). Although there are no specific references to trade between Montrose and Prussia a small, but regular, number of Scottish exports passed through the port (ER, i-xiii, passim). Ships from Montrose certainly passed through the Sound in the early sixteenth century (see appendix no. 6).

also maintained contact with Prussia. The participation of Scots in the crusades is examined elsewhere.[22] As has already been noted, several Scottish lords were in debt to the Teutonic Order between 1396 and 1417, while the abbeys of Arbroath and Deer also had commercial contacts with Danzig in the fifteenth century.[23] Scottish kings, too, purchased goods from Prussian merchants. James I perhaps died in debt to Claus Jerren of Danzig, while James IV engaged Benedict Hawsang of Danzig as his factor.[24]

There was, however, relatively little contact between Scotland and the princes and kings of eastern Europe. King Christian I of Denmark presented the elector of Brandenburg with a shield, which had been sent to him by James III, while a marriage between James IV and the elector's daughter was subsequently suggested by the Emperor Maximilian.[25] Scottish contact with the czars of Russia was similarly limited and conducted mainly through the intercession of the king of Denmark.[26] There was a greater amount of correspondence between Scotland and the grand masters of the Teutonic Order and, after they had replaced the Order as the overlord of western Prussia, the kings of Poland. Such contact

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22. See appendix no. 2.
23. See above, 79; HUB, xi, no. 372; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 180.
24. On Jerren, see below, 324-326; James IV Letters, nos. 213, 235, 238.
25. Riedel's Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis III (Verein für die Geschichte der Markgraf von Brandburg, 1860), ii, no. 80. On James IV's prospective marriage, see below, 413-414.
26. J.W. Barnhill and P. Dukes, 'North-east Scots in Muscovy in the seventeenth century', Northern Scotland, i (1972-3), 50; James IV Letters, nos. 131-133, 135.

was largely of a commercial nature, relating to alleged obstructions of trade committed by the merchants of one power on the subjects of the other. The Teutonic Order was, however, also a commercial corporation and in the early fifteenth century its business officials at Marienburg posted factors to Scotland in order to conduct the Order's commercial affairs.[27]

Although the Order had its own merchants, distinct from the merchants of the towns in the Ordensstaat, it did not have the exclusive use of any particular ports. Its trade, therefore, passed through the towns of the Ordensstaat. The port in the eastern Baltic which appears to have had the greatest contact with Scotland was Danzig. A number of the fifteenth-century Danzig customs accounts survive, though not all of them state explicitly where ships were sailing to or from.[28] In those years when such evidence is available, the number of ships arriving from Scotland varied between two in 1468 and thirteen in 1472. The number of ships departing for Scotland varied between four in 1492 and fourteen in 1477.[29] Although references to Scottish trade with Königsberg are less common than those to trade with Danzig, there also appears to have been a considerable amount of trade between Scotland and Königsberg. Owing to the loss of Königsberg's customs accounts and the loss

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27. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 11, 12, 18, 20-21, 23, 28, 41, 77, 82, 269, 288; see also HUB, vii(1), no. 343; LECUB, ix, no. 280.
28. WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1-8.
29. See appendix no. 5.

of almost all of the fifteenth-century Sound Toll Registers, it is impossible to compare the level of Scottish trade at Königsberg with that at Danzig. By the later sixteenth century, however, Danzig attracted 60.6% of all Scottish trade with the Baltic, while Königsberg accounted for another 23.7%.[30] Sailings to other ports in the eastern Baltic were rare, and the impression given by the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources is that Scottish patterns of trade were similar then to those of the later sixteenth century. There is very little evidence of Scottish contact with Braunsberg or Elbing in the fifteenth century. Of the ports to the west of Prussia, in 1520 merchants from Colberg received special protection from James V to visit Scotland. As in the case of the privileges granted to Stavoren in 1499 and 1525, this was, however, perhaps intended to boost a virtually non-existent trade with Scotland.[31] With Stettin, too, there is little evidence of Scottish contact, though this is, perhaps, due mainly to the loss of the town's records. Nevertheless, as late as 1435 Scots do not seem to have been well-known in Stettin. In that year Stettin wrote to Danzig to request that Danzig certify that certain merchants from Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Perth were, indeed, Scots and not Englishmen,

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30. D. Ditchburn, 'Scottish Shipping at the Sound', An Historical Atlas of Scotland, ed. P. McNeill (forthcoming).
31. James V Letters, 81. On Stavoren's privileges, see above, 134-135 and on other privileges granted by Scottish kings to merchants of the eastern Baltic towns, see below, note 107.

whose goods were liable for arrest.[32] By the later fifteenth century, however, merchants from Stettin appear to have regularly visited Aberdeen at least. In 1489 Aberdeen informed Danzig that merchants from, inter alia, Stettin could testify to the Aberdeen council's efforts to settle a dispute about debts between Aberdeen and Danzig merchants.[33] Scottish contact with the Livonian ports was probably more limited. Although merchants from these towns dealt in some Scottish cloth, this may have been purchased either in Prussia or in the Low Countries. The surviving Reval shipping lists from the fifteenth century include no references to Scottish vessels, though there is some evidence that skippers from Riga paid occasional visits to Scotland from the later fifteenth century.[34]

With a few notable differences, the commodities which formed the basis for trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic were similar in nature to those which were shipped between Scotland and the Wendish towns. Exports to Scotland from the eastern Baltic can be divided into three

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32. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/2, fo. 102v. One of the 'Scots', for whose origin Danzig vouched, was, in fact, from London!
33. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/16. In the later sixteenth century, however, no ships are recorded at the Sound as sailing for Scotland from Stettin.
34. BA Koblenz, I, Ag.1-5; Herman Reyneman of Riga, a member of the Riga council, bought a ship in Königsberg in 1468 and intended to sail with it to Scotland, while Hans van der Lange, a Riga skipper, sailed from Scotland to Vere in 1512 (HUB, ix, no. 436; Smit, Bronnen, B, 210, note 1). By the later sixteenth century only 3.6% of all shipping, passing the Sound and heading for Scotland, came from Riga, Reval, Narva and the other Livonian ports (Ditchburn, 'Shipping', forthcoming).

categories: food, raw materials and manufactured goods.[35] Various articles of food, including honey and ale came westward.[36] Grain, however, was by far the most important of the comestible products. It was sometimes exported in the form of flour or occasionally as malt, but at other times as harvested wheat, rye or, occasionally, as barley or oatmeal.[37] Of the raw materials, wax is occasionally referred to, while iron, probably imported to Danzig from Sweden, was the principal mineral traded in. Though not a major item of trade, iron from Prussia is occasionally referred to in the Scottish sources. James I, for example, paid a Prussian merchant £14-12s-10d for twenty planks of timber and eleven stones of iron in 1427-8, while other iron from Prussia was delivered to Dalkeith Castle in 1444.[38] Despite the numerous

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35. The list of exports from Prussia to Scotland, unless otherwise stated, is based on the Danzig customs accounts (WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1-10). I am grateful to Dr. I. Blanchard for allowing me to borrow his microfilm copies of the accounts. Horses are one commodity which fit into none of the three categories of exports from Danzig to Scotland. They are recorded in 1509 (James IV Letters, nos. 235-236).
36. For Prussian beer imports, see also DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 700; ER, vi, 117.
37. Flour, malt, wheat and rye were also imported to Scotland in the first decade of the fifteenth century by the factors of the Teutonic Order's officials at Marienburg (Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 20-23, 77). Prussian wheat and malt is occasionally recorded at Aberdeen in the fifteenth century (e.g. DA Aberdeen, ACR, iv, 498; v(1), 592; viii, 1017). Imports of barley are recorded in the early sixteenth century (TA, v, 99).
38. ER, iv, 437; v, 150. A good deal of iron imported to Scotland came from Spain. See, for example, ER, v, 34, 36.

references in Scottish sources to Eastland boards, timber accounted for a relatively small amount of Danzig's exports to Scotland, though specific types of cut timber, such as wainscot, clapholt, barrel staves and bow staves are occasionally mentioned in the Danzig customs accounts. The discrepancy, between the known widespread use of Baltic timber in Scotland and the sparse number of references to it in the Danzig customs accounts, suggests that most of the Eastland boards arrived in Scotland from Stralsund, Königsberg or even from the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges. Sylvan by-products, especially tar, pitch and ash, are, however, more commonly referred to in the Danzig accounts.

Among plant products, a factor of the Teutonic Order brought hemp, used in making ropes and canvas, to Edinburgh in 1438.[39] Flax exports were, however, far more numerous than those of hemp from Danzig. They were, for example, included among the cargoes of all fourteen ships sailing to Scotland from Danzig in 1477. There are also a few references in the Aberdeen council registers to flax arriving from Danzig in the later fifteenth century and earlier references survive to its purchase in Danzig by Perth merchants in 1428 and to its import to Scotland by a factor of the Teutonic Order at Edinburgh in 1438.[40]

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39. HUB, vii(1), no. 343; LECUB, ix, no. 280; GSA Berlin, OBA 7433; OF13, 413-415.
40. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 502; vii, 725; WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, 52; GSA Berlin, OBA 7433; OF13, 413-415.

Flax was used to make linseed oil and linen cloth. Unfortunately, linen does not survive well and archaeological remains of it in Scotland are limited. Various tools used in linen making, such as a glass smoother and a flax breaking mallet, have, however, been discovered at Perth and this evidence, in conjunction with that of the Danzig customs accounts, would suggest that a reasonably important linen-making industry existed in Scotland, alongside the woollen cloth manufacturing industry, which has received far more attention from historians.[41] Some leather was also sent from Danzig, which is surprising, since Scotland was an important exporter of leather. This 'Danskin leather' was used, for example, to make 'somer hos' for the queen in 1504.[42]

A few finished articles, made from similar types of raw materials to those which were sent to Scotland, were also shipped westwards. These included oars, sail cloth and, recorded in Scottish sources, ship masts and ship blocks.[43] In his analysis of the Danzig Pfahlgeld records, Professor Samsonowicz made a comparative assessment of the value of goods exported from Danzig to Scotland. Flax accounted for 60% of the total value of exports, grain for 18%, sylvan by-products for 14%, iron for 3%, packs

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41. R.M. Spearman, 'Workshops, Material and Debris - Evidence of Early Industries', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 41.
42. TA, ii, 232, 435.
43. James IV Letters, no. 213; TA, i, 300; iv, 296.

of miscellaneous goods for 3%, timber for 1% and other goods for 1%.[44]

The Danzig customs accounts are also of use in determining the goods which were sent from Scotland to the eastern Baltic.[45] Of the principal Scottish exports, the market for wool in the eastern Hanseatic towns was limited because, like the more westerly towns, they were not great centres of woollen cloth production. Scottish woollen cloth was, however, frequently sent eastwards and purchased by merchants from Livonia as well as by those from Prussia.[46] Because cloth was such an important item in Scottish-Prussian trade, it can be assumed that those burghs, such as Dundee and Edinburgh, which specialized in woollen cloth production and export, had particularly close contacts with the eastern Baltic.[47] Hides and skins also found a market in Prussia. Of forty-one separately owned consignments of goods, sent aboard two vessels to Danzig from Leith in 1513, twenty-six were composed entirely

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44. H. Samsonowicz, 'Engländer und Schotten in Danzig im Spätmittelalter', Seehandel und Wirtschaftswege Nordeuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, edd. K. Friedland and F. Irsigler (Ostfildern 1981), 50. Samsonowicz describes flax as linen, but the original manuscripts of the Danzig customs account almost always refer to vlas (i.e. flax) rather than linen.
45. Again, unless otherwise stated, the commodities named in the following paragraph are based on the Danzig customs accounts (WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1-10).
46. BA Koblenz, I Af.21, 147; Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432-1463 ed. R. Vogelsang (Köln-Wien 1976), 356. The Teutonic Order's factors were dealing in Scottish cloth as early as 1404 (Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 28).
47. See above, 277-278.

or partly of lambskins and a further four included skins and hides without description or of a different variety.[48] Of the remaining two cargoes, one was of salt and the other of glass. Although salt was an insignificant component among these particular cargoes, other evidence suggests that it was generally an important item in Scottish-Prussian trade. The collector of the Pfahlgeld at Danzig, for example, informed the grand master of the Teutonic Order in 1440 that a small ship had just arrived from Scotland with a cargo of cloth and salt, while imports of Scottish salt are recorded in every year, for which records of customs on incoming goods at Danzig survive. There is a reference in 1485 to Scottish salt as far inland as Thorn.[49] Again, however, it was those burghs which were close to the Forth estuary, the centre of Scottish salt production, which benefited most from the demand for salt in the largely saline-free Baltic.[50] Aberdeen, by contrast, was at times as desperate as the eastern Baltic for supplies of salt. In 1449, for example, David Menzies was sent by the Aberdeen council 'in al haste' to buy a shipload of salt in Flanders.[51]

In addition to these goods, a few others such as pearls, were sent to Danzig. Although coal was sent to Copenhagen and Stralsund, there is no evidence

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48. SRO, E.71/29/3.
49. HUB, vii, no. 540; WAP Gdańsk, 300D/68/270.
50. Apart from the salt mines at Lüneburg, some salt was also produced at Colberg. Most of the eastern Baltic's salt supplies, however, came from the Bay of Bourgneuf in western France. This French salt was of a better quality than that produced in Scotland, which was impure and often described as grey.
51. DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 741.

that it was sent to Danzig.[52] Some commodities, such as wine and, in 1471, even figs, were, however, re-exported to Prussia from Scotland. It would appear that, in times of Anglo-Hanseatic friction, English goods, too, were shipped to the Baltic by Scotsmen. In 1444, for example, large amounts of cloth were sent to Danzig from Scotland. These were not, apparently, customed in Scotland and were perhaps, therefore, of English origin.[53] There had certainly been some contact between Englishmen and Scots, concerning Baltic trade, in the later 1430s. In 1438 Thomas Pynder, an Englishman, was involved in a court case at Aberdeen concerning money, which he owed to Peter Fischer, a Prussian skipper. In 1439 a Danzig court deliberated over a debt of eleven marks, allegedly owed by John Dekane of Ipswich to John Thomson of Scotland.[54] Anglo-Hanseatic friction may also partly explain the comparative rise and fall of English and Scottish shipping arriving at Danzig in the mid-1470s. England and the Hansa were at war between 1470 and 1474.[55] In 1474 only two ships arriving from England are recorded in the Pfahlgeld records, compared with twelve from Scotland. In the following two years, as the number of arrivals from England rose (to seven in 1475 and at

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52. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 August 5. On coal sent to the western Baltic, see above, 254. The demand for coal in Prussia could be met by the production of the coal mines in Poland.
53. SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15; August 4; August 10, August 12; August 13/1; August 13/2. See also above, 171-173. On the Anglo-Hanseatic friction of the early 1440s, see Postan, Trade and Finance, 269-273. On the Scottish cloth customs, which had lapsed by 1444, see above, 43-44.
54. DA Aberdeen, ACR, iv, 135; WAP Gdansk, 300D/15/43.
55. K.A. Fowler, 'English Diplomacy and The Peace of Utrecht', Frühformen Englisch-Deutscher Handelspartnerschaft, ed. K. Friedland (Köln-Wien 1976), 9-22; Postan, Trade and Finance, 282-287.

least fifteen in 1476), the number of Scottish arrivals fell (to eight in 1475 and seven in 1476).[56] Imports of Scottish salt were particularly high in the early 1470s when, because of the warfare in the English channel, it was difficult for Danzig to obtain salt from its principal supply point, the Bay of Bourgneuf.

The proportionate value of goods arriving in Danzig from Scotland has also been assessed by Professor Samsonowicz. Salt accounted for 27% of the total, cloth for 17%, hides for 3%, and other goods for 1%. 52% of Scottish imports were, however, Krämerwaren, or small packs, which contained a variety of Scottish-produced goods in small quantities.[57] While the Danzig customs accounts reveal a good deal about the commodities which were shipped between Scotland and Danzig, it is difficult to make conclusions about the balance of trade. Figures for imports and exports rarely survive for the same years. Nevertheless, a few tentative conclusions can be drawn. There was

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56. H. Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku', Przeglad Historyczny, xivii (1956), 302-303; V. Laufer, 'Danzigs Schiffs- und Waarenverker am Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts', Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Geschichtsverein, xxxiii (1894), 22-23, nos. 37-41. Samsonowicz and Laufer both identify twelve English ships arriving in Danzig in 1476, but Dr. J. Fudge has pointed out to me, that at least another two English ships, and possibly a third English ship, are recorded in the original manuscript of the customs account.
57. Samsonowicz, 'Engländer und Schotten', 50.

little demand in Danzig for wool, the principal Scottish export. Other Scottish exports to Danzig were relatively small in value and quantity. Despite the importance of salt among the Scottish imports to Danzig, Scottish salt accounted for less than 1% of total imports in 1476 and about 2% of total imports in 1506.[58] The value of all Scottish imports at Danzig in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries averaged only just over 3% of Danzig's total imports. Even in the boom years for trade in the early 1470s (when imports from England had almost completely ceased) this figure rose to only 8.7% in 1472, falling back to 7.6% in 1474 and then to 2.7% in 1475 and 1% in 1476.[59] Indeed, the cargoes of many ships arriving in Danzig from Scotland were minimal and some apparently arrived in ballast.[60] Conversely, there was a healthy market for most of Danzig's exports in Scotland and no ships are recorded leaving Danzig for Scotland in ballast. Between 1490 and 1492, 12% of the total value of goods exported from Danzig were shipped to Scotland.[61] While the figures for the proportionate value of Scottish imports and exports can not be directly correlated, it would appear that Scottish imports from Danzig greatly outnumbered Scottish exports to Danzig. The probability is, therefore, that,

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58. Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny', 303 (Table I, 48), 325. These figures are based on a comparison of the statistics for total imports to Danzig and Scottish imports to Danzig.
59. Ibid., 303 (Table I, 48). 3% is the average of the figures presented in this table.
60. E.g., WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/3, fo. 4; 300/19/5, 40.
61. Samsonowicz, 'Handel zagraniczny', 337. Again 12% is the average figure for the three years 1490, 1491 and 1492.

although Scotland's stake in Danzig's overall trade was quite small, the trade was important to Scotland, since Danzig could provide Scotland with both much needed food and raw materials. But because the overwhelming amount of trade was probably from Danzig to Scotland, Scottish trade with Danzig was probably heavily in deficit. Thus, Scotland's trade with Danzig is likely to have contributed to, rather than ameliorated, the general trade deficit of later medieval Scotland.[62]

The social background of those who participated in the trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic changed fundamentally during the course of the fifteenth century. In the early part of the century some of the most wealthy Prussian merchants, such as Hans von dem Walde, had commercial dealings with Scotland. Walde was a member of the Danzig council and in 1453, and again in 1465, he undertook diplomatic missions on its behalf to Lübeck.[63] Walde's trading interests extended to England and the Low Countries, but the Walde family seems to have maintained particularly close links with Scotland. In 1426 Walde was involved in a partnership with Heinrich Slechter, Heinrich von dem Walde and Heinrich Nedderhof, which sent goods to Edinburgh. The partnership's factor, Reinhold von dem Walde, committed suicide in Edinburgh and Hans was appointed by his colleagues to travel to Edinburgh to retrieve their goods.[64] In 1431 Hans, together with three other Danzig merchants and

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62. See above, 46.
63. HUB, viii, p. 175, n.5; nos. 307, 649, 653, 663.
64. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fo. 19; HUB, vi, no. 618.

four merchants from Edinburgh, arranged a compromise in a dispute which had arisen over the payment of a debt, owed by John Witting of Edinburgh (alias 'Scotus niger, in vulgari nostro de swarte Schotte') to John Scheveke of Danzig.[65] In 1434 Walde and five other Prussian merchants received payment of £146-18s-3d from the Edinburgh customers for goods delivered for the use of the king.[66] In 1444 a cargo, which was owned by Walde, was seized by Bremen pirates while en route from Scotland to Danzig, and another cargo of Scottish goods, accompanied by Heinrich Rese, a long time associate of Walde's, was attacked by Danish pirates in 1449.[67] In 1460 Hans' name is recorded in the earliest Danzig Pfahlgeldbuch, when he sent a pack of flax and two lasts of tar to Scotland.[68]

During his business venture in Scotland in 1444 Walde had been in partnership with Reinhold Nedderhof. Nedderhof, too, was an eminent member of Danzig society. Although he had only arrived in Danzig as an immigrant in 1416, he had quickly established himself as one of the town's leading politicians and businessmen. He became a regular member of the council and ultimately Bürgermeister. His trading interests extended to many parts of western Europe and he had a part ownership of at least five

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65. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fo. 42. For another example of a Scot known by a different name in the Baltic to that which he was known in Scotland, see above, 248.
66. ER, iv, 574.
67. See above, 166, 182; WAP Gdańsk, 300R/F/3, 101-102; HUB, viii, no. 1160.
68. WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1, fo. 74. For further evidence of Walde's participation in Scottish trade, see below, 331.

ships.[69] Nedderhof and Walde were not exceptional figures among the type of Prussian merchants trading in Scotland. Goods belonging to Johann Baysener, the Bürgermeister of Danzig were in Scotland in 1420.[70] Baysener, like Nedderhof and Walde, had commercial dealings with the Low Countries and England, as well as Scotland.[71] Gotschalk Hetfelt, the Bürgermeister of Thorn, and Tideman vom Wege, a future Bürgermeister of Thorn, were trading with Scotland in 1449.[72]

This type of influential merchant was, however, no longer apparently trading in Scotland by the later fifteenth century. Indeed, the Danzig customs accounts refer to very few German merchants trading with Scotland.[73] It can probably be assumed that the profits to be made from trade in Scotland were no longer substantial enough for wealthier Danzig merchants to continue a regular trade with Scotland.[74] By contrast, some German skippers continued to visit Scotland, though the cargoes of their vessels were usually owned by Scots. A few of these

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69. C. Brämer, 'Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter', Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Geschichtsverein, lxiii (1922), 50, n.3.
70. HUB, vi, no. 316. (This document is now missing from GSA Berlin).
71. HUB, vi, nos. 357, 375, 377.
72. HUB, viii, no. 84 (49).
73. This was in stark contrast to the continuing participation of Danzig merchants in trade with England. (Samsonowicz, 'Engländer und Schotten', 55). Samsonowicz (ibid.) suggests that Jakob Krage was an exception to the lack of interest in Scottish trade exhibited by most Danzig merchants. Krage, whose name regularly appears in the Danzig customs accounts, can, however, perhaps be identified as James Craig, an Edinburgh merchant (HUB, x, no. 829).
74. None of the wealthy élite of Danzig merchants named, in H. Samsonowicz, 'Studien über Danziger Kaufmannskapital im 15. Jahrhundert', Hansische Studien Gesammelte Beiträge. Heinrich Sproemberg zum 70 Geburtstag (Berlin 1961), 332-340, are known to have traded in Scotland.

skippers, such as Hans Dertholt (in the early 1470s) and Claus Forman (in the mid-1470s) made regular visits to Scotland.[75] Similarly, some Scottish skippers appear to have specialized in sailings to Danzig. Thomas Williamson, for example, is recorded arriving from Scotland each year between 1469 and 1473.[76]

Although both Scottish and German skippers indulged in some trade on their own account, Scottish merchants conducted most of the sea trade between Scotland and Prussia by the later fifteenth century. A considerable amount of capital was needed to hire ships for the lengthy sea voyage to the eastern Baltic. The lengthy distances involved in this trade also meant that it took a long time before merchants, buying goods at one end of Europe, could make a profit on their sale at the other end of the continent. Few Scottish merchants are, therefore, likely to have confined their trading activities solely to the eastern Baltic. Rather, they would probably combine them with other commercial ventures elsewhere.[77] Nevertheless, this did not prevent some merchants from maintaining regular contact with Prussia. Laurence

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75. WAP Gdańsk, 300/17/3, fos. 131v, 165, 180; 300/17/4, fo. 41v; 300/17/5, 45, 119, 251; 300/17/5A, fo. 33.
76. WAP Gdańsk, 300/17/3, fos. 65v, 86, 131v; 176; 300/17/4, fo. 42; 300/17/5, 9; 300/17/5A, fo. 42
77. Because of the loss of most of the Scottish 'particular' customs accounts, it is impossible to prove this with certainty. Nevertheless, it seems logical and a few merchants, who traded with the Baltic, can also be found trading with the Low Countries. In 1444, for example, John de Harlaw and Hugo de Bar sent goods to Danzig; in 1456 they can be traced trading with Vere (SA Bremen, 1/BC 1445 Juli 15; Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, no. 1448).

Elphinstone of Edinburgh, for example, sent goods on two ships to Danzig in 1444.[78] Thomas Pratt, a prominent burgess of Aberdeen, had several contacts with Danzig in the 1460s, while the names of Stephen Hunter, James Craig, Robert Preston and Patrick Gray regularly appear in the Danzig customs accounts of the 1470s.[79] Some Scottish merchants also emigrated to the eastern Baltic. An Andrew Gardiner is described as a citizen of Königsberg in 1471, while a John Thurso and a Hans Schotcze (whose Scottishness is, perhaps, open to doubt) are recorded as citizens of Cracow in 1478.[80] The number of emigrants in Danzig was great enough for the Scots to maintain their own altar at the Benedictine church.[81] As was the case at Stralsund and Greifswald, many of the emigrants in Danzig continued to maintain commercial contact with Scotland. In 1463, for example, William Murray, John Cuthbertson and John Irvine, all described as citizens of Danzig, were trading between Danzig and Edinburgh. In 1490, David White was in Aberdeen, acting as procurator for

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78. SA Bremen, 1/BC 1445 Juli 15.
79. E.g., WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1, fo. 3, 99; 300/19/2A, fos. 189-193, 201; 300/19/3, fos. 85, 131, 165, 177, 180, 188. On Pratt's connections with the Baltic, see also DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 180; on Craig, HUB, x, no. 829.
80. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/67/84; HUB, x, no. 643.
81. Fischer, Prussia, 11. In fact, this reference (WAP Gdańsk, 300/43/2B, fo. 377) is the only one which exists to such an altar.

his brother, who was resident in Danzig.[82]

Because of the capital outlay necessary to finance trade with the eastern Baltic, it is likely that most of the merchants, who were active in this trade, were men of reasonably substantial means. During the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the wealthier Scottish merchants were, however, attempting to exclude lesser men from trade. A parliamentary statute of 1467 declared that only the 'famous and worshipful' could trade abroad.[83] At Aberdeen in 1503 it was ordained by the dean of gild and the council 'that nay burges be made of thir that salis to danskin within five markis'.[84] Such restriction points paradoxically to the participation in foreign trade by lesser men. The stream of complaints against itinerant Scottish pedlars, which are common in many parts of northern Europe from the later fifteenth century, would appear to support this.[85] In Prussia complaints about itinerant Scottish pedlars were regularly voiced at the diet of Prussian towns from the 1470s. Since individual Scots were never named

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82. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/6, fos. 252v-253; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 167. The number of Scots who acquired citizenship in Danzig in the fifteenth century is unknown, because no lists of entry to the Danzig burgessship survive. Forty-one Scots were, however, made citizens of Danzig in the later sixteenth century, for when such records again survive. (H. Penners-Ellwart, Die Danziger Bürgerschaft nach Herkunft und Beruf 1536-1709 (Marburg 1964), 155-157; appendix, table one). No one of obviously Scottish origin was admitted to the citizenship of Elbing in the fifteenth century (WAP Gdańsk, 369/I/131), though there is an extensive gap in the records between 1457 and 151
83. APS, ii, 87.
84. DA Aberdeen, ACR, viii, 231.
85. See above, 140-141.

in these complaints, it is open to question whether the pedlars were, in fact, from Scotland, or whether the term 'Scot' was used to denote any pedlar regardless of his nationality. As has already been shown, some of the 'Scots' at Cologne do not have very Scottish names.[86] Certainly by the sixteenth century the term 'Scot' had acquired this professional, rather than national, meaning, just as the term 'Swiss' acquired the meaning of a cattle minder.[87] It is uncertain, when this usage of nationality to describe an occupation began, but there is evidence to suggest that in the fifteenth century, at least, many of the despised Scots were from Scotland. There was a keen awareness in fifteenth-century Prussia of the origins of foreign competition. The Scots were not the only nationality to inspire hostility. Complaints and edicts against the Dutch, English, Massovians, Bohemians and Nurembergers were common enough, if not quite so frequent as those directed against the Scots.[88] Given this, it seems unlikely, that the Scots complained about did not originally come from Scotland. Moreover, the names of some itinerant Scots - though not all of them were pedlars - have survived. Laurence Green of Edinburgh was one of ten Scots arraigned for vagrancy before the magistrates at Breslau in ca.1470. While travelling to Prussia from Rome, he had lost his shoes and been ill

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86. See above, 142-143.
87. Wechmar and Biederstedt, 'Einwanderung', 10-11. See also J. Dow, 'Skotter in Sixteenth Century Scania', SHR, xliv (1965), 34-51, especially 34-36.
88. E.g., Toeppen, Acten, v, no. 125; Biskup, Akta, iii, no. 87.

for three quarters of a year. In Brünn he had come across some fellow countrymen (sic.) who advised him to travel to Breslau. Presumably to alleviate his illness, he was told to buy some pepper, worm-seed and white ginger and to consume this mixture with brandy.[89] Green had probably been on a pilgrimage to Rome. Of the other Scots recorded at Breslau, some were also pilgrims, while others were sailors, weavers or pedlars. Many of the Scots, who are recorded in the proceedings of the Danzig Schöffengericht, may also have been of humbler birth, though the occupation of most is not recorded.[90] A Scottish dyer, called Walter, is, however, recorded at Danzig in 1447, while one of the pedlars recorded at Breslau, Walter of Dess, claimed that he had previously worked in Danzig.[91]

In the larger towns, such as Danzig, Scottish pedlars could mingle with the population and, normally, they attracted little attention. Just, however, as huxters in fifteenth-century England attracted more attention from the authorities in smaller English towns, when the Scottish pedlars began to extend their trading activities into the less populated, rural areas of Prussia, the Prussian authorities began to take a greater interest in their activities.[92] The pedlars suddenly became more visible. The first recorded, general

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89. Fischer, Germany, 241-242.
90. See note 138 below.
91. Fischer, Prussia, 10; Fischer, Germany, 241.
92. R.H. Hilton, 'Lords, Burgesses and Huxters', Past and Present, xvii (1982), 7.

complaints about Scottish pedlars in Prussia date from the early 1470s. In 1473, at the diet of Prussian towns, complaints were expressed about Scots, who sold goods in the villages and small towns, 'das vor ny keine gewohnheit ist geweszen'.[93] In an attempt to prevent the trade of the pedlars, the diet regularly imposed legislation against the Scots. In 1482, for example, it was ordered that Scots 'zollenn [nicht] yn der lande zcihen, wff dorffernn adder inn steten ire ware feil haben, bey vorlosth der ware'.[94] The problems of Scottish pedlars were again discussed at the diets, which met in Stühm in 1483, Graudenz in 1484 and Elbing in 1487.[95] In 1494 the diet, which met in Königsberg, ordered that 'kein Schotte adder pawdelcromer im.lande geleden werdenn', while the 1508 Marienburg diet again prohibited Scots from visiting the rural areas.[96]

The restrictions imposed on the Scots were obviously not proving successful. In 1488 Thorn wrote to Danzig, admitting that, despite the measures enacted by the diet, the Scots still

> ... das landt mit irem gefelschten gutte, cromerey, vorkoreztem gewichte und kleynen mose durchczien.[97]

The Bürgermeister of Thorn voiced further anxieties about the Scots at the diet of 1489 and in other letters to Danzig in 1490 and 1493.[98] The authorities of other

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93. Toeppen, Acten, v, no. 90.
94. Ibid., no. 125 (28).
95. Biskup, Akta, i, nos. 109, 148, 241, 247.
96. Toeppen, Acten, v, no. 142; Biskup, Akta, v, no. 131.
97. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/68/302.
98. Biskup, Akta, ii, nos. 85, 142; iii, no. 87.

Prussian towns were also directing their complaints about Scottish pedlars to Danzig. In 1488 Lauenburg informed Danzig that several inhabitants of Danzig and Scots were trading in the rural areas around Lauenburg, to the disadvantage of its own merchants.[99] A further complaint was sent to Danzig from Lauenburg in 1490.[100] In the same year Königsberg, too, wrote with similar complaints to Danzig.[101]

The Danzig link is also evident among the Scots who were charged with vagrancy in Breslau. Several were heading for Danzig and one, Laurence Green, had relations living there.[102] Danzig, therefore, appears not only to have been a centre of emigration, but also a funnel, through which Scots would pass before and after conducting their small-time trade.[103] Indeed, the large . . . . amount of Krämerwaren, which arrived at Danzig on ships from Scotland, was probably intended for sale by the Scottish pedlars.[104] Krämerwaren included a variety of Scottish products, such as cloth, salt and, perhaps, some wool, and it was for goods, such as these, that the Scots travelling in the Prussian hinterland, were renowned. Because these goods were of poor quality, they were cheaper than the better quality produce which was sold by established Prussian merchants. Judging from the

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99. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/36A/88.
100. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/36A/96.
101. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/67/158.
102. Fischer, Germany, 241.
103. It is worth noting in this context that an edict against Scottish pedlars in Cologne also applied to Poles, which, perhaps, suggests that Scottish pedlars were arriving in Cologne from the east, rather than from the west (see above, 141).
104. See above, 301.

frequence of Prussian complaints about short measures of cloth, in particular, it seems likely that the pedlars were also cutting the cloth, which they sold, to a size which was in demand in the rural areas, but which established merchants did not cater for. But while the pedlars were doubtless welcomed by the poorer sections of society in the Prussian hinterland, their trade posed a threat to established mercantile interests. This was particularly the case in the vicinity of towns, such as Lauenburg, whose merchants conducted little overseas trade and whose prosperity was based on trade in the rural areas.

There was no legislation, similar to that directed against Scottish pedlars, imposed on the Scottish merchants who traded between Scotland and the eastern Baltic. Even those Scots who resided in the eastern Hanseatic towns, and who did not participate in peddling activities, were generally welcomed. In 1487, for example, Kovono complained to Danzig that, while the activities of its merchants were restricted in Danzig, other non-Hanseatic merchants, including the Scots, were treated more favourably.[105] When the matter of Scots acquiring citizenship in Hanseatic towns was discussed at the Hanseatic diet of 1498, Danzig's representative commented that, if all the foreigners were to be expelled from the town, Danzig would remain half-deserted.[106] Likewise, there was never any clamour, akin to that which regularly

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105. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/8/69.
106. HR, C, iv, no. 81.

surfaced in fifteenth-century England, to restrict Prussian commercial activity in Scotland. Partly this was because the numbers of Prussian merchants visiting Scotland was not great enough to cause a xenophobic reaction in Scotland. But it was also due to the fact that in Scotland, unlike England, Hanseatic merchants did not enjoy any particular commercial privileges which were not reciprocated by the Prussian towns for Scottish merchants. In 1475 James III had promised to grant protection to Danzigers visiting Scotland: he made it clear, that he expected similar treatment to be granted to Scottish merchants visiting Danzig.[107] Nevertheless, a number of factors did, at times, impede the normal flow of trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic in the later middle ages.

Apart from the general, economic restraints on trade, caused, for example, by the level of demand for the types of product grown or manufactured in Scotland and the eastern Baltic, political factors also influenced trade. The effect on the Scottish economy of climatic conditions and warfare with England has been analysed elsewhere.[108] Devastation caused by warfare also affected

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107. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/4; HUB, x, no. 395. In 1508 James IV also granted two Danzig merchants, Gregory Garth and Joust Elere, permission to come to Scotland and sell and buy freely for three years, while in 1520 James V granted protection to citizens and ships of Colberg visiting Scotland (James IV Letters, no. 183; James V Letters, 81). Again, however, neither of these privileges bestowed any especially advantageous rights, such as a reduction in the amount of customs dues to be paid, on merchants from the eastern Baltic.
108. See above, 33-42.

Prussia, particularly during the first half of the fifteenth century, as the authority of the Teutonic Order was challenged by the Poles and discontented towns and nobles within Prussia. This was compounded, in the second decade of the fifteenth century, by the outbreak of plague and harvest failure in Prussia.[109] Since 'very little grain of any description [then] grew' in Prussia, grain exports obviously declined.[110] In addition to the effects of war and climate on Prussian grain production, the Teutonic Order attempted both to conserve grain supplies for its own use and to ensure that its merchants controlled most of the Prussian grain trade. It, therefore, regularly prohibited the export of grain by merchants of the Prussian towns. In 1438, for example, while it was permitted to export wheat and flour, barley and rye exports remained subject to restriction.[111] While, however, such edicts caused resentment in the Prussian towns, they did not succeed in stopping all grain exports. The Teutonic Order's own factors, who traded in Scotland in the early fifteenth century, dealt in flour, rye, wheat and malt.[112]

While warfare in Prussia inevitably affected the level of trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, because the warfare in Prussia was conducted on land, shipping, at least, was left unmolested. Shipping was, however, attacked

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109. F.L. Carsten, The Origins of Prussia (Oxford 1954), 120-121; M.C.B. Burleigh, The German Order and Prussian Society - a Noble Corporation in Crisis, 1410-1466 (University of London, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982), especially chapters two, three and seven.
110. Ibid., 149.
111. HR, B, ii, no. 233. See also Pounds, Economic History, 474.
112. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 20, 23, 82.

as a consequence of other wars which involved either Scotland or the towns of the eastern Baltic. By far the greatest number of these attacks were committed by Englishmen. During the Anglo-Scottish warfare of the early fifteenth century, for example, Henry IV wrote to the grand master Konrad von Jungingen complaining the goods of Englishmen had been arrested in Prussia, following the capture of a Danzig ship by Scots and its subsequent recapture by men from Lynn.[113] Erlichshausen replied on 2 June 1402 that, following an investigation into the matter and consultation with Robert III of Scotland, it had been proven that the ship had, in fact, been captured by the English direct from the Prussians.[114] Similar attacks on Prussian shipping by the English fleet, commanded by Lord Gray, were taking place in Scotland at about the same time.[115] Particularly detailed evidence survives concerning one such attack on a Danzig ship, skippered by Bernhard Johnson. Gray's fleet captured the ship in Blackness harbour on 26 August 1402. The following day the English took the goods from aboard the vessel and then set fire to the ship, killed some of the crew and threw the rest overboard, drowning them. Complaints about this incident from

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113. CDS, v, no. 899; Foedera (O), viii, 203; HR, A, v, no. 90; HUB, v, no. 492. (The letter is dated 8 June 1401). On 10 December 1400 the mayor of Lynn had certified that the skipper of the 'Christopher' of Danzig had sworn that his vessel had been captured by Scots and recaptured by the English fleet (GSA Berlin, Schieblade 83, no. 50).
114. GSA Berlin, OF3, 88-89; HR, A, v, no. 93.
115. See appendix no. 3.

Danzig solicited the excuse from the English that Johnson had been in league with the Scottish forces, though this was denied by Danzig, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and the Scottish regent, the duke of Albany.[116] In fact, Johnson's 'crime' appears to have been only that he was trading in Scotland.

Other English attacks on ships sailing between Scotland and the eastern Baltic are regularly recorded in the fifteenth century, in, for example, 1418, 1424, 1436, 1437, between 1448 and 1450, in 1454, between 1482 and 1484, in 1488 and again in 1490.[117] The frequency of these incidents is to be explained partly by the hostility between England and Scotland, but, because of the frequently poor state of Anglo-Hanseatic relations in the fifteenth century, Hanseatic ships were also often the direct object of English attack. Even in times of truce, merchant ships were regularly stopped and searched by English mariners. It was during an Anglo-Scottish truce that Hugh-atte-Fen and other men from Great Yarmouth captured the future King on 14 March 1406 from aboard a Danzig ship, the 'Maryenknight', which, ironically, was taking the young

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116. BL, Cotton MS, Nero BII, fos. 44v-47r; Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 351-353.
117. HUB, vi, nos. 187, 288, 371, 548, 689, 723; vii, nos. 360, 522; viii, no. 84 (7, 16, 49, 52); HR, A, vii, no. 510; B, ii, no. 76 (15, 32); C, ii, no. 509 (32, 37, 63, 64, 76, 89).

prince to safety in France.[118]

Nevertheless, English attacks often backfired. Following the capture by Englishmen of a vessel which was sailing to Scotland in 1418, laden with the merchandise of Peter Struwe and Thomas Persau of Danzig, Struwe arranged for the arrest of an English ship, the 'Bartholomew' of Hull, in Danzig in 1421. The English government was still seeking restitution of the ship in 1436.[119] In another incident, in 1434, while sailing to the Baltic men from Hull captured certain Scots from a vessel, because the Scots had, in a previous war, attacked the Hull vessel. Most of the Scots were allowed to go free, after they had agreed to pay a ransom of £240; five were detained as hostages. When, however, the Hull ship arrived in Danzig, the grand master ordered that the five be released and their goods returned.[120]

Scottish-Prussian trade was not only inconvenienced by the English. Relations between the Hansa and the Dutch towns were frequently poor in the fifteenth century because of the Hansa's fear of Dutch commercial competition in the Baltic. Despite Hanseatic attempts

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118. CPR, 1405-8, 167. E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, James I, King of Scots, 1406-1437 (London 1936), 30-31; Nicholson, Scotland, 226-227. The Danzig ship was laden with a cargo of wool, fells and hides and probably bound for Flanders. Two other German ships, possibly from Danzig, which contained goods belonging to Scottish merchants were arrested by the English in 1407 (CPR, 1405-8, 303-304). These ships, too, were sailing between Scotland and Flanders. This evidence shows that Prussian ships, like Wendish ships, also carried goods from Scotland to the Low Countries and vice versa (see above, 255).
119. HUB, vi, nos. 187, 288, 371, 723(3); HR, A, vii, no. 510; B, ii, no. 76 (15, 16).
120. HR, B, ii, no. 76 (32).

to restrict Dutch commercial activity (which included a period of armed hostility between 1438 and 1441, when the Sound was closed to shipping), the Dutch share of Baltic trade grew throughout the fifteenth century.[121] The potential for animosity and mutual attacks on ships, therefore, remained high throughout the century and, on occasions, ships sailing between Scotland and the eastern Baltic fell prey to the Dutch. During the 1438-41 war, in 1439, Marcus Kaunit of Königsberg reported that his ship had been attacked, while sailing from Scotland, by Coppin Janson, Jan Cleisson and their associates from Amsterdam. Kaunit, the brother-in-law of the town-clerk of Königsberg, lost goods, including salt and various items of clothing, valued at £25-14s gross.[122] In the same year a ship of La Rochelle, sailing from Scotland to Prussia, was also attacked by Dutchmen.[123] In 1445 a vessel, skippered by Fyncken, was attacked near Scotland. The ship and its cargo, composed predominently of lambskins, was valued at £210 gross.[124] Another ship, laden with lambskins and skippered by Hans Hanneman of Danzig was attacked by men from Dordrecht on 19 July 1445; its cargo was valued at just over £55 gross.[125] Danzigers were, however, just as

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121. Dollinger, Hanse, 253-257; Postan, Trade and Finance, 219-224. The Prussians were reluctant to participate in the 1438-41 war and objected to the closure of the Sound which disrupted their trade with Scotland and England. Ships sailing between Prussia and the British isles were eventually permitted to pass through the Sound (HR, B, ii, nos. 237, 238, 392, 393).
122. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/19/56, 36; HUB, vii, no. 767 (34).
123. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/42/21; HUB, vii, no. 469.
124. HUB, vii, no. 767 (61).
125. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/19/131, 29; HUB, vii, no. 767 (67). The Dutchmen were in Edinburgh to take James II's sisters, Eleanor and Johanna, to France. See also ER, v, 225.

ready to attack Dutch shipping. In 1462 John Kilekanne was accused in the court of the admiral-depute Alexander Merchiston, of capturing an Amsterdam ship. Danzig wrote to Napier, explaining that the attack was legitimate because Danzig and Amsterdam were again at war with each other.[126]

Apart from the English and the Dutch, the Danes too were periodically at war with the Hansa. When the Wendish towns closed the Sound to shipping between 1426 and 1435, in pursuance of such a conflict, this inevitably caused a major impediment to Scottish trade with the Baltic, though it did not stop it completely.[127] On occasions Danes also seized Scottish goods belonging to Danzig merchants. In 1407, for example, Erik Nielsson of Ogarden took a pack of Scottish cloth from the Danzig merchant Claus Gene, while, in 1411, officials at Copenhagen arrested a cargo of Scottish cloth from a ship skippered by another Danziger, Heinrich Lutke.[128] Again, in 1462, Danzig complained that a cargo of Scottish cloth and fells, accompanied by Heinrich Rese, was seized in Norway.[129] By and large, however, Danish interference in the trade of both the eastern Hanseatic towns and Scotland was uncommon. The Scots were closely allied

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126. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/6, fo. 225; HUB, viii, no. 1126; Fischer, Germany, 239-241. For the losses which Scottish merchants, sailing for Danzig, suffered at the hands of men from Hoorn and Enkhuizen in 1478, see Smit, Bronnen, A, ii, nos. 1831, 1834.
127. Dollinger, Hanse, 380-382.
128. HR, B, i, no. 381 (10, 17).
129. HUB, viii, no. 1160. For a rare example of the Danes arresting the goods of Scots (in 1415), see HUB, vi, nos. 56, 65 and below, 392.

to the Danes in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, while the Prussian towns generally coveted good relations with the Danes, in order to maintain unhindered passage for their vessels sailing through the Sound. In 1502 Danzig wrote to James IV, confirming its friendly relations with the king of Denmark during his wars in Sweden. The town related how, at the request of the Danish king, it had detained five vessels, freighted in Danzig for Sweden.[130] Nevertheless, in ca.1509, during the war between Denmark, Sweden and the Wendish towns, a Danzig vessel sailing to Scotland was captured by the Danes, while men from Lübeck captured a Dundonian ship bound for Danzig.[131]

Although the attacks on ships committed by the English, Dutch and Danes were an important obstruction to trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, there were also a number of other impediments to trade. Some of these were caused by natural catastrophes, over which merchants and skippers had little control. In 1428, for example, Martin Faust of Danzig sold a last of flax to a Perth merchant, which was then burned by Danzig officials, because it was thought to be contaminated by plague.[132] Similarly, in 1500, the Aberdeen council ordered that goods aboard a ship, which had recently

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130. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/7, fo. 205. the letter was written following a request from James IV that Danzig cease its trade with Sweden.
131. James IV Letters, nos. 292, 396, 537. In 1511 the Danish king wrote to Danzig concerning attacks by his Scottish captains, David Schotte and Andrew Barton (WAP Gdańsk, 300D/13/289-291).
132. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fo. 52.

arrived from Danzig, should be burned, because of their suspected contamination by plague. Meanwhile, all those aboard the vessel were instructed to remain in their houses or lodgings for fifteen days 'vnder pane of ded'.[133] Because of the distances involved in sailing between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, the risks of shipwreck were also high. A Dundee ship was, for example, driven aground in Pomerania in 1512, while, having negotiated the lengthy sea voyage, Heinrich Rese's barge was wrecked 'beside' the port of Aberdeen in 1444.[134]

Other impediments to trade were, however, contrived by men rather than plague or bad weather. Skippers and merchants not infrequently fell out with each other, when, for example, skippers took goods to a port other than that originally agreed or when merchants failed to pay skippers for their services.[135] Inevitably, with such a large number of Scottish emigrants resident in the eastern Baltic, and with large numbers of Scots skippers and merchants visiting the eastern Baltic ports, Scots not infrequently fell foul of the authorities and appeared before local courts. Occasionally such cases involved serious criminal matters, such as assault or manslaughter. Peter Black, a Scot who was accused of the manslaughter of Reemer Wugerson, was ordered, in 1471,

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133. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 1067, 1068.
134. James IV Letters, no. 538; DA Aberdeen, ACR, v(2), 684.
135. See above, 68. For examples of this kind, which specifically relate to trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, see WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/2; 300/59/7, fo. 47v; DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 327, 328, 346, 347.

to undertake a penitential visit to Aachen, Einsiedeln, St. Adrian and St. James of Compostella and then to return to Danzig with proof of his visits to these places. When Alexander Gustis wounded William Watson, he was ordered, in 1475, to undertake a pilgrimage and also to give two marks to the Scottish altar in the Benedictine church in Danzig and a further two marks to the church of Our Lady at Dundee.[136] Elsewhere, too, Scots were involved in similar cases. In 1469 Stanislas, a Lithuanian student at the university of Cracow, was ordered to pay one ferto to the university and double that amount to Thomas, a Scottish student, for a violent assault committed on Thomas.[137]

Cases of this nature are, however rare. By far the majority of references to Scots involved in court cases relate to debt. Thomas, the Scottish student at Cracow, was involved in such a case concerning 36 grosz, which he had borrowed from John of Cirbark, another student, on security of a mattress and certain books.[138] At Danzig, too, there are numerous references to Scots involved in disputes about debt. John Younger of 'Leurik' (Lanark?), for example, appeared before the Schöffengericht in 1440 for failing to pay 28 Prussian marks to Herman Hoffernagel. By contrast, Thomas, 'eyn Schotte', complained to the same

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136. WAP Gdańsk, 300/43/2B, fos. 229, 377; Fischer, Prussia, 10-11. Not surprisingly, perhaps, there is no evidence that Black ever returned to Danzig.
137. Papers relating to the Scots in Poland 1576-1793, ed. A.F. Steuart (SHS 1915), 350-351.
138. Ibid., 347-350.

court in 1469 that Michael Heynen owed him 26 Prussian marks and three scots for a quantity of flax, while in 1473 John Rolland certified before the Schöffengericht, on behalf of Margaret Rolland of Aberdeen, that Jakob Bely was quit of all debts incurred during their trade.[139] There are no similar records surviving for Königsberg, but in 1471 Königsberg-Altstadt wrote to Danzig requesting the payment of debts to Andrew Gardener, possibly a Scot, who was a citizen of the town.[140]

While most disputes about commercial matters were of a minor nature, which could be settled by the courts, two, in particular, escalated in importance and adversely affected the level of trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic. In 1434 Claus Jerren, a Danzig merchant, had supplied James I with various merchandise, including timber, flour, a hat, made from beaver fur and

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139. WAP Gdańsk, 300/43/1B, fo. 316; 300/43/2B, fos. 160v, 295. Other Scots, who either owed or were owed debts, include John Witting, known as 'de swarte Schotte', in 1427; William Patrick, between 1429 and 1433; Nigel Bruce, in 1430; Lawrence Sutherland in 1437; Gertrude Schotte, in 1471; William Robertson, Andrew Richardson and John Baxter, in 1472; Walter Cupar, in 1476; and Catherine Martin, in 1501 (WAP Gdańsk, 300/43/1A, fos. 31, 129v, 150v, 184, 214, 263; 300/43/1B, fo. 161v; 300/43/2B, fos. 222v, 256v-257, 271v-272, 403; 300/43/4B, fo. 136. See also Fischer, Prussia, 10-12). The failure of Witting to pay his debts led Danzig to write to James I on the matter (WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fos. 36v-37, 42).

140. WAP Gdansk, 300D/67/84.

decorated with pearls, and a table for the queen.[141] Jerren claimed that James had died before he had received payment for goods from Robert Gray, the king's master of mint and works.[142] In fact, two payments were made to Jerren, for unspecified goods, by the Edinburgh customers in 1433-4.[143] Jerren, however, further claimed that his attempts to persuade the minority government of James II to honour the debts had met with no success. The matter was discussed at the diet of Prussian towns, meeting in Danzig in 1443, where the representatives agreed to postpone consideration of it until the following diet, which was convened in June 1444 at Elbing.[144] There it was decided that the grand master should write to James II, to seek compensation on Jerren's behalf.[145] The diet also ordered the arrest of Scottish goods in the eastern Baltic. Dr. Dunlop has suggested that Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews may have negotiated a settlement to the dispute in the autumn of 1444.[146] There is, however, no evidence

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141. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fos. 85-86. The hat was valued at £5 Scots and the table at £7 Scots. Jerren also claimed that he was owed money by Sir William Crichton. Jerren's commercial dealings with Scotland dated back to the 1420s. In 1421 he had purchased two packs of Scottish hides, while in 1427-8 he had received payment from the Edinburgh customers for some furs (WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/1, fo. 21; ER, iv, 438).
142. News of James I's death was sent to Danzig on 15 May 1437 by the alderman of the Hanseatic Kontor in London (HR, B, ii, no. 60).
143. ER, iv, 574.
144. HR, B, iii, no. 81(12).
145. HR, B, iii, no. 154(5). No such letter is recorded among the records of the Teutonic Order, but the authorities of Danzig did write to James on 8 July 1444 (WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/3, fos. 85-86).
146. Dunlop, Kennedy, 359.

to substantiate this theory and, if Kennedy did involve himself in the matter, his intercessions failed to satisfy Jerren. Merchandise belonging to at least eight Scotsmen was arrested in Danzig. Their release was sought by the Scottish government in two letters sent to the grand master, which are probably ascribable to March 1445.[147] In a conciliatory tone, it was further suggested that Jerren could bring any complaints which he nursed to the Scottish courts. This, however, is the final reference to the dispute, but since nothing more is heard of it, an amicable solution was presumably reached. The principal significance of the dispute is that, for the first time, the authorities of the eastern Baltic had seized Scottish goods in order to cajole the Scots into reaching an agreement over a commercial dispute. This, indeed, was a tactic which Danzig repeated, or threatened to repeat, on a number of subsequent occasions, including during another dispute about debts, which arose in the 1480s.

In 1482 two Danzig merchants, Johann Conrad and Nikolaus Vasolt, visited Aberdeen and sold victuals and other goods. Their transactions were presumably made on credit since the merchants did not receive immediate or full payment. Subsequently they sent their factors

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147. GSA Berlin, OBA 27969(1); OBA 27969(2).

to collect their dues. At some point the merchants did receive at least some payment, though it was in 'black money' (i.e. debased coinage). On 28 April 1487 the Aberdeen council decided to write to Danzig 'to profir to content and pay al somes and gudis' which were owed to the Danzig merchants.[148] The letter was duly written on 1 May and, in addition to the council's assurances about the payment of the debts, Aberdeen stated that it regretted that Danzig merchants were no longer visiting the town because of the dispute.[149] Probably before this letter had arrived in Danzig, the Danzig council wrote to Aberdeen on 6 June, condemning the fact that nothing had been done to repay the debts owed to Conrad and Vassolt. On 6 August Aberdeen replied tetchily that neither Conrad, Vassolt nor their factors had recently troubled themselves for payment, but the council again promised that, if the merchants or their representatives came to Aberdeen, they would receive full satisfaction.[150]

The Aberdeen council appears to have been genuinely worried about the effect of the dispute on its trade with Danzig and it took exceptional steps to ensure that the debts would be repaid. Two of the burgh's leading burgesses, John Cullan and John Wormit, were ordered to remain in the tolbooth until they paid the silver which was owed to the Danzigers. This soon

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148. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 13.
149. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/13.
150. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/14. The June letter has not survived, but is referred to in that of August.

persuaded the two merchants and another merchant, Alexander Menzies, to agree to pay their debts.[151] Nevertheless, by the summer of 1488 · the Danzigers had still not received their dues and, despairing of Aberdeen's failure to convert promises into payment, Danzig approached the king. It accused Aberdeen of causing great damage to its trade and, in an unsubtle threat, added that hitherto it had refrained from ordering the arrest of Scottish goods in Danzig.[152] The involvement of the crown at long last brought results. A leading Aberdeen merchant, William Tuliff, was dispatched to Danzig in 1488 with £31 Scots to settle Conrad's debts. In Danzig's view this was not sufficient and, on 18 July 1489, Aberdeen declared that Conrad had received all that he could expect.[153] The council added that, should Danzig doubt Aberdeen's efforts to settle the dispute, it should consult with merchants from Stralsund, Stettin and Greifswald, who could testify to the council's exhortations to settle the dispute. Danzig, however, reasserted Conrad's claims on 28 August 1489 and again threatened to arrest the goods of Aberdonians visiting Danzig.[154]

Despite the dispute, several Aberdeen merchants were still trading at Danzig. It was probably the

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151. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 56-57.
152. HUB, xi, no. 236.
153. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/16.
154. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/17.

threat to their goods which prompted Aberdeen to request in June 1490 that Danzig treat favourably four merchants, who were about to depart for Danzig.[155] The council also suggested that any debts which were still owed to Conrad had nothing to do with Aberdeen and its merchants. Rather, the council pointed the finger at transactions which Conrad may have had outwith the burgh's jurisdiction, in the lands of the abbot of Arbroath. Nevertheless, the Aberdeen council again considered the matter in October 1491, when John Cullan was ordered by the council to

> ... amende the offensis done be him to the men of danskin ... [so] that the schipiris and merchandis of the burgh may haue salf and fre passage to the partis of danskin ... lik as thai haue do and vsit tymes bigane befor ye said offense was committit.[156]

By late 1491, then, Aberdeen's trade with Danzig was still being adversely affected by a dispute which had its origins almost twenty years previously. Although there are several references in the Aberdeen council registers to trade conducted by Aberdonians with Danzig in the 1480s and 1490s, there are no references to merchants from Danzig visiting Aberdeen in these years and very few to Danzig skippers.[157]

The possibility that disputes concerning debt and other commercial matters would arise between Scottish

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155. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/17.
156. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 266.
157. For references to continued trade between Aberdeen and Danzig, conducted by Scotsmen, see, for example, DA Aberdeen, ACR, vii, 7, 84, 135, 167, 197 and, for a rare reference to a Danzig skipper, ACR, vii, 135.

and Prussian merchants was greater than the scope for similar disputes to arise between Scottish and other Hanseatic merchants, simply because the level of trade and the number of participants in trade between Scotland and the Prussian towns was higher than that between Scotland and other Hanseatic towns. Most of Scotland's disputes with other Hanseatic towns stemmed from the activities of pirates rather than grievances such as debt, which arose from ordinary commercial intercourse. Piracy committed by Scotsmen, however, also occasionally strained relations between Scotland and the eastern Baltic towns.

One of the most serious incidents of piracy waged by Scotsmen occurred in the early fifteenth century, when Robert Davidson, the provost of Aberdeen, and Alexander Stewart, the earl of Mar, captured merchandise belonging to Danzig merchants. The Hansa responded by imposing an embargo on Scottish trade, which, surprisingly, considering the losses which Danzig merchants had suffered, Danzig and the other Prussian and Livonian towns were reluctant to abide by.[158] It must be assumed that the eastern Hanseatic towns considered that they stood to lose more by terminating their trade with Scotland than they stood to recoup from the Scots in compensation for the piracy. The lenient attitude which Danzig had taken towards Scottish pirates in the

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158. See below, chapter six. A Königsberg ship had also been attacked by unnamed Scottish pirates and taken to Aberdeen in 1418 (GSA Berlin, OBA 2766).

early fifteenth century changed, however, from the mid-fifteenth century.

When news of the seizure of a Prussian ship off the Scottish coast in 1449 reached Danzig, goods found in the houses and cellars of Scots resident in Danzig were arrested. On 21 July other merchandise, belonging to merchants from Cupar and Edinburgh who had arrived in Danzig shortly after Easter, was also arrested.[159] On 27 August Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen wrote a terse letter of complaint about the incident to James II.[160] The ship had actually been captured by Breton pirates, who had brought it to Leith. There, after borrowing money from some Edinburgh merchants, Heinrich Rese of Danzig bought it back. Rese and Hans von dem Walde, whose connections with Scotland have already been noted, had assured the Scots that, despite their complicity in the affair, no action would be taken against Scottish merchants visiting Danzig. The Scottish merchants in Danzig, therefore, approached the grand master, who instructed them to bring proof of the circumstances of the incident from the Scottish king and the authorities of Edinburgh.[161] James II duly wrote to the grand master on 14 March 1450, interceding on behalf of the merchants whose goods had been arrested. The Edinburgh council wrote in a similar vein two days later.[162] The Scottish queen, Mary of Guelders, also wrote to the grand master

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159. GSA Berlin, OBA 27970(1); 27970(2).
160. GSA Berlin, OF17, 364-365.
161. GSA Berlin, OBA 27970(1); 27970(2). These documents are not dated but their contents imply that they were written in 1449. On Rese and Walde, see above, 303-304.
162. GSA Berlin, OBA 9485; 27968.

on 2 April.[163] Konrad von Erlichshausen had died in November 1449. His successor, Ludwig von Erlichshausen, eventually ordered the return of the arrested goods and on 20 July 1452 Danzig wrote to Edinburgh to confirm that they had been released.[164] From this letter it would appear that the authorities of Edinburgh had taken retaliatory action and arrested goods belonging to Danzig merchants in Edinburgh. Danzig now requested that these be released. In fact, the Danzig authorities had not been strictly honest. James Lauder, described by Queen Mary as her servant and one of the merchants whose goods had been arrested, complained to Erlichshausen that, although some of his goods had been returned,

> ... eczliche guttere noch hinderstellig sint, dy ich ouch gerne gehat hatte unde myr do nicht werden mochten.[165]

These goods had found their way into the possession of Ambrose Schonau, a Danzig merchant. Despite further appeals for their restitution by Lauder and Mary of Guelders, and instructions from the grand master to the Danzig authorities to restore them to Lauder, it was 22 March 1453 before the matter was finally settled.[166] A notarial instrument, drawn up by Nicolaus Armknecht, recorded that, following arbitration, Schonau should pay Lauder and eleven other Scottish merchants 140 Prussian marks for the goods. Twenty were to be paid immediately, a further twenty the following Whitsun, and a further five marks each successive

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163. GSA Berlin, OBA 9495.
164. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/5, fo. 202.
165. GSA Berlin, OBA 11391(2). Lauder was also acting on behalf of eleven other Scottish merchants, who are named in HUB, viii, no. 235.
166. GSA Berlin, OBA 11391(1).

Whitsun.[167]

This dispute had broken out only shortly after a settlement had been apparently reached to the dispute involving Claus Jerren. In both cases the Danzig authorities had ordered the arrest of Scottish goods in Danzig and in subsequent disputes about piracy, as in subsequent disputes about debt, Danzig again threatened to seize the goods of Scottish merchants visiting the town. In the 1460s, for example, the Danzig merchants Johann Meynrick, Peter Bischof, Heinrich Eggerd and others had freighted a ship for Scotland, which was seized by Scotsmen, perhaps from Edinburgh, off the Scottish coast. At the request of James III, the Danzigers sent a representative, Peter Kozeler, to seek restitution. Kozeler, however, failed to acquire compensation and Danzig again wrote to James, the bishop of St. Andrews and the authorities of Edinburgh on 1 August 1466, seeking either restitution of the goods or compensation for them. It also threatened to arrest Scottish goods in Danzig. King Casimir of Poland had also interceded on behalf of his subjects.[168] The matter had, however, still not been settled by 1469, when Danzig again wrote to James and again threatened to seize Scottish goods.[169] It is not certain whether any Scottish goods were seized, but, although Scottish ships were regularly visiting Danzig in the early 1470s, James III deemed it prudent to seek

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167. HUB, viii, no. 235.
168. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/6, fos. 308-309. Casimir's letter is missing, but referred to in that from Danzig.
169. WAP Gransk, 300D/17A/3.

official protection from Danzig for John Fowles and other Edinburgh merchants, who were intending to visit Danzig in 1475.[170] Meanwhile, on 5 May 1476, Casimir again wrote to James, requesting that unspecified restrictions which had been imposed on Danzigers visiting Scotland, perhaps in retribution for the seizure of goods belonging to Edinburgh merchants in Danzig, should be lifted. At the apparent instigation of Kozeler, this letter was not, however, sent, presumably because Kozeler had finally acquired satisfaction.[171]

Danzig merchants also suffered losses at the hands of Scottish pirates in 1482,[172] while in September 1491 Danzig wrote to Edinburgh, Dundee and St. Andrews to complain that certain Scots, Frenchmen and Spaniards had jointly attacked shipping laden with goods belonging to Danzig merchants.[172] This probably relates to an incident which occurred on 23 April 1491 when Frenchmen had attacked four Hanseatic vessels coming from Wismar and taken three of them to Scotland.[174] Danzig again sought compensation from the Scots and added another veiled threat to arrest Scottish goods. Dundee replied in a conciliatory tone, as was to be expected from a burgh whose trading links with the Baltic were particularly strong. Writing in March 1492, Dundee assured Danzig that it knew nothing about the incident, but, should the pirates bring the captured goods to Dundee, it would place them under immediate

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170. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/5.
171. HUB, x, no. 482.
172. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/16/130.
173. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/7, fos. 53v-54v.
174. HR, C, ii, no. 522.

arrest.[175] On 6 October 1493 Edinburgh wrote to Danzig in a similar tone.[176] It had only recently been able to approach the chancellor and other royal advisors, with the Danzig merchants who had suffered losses. Because the Danzigers had been satisfied with the outcome of the meeting, Edinburgh hoped that Danzig would not disrupt trade between Scotland and Prussia. In May 1494 James IV also wrote to Danzig, promising a full investigation into the affair.[177]

The Scots appear to have been particularly concerned that the matter should not affect bilateral trade. It is likely that their efforts to satisfy the Danzigers were intensified because Scottish goods had again been arrested in Danzig. The Scottish merchants and skippers in Danzig had recently pleaded with the council of Danzig for the release of goods, which had been arrested because of piracy committed on Danzig shipping by Scots and Frenchmen. The Scots condemned piracy, but explained that the incident had occurred during a period of Anglo-Scottish warfare, though a royal proclamation had explicitly stated that the warfare should not be used as an excuse to attack shipping '<u>ex terris orientalibus et signanter civitate Gedanensi</u>'.[178] This letter is undated, but had been calendared by the editors of the <u>Hansisches Urkundenbuch</u> under 1492, presumably because of the references to French pirates, who, as is clear

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175. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/18.
176. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/24; <u>HUB</u>, xi, no. 703. The letter is undated, but ascribed by the editors of <u>HUB</u> to 1493, though it could conceivably be dated to 1492 or 1494.
177. WAP Gdańsk, 300/17A/20.
178. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/23; <u>HUB</u>, xi, no. 637.

from the letters written by Danzig, Dundee, Edinburgh and James IV in the early 1490s, were involved in the attack on Hanseatic shipping in 1491. There was, however, no official Anglo-Scottish war at this period, though an unofficial war of piracy was being conducted at sea.[179] If the arrest of the Scottish goods is not to be set in ca.1492, an alternative date would perhaps be ca.1482, when James III was involved in a war with his brother Alexander, duke of Albany, and Albany's English allies.[180] Hanseatic, including Danzig, shipping was certainly attacked by the naval forces of the combatants of this period and, in a letter to Danzig, the alderman of the Hanseatic Kontor at London had indicated that the French, as well as the Scots and English, were involved in these attacks.[181]

Yet it would be wrong to assume that, desirous of maintaining trade with Danzig at all costs, the Scottish authorities were prepared to meet the claims of any and every Danzig merchant who accused the Scots of piracy. Johann Buck of Danzig complained in 1502 that he had received no justice from the Scots, following an attack on his ship in 1493. Buck claimed that his ship had been attacked near the island of Inchkeith by pirates from Leith. His cargo was allegedly taken to North Berwick. Edinburgh had failed to treat Buck's claims seriously and treated him with ridicule,

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179. Nicholson, Scotland, 549.
180. Ibid., 493-497; Macdougall, James III, 144-180, passim.
181. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/11/130.

despite the fact he was in possession of a royal instruction to the Edinburgh council that he should receive speedy judgement. Buck, therefore, resorted to the ecclesiastical courts, where, despite spending large amounts of money on the court proceedings, he failed to acquire compensations. It is perhaps suspicious that Danzig did not intercede on behalf of Buck until 1502, nine years after the alleged incident.[182] James IV replied to Danzig that he suspected that Buck had invented the whole story 'as a contrivance to disturb the peace'.[183] He could not remember having seen Buck before, despite Buck's claim that he had previously sought the assistance of the king. James may not have been far off the mark. Buck had persuaded Danzig to write to Cologne in 1498, concerning an attack by men from Cologne upon a ship which contained goods belonging to Buck.[184] This attack was also dated in 1493, and had occurred because the men of Cologne suspected that the ship was Scottish owned.[185] It was, perhaps, Buck's inability to win compensation from Cologne, which led him to change his story and, instead, blame the Scots for the attack.

There was a striking difference between Danzig's desire to maintain trade and friendly relations with Scotland in the early fifteenth century and its increasingly hostile attitude towards the Scots and

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182. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/7, fo. 244.
183. James IV Letters, no. 25.
184. HA Köln, Hanse III K12, fo. 81. For Cologne's reply, see WAP Gdańsk, 300D/24B/58.
185. On the dispute between Scotland and Cologne, see above, 143-151, especially 150.

frequent threats to arrest their goods, in retaliation for debt default and piracy, in the later fifteenth century. The attitude of the Scots to the towns of the eastern Baltic also changed during the fifteenth century. The Scots showed no desire to compensate Danzig or Königsberg for piratical attacks on ships which contained goods belonging to the merchants of these two towns in the early fifteenth century. In the later fifteenth century Aberdeen took exceptional measures to recompense Danzig merchants for payments which they had received in debased coinage (even though this still did not satisfy Danzig), while in the 1490s Edinburgh and Dundee both took action to satisfy the claims of Danzig merchants who had suffered losses at the hands of pirates. These changes in attitude reflect the changing nature of Scotland's trade with the eastern Baltic in the fifteenth century.

While the focus of that trade remained centred on Danzig and, to a lesser extent, Königsberg and while, despite annual variations in the quantity of goods which were traded, the actual types of commodity which formed the basis to Scottish-Prussian trade did not alter during the fifteenth century, there was a fundamental change in the participants in trade. In the early fifteenth century the Teutonic Order and some of the most prominent merchants from Danzig and Thorn maintained commercial contact with Scotland. By 1460, the date of the first extant Danzig customs account, most German merchants had

deserted Scottish trade. By then most of the trade was handled by Scots. As a proportion of Danzig's total import trade, Scottish trade was also relatively insignificant, though exports were more important. The authorities of Danzig were, therefore, able to take a more robust attitude towards misdeeds committed by Scots, in the knowledge that the trade of the wealthiest Danzig merchants would only be affected to a limited extent.

By contrast, the desire of the Scots to settle the later commercial disputes with Danzig, which was in stark contrast to the attitude which Scots adopted towards disputes with the more westerly Hanseatic towns, suggests that Prussian trade was greatly valued by the Scots. There was a healthy market in Scotland for most of Danzig's principal exports. Although Scottish exports to Danzig were probably less valuable, Krämerwaren, in particular, were shipped eastward, for sale by the Scottish pedlars who were travelling in large numbers in the Prussian hinterland by the 1470s. On the whole those merchants and pedlars who emigrated to Danzig were made welcome there, despite the consternation which the activities of the pedlars caused elsewhere in Prussia. That so many Scots chose to emigrate to the eastern Baltic is, however, an eloquent reminder of the depressed nature of the later medieval Scottish economy.

# CHAPTER SIX

## THE HANSEATIC EMBARGO ON SCOTTISH TRADE IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1427 and 1428 were years of unrest in the Hanseatic town of Stralsund. The town council was faced with complaints from merchants and brewers about the adverse effect which its foreign policy had on their commerce. Aware that similar discontent had recently led to revolt in neighbouring Rostock and Wismar, the Stralsund authorities moved quickly to stifle the dissatisfaction. There was to be no uprising in Stralsund. Nevertheless, the underlying reasons for the unrest persisted. Many merchants were dismayed at a worsening of Anglo-Hanseatic relations: some had suffered great loss in 1427, when an English force had attacked a large fleet which was bringing salt to the Hanseatic towns from the Bay of Bourgneuf. This mixture of diplomatic and economic criticism was echoed among the brewers: one of their grievances was that a Hanseatic embargo on trade with Scotland had led to a substantial decline in the sales of Stralsund beer.[1] Although this particular episode has been largely overlooked by historians, the existence of the Hanseatic embargo on trade with Scotland has long been recognized. Nonetheless, there remains a good deal of confusion about the matter. Most recent historians have relied on T.A. Fischer's narration of

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1. Thomas Kantzow, Chronik von Pommern in mitteldeutschen Mundart, ed. G. Gaebel (Stettin, 1897), i, 265; ii, 165. For a more detailed examination of the unrest in Stralsund, see K. Fritze, Am Wendepunkt der Hanse (Berlin 1971), 225-227.

events, which is incomplete, muddled and inaccurate.[2] There has, moreover, been little attempt to examine the reasons for, and effects of, the dispute. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to examine more closely the causes, course and consequences of the Scottish-Hanseatic friction.

On 21 August 1408 a Rotterdam skipper, Walich, reported to the council of Count William VI of Holland that his ship, laden with wool belonging to Amsterdam merchants, had been attacked by Scottish pirates while sailing to Calais. This was the first of a spate of attacks by Scots on Dutch merchants. Harlem and Gouda reported losses in 1408; Brouwershaven in 1409 and 1410; and also in 1410 the Middelburg records relate an attack led by Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, on four vessels at Flushing.[3] The depredations were not confined to Dutch shipping. In November 1408 certain unnamed Scots were arrested at Arnemuiden, because of 'zekere scade die zij ghedaen hadden binnen dem Zwene eenighen Hollanders ende eenen poorter van Brucghe'.[4] In 1409 Mar, along with Sir John Bonville, Robert Davidson, the provost of Aberdeen, and their accomplices, attacked a London ship, the 'Thomas', freighted with the goods of four merchants, including Richard Whittington of pantomime fame.[5]

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2. Fischer, Germany, 5, 13-14.
3. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, nos. 860, 868, 873, 872.
4. Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Flanderen 1405-19, ed. A. Zoete (Brussels 1981-2), nos. 231, 232, 234.
5. CPR, 1408-13, 173, 176, 180. Scottish attacks on English shipping were discussed at a meeting of representatives from the Flemish towns in 1409 and again in 1412 (Zoete, Handelingen, nos. 266, 267, 424).

And early in 1410 Mar and Davidson attacked an Amsterdam ship, laden with the goods of Danzigers, which was sailing from Prussia to Flanders.[6] This last attack was the prelude to the lengthy dispute between Scotland and the Hansa. The course of the dispute will be examined presently, but, quite clearly, its causes lie in this outburst of Scottish piracy. Two problems, therefore, require some attention: firstly, the reasons for the outbreak of piracy and, secondly, why the Hanseatic League and not the Dutch, who had borne the initial brunt of the attacks, adopted such a harsh response.

Piracy, it has been argued, was a national industry for medieval Scots.[7] This may be an absurd generalization, but, like most exaggerations, it contains a grain of truth. Certainly the outburst of Scottish piracy, which began in 1408, was not unprecedented. Earlier in the fifteenth century Scottish piracy had been one of the reasons behind a deterioration of relations with Flanders, causing the closure of the Scottish staple at Bruges in 1406 and its transfer to (probably) Middelburg in Zeeland.[8] Scotsmen were not, however, the only pirates operating in the North Sea in the later middle ages. There were, for example, repeated complaints about English piracy circulating in Hanseatic towns throughout the first decade of the fifteenth century.[9] Piracy was

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6. HR, A, v, no. 709; HUB, v, no. 938.
7. K. Pagel, Die Hanse (Braunschweig 1952), 172.
8. Baxter; Copiale, Appendix no. 4; Stevenson, Thesis, 26-29.
9. HUB, v, nos. 580, 582, 603, 613, 615, 618, 621, 633, 667.

symptomatic of the insecurity of the seas and, as such, it was partly related to political conflict and warfare. In times of war merchant ships were frequently armed for military purposes and in order to mount blockades. They were, therefore, ideally equipped to indulge in some opportunistic piracy as a profitable sideline. Thus, in 1402 an English fleet led by Lord Gray of Codner, ostensibly decked out to combat an outburst of Franco-Scottish piracy, set upon four defenceless German merchant ships in Blackness harbour.[10] In response to such threats, ships involved purely in trade found it advisable to arm themselves in defence. In 1416 a proviso was even included in the commercial privileges granted to Scottish merchants by Count William VI of Holland, to the effect that in times of war (presumably with England) Scottish merchants and their ships could be accompanied to Holland by armed men.[11] Equipped for hostilities, it was but a small step for ships such as these also to take the offensive and to partake in piracy themselves. It was in these circumstances that a Yarmouth ship stopped the Danzig vessel 'Marienknecht' in 1406 and captured James, the young heir to the Scottish throne.[12] This occurred, moreover, during an Anglo-Scottish truce and it demonstrates that the arming of merchant ships was not confined to periods of actual warfare. The strained Anglo-Scottish relations,

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10. BL, Cotton MS, Nero B II, fos. 44v-47r; Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 351, 352, 353; see above, 159-160, 316 and below, 465-466
11. Smit, Bronnen, A, 1, no. 940.
12. CPR, 1405-8, 167.

which persisted for much of Henry IV's reign (1399-1413), and the prevalent atmosphere of insecurity, was, probably, one of the reasons behind the Scottish attacks on Dutch, English and Hanseatic merchants, which began in 1408. Certainly, this Scottish piracy can not be taken as evidence of poor relations between Holland and Scotland. Scottish merchants visiting Holland had been granted special protection by Count William VI in 1406. This had been renewed in 1408, three months after the first report of Scottish piracy on a Dutch vessel.[13] Dutch skippers seem to have been no more than singularly unfortunate at being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In addition to political insecurity, there were probably also economic motivations, such as greed or the avoidance of poverty, behind the outburst of Scottish piracy. It is, however, difficult to firmly establish such motivations, because pirates were not requited to write justifications for their actions. The bulk of evidence concerning pirates' actions comes from the complaints of those who were attacked. By its nature, such evidence concentrates on the misfortune which befell the victims. Frequently pirates are not even identified and many of the Scottish attacks after 1408 are ascribed merely to unidentified Scots. Nevertheless, the attacks on the Flushing ships in 1409, the London ship in 1409 and the Amsterdam ship in 1410 were blamed specifically on Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, and Robert Davidson.

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13. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, nos. 847, 863.

This suggests an Aberdeen link. Mar was the dominant noble in the north-east.[14] Davidson had been the burgh's provost since 1407.[15] Since Aberdeen's burgh records are the most extensive to survive for the medieval period anywhere in Scotland, it might be hoped that the council registers would shed some light on the motives for their piracy and, indeed, the council's reaction to the piracy. While, however, the relevant council register frequently mentions Mar and Davidson, it is completely silent about the outburst of piracy. Other sources must, therefore, be turned to for evidence of an economic motivation to piracy. Davidson owed his position as provost to the fact that he was one of the burgh's leading merchants.[16] Since 1396 he had also been one of Aberdeen's customers and he was, therefore, in a good position to witness the level of the burgh's export trade (see Table One below).[17]

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14. On Mar, see Sir J. Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage (Edinburgh 1904-14), v, 586-589; W.D. Simpson, The Earldom of Mar (Aberdeen 1949), 42-61); A.B.Ill., iv, passim.
15. For Davidson's election as provost, see DA Aberdeen, ACR, i, 322.
16. In tax returns Davidson regularly paid amongst the highest sums (DA Aberdeen, ACR, ii, 70-74).
17. ER, iii, 387, 414, 441, 474, 498, 520, 539, 569, 629; iv, 13, 50, 85, 108.

Table One — Customs duties levied on exports from Aberdeen 1391-1412

| Year of Account | Total value of customs levied |
|---|---|
| 1392 | £600 - 6s - 6½d |
| 1393 | £625 - 3s - 3 d |
| 1394 | £1134 - 9s - 2 d |
| 1395 | £731 - 7s - 2½d |
| 1396 | £841 - 14s - 2½d |
| 1397 | £598 - 2s - 4 d |
| 1398 | £544 - 14s - 1½d |
| 1399 | £424 - 4s - 3 d |
| 1400 | £399 - 0s - 8½d |
| 1401 | £395 - 13s - 11½d |
| 1402 | £391 - 12s - 6½d |
| 1403 | £300 - 3s - 4 d |
| 1404 | £269 - 16s - 2 d |
| 1405 | £543 - 3s - 6½d |
| 1407 * | £389 - 16s - 3 d |
| 1408 | £403 - 13s - 3 d |
| 1409 | £520 - 19s - 0 d |
| 1410 | £365 - 7s - 6½d |
| 1412 * | £756 - 7s - 3 d |

* Account for two year period.

Source: Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edd. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh 1878-1908), volumes iii and iv.

From the figures contained in Table One it is evident that Aberdeen's exports peaked in 1393-1394 (as is reflected in the 1394 account). Therafter there was a fairly steady decline in exports until 1406, followed by only a patchy recovery. A comparison

between the revenue collected in Davidson's first year as a customer in 1396 and his last year in office in 1410, shows a decline of £476-6s-8d. In the particularly bad years of 1401-2 and 1402-3 Davidson had even failed to raise sufficient revenue to pay for his expenses.[18] The slump in Aberdeen's exports was echoed elsewhere in Scotland. But whereas in the early 1390s Aberdeen had always paid the third largest customs revenue to the exchequer, after Edinburgh and Linlithgow, by the first decade of the fifteenth century Aberdeen's contributions had slipped behind those of other burghs. In Davidson's last year of office Aberdeen was only fifth in importance behind Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Perth and Dundee.[19] Aberdeen was, therefore, apparently hit more severely by the general depression in the Scottish economy of the early fifteenth century.[20]

There is no direct evidence of a link between the burgh's apparently declining trading fortunes and its apparent propensity for piracy. Indeed, the possibility can not be ruled out, that Aberdeen's customed exports declined so markedly, because the customers were defrauding the exchequer or because merchants were defrauding the customers. Nevertheless, the particularly low customs returns of the middle of the first decade of the fifteenth century correspond to accusations of piracy, which were levelled by Ypres against Aberdeen, while the burst of piracy attributed to Aberdonians in 1409 and 1410 coincided with another drop in exports, as is reflected in the 1410

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18. ER, iii, 569, 598.
19. ER, iv, 108.
20. See above, 41-45.

and 1412 accounts. If exports fell, so did merchants' incomes. The sale of pirated goods could help bridge the shortfall in merchants' incomes.

Economic depression and political insecurity, perhaps then, played their part in creating the conditions favourable to a growth in piracy. As has already been stated, both factors affected all the major Scottish exporting burghs to some extent. Yet, it was Aberdeen alone which was held responsible for Scottish piracy from 1408. A further explanation for Aberdeen's penchant for piracy is, perhaps, to be found in the character of one of the leaders of the town's maritime freebooters. Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, was an illegitimate son. He could not count on inheriting his father's lands and power. He had to pave his own way to success. His early life, as befitted the son of the notorious 'Wolf of Badenoch', was marked by audacity and adventure. In 1406 he had forcibly married the widowed Isabella, countess of Mar, taking possession of the earldom de uxore.[21] His exploits abroad, in support of the duke of Burgundy at the siege of Liège in 1408, won him great admiration in the eyes of the Scottish chronicler, Andrew of Wyntoun.[22] Piracy fits comfortably

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21. A.B.Ill., iv, 169. On Mar's second (bigamous) marriage to Maria de Horn of Brabant (she was already married). see Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon 1394-1419, ed. F. McGurk (SHS 1976), 313, 332. On his third marriage, to Margaret Seton, see Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1428-32, edd. A.I. Dunlop and I.B. Cowan (SHS 1970), 209-210.
22. Chron. Wyntoun (Laing), iii, 110- 116.

into this picture of strenuous, if, at times, legally dubious, activity and, as the leading magnate in the north-east, Mar was doubtless aware of the hard times upon which the region's principal burgh had fallen. Rather less is known about the life of Robert Davidson, but it is likely that, with his experience as a merchant, a customer and as provost, he could provide the piratical band with valuable intelligence, as to which the most profitable trade routes were to target.

While the principal cause of the rupture in Scottish-Hanseatic relations was Scottish piracy, other factors also contributed. The imposition of a trading embargo on Scotland by the Hansa was, after all, a much more severe reaction than that of the Dutch or English, who had also suffered at Scottish hands. Richard Whittington and his three companions from England had pursued a more reasonable response. Initially they wrote to Mar and Davidson seeking restitution. When this failed, they applied to Henry IV for permission to arrest Scottish goods from aboard a Flemish vessel in Warkworth harbour to the value of those which they had lost.[23] The Dutch response was not dissimilar. In 1409 Count William VI of Holland granted the citizens of Brouwershaven the right to arm ships against the Scots.[24] Again, the objective was to seize limited compensation, since it could not be gained by agreement. The reasons for the Hansa's comparatively severe reaction

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23. CPR, 1408-13, 173.
24. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, nos. 868, 869.

to the Scots largely pre-date the immediate incidents of Scottish piracy. The Hansa had always taken a hard line against piracy. Ensuring the safety of the seas had been one of the motives behind the development of Hanseatic unity in the thirteenth century.[25] Moreover, the Hansa had regularly employed severe measures against those who damaged or threatened its commercial interests. In 1280 the infringement of Hanseatic trading privileges at Bruges had led to the removal of the Hanseatic Kontor to Aardenburg, in a successful attempt to damage Bruges's trade. A full-scale blockade had been imposed on Norway in 1284, following another infringement of Hanseatic privileges. Norway, reliant on Hanseatic grain supplies, was starved into submission. More recently, the Hansa had waged a full-scale war against Denmark, fearing the consequences of Danish political hegemony in the Baltic for Hanseatic commerce. Again, the war, concluded by the Peace of Stralsund in 1370, had been a complete success.[26] Thus, there were plenty of precedents for the imposition of an embargo on Scottish trade. Embargoes were a tried and tested Hanseatic remedy against unwelcome commercial competition or political hostility and they were to be used frequently throughout the fifteenth century against the Dutch, English, Flemish, Scots and Spaniards.[27]

The outbreak of Scottish piracy after 1408 had been initially directed against Dutch and English vessels.

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25. HR, A, i, nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 29, 30, 34.
26. See above, 231.
27. Dollinger, Hanse, passim, and especially 364-400.

The first involvement of the Hansa occurred when Mar and Davidson attacked an Amsterdam ship in 1410, which had been freighted with the goods of Danzig merchants. The ship was taken to Scotland and subsequently Davidson attempted to sell his ill-gotten gains at Harfleur in France.[28] The matter had, however, come to the notice of the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges.[29] Indeed, news of the attack seems to have been common knowledge among Hanseatic merchants, for, when Davidson and three others (Alexander Lyall, Alexander de Rutherford and Robin de Irvine) arrived at Harfleur, their goods were arrested by three Hanseatic merchants, Johann Estot, Wideigne de la Porte and Heinrich Purcheist.[30] Once news of the arrest reached Bruges, the Kontor's aldermen sent word to the parlement of Paris, that the arrested goods should be returned to their rightful owners.[31] Davidson was not, however, to be out-foxed. He produced a safe-conduct, issued in his favour by King Charles VI of France, and was allowed to depart freely. Doubtless somewhat nettled, the aldermen of the Kontor

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28. HR, A, v, no. 709; HUB, v, no. 938.
29. HR, A, v, no. 705.
30. WAP Toruń, Kat.I., no. 686 (I am grateful to Dr. G. Majewska for obtaining a photograph of this document for me); WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 254.
31. HR, A, v, no. 709; HUB, v, no. 938. For the proceedings of the parlement on this matter, see Archives Nationales, Paris, Parlement, Lettres-Arrêts-Jugés, X 57, fos. 109r-110v. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Graeme Small for his assistance in tracing this record.

sought assistance from the Hanseatic diet, meeting at Hamburg in April 1410.[32] The diet discussed the issue and dispatched a letter to the French king, explaining the situation and requesting that justice be done to the dispossessed Hanseatic merchants.[33] In June 1410 the German aldermen in Bruges attempted to solicit further diplomatic support for the Hanseatic cause, writing to both the Count of Holland and Ulrich von Jungingen, the grand master of the Teutonic Order.[34]

Mar and Davidson were, perhaps, aware of this extensive diplomatic activity. They certainly deemed it prudent to concoct a defence against the Hanseatic accusations. This appeared in the form of a letter, sent by the Aberdeen burgh council to Danzig and dated 1 December 1410.[35] The two pirates had requested that the council write because the burgh's seal was better known in Danzig than their own. As was to be expected, however, since Mar was the dominant local noble and Davidson the burgh's provost, the letter was not conciliatory in tone. It was suggested that the act of piracy on the Amsterdam vessel in 1410 had nothing to do with either Mar or Davidson. Rather, the culprits were some unidentified fishermen from Holland and Zealand - a likely story! Moreover, the Aberdeen council indignantly demanded that Danzig pay Davidson

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32. HR, A, v, no. 705.
33. HR, A, v, no. 709; HUB, v, no. 938.
34. HR, A, v, no. 641.
35. WAP Toruń, Kat.I., no. 686; WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 254. In the proceedings before the parlement of Paris Davidson had already claimed that the Dutch were at war with the Scots (Archives Nationales, Paris, Parlement..., X 57, fo. 109r), which probably refers to the war of piracy being waged by the Scots on the Dutch (see above, 341).

one thousand nobles, in compensation for his costs in defending himself before the parlement of Paris. Should Danzig decline, Aberdeen gave notice that it would authorize reprisals against Danzigers. The letter does not refer to the pirated goods, but it must be assumed that these, or the profits from them, were still in Scottish hands, the Hansa's request to the French crown for their return having failed to produce results.

Aberdeen's letter apparently failed to solicit a response from Danzig. The threatened reprisals soon began to take effect. Indeed, even before the December letter was written, a Danzig skipper, Albert von Borken, who was sailing from Flanders to Reval with a cargo of salt and hides, was attacked by certain unnamed Scots in the summer of 1410.[36] Complaints about Scottish piracy continued to circulate in Hanseatic circles throughout 1411. In a letter of April 1411 to the Livonian towns the German Kontor at Bruges complained that the sea had been made unsafe by English, Scottish and Frisian pirates.[37] The Hanseatic diet, meeting at Wismar in November 1411, contemplated making an unprecedented financial grant to the German Kontor at Bergen in Norway for the purpose of combating piracy.[38] That nothing came of this suggestion is not surprising, considering the Hansa's notorious reluctance, except in the most dire of emergencies, to spend money on matters of common interest. But that it should be mooted at all is indicative of the Hansa's concern about the

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36. HR, A, v, no. 723.
37. Ibid., no. 994.
38. HR, A, vi, no. 53.

activities of Mar and Davidson. In the event the diet accepted a less costly response. It wrote to the group of leading Flemish towns (the Lede), to suggest that a common course of action should be adopted against the Scots.[39] This, it was pointed out, might cause some damage to the Flemish towns themselves.

The letter did not elaborate on what, exactly, such action might entail. This did not become clear until the Hanseatic diet gathered at Lüneburg in April 1412.[40] There it was decided to pursue two tactics. Scottish piracy was to be raised once more with the king of France, the parlement of Paris and the duke of Burgundy. Should these intercessions fail to prod the Scots into making compensation for their attacks, a prohibition was to be imposed on the import of all cloth made from Scottish wool with effect from Christmas 1412. In the event, the Hansa followed the path of economic sanctions.

This was doubtless determined by Mar's continued provocation. On 6 June 1412 he struck again, this time off the Norwegian coast.[41] The object of this attack was yet another Danzig ship, skippered by Claus Bellekow. The ship had been sailing from Rostock to Bergen in Norway with a cargo of salt, flour and beer,

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39. HR, A, vi, no. 52; HUB, v, no. 1029. The Lede were composed of the towns of Bruges, Ghent and Ypres and the franc of Bruges.
40. HR, A, vi, no. 68.
41. Ibid., no. 76; HUB, v, no. 1061.

when Mar's men boarded it and threatened to throw the crew overboard. In the event, they relented, allowing Bellekow and three of his men to depart in a boat. The rest of the crew were not so fortunate. They were taken to Scotland, conducted into the country-side and set to work on rebuilding one of Mar's castles, probably Kildrummy.[42] Having suffered the indignity of carrying heavy stones about for two months, two of the Germans, Tidemann von dem Oste and Hanneke Schole, made good their escape. Having arrived safely in Flanders, they recounted their tearful tale to the authorities of the German Kontor at Bruges.

Two Danzig ships and an Amsterdam ship laden with Danzig goods had, then, been attacked by Mar, creating a furore in the Hansa and, most particularly, with the German Kontor at Bruges. In July and August 1412 the Kontor wrote to the Prussian towns. Since the Scots had not come to peace, the Kontor advised that the imposition of the sanctions, outlined at Lüneburg, was now desirable.[43] It was further stated, that direct trade with Scotland should also be stopped.

Nevertheless, considerable doubt still existed as to the advisability of this course of action. The Flemish Lede discussed the matter at their meeting on 2 December 1412.[44] Fearful of the effect which a Hanseatic prohibition on dealings with Scotland would have on the Flemish cloth industry, the Lede still sought a compromise.

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42. Mar apparently did some building work at Kildrummy at about this period (A.B.Ill., iii, 517).
43. WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 268-270.
44. HUB, v, no. 1075.

Indeed, reservations about the imposition of an embargo on Scottish trade extended beyond Flanders. The letter sent from the Bruges Kontor to the Prussian towns in July 1412 urged Stralsund and also Danzig (ironically, since it had suffered most from the Scottish piracy) to abide by the Lüneburg decisions. The inherent implication, that these towns would not comply, is confirmed by the August letter. The Kontor complained specifically that neither Stralsund nor Danzig accepted the ordinance. In this the two towns were apparently joined by Hamburg.[45]

Nevertheless, the ban on dealings in cloth made from Scottish wool and the prohibition of direct trade with Scotland were put into effect from Christmas 1412. The success of these measures is, however, open to some doubt. Certainly Hamburg had agreed to abide by the strictures from 1413.[46] Stralsund's position is unknown, but the lack of complaints about its stance emanating from the Bruges Kontor suggests that it, too, had fallen into line. Signs of recalcitrance, however, continued in the eastern Baltic. On 6 February 1413 the Bruges Kontor felt it advisable to write to the Livonian towns to clarify the Scottish policy.[47] It was only permissible to trade in Scottish cloth purchased before Christmas 1412. (That no mention was made of the prohibition on Hanseatic shipping visiting Scotland probably reflects the low level of direct trade between

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45. HR, A, vi, no. 119; HUB, v, no. 1098.
46. HR, A, vi, no. 118.
47. Ibid., no. 117; HUB, v, no. 1095.

the Livonian towns and Scotland).[48] The letter ended with an urgent request from the Kontor that the Livonian towns observe the Lüneburg ordinance. The Prussian towns, too, showed reluctance to abide by Hanseatic policy. The diet of Prussian towns discussed the embargo in April 1413, but the towns still apparently declined to comply. In May 1413 the Bruges Kontor again wrote to the Prussians complaining about the slack observance of the anti-Scottish measures in the eastern Baltic.[49] Had adherence been stronger, the Kontor added, the Scots would long since have come to heel, especially as many non-Hanseatic towns had agreed to impose the embargo.

Such intercessions had little effect. On 25 March 1414 Dorpat wrote to Reval, recommending that the ban on trade in Scottish goods be lifted, since it was causing more damage to its own trade than that of the Scots.[50] Together with Riga, the two other Livonian towns communicated this view to the German Kontor at Bruges.[51] This, indeed, was the major obstacle to Hanseatic unity. The Livonians and Prussians reckoned that they had too much to lose from the embargo. Trade in Scottish goods was clearly both lucrative and sizeable.

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48. See above, 294
49. WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 271-272.
50. HR, A, vi, no. 158; HUB, v, no. 1124; LEKUB, v, no. 1966.
51. This letter is lost, but referred to in a reply from the Kontor to Dorpat (HR, A, vi, no. 159).

The western Hansa, whose trade with Scotland was less important, was not as yet convinced that the embargo should be lifted. In the spring and summer of 1414 the Bruges Kontor was again imploring both the Livonian and Prussian towns to impose the trading restrictions on Scotland.[52] The Kontor did achieve some diplomatic success in September 1414 when Utrecht, an important Dutch town outside the Hansa, adopted the Hanseatic ordinances against Scotland.[53] But, despite this, the measures were not working and, in time, even the hawkish elements in the Hansa, led by the Kontor at Bruges, were forced to recognize this. In January 1415 the Kontor wrote to Wismar, noting a suggestion of the Flemish towns, that the sanctions should be lifted as of February 1415 for one year, in order to allow negotiations to take place.[54] With some reluctance (following the refusal of the Flemish towns to participate fully in the sanctions) the Kontor agreed. Nevertheless, the Kontor remained doubtful whether negotiations would satisfy Hanseatic claims. The Kontor warned Wismar, that should the talks fail, it might be necessary to impose stricter sanctions on the Scots. The Kontor encouraged Wismar to express support for a harsh contingency plan against both the Scots and, significantly, the Flemish towns.

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52. WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 279-281.
53. HUB, v, no. 1149.
54. HR, A, vi, no. 178.

The position of the Flemish towns in the dispute was important to the Hansa for two reasons. Firstly, trading links between Scotland and Flanders were strong. If the Flemish towns refused to comply with the ban on Scottish trade, a loop-hole would be created, through which the Scots could circumvent any Hanseatic embargo. Nevertheless, because Flanders' commercial links with the Hansa were also important, the Flemish towns were also the obvious mediators in the dispute. In 1413 they had already attempted to persuade the earl of Douglas, who was then in Bruges, that compensation should be paid to Hanseatic merchants for the losses which they had suffered at the hands of Scottish pirates.[55] Although this apparently failed, the Hansa again encouraged the Flemish towns to mediate in 1415. In February Cologne wrote to Bruges, Ypres and Ghent, urging that they undertake exactly this task. The Prussians probably also requested such a move by the Lede.[56] Meanwhile, news of the temporary lifting of the embargo was disseminated among the German towns. Cologne informed Münster, Soest and Dortmund, while the Bruges Kontor wrote to the Prussian towns.[57] The Kontor probably undertook this duty with little enthusiasm. The Prussians had ignored the embargo until 1415. To add insult to injury, once the embargo

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55. Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Flanderen 1405-19, ed. A. Zoete (Brussels 1981-2), i, no. 465.
56. HA Köln, Brb. 5, fo. 103r. The request from the Prussian towns is lost, but referred to in WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 282-283.
57. HA Köln, Brb. 5, wedged between 86v, 87r and 104v, 105r; WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 282-283.

had been lifted, they agreed in August 1415 to comply with the Hanseatic ordinances on Scotland.[58]

Negotiations, chaired by the towns of Flanders, did, in fact, commence at Bruges in 1416.[59] The Hansa was represented by the three aldermen of the Bruges Kontor, Gerhard Lensendic of Dorpat, Johann Beventhein of Magdeburg and Reinhold Unna of Dortmund. The Scottish representatives were William de Camera (a prominent Aberdeen burgess), John Davidson and John de Leith. All three Scots had had recent experience of commercial negotiations. They had participated in the talks with Holland earlier in 1416, which had led to the grant of trading privileges for Scots merchants visiting Dutch towns.[60] The Flemish towns soon requested that the truce be extended for another two years, from February 1416 to February 1418, presumably to facilitate the talks. After some consultation within the Hansa, a lengthening of the truce was agreed to, although Cologne, at least, was not hopeful of a settlement and was already examining how to tighten the Lüneburg ordinances.[61] Meanwhile, Michael Kuchmeister, the grand master of the Teutonic Order, echoing the less hostile members of the Hansa, wrote to the Scots, urging that they use the opportunity afforded by the truce to reach an agreement.[62] On 27 November 1416 an interim agreement was formally reached by the two sets of representatives.

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58. HR, A, vi, no. 208.
59. HA Köln, Hanse Urkunden, U2/64.
60. Smit, Bronnen, A, i, no. 940.
61. HA Köln, Brb. 6, 4v.
62. HUB, vi, no. 68.

The existing truce was to be extended until Christmas 1417 and not February 1418, as the Lede and grand master had wished; negotiations to reach a final peace were to be undertaken before June 1417; and the Scots were to release the goods of Bremen merchants which had been recently arrested in Edinburgh.[63] In fact, the negotiations for a final peace appear to have begun immediately. By December 1416 they had already fallen into difficulties. The Scottish ambassadors had presented a counter claim for compensation, as Aberdeen had done in its letter to Danzig in 1410.[64] The Hanseatic representatives considered this to be ridiculous. Furthermore, the Hanseatic delegation began to question the neutrality of the Lede and complained that the Flemish towns had failed to abide by the Hanseatic embargo. By June 1417 no settlement was in sight, and at least one Hanseatic town (Hamburg) decided to reimpose the embargo. The talks were, however, still in progress.[65]

By April 1418 they had collapsed.[66] Consequently, the Hanseatic diet, meeting at Lübeck in June 1418, decided to reimpose the sanctions as of February 1419.[67] Direct trade with Scotland was proscribed. Hanseatic merchants, who continued to trade with Scotland, were to have their

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63. HA Köln, Hanse Urkunden, U2/64.
64. HR, A, vi, no. 333.
65. Ibid., no. 417.
66. Ibid., no. 573. References to the negotiations are also in Zoete, Handelingen, ii, nos. 698, 705, 748, 751, 761, 763, 769, 771, 793.
67. HR, A, vi, no. 572.

ships and goods confiscated. No dealings in any goods made from Scottish wool were to be permitted. The Flemish Lede had requested that the anti-Scottish measures should not be allowed to damage Flemish trade, but the Hansa was in no mood for compromise, particularly as Aberdonians had committed another outrage, robbing Königsberg merchants in July 1418.[68] The Lede and the towns of Brabant and Holland were warned to support the Lübeck ordinances.[69] On 8 November 1418 the Bruges Kontor reported to the Lübeck diet that all the Hanseatic towns had been formally informed of the reimposition of the embargo.[70]

The second Hanseatic embargo duly came into force, though once again there must be some doubt as to its effectiveness. The authorities of Stralsund were still attempting to stop trade with Scotland in the summer of 1419.[71] In June 1419 Rostock wrote to Lübeck, suggesting that, if the second embargo brought no change of attitude from the Scots, even harsher measures might have to be considered.[72] Nevertheless, the frequent complaints made about the slack observance of the first embargo were not repeated after 1419. The Hansa received somewhat more support from Flanders than during the first embargo, since relations between Scotland and Flanders had become strained. The Flemish towns were

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68. HR, A, vi, no. 573; GSA Berlin, OBA 2766.
69. HR, A, vi, nos. 578, 605; Zoete, Handelingen, ii, no. 795.
70. HR, A, vi, no. 605.
71. SLM, ii, nos. 420, 421, 422.
72. LUB, vi, no. 93.

annoyed at the Scottish government's refusal to negotiate with the Hansa and in 1423 they banned the import of Scottish cloth. They also considered the possibility of issuing letters of marque against the Scots.[73] Resenting the seizure of some Scottish goods in Flanders, the Scottish parliament responded by temporarily suspending trade with Flanders in 1425.[74] The Scottish staple was probably transferred from Bruges to Middelburg. This failed, however, to persuade the Flemish towns to adopt a more friendly attitude to the Scots. Since Spanish wool was increasingly used by the Flemish towns in textile manufactures, the towns were less dependent on supplies of Scottish wool than they had been in the fourteenth century. Relations between Flanders and Scotland remained uneasy until 1427, when a peace treaty acceptable to the Scots was finally agreed upon at Leyden.[75] It was doubtless in response to this rapprochement, that the Hanseatic diet, meeting at Wismar in 1427, discussed the Scottish embargo for the first time since 1421. There was, however, no softening of Hanseatic resolve and the diet merely reiterated the Lübeck diet's ordinances of 1418.[76] It was not, indeed, until 1434, following a renewed outburst of Scottish piracy, that negotiations between the Hansa and Scotland were again mooted.[77] Even then, James I's ambassadors failed to appear.

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73. Stevenson, Thesis, 42-43. The Burgundian government had already issued letters of marque against the Scots in 1416, but the possibility that the Scots might remove their staple to Zeeland led to the Burgundian authorities quickly rescinding the letters.
74. APS, ii, 7.
75. Stevenson, Thesis, 50-58. For the text of the 1427 treaty, see SA Göttingen, Cod.Ms.Hist. 657 XVI, fos. 332r-335r.
76. HR, A, viii, no. 234. 77. HR, B, i, no. 397.

The ending of the Hanseatic embargo was something of a damp squib. There do not appear to have been any negotiations or any formal peace treaty. The matter seems to have been discussed at a Hanseatic diet meeting in Lübeck in 1436. Sadly the records of this diet are missing, but a decision was taken to raise the embargo. Danzig's representative at the diet, Heinrich Vorrath, merely reported that 'der segelacie to Schotland...open sin sal' and he requested that the Danzig council communicate this decision to the Livonian towns.[78] The only other evidence surrounding the lifting of the embargo dates from March 1436, when Lübeck asked Hamburg for its views on the decision; the latter's reply does not survive.[79]

There are some indications as to why the 1436 diet lifted the embargo. Firstly, it was a sparsely attended diet. Lübeck, Lüneburg, Hamburg, the Prussian towns and the grand master of the Teutonic Order were represented: the Kontor at Bruges and other hitherto hawkish towns, such as Cologne and Wismar, were not. Secondly, the second embargo had worked only marginally better than the first. The Scots had not been brought to heel and, as recently as the autumn of 1434, they had seen no urgency in even sending representatives to peace negotiations. Given that the existing measures had

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78. HR, B, i, no. 542.
79. Ibid., no. 546.

not worked, it was difficult to see how the Scots could have been coaxed into reaching an agreement. One of the few possibilities would have been to mount a full-scale blockade of Scotland. But the cost of such a scheme, bearing in mind the extent of the Scottish coastline, would probably have been prohibitive, particularly in relation to the compensation sought for the Scottish piracy. Thirdly, the reasons behind the initial imposition of the ban had been overtaken by time. Davidson had died in 1411 and Mar, perhaps significantly, as recently as 1435. Time had doubtless tempered the anger resulting from Mar and Davidson's piracy. There were sporadic piratical attacks by Scots in the late 1410s, 1420s and 1430s, but nothing comparable to the sustained campaign of piracy led by Mar and Davidson between 1408 and 1412. Moreover, some limited compensation had been acquired by the Hansa - not from the obdurate Scots, but rather from the Lede. By 1431 the Hansa was again complaining that the Flemish towns were in league with the Scots and it threatened to remove its staple from Bruges. Fearing the consequences of this for Flemish trade, the Lede agreed to pay the Hansa £725 gross in compensation for a Scottish piratical attack on Hanseatic merchants at Nieuport in 1423.[80] Finally, by 1436, Hanseatic wrath had found new outlets. Hanseatic relations with Spanish merchants, for example, were poor from 1419.[81] More importantly, the lifting of the Scottish

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80. HUB, vi, no. 909; IAB, v, 13. See also HR, B, 1, nos. 51, 99(2).
81. Dollinger, Hanse, 337-338.

embargo was mirrored by a worsening of Anglo-Hanseatic relations. Vorrath's report on the 1436 Lübeck diet noted that trade with Scotland was permissible, on condition 'dat dat gut in Englant nicht gebrocht sal werden'.[82] It was commercially inadvisable for the Hansa to allow bad relations with two sources of cloth and wool (three if Spain is included) to run concurrently.

The Hanseatic embargo on trade with Scotland lasted from Christmas 1412 to February 1415 and again from February 1419 to 1436. During the first period of its application, as has been noted, the Hanseatic Kontor at Bruges made regular complaints that the prohibitions were not being adhered to. Few similar complaints can be traced for the second period of the embargo. A possible explanation for this lack of complaint is that the second embargo was more effective, or, at least, sufficiently effective to satisfy the Bruges Kontor. This is certainly the interpretation, which the most recent survey of the Scottish economy in the early fifteenth century has put forward.[83] According to this view not only was the Hanseatic embargo in itself reasonably effective, but it encouraged the Flemish towns, too, to cut their links with Scotland in 1423, partly for reasons already given and partly in annoyance at the Scottish government's refusal to stamp out piracy and pay

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82. HR, B, i, no. 542. On Anglo-Hanseatic relations in the early 1430s, see Postan, Trade and Finance, 260-264.
83. Stevenson, Thesis, 39-40.

compensation to the Hansa.[84] Pressure, thus, mounted on the Scottish government, to the extent that by the summer of 1423 'the Scottish economy must have been on the verge of collapse and with it the credibility of the Regent [Murdoch, duke of Albany] and his government'. The economic depression and its political repercussions, it is further argued, persuaded the Scottish parliament in August 1423 'that only the return of the king [James I, a captive in England since 1406] stood any chance of resolving the conflict' with the Hansa and Flanders.[85]

This grand and gloomy interrelation of political and economic events in 1423 is, however, somewhat suspect. Pressure on Duke Murdoch's government to seek the release of James I did not arise suddenly in 1423. It had been mounting ever since Murdoch took over the governorship from his father in 1420. Much of this pressure was political and based on reasons unrelated to the state of Scottish trade. Duke Murdoch 'seems to have been an amiable man', but, in regard to his greedy and grasping sons, this amiability was, to say the least, politically insensitive.[86] His son Walter's open support of a claimant to the earldom of Mar probably alienated Alexander Stewart, the pirate earl and a leading

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84. See above, 362-363
85. Stevenson, Thesis, 40, 49.
86. Grant, Independence, 186. For the political background to the period, see Grant, Independence, 184-187 and Nicholson, Scotland, 257-260.

magnate. Another leading magnate, the earl of Douglas, actively supported James' return from captivity from 1421. Moreover, the English government's attitude to James' release was also changing. Since 1419 the Scots had lent military assistance to France in the Hundred Years War. In return for ending this support, Henry V had toyed with the idea of releasing James. From 1421 it was also an idea favoured by Henry VI's minority government, perhaps because the unruly Walter Stewart strongly supported the French alliance.

Duke Murdoch's government, to be sure, also faced financial difficulties. The government was not raising sufficient money to meet its obligations. The arrears owed to the governor himself in 1422 amounted to £50-8s-2d more than the entire customs revenue for that year.[87] This was not, however, a problem which, in itself, inevitably led to demands for James's release. The same financial difficulties had existed during the governorship of Duke Robert (Murdoch's father), but the elder Albany's regency had survived for a relatively secure fourteen years. Besides, there was no guarantee that James' release would solve Scotland's commercial disputes. He was a completely unknown quantity and, in the event, as has been shown, he was to prove no more flexible with either the Hansa or Flanders than either Duke Robert of Duke Murdoch had been.[88]

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87. ER, iv, 358-368; Nicholson, Scotland, 258.
88. For James' dealings with Flanders, see Stevenson, Thesis, 50-74.

The link between James I's release and the economic crisis of 1423 is, then, tenuous. Moreover, it is unfair to portray Murdoch's government as oblivious to the worsening of relations with Flanders in 1423. Within weeks of the breach with Flanders, Scottish ambassadors had settled a dispute with the Dutch, arising from an act of piracy on Zierikzee merchants in 1420.[89] An alternative outlet for Scottish exports had, therefore, been secured. Yet, if the crisis of 1423 was as great as has been suggested, the obvious solution would have been to negotiate with the Hansa. After all, one of the Flemish grievances against the Scots had been the Scottish reluctance to treat with the Hansa. Talks with the Hansa might had led to the resolution of both disputes.

Not only, however, were there no negotiations with the Hansa, but there was apparently not even any great concern about the embargo in Scotland. On only one occasion is there evidence of the Scottish government taking a diplomatic initiative on the matter. In an undated letter, probably attributable to May 1419, the elder Albany had written to the grand master of the Teutonic Order, seeking the lifting of the embargo. Even then, this initiative was not apparently followed up and it contained no proposals to mollify the Hansa.[90]

The lack of diplomatic action suggests that the Scottish government was not worried about the effect

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89. Smit, Bronnen, A, 1, nos. 969, 989.
90. GSA Berlin, OBA 1800. The letter is printed in Baxter, Copiale, Appendix no. 8 where it is dated 'before 1416'.

Table Two

Customs levies at the five most important Scottish export centres, 1410 to 1437

| Year of Account | Edinburgh | Linlithgow | Aberdeen | Dundee | Perth | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1410 | 1696- 4- 4 | 651-13- 2 | 365- 7- 6½ | 451- 8- 4 | 439- 6- 6 | 3603-19-10½ |
| 1412 x | 3113-16-11½ | 639- 9- 4½ | 756-17- 3 | 961-18- 9½ | 810- 2-11 | 6282- 5- 3½ |
| 1413 | 1859-18- 1½ | 399-17- 3½ | 476- 3- 5 | 639-16-10 | 478-18- 7 | 3854-14- 4 |
| 1414 | 1852-19- 5 | 388- 0- 4½ | 418-10- 8 | 547-18- 5½ | 407-12-11 | 3615- 1-10 |
| 1415 | 1782-13- 0 | 358- 1- 3 | 415-11- 3½ | 527-13- 4 | 388-11- 2½ | 3472-10- 1 |
| 1416 | 2047-12-11 | 500- 2-10 | 310-18-11 | 533-19- 0½ | 373- 4- 8½ | 3765-18- 5 |
| 1417 | 1336- 5- 0 | 388- 4- 7 | 320-17- 2 | 427-19- 8½ | 311- 5- 4 | 2784-11- 9½ |
| 1418 | 1098- 5- 4 | 385-15- 5½ | ø | 459-11-10½ | 301-18-11 | 2245-11- 7 |
| 1420 x | 1663-17-11½ | 669-18- 6½ | 867-15- 8 | 588-11- 8½ | 463- 8- 1 | 4250-11- 9½ |
| 1421 | 1197- 1-10 | 352-13- 5 | 318-12- 4 | 301-10- 6 | 168-16- 2 | 2338-14- 3 |
| 1422 | 1160-13- 3 | 312-16- 1 | 341-13- 0 | 366- 8- 2 | 216- 9- 9 | 2333- 2- 7 |
| 1423 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1424 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1425 | 1937- 2- 0 | 618-17- 2 | 365- 2- 5 | 451-14- 0 | 213- 5- 5½ | 3585- 1- 1 |
| 1426 | 2616-15- 7 | 668-10- 9 | 571- 9 -6 | 267- 0- 4½ | 341- 9- 3½ | 4465- 5- 6 |
| 1427 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1428 | 3086- 2-11½ | 702- 4- 9 | 799-18- 3 | 476- 0- 4 | 461-15- 8½ | 5526- 2- 0 |
| 1429 | 2319-12-10 | 522- 8- 2½ | 720- 4- 9 | 18- 6- 8 | 330-10- 6 | 3911- 2- 9½ |
| 1430 | 2707- 4- 5 | 801- 8- 3½ | 527- 6-11 | 404-19- 7½ | 333- 2- 4 | 4774- 1- 7 |
| 1431 | 2097- 3- 6 | 600- 6- 2 | 602- 0-10½ | 464-10- 1 | 292-13- 5 | 4056-14- 0½ |
| 1432 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1433 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1434 | 1884- 4- 6 | 668- 9- 0 | 441-10- 6 | 400-15- 2½ | 256- 0- 8½ | 3848-18- 6 |
| 1435 | 1824- 4- 1 | 599-12- 5 | 614-10-11 | 323-18- 8 | 159- 2- 2 | 3521- 8- 3 |
| 1436 | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1437 | * | * | * | * | * | * |

Source:- The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edd. J. Stuart et.al. (Edinburgh 1878-1908), vols. iii and iv.

Notes:- * Account missing
x Account for two year period
Periods of Hanseatic embargo
ø included in 1420 account

Table Two (continued)

Figures given are in £ (pounds)-s(shillings)-d(pence)

The rates of custom remained unaltered throughout this period, although new levies were imposed on skins, salt and cloth from 1425. The revenue from these new levies was, however, usually insignificant.

That Scottish exports held up remarkably well during the embargoes, was due to two factors. The first of these, already alluded to, was the shrewdness of the Scottish government in ensuring that not all continental markets remained officially closed to Scottish merchants at the same time: the dispute with the Hansa can not be viewed in isolation from trade with Flanders and the Dutch counties. In 1406 relations with Flanders were poor, but those with Holland and the Hansa were good. There was a breach with Holland and the Hansa in 1412, but Flanders maintained contact with Scotland. The rift with the former was temporarily healed in 1416 and a new conflict with Flanders began. Scotland again fell foul of the Hansa in 1419, and Holland in 1420, but Flanders did not initially comply with the Hanseatic trade embargo. When it did, in 1423, the Scots immediately sought a rapprochement with the Dutch.

This careful balancing act was facilitated by the refusal of several Hanseatic cities to abide by the trading embargoes. Repeated examples of this during the first embargo have already been discussed.[91] The lack of complaint about the second embargo's effectiveness should not be taken as implying that it was any more successful. During the 1420s alone merchants from Bremen, Danzig, Hamburg and Kampen could be found in Scotland.[92] In 1435 Kampen (admittedly a special case, since it was both a Dutch and a Hanseatic town) even acquired

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91. See above, 356-357.
92. See, for example, HUB, vi, nos. 319, 371, 763.

special trading privileges for its merchants visiting Edinburgh.[93] Meanwhile, Scottish merchants continued to visit certain Hanseatic towns, including Stettin and, particularly, Danzig.[94] Though this did not in itself contravene the Lübeck ordinances of 1418, the probability is, that they were selling Scottish cloth, the chief Scottish export to the Baltic throughout the fifteenth century.[95] These various loop-holes and lifelines, through and around the Hanseatic ordinances, ensured that the Scots could not be starved into submission as the Hansa had succeeded in achieving in its dispute with Norway in the thirteenth century.

If there were few economic reasons to settle the dispute, there were good political reasons not to. Despite their doubtless unwelcome activities as pirates, Mar and Davidson had proved themselves too loyal to the Scottish government to be sacrificed in an effort to secure peace with the Hansa. Mar was Robert, duke of Albany's, nephew and acted as his uncle's policeman in the north-east. Together with Davidson, he commanded the government's forces at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, checking the advance of the rebellious Donald of the Isles. (It was at this battle that Davidson was killed). Duke Murdoch, despite the provocation of his son Walter, looked to Mar to fulfil the same rôle as he had played for Duke Robert.[96] Mar's fortunes also prospered under James I.

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93. HUB, vii(1), no. 94.
94. Ibid., no. 112.
95. See above, 43-45, 253-254, 277-278, 298-301, 312-313.
96. A.B.Ill., iv, 181-182.

He was one of the few members of the Stewart nobility not to fall foul of the young king. He continued to act as the royal watchdog in the north and he was dispatched to quash further unrest instigated by the Lord of the Isles in 1431.[97] The value of his support had been recognized in 1426 when James granted Mar the right to transfer the earldom, on his death, to his illegitimate son, setting aside the rights of the Erskine claimants.[98] The most ironic favour bestowed on Mar was, however, his appointment as admiral, which carried with it the responsibility of defending the seas against pirates.[99] It was, perhaps, not without significance that within a year of the earl's death in 1435, the Hansa abandoned its trading restrictions on Scotland.

The two Hanseatic embargoes on trade with Scotland were not, then, very successful. Their aim had been to force the Scots to negotiate and pay compensation. They achieved neither. Neither did they frighten the Scots into terminating all piracy. Scottish exports held up remarkably well thanks to the adroitness of the Scottish government in ensuring that at least one of Scotland's three most important overseas markets always remained friendly. The two regency governments, and that of James I, maintained a consistent stance in their dealings with the Hansa, perhaps reflecting

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97. Nicholson, Scotland, 316; A.B.Ill., iv, 186.
98. Ibid., 183.
99. Mar was acting as admiral by 1423 (Nicholson, Scotland, 267).

their domestic reliance on the support of Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar. The failure of Hanseatic policy was also made possible by internal Hanseatic division. Such division was evident not only in the Hansa's relations with Scotland but also in subsequent disputes between the Hansa and the Low Countries and England. Many towns, and particularly Danzig, refused to abide by Hanseatic ordinances against Scotland, if it required abandoning profitable trade. As early as July 1415 the Bruges Kontor had recognized the problem. In a letter to the Prussian towns, the Kontor condemned the disunity of the Hansa in its attitude to Scotland.[100] In these circumstances it is difficult not to have some sympathy for the Stralsund brewers, who were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The Stralsund council had loyally, if reluctantly, toed the Hanseatic line, causing great damage to beer exports. It was a sacrifice, which other towns were not prepared to make.

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100. WAP Gdańsk, 300/59/4, 268-269.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## POLITICAL CONTACTS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

In the fifteenth century, as has been shown in previous chapters, there was a gradual, if limited, diversification of Scottish trading connections with northern Europe. Scotland's diplomatic contacts with northern Europe followed a similar pattern after James I's return from captivity in England in 1424. There was a cautious development of relations with both the Empire and Scandinavia, coupled with little corresponding increase of influence in either region.

### (i) Western and southern Germany

The reestablishment of Scotland's political contacts with western Germany did not arise from any desire or immediate necessity to end the diplomatic isolation foisted upon the Scots in Germany by the network of Edwardian alliances created during the Wars of Independence.[1] Indeed, diplomatic relations were resumed almost by accident. James I had produced six daughters and two sons.[2] His decision to look to continental Europe for eligible spouses for his children contrasted sharply with that of the fourteenth-century Scottish kings. Not since Alexander III's reign had a member of the Scottish royal family taken

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1. See above, 117-121.
2. Dunbar, Kings, 191-192.

a bride from outside the British Isles.[3] Nevertheless, there were limits to James' innovation. It was to France, Scotland's traditional ally, that he looked when he arranged the marriage of his eldest daughter, Margaret.[4] After James's death, it was also through the good offices of France that the Scottish government sought to marry off the other royal children.[5] Three eventually found matches in the Empire. In 1444 Mary married Wolfaert Borselen, lord of Vere in Zeeland. This match was of obvious importance to Scottish trading interests since the town of Vere was already a vibrant commercial centre.[6] Borselen might be expected to defend Scottish interests with his Burgundian overlord. Indeed, the marriage was followed by negotiations between Scotland and Burgundy, which led to the confirmation of Scottish trading privileges in all the Burgundian domains in 1447.[7] The second German marriage took place in 1449 between Eleanor and Sigismund, the Habsburg duke of Austria-Tyrol. This was the most curious of the marriages since it fits neither with the established Scottish political nor commercial interests. James II had rejected an interest expressed in Eleanor by the emperor, Frederick III, and empowered Charles VII of France to arrange her marriage.[8] James had

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3. Dunbar, Kings, 98-100.
4. L. Barbé, Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis (London 1917), passim. Dunlop, Kennedy, 9, 14, 16-17.
5. Dunlop, Kennedy, 94; J. Baxter, 'The Marriage of James II', SHR, xxv (1928), 70.
6. Dunlop, Kennedy, 66-67, 95; Stevenson, Thesis, 75-78.
7. R. Vaughan, Philip the Good (London 1970), 111.
8. SRO, SP 9/2. Eleanor and her sister, Johanna, had been sent to the French court in 1445-6 (ER, v, 225).

possibly hoped that Eleanor would marry his late sister Margaret's husband, the Dauphin. Charles had other ideas. It was to further his own diplomatic ends that Charles arranged Eleanor's betrothal to Sigismund.[9] Although the match was to prove of little commercial or political use to the Scots, it was, perhaps, Eleanor who arranged for two Austrian miners to visit Scotland in 1462.[10] Until Eleanor's death news of Scottish affairs was regularly sent to the Tyrolean court, while Austrian envoys probably kept James informed of his sister's wellbeing.[11]

There remained the problem of the king's own marriage. In May 1448 ambassadors had been appointed to find a suitable bride for James in either Burgundy, Cleves or Guelders.[12] The possibility that James might find a spouse in the Low Countries had, perhaps, been discussed with Otto von Puflich, a Gueldrian knight, who had visited Edinburgh in 1446-7.[13] Eventually, on

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9. Baxter, 'Marriage', 69-70; Dunlop, Kennedy, 88-89.
10. ER, vii, 144. The Tyrol was an important centre of silver mining (c.f. Pounds, Economic History, 476).
11. Landesarchiv Tirol, Innsbruck, Sigismundiana IVa/8; IVa/181; Fredericiana 40/17; Urkunden, nos. 7494, 7495. An Austrian envoy was in Edinburgh in 1459 and another Austrian, perhaps either an envoy or a miner, is recorded in Scotland in 1460 (ER, vi, 499; vii, 33). Sigismund sent artillery to James III in 1481 (Landesarchiv Tirol, Innsbruck, Sigismundiana, IVc/180/9).
12. Baxter, 'Marriage', 71; BL Harleian MS 4637 III, fos. 11v-12r; SA Göttingen, Cod.MS.Hist.657 XVI, fos. 316v-317r. (The Burgundian documents, relating to the marriage, are preserved at Lille and calendared by Baxter, 'Marriage', 70-72. The Gueldrian documents, preserved in Arnhem, are referred to in Dunlop, Kennedy, 89-96, 99-103. Copies of some of these documents are also available in BL, Harleian MS 4637 III, fos. 11-14 and SA Göttingen, Cod.Ms.Hist.657 svi, fos. 316-21).
13. ER, v, 273.

3 July 1449, James married Mary of Guelders at Holyrood. Dr. Stevenson has demonstrated that there was more to this marriage than historians have traditionally recognised.[14] On 1 April 1449 Scottish and Burgundian envoys had agreed in Brussels upon a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance against foreign aggression.[15] James' marriage was intended to seal this treaty, but, with no legitimate daughters of his own, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was unable to offer James a Burgundian bride. Philip was, however, wont to arrange the marriage of his allies' daughters to further his own diplomacy.[16] Cleves and Guelders were both neighbouring duchies with close ties to the Burgundian court.

From the Burgundian side the new Scottish alliance was desirable for political reasons. Philip had been attempting to woo James I ever since 1420, when the Scottish king was in captivity in England.[17] He was probably trying to wean James away from the traditional Franco-Scottish alliance at a time when the Burgundians were allied to England against France. After 1435, when Philip changed sides to support the French, a Scottish-Burgundian alliance would neatly round off the triangular relationship between Burgundy, France and Scotland. The Franco-Scottish alliance had been renewed on 31 November 1448 and Charles VII of France

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14. Stevenson, Thesis, 78-79.
15. BL, Harleian MS 4637 III, fos. 12r-14r; SA Göttingen, Cod.MS.Hist.657 XVI, fos. 317v-321v.
16. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 229-230; 292-293.
17. Stevenson, Thesis, 70.

appears to have given the treaty of Brussels his blessing.[18] From the Scottish point of view the Burgundian alliance was of importance for more complex reasons. From 1369 Flanders, Scotland's most important trading partner, was under Burgundian control. From the 1420s so too were Zeeland (Scotland's second most important trading partner) and Holland.[19] Whereas in the fourteenth century the Scots had traditionally relied upon the French to defend their commercial interests in Flanders, they were now forced to look to Philip to protect those interests. Although Philip had demonstrated a willingness to do this before 1449, the desirability of a more formal agreement with the duke stemmed from political reasons.[20] From 1415 to 1435 Burgundy had been allied to England against France. This had presented the Scots with an awkward dilemma between their commercial interests, which required cordial relations with Burgundy, and their natural political instincts, which drew them close to France. It was a dilemma difficult to solve and partly explains why 'nothing decisive emerged' from James I's international diplomacy with the powers of western Europe.[21] A formal Scottish-Burgundian alliance would leave the Scots greater leeway for manoeuvre. Even if Burgundy were to revert to an English alliance, as long as the Scots did not embark on a policy of direct conflict with

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18. Stevenson, Thesis, 70.
19. Holland and Zeeland were incorporated gradually into the Burgundian state. No specific date marks their incorporation Vaughan, Philip the Good, 49-50).
20. Stevenson, Thesis, 56.
21. Nicholson, Scotland, 302.

Burgundy, they could, if they wished, be both more vocal in their support of France and more overt in their hostility to England, in the knowledge that their commercial interests in the Low Countries were not being put at risk. This, however, is not the place for a detailed examination of the quadrangular relationship between England, France, Burgundy and Scotland. Although it is largely in this context that Scottish-Burgundian relations must be viewed, there was another angle to the relationship arising from James II's Gueldrian marriage. Mary of Guelders was supposed to be the embodiment of the new Scottish-Burgundian alliance. In the event, from a purely diplomatic point of view, she proved to be an unfortunate choice. Although relations between Philip and Duke Arnold of Guelders had been cordial in the 1420s and 1430s, they were already strained in 1448, when Philip blatantly supported discontented subjects within Guelders opposed to Arnold. The 1448-9 marriage negotiations with Scotland may, then, have been an attempt by the two dukes to patch up their quarrel. If so, they failed. In 1450 and 1455 the two dukes supported opposing candidates for the neighbouring bishoprics of Münster and Utrecht, while in 1456 a Burgundian army violated Gueldrian sovereignty as it marched to besiege Deventer. Philip may have entertained ambitions of annexing Guelders. He certainly encouraged Arnold's son, Adolf, to rebel against his father.[22]

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22. Vaughan, Philip the Good, 229-230, 292-293.

Meanwhile, it seems probable that Mary remained in her father's favour. Arnold certainly preferred the prospect of one of his Scottish grandsons succeeding him to that of Adolf inheriting his title.[23] Mary was in a difficult position. She might have been inclined to support her father, but she owed her position to her uncle. Moreover, from a Scottish point of view, Philip had proved himself to be an admirable ally. He had paid for and sent soldiers and armaments, including the canon 'Mons Meg', to Scotland to enable the Scots to pursue their campaigns against the English in 1456-7.[24] Mary's dilemma was all the more important because, as regent after James II's death in 1460, she could significantly influence Scottish foreign policy. It is strange that Scottish historians have never acknowledged her predicament. In the event, Mary did not blindly follow the Yorkist cause in England, espoused by her uncle and which, perhaps significantly, he felt the need to remind her of in 1461.[25] Yet Mary also refused to follow her father's blatantly anti-Burgundian stance. Her even-handed approach under the circumstances supports the recent assessment of her foreign policy as both 'shrewd and realistic'.[26] Despite her probable inclinations, she had not alienated Burgundy, as her son was soon to do.

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23. See below, 384
24. Stevenson, Thesis, 82.
25. Boyd Papers, no. 1, Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club, i (Abbotsford Club, 1837), 5-7. In 1461 a physician from Guelders was paid £10 by the queen's chamberlain (ER, vii, 49). It is possible that the physician also brought word to Mary from her father about Philip's activities in Guelders.
26. Macdougall, James III, 61.

Mary died in 1463. Her father outlived her by almost ten years and continued to quarrel with his son for as long.[27] Obsessed by his attempts to exclude Adolf from the Gueldrian succession, Arnold patched up his relations with Charles the Bold, the new duke of Burgundy. He also, in 1472, approached his Scottish grandson for assistance, with a view to conferring the duchy on either James III or one of his brothers.[28] James' delay in replying pushed Arnold into further reliance on Charles the Bold against Adolf. He named Charles as guardian of Guelders and then mortgaged part of the duchy to Charles. Still, however, hoping for a response from Scotland he waited until three days before his death in February 1473 before finally naming Charles as his heir. Charles had already been making preparations to invade the duchy and, by the time that the Scottish embassy led by Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston finally arrived with word from James III, the duchy was already in Charles' pocket.[29] James had naively instructed Napier to seek 'supportatione aide and supplie in ... the recovering of his richt'. Charles simply ignored James' claim to the duchy.[30]

Through his tardiness James had left himself in an impossible situation. In 1466 Burgundy had reverted to an English alliance. It was, therefore, pointless for James to request the French to mediate on his behalf

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27. R. Vaughan, Charles the Bold (London 1973), 112.
28. M. Napier, Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston (Edinburgh 1834), 514.
29. Vaughan, Charles the Bold, 113.
30. Napier, Memoirs, 514.

with Charles. Louis XI was, in any case, already committed to Adolf's cause. Adolf, too, was in no position to help James, even if he had wanted, since he had been imprisoned by Charles at Courtrai. James was probably disinclined to seek English assistance. Besides, as recently as 1472, he had antagonized Edward IV by his proposal to lead an army against Edward's ally, the duke of Brittany. It was not until 1474 that James' councillors prevailed upon him to accept an English alliance. The only other possible source of assistance, the emperor, Frederick III, had already declared himself content to see Guelders fall under Burgundian control.[31] James was, therefore, isolated, having presented his own claim to Guelders, but with no diplomatic support and no realistic possibility of pressing his demands. Nor was there any legal basis to his claim, since his father had renounced Scottish claims to Guelders should Duke Arnold be survived by legitimate male children.[32] The king's preposterous plans to invade the duchy, which would have necessitated a war with Burgundy, were firmly quashed by the Scottish parliament, ostensibly on financial grounds.[33] Parliament's advice that James would be better employed reconciling the duke of Burgundy with the French king echoed the unease of Scottish diplomacy which James II's marriage to Mary of Guelders

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31. Vaughan, Charles the Bold, 113; Macdougall, James III, 92-93.
32. Baxter, 'Marriage'. 71.
33. APS, ii, 103-104.

had been intended to resolve. In fact, James was already well aware of the difficulties of conducting Scottish foreign policy when France and Burgundy were estranged. In 1471 he had received parliamentary approval to send an embassy to reconcile the duke and the king.[34]

After 1473 Scottish-Burgundian relations gradually improved. James quietly dropped his claims to Guelders, which, until 1492, remained under Valois and then Habsburg control. Since 1472 Charles had been encouraging James to make peace with England. Before his efforts reached fruition, in 1474, Charles had renewed the treaty of Brussels.[35] By 1477 James was again sufficiently confident of the warmth of his relations with Charles to offer himself as a mediator in a dispute between Charles and his uncle, Sigismund of Austria.[36] Dr. Stevenson has argued that Charles' death in 1477 was a disaster for Scottish-Burgundian relations. After Maximilian succeeded to the Burgundian lands de uxore, 'relations never regained their former intimacy'.[37] This is probably to over-emphasise the rapprochement between James and Charles. Until 1473 James had had plenty of reason to view Charles with suspicion,[38] while Charles' desire for an Anglo-Scottish

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34. APS, ii, 99.
35. Stevenson, Thesis, 103-104.
36. Macdougall, James III, 140.
37. Stevenson, Thesis, 110.
38. Charles had been reluctant to settle Scottish commercial grievances (ibid., 87-88) and had also harboured Robert, Lord Boyd, who had abducted James in 1466. (Macdougall, James III, 70-73). In a letter, probably written in 1471, James had angrily informed the duke that he should no longer favour traitors ('A Letter of James III to the duke of Burgundy', ed. C.A.J. Armstrong, Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, viii (SHS 1951), 28-32).

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peace was something to which many of James' closest councillors had long since been committed.[39] Moreover, James' relations with Maximilian were more cordial than has been suggested.[40] The Scottish king had, however, learnt his lesson after the 1473 debacle: he did not take advantage of Maximilian's tenuous hold on Burgundy to resurrect his claims to Guelders.

The Gueldrian problem resurfaced, however, in 1492, when Adolf's son, Charles of Egmont, reconquered the duchy with French aid. Until 1505 Charles was able to defend his duchy. Although Maximilian, now the emperor-elect, attacked Guelders in 1498-9 and again in 1503, his son, Philip, whose personal rule in Burgundy began in 1493, remained neutral. Philip even permitted French troops to cross his domains to come to Charles' aid. It was not until 1505 that the Habsburg king and duke combined their forces to attack Guelders.[41] It was in these altogether more dangerous and isolated circumstances that Charles turned to his cousin, James IV of Scotland, for support.

James' dealings with the duchy were more reminiscent of those of his grandmother than those of his father. He did not press his own claims to Guelders and, although he was one of Charles' closest heirs, he does not appear to have been seriously interested in obtaining the duchy, even if Charles were to die

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39. Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 124-125.
40. On James' relations with Maximilian, see above, 144-150 and below, 411-419.
41. Armstrong, 'Burgundian Netherlands', 240, 247.

childless.[42] Indeed, he urged Charles to marry: the production of an Egmont heir would divest James of the otherwise possible necessity of involving himself in an unsustainable conflict with the Habsburgs.[43] Likewise, Charles' repeated requests for military aid were fobbed off. In June 1505 James declined on the grounds that Charles was sheltering Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, an enemy of his father-in-law, Henry VII of England.[44] In September 1505 he again declined joint military action, while in July 1506 he vaguely (and then only as a last resort) promised to 'answer as beseems a kinsman and act as he would expect the Duke to act towards him'.[45] In January 1507 James once again rejected military aid, this time because 'the distance separating them prevented assistance'.[46] Complete indifference to a kinsman's fate did not, however, fit with James' pretensions to play an important rôle in European affairs. He, therefore, wrote to Henry VII, Maximilian and Philip, requesting them to refrain from attacking the duchy. The tone of his letter to Henry contrasted sharply with the evasiveness evident in his correspondence with his cousin. Writing in January 1507 James stressed his ties of kinship with the Egmont family and reminded Henry that should England participate in

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42. It is not certain when James recognized his cousin's rule, but the two were certainly in friendly communication by 1500 (RSS, i, no. 511). The only occasion on which James appears to have mentioned his claim to Guelders was in a letter to Henry VII in 1507, but even this was probably only intended to dissuade Henry from attacking the duchy. (James IV Letters, no. 70).
43. Ibid., no. 34.
44. Ibid., no. 14.
45. Ibid., nos. 17, 34.
46. Ibid., no. 73.

the attacks on Guelders, Henry might be securing the disinheritance of his grandchildren. In such circumstances - James even threatened to come to his cousin's aid by invading England![47]

With Maximilian and the Burgundians James was more modest. He merely requested 'a more gracious treatment of his kinsman' and sent two envoys, who were put at Maximilian's disposal to facilitate a settlement with Charles. The threats of war were not repeated. Instead, James reminded the Habsburg emperor of their hitherto friendly relations and his own 'affinity with the ancient house of Austria' - a reference to the marriage between his great-aunt and the Habsburg Duke Sigismund of Tyrol. He also appealed to Maximilian's sense of kingship. It was

> ... fitting that Maximilian ... should exhibit to the world and to his own subjects a readiness to forgive Charles, because ... it behoves a king to pardon rather than by severity to provoke still greater offence.[48]

The strikingly different character of James' letters to Henry and Maximilian demonstrates both the weakness and strength of Scotland's position vis à vis Guelders. James recognized the logistical impossibility of military intervention in the duchy. Hence, his emphasis to Maximilian was on finding a peaceful solution. This was the most that he could realistically urge. With Henry,

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47. James IV Letters, no. 70.
48. Ibid., no. 71. The letter to Philip has not survived, but is referred to in a letter from James to the Burgundian council (ibid., no. 72). The two Scottish envoys (Robert Foman and Lyon King of Arms) subsequently travelled to the Baltic, but presumably did so via the Low Countries. For their expenses, see TA, iii, 361-362.

however, a strident diplomatic tone was more credible. Geographically closer to England, and directly related by marriage to Henry, James might expect to exert more influence on Tudor than on Habsburg policy. Moreover, his threats played adroitly, carrot and stick, on Henry's well-attested preoccupation with his domestic and dynastic insecurity, pointing out the possible dynastic interest of Henry's grandchildren in Guelders and James' own ability to upset English stability by declaring war. This threat of war has been interpreted as hollow, because James 'must have known very well that Henry was unlikely to send an expeditionary force overseas'.[49] Henry, it is true, was a cautious diplomat, not given to displays of grandiose adventurism.[50] Moreover, his grievance against the duke of Guelders for harbouring the earl of Suffolk had been resolved. De la Pole had been surrendered into English custody in March 1506. Nevertheless, the threat to Guelders had taken place against a background of growing Tudor-Habsburg friendship. James can not have been absolutely sure of Henry's intentions. Moreover, though on the whole also a cautious diplomat, James was occasionally apt to indulge in bold campaigns on behalf of his allies. In 1502 he sent a force to Scandinavia to assist his uncle, Hans of Denmark, while in 1513 he invaded England on behalf of his French allies. Even if it is improbable

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49. J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558 (Oxford 1952), 163.
50. Ibid., 81-111, 151-188; S.B. Chrimes, Henry VII (London 1972), 272-297.

that Henry would have participated in the attack on Guelders, James' warnings are likely to have confirmed Henry's decision. Henry was well aware that James could potentially upset England's political stability. As recently as 1497 James had given shelter to Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to the English throne.

While James attempted to dissuade Henry and the Habsburgs from attacking Guelders, he also interceded on Charles' behalf with his allies, the kings of Denmark and France.[51] The appeal to Hans of Denmark was, for both strategic reasons and Hans' own political problems, unlikely to produce tangible results. Louis XII of France, however, required little encouragement to back Egmont against their common Habsburg foes. Indeed, it was ultimately due to French, and not Scottish, support that Guelders maintained its precarious independence until 1543. For geographical reasons that was inevitable. In political terms, too, James' influence over events in Guelders was limited. While Henry VII may have listened to him, James' appeals to Henry VIII to leave Guelders in peace were ignored.[52] In 1511 Henry joined Margaret of Savoy, regent of the Burgundian Netherlands, in an attack on Charles of Egmont. Under the circumstances, however, James had done all that might be expected of him. He had made no rash claims or promises which he was to regret.

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51. James IV Letters, nos. 73, 166.
52. Ibid., no. 271.

(ii) Northern Germany and Scandinavia

It was, of course, the marriage between Mary and James II in 1449 which had brought Scotland and Guelders into such close contact during the following century. Likewise, it was the marriage of James' sister to Sigismund of Tyrol which had led to the emergence of contact between Scotland and Austria. And ties of kinship, rather than any affinity of political interests, were at the root of the Danish alliance pursued by James III and James IV. Before James III's reign, however, there is little evidence of Scottish contact with the Scandinavian realm, which had been tenuously united by the formidable Queen Margaret in 1397. As an ally of England Margaret was probably hostile to Scotland.[53] Her successor, Eric of Pomerania, finding himself in an impecunious plight, revived Norwegian claims to the 'annual', which the Scots had first agreed to pay in 1266 in return for the cession of the western isles.[54] One of James I's first ventures into the field of international diplomacy had been to renew

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53. This is the implication of a letter sent from Richard II of England to Margaret ante April 1391, from which it is clear that both nursed grievances against the Sinclair earl of Orkney - (Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II, ed. E. Perroy (Camden Society, third series, 193 no.130). Henry IV maintained his predecessor's policy of friendship with the Danes. His daughter, Philippa, married Eric of Pomerania, Margaret's successor, in 1406 (J.L. Kirby, Henry IV of England (London 1970), 140, 202). In 1415 a Scottish ship and its cargo were detained at Copenhagen, apparently simply because they belonged to Scots (HUB, x, no. 56). This implies that the Danes were either hostile to Scotland or, perhaps, participating in the Hanseatic embargo on Scottish trade, though in 1415 this had been temporarily suspended. See above, 358.
54. See above, 199.

the 1266 treaty, on 29 July 1426, but there is no evidence that he ever abided by the commitment to renew payments of the 'annual', which had probably lapsed during James' captivity in England, if not earlier.[55] The treaty was not renewed by James II and the Scots rebuffed the demands of King Christian I after 1456 for a resumption of payments. Nevertheless, James was fully aware that closer ties of kinship with continental Europe could bring political benefits to Scotland. The benefits arising from his own marriage and those of his two sisters, Mary and Eleanor, have already been noted, while the marriage of a third sister, Isabella, to the duke of Brittany, had resulted in a Scottish-Breton alliance.[56] It was, therefore, wholly in accordance with the king's earlier foreign policy that the Scots offered the Danes a matrimonial alliance during bilateral negotiations promoted by Charles VII of France at Bourges in 1460. Their audacious suggestion that Orkney and Shetland, along with 100,000 crowns, be handed over to Scotland as part of a dowry was, however, too much for the Danes to stomach and the idea was temporarily shelved.[57] This was hardly surprising. It would have been inconceivable for the Danes, who had

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55. DN, viii, no. 776; B.E. Crawford, 'Scotland's foreign relations: Scandinavia', Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.M. Brown (London 1977), 86-88.
56. See above, 378-382 and on Isabella, Dunlop, Kennedy, 57, 84-87, 94 and Macdougall, James III, 43-44.
57. Dunlop, Kennedy, 197-201; Macdougall, James III, 77; B.E. Crawford, 'The pawning of Orkney and Shetland', SHR, xlviii (1969), 39-40.

initially demanded money from the Scots, in the form of payments of the 'annual', to have suddenly changed their stance and agreed to pay to the Scots such a sizeable amount of money and land in the form of a dowry. Yet, this is more or less exactly what was agreed on 8 September 1468 in the treaty of Copenhagen, despite the fact that earlier in 1468 Christian had again implicitly demanded a resumption of payments of the 'annual'.[58] The terms of this treaty and the events leading up to the marriage of James III to Margaret of Denmark require little elaboration here, but the startling volte face in Danish foreign policy does deserve some attention, if only because historians have failed to account for it or even explicitly to recognize it. The change in Danish foreign policy cannot be ascribed to a sudden improvement in the Danish king's finances. It was because Christian could not pay Margaret's agreed dowry of 60,000 Rhenish florins that Orkney and Shetland were pawned to the Scots. Christian's about-turn can, therefore, only be accounted for if the Danes received something which was potentially much more valuable than the 'annual'. In fact, the 1468 treaty of Copenhagen was, like the 1449 treaty of Brussels, much more than a marriage contract. It amounted to a full military alliance. Christian I and James III agreed that they and their successors would come to each other's aid against all

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58. Crawford, 'Pawning', 36. On the events leading to the treaty and the interpretations of it, see ibid., 35-53; Macdougall, James III, 78-79, 91; Nicholson, Scotland, 413-418.

enemies, saving only their existing allies.[59] Facing acute difficulty in maintaining his authority in Sweden, it was doubtless the prospect of Scottish assistance against the Swedes which caused Christian's turnabout.

The treaty of Copenhagen is generally approached by historians as if it were a success for Scottish diplomacy. Orkney and Shetland were transferred to Scotland, while there is no evidence that Christian formally called upon Scottish aid against the Swedes. In support of this view it can also be stated that the alliance was put to positive ends in an international context. In the 1470s the Scots and Danes mediated in a dispute between France and the Hansa, while the Scots were largely responsible for effecting an alliance between Denmark and France in 1472.[60] Nevertheless, given that Christian's position in Sweden was particularly difficult after 1471 (when his forces were defeated by those of the Swedish regent, Sten Sture, at the battle of Brunkeberg), it would seem strange, to say the least, if Christian had not sought assistance from any likely quarter. Given James III's oft-expressed interest in foreign military campaigns, it would certainly have been in character for the Scottish king to have extended aid to his father-in-law.[61] James had almost certainly

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59. For the text of the treaty, see ER, viii, pp. lxxvii-lxxxviii; Charters and other Records of the City and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall, ed. J. Mooney (Third Spalding Club 1952), 96-118 (especially 101-102 for the terms of the military alliance).
60. See above 261-262 and Crawford, 'Foreign relations', 89.
61. Macdougall, James III, 92-93 and above, 385.

been kept well informed of Christian's wars. At least one Scottish envoy, David Crichton of Cranston, received a payment in 1471 'pro tempore erat in Dacia'.[62] Although there is no proof that James supplemented this diplomatic activity by sending military aid to Denmark, by 1475 the Swedes were arresting Scotsmen found aboard Danzig shipping, on the grounds that the Scots were enemies of Sweden. Perhaps significantly, the arrests took place in the vicinity of the Danish held castle of Elfsborg.[62a] Despite these less welcome effects of the Scottish-Danish alliance, it is unlikely that any assistance sent to Christian was substantial and a year after James IV's succession to the throne in 1488 the Scottish estates were not dissuaded from ordaining that ambassadors should be sent to Denmark to renew the alliance.[63] When the envoys eventually travelled to Copenhagen (in 1492), they confirmed an offensive-defensive military alliance with the Danes.[64] By then Danish authority in Sweden was again being seriously challenged. Since 1481 the Swedish regent, Sten Sture, had refused to recognize Hans as king of Sweden. Both Hans and Sten Sture attempted to strengthen their positions through foreign alliances. In addition to the

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62. ER, viii, 28. For other diplomatic missions to Denmark in 1475 and 1478-9, see ER, viii, 293, 560.
62a. HUB, x, nos. 184, 206, 234.
63. APS, ii, 219.
64. The second treaty of Copenhagen was agreed on 21 June 1492 and ratified by James at Stirling on 5 May 1494 (Repertorium Diplomaticum Regni Danici Mediaevalis (II Raekke), edd. K. Erslev, W. Christensen and A. Hude (Copenhagen 1932), iv, no. 7160). Rothesay herald, one of the Scottish envoys, died in Denmark in 1492 (ER, x, 388).

Scottish treaty. Hans concluded alliances with Henry VII of England in 1490 and with Czar Ivan III of Russia in 1493.[65] Sture turned to the Wendish towns of the Hansa, who nursed important grievances of their own against Hans. Hans had encouraged merchants from England, Scotland and Holland to trade in his domains, thereby challenging the Hansa's traditional domination of Scandinavian trade. As duke of Holstein, Hans also threatened the independence of neighbouring Hamburg, while his ally, the duke of Mecklenburg, had acquisitive intentions of his own against Rostock in particular.[66] Sture and the Wendish towns, therefore, made natural allies and in 1494 they too sealed an offensive-defensive alliance. Thus, should Hans ever call upon Scottish military assistance, the Scots were liable to be drawn into a conflict with both Sweden and the Wendish towns, from which they stood to gain little.

Open hostilities between Hans and Sten Sture broke out in 1497. Hans secured a speedy victory and did not, therefore, find it necessary to call upon Scottish aid. Nevertheless, a Danish envoy had kept James IV aware of Hans's action, while Scottish mercenaries were apparently employed by the Danish king during the

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65. Mackie, Tudors, 221-222; W.Westergaard, 'Denmark, Russia and the Swedish Revolution 1480-1503', Slavonic Review, xvi (1937-8), 133.
66. C.E. Hill, The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic (Durham, North Carolina 1926), 29-33; Schildhauer et.al., Hanse, 180-183. The duchies of Holstein and Schleswig were conferred on Hans' brother, Frederick, in 1490. In 1523 Frederick succeeded his nephew, Christian II, as king of Denmark.

conflict.[67] Hans' success was, however, shortlived. In 1499 the Danes were defeated in a war with the peasant community of Ditmarschen, an ally of Lübeck since 1468. This prompted Sten Sture to again lead the Swedes and some Norwegians into revolt. This time Hans did formally request Scottish aid. James IV levied a tax in May 1502 to pay for a military expedition. An army of two thousand men, together with two ships, were dispatched under the leadership of Lord Hamilton to assist Hans in quelling the rebellion in Norway.[68] It was obviously important for the Danes that the Wendish towns should be persuaded not to aid the Swedes under the terms of their 1494 alliance. Hans' own diplomatic efforts to that end were supplemented by those of James IV. In 1502 James sent John Scrimgeour to Lübeck, Hamburg and Danzig to warn them against giving aid to the Swedes.[69] While Danzig responded favourably, the Wendish towns, despite their sympathetic platitudes, refused to terminate their trade with Sweden.[70] While the Scottish diplomatic activity was, thus, only partially successful, the Scottish military activity was a complete disaster.[71]

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67. ER, xi, 16, 55; T.L. Christensen, 'Scottish-Danish relations in the sixteenth century', SHR, xlviii (1969), 92.
68. ADCP, lix; ER, xii, 92; TA, ii, 144-147,150, 157, 159, 191, 196, 340. The best account of the Scottish military campaigns in Scandinavia is in Crawford, 'Foreign relations', 91-93.
69. WAP Gdańsk, 300D/17A/25B; 300/27/7, fos. 204v-205r.
70. WAP Gdańsk, 300/27/7, fos. 205r-205v; James IV Letters, no. 75; Hill, Sound Dues, 36-37.
71. Crawford, 'Foreign relations', 92.

Even James was forced to admit that the expedition had 'achieved less than it should have done and returned home sooner than was expected'.[72] The expedition's failure, and, perhaps, also the apparent unwillingness of his subjects to pay the tax for the expedition, led James to a complete reappraisal of his Baltic policy.[73] James' sympathies continued to lie with his uncle, but he now abandoned official military adventurism and instead sought to promote himself as a peacemaker. When, in November 1504, Hans requested that another two ships be sent for his use, James instructed Lyon King-of-Arms to inform him that the ships could not be sent. Even the ship on which Lyon had sailed to Denmark 'had been obtained with great difficulty'.[74] Lyon was also instructed to take letters to the Swedes which contained assurances that James was not 'urging them to relinquish their rights', but rather advising 'both parties to make peace'.[75] In the Baltic the combatants paid little attention to James' advice. Hans continued in his attempts to suppress the Swedish revolt, while the Wendish towns continued to supply the Swedes. In 1506 Hans again sent an appeal for aid to James, couched in slightly different terms to that of 1504. He accused Lübeck,

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72. James IV Letters, no. 37.
73. Arrears of the 1502 tax were still being collected in 1506-7 (TA, iii, 10, 32, 138, 141, 244).
74. James IV Letters, nos. 3, 4, 5. Lyon was preparing to sail to Denmark on 2 April 1505 (TA, iii, 133).
75. James IV Letters, no. 6.

in particular, of threatening 'to command the Baltic in favour of the rebel Swedes' and he dangled the prospect of acquiring booty from Lübeck shipping if James would agree to help him to put both the Swedes and Lübeck 'in their place'.[76] The prospect of war with such a 'disciplined and well equipped force' as Lübeck did not appeal to James. Instead, he continued to strive for peace, sending Robert Forman, dean of Glasgow, and Lyon King-of-Arms to Lübeck and Hans. In January 1507 the two envoys were instructed to 'discover the rights and wrongs of the case'.[77] Writing to Lübeck James confirmed his support of the Danes against the Swedes, but also assured Lübeck that he was the town's good friend too and not biased against it.[78]

James' intervention had, however, already been overtaken by events of which he was unaware. In December 1506 Lübeck had succumbed to Danish pressure and had reluctantly agreed to discontinue supplying the Swedes.[79] On hearing this news James wrote to Hans welcoming the development and, in an astonishing display of duplicity, assured Hans that he had been on the point of sending another military expedition to Scandinavia.[80] The 1506 truce failed, however, to resolve the conflict between Hans and Lübeck. Replying to James' letter of January 1507 in March Lübeck accused Hans of infringing

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76. James IV Letters, no. 46. The Danish envoy, Thomas Lumsden, received £28 from the treasurer on 15 October 1506 (TA, iii, 350).
77. James IV Letters, no. 74; TA, iii, 361; iv, 27.
78. James IV Letters, no. 75.
79. HR, C, v, nos. 85, 86.
80. James IV Letters, no. 86.

its privileges in respect of shipwrecked goods. He had also imposed new tolls and seized vessels belonging to Lübeck merchants.[81] Forman and Lyon may have been partially convinced of these accusations. At any rate, Hans deemed it prudent to inform James in April 1507 that his reasons for hostility with Lübeck were not frivolous.[82] In fact, this was hardly necessary. Although James had declined to send military aid to Hans after 1502, the sympathies of the king and some of his leading advisors continued to lie with the Danes.[83] James had also increased his diplomatic support to Hans, lobbying both Henry VII of England and Louis XII of France on his behalf.[84]

Peace negotiations between Hans and the Wendish towns finally commenced at Nyköping on 24 June 1507. Forman and Lyon were both present at these talks, together with Montjoye King-of-Arms, a French herald, who had arrived at Nyköping from Scotland.[85] The Scottish and French representatives joined the discussions on 3 July. They again counselled peace, but simultaneously warned the Lübeck delegates that, if they remained intransigent, James and Louis would support their ally Hans, should hostilities be resumed.[86] On

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81. James IV Letters, no. 83.
82. Ibid., no. 103.
83. Hans thanked Archbishop Robert Blackadder of Glasgow for his support on 20 July 1507 and Bishop Andrew Forman of Moray on 18 July (ibid., nos. 116, 122).
84. Ibid., nos. 56, 57, 80, 82. The Franco-Danish alliance had been renewed through the good offices of the Scots on 30 April 1499 (RSS, i, no. 391).
85. James IV Letters, no. 109; TA, ii, 385; iv, 80.
86. HR, C, v, no. 261(32).

4 July they added that Henry VII's daughter had recently married James

> ...vnde worde sik desulve uth der hulpe vunde van den anderen nicht theende. [87]

Following further discussion, Lübeck finally agreed to restore ships captured from the Danes and to arrest all Swedish ships within the town's jurisdiction. In return Hans lifted the prohibition on Lübeck merchants visiting Denmark.[88] A copy of the Nyköping settlement was sent to James and Hans commended both the Scottish and French envoys for their efforts. James, in turn, thanked Louis XII for Montjoye's labours.[89]

The 1507 treaty was, however, no more successful in re-establishing peace between Denmark, Sweden and the Wendish towns than the Danish military victory of 1497 had been. In January 1508 Hans wrote to James complaining that Lübeck had not persuaded the other Wendish towns to abide by the agreement. Ships laden with Swedish goods had not been arrested at Stralsund. For a time, Hans, therefore, appealed for the dispatch of Scottish ships to help him pursue the conflict further. He also requested that James write to Lübeck on his behalf to complain. With James' help, Henry VII was to be persuaded to do likewise.[90] Militarily, the most that James was prepared to offer Hans were the services of Andrew Barton of Leith. Barton received £75-16s-8d from James for his expenses,

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87. HR, C, v, no. 261 (46).
88. Ibid., no. 265.
89. James IV Letters, nos. 117, 118, 132; HR, C, v, no. 279. On his return to Scotland, Montjoye received £65-12s-8d to meet the cost of victuals and bedding on his ship (TA, iii, 403).
90. James IV Letters, no. 151; HR, C, v, no. 339. For payments to the Danish envoy, see TA, iv, 109, 114.

but was expected to take his own ship to Denmark.[91] James' diplomatic support of Hans was less restrained. As requested, he sent a messenger to Lübeck, while another envoy was dispatched to the French and English courts to seek support for Hans.[92] The feigned evenhandedness which James had sought to display to Lübeck between 1502 and 1507 was now replaced by jingoism. Accusing Lübeck of being 'greedy for power', he warned the town not to provoke Hans. Should Lübeck contemplate breaking the Nyköping settlement, he would 'espouse his uncle's just cause and ... stir up his confederates'.[93] Although Lübeck retorted that James 'seemed to have listened with unusual readiness to depreciation' of the town, Lübeck was simultaneously enlisting support against Hans from the emperor-elect, Maximilian.[94] Lübeck may also have been behind the rumours which reached Hans' ears at about the same time concerning Forman, the Scottish representative at Nyköping. On his return to Scotland, so the gossip went, Forman had 'enlarged ... upon the unchaste behaviour of Danish matrons'.[95] Considering the likelihood of renewed warfare it was certainly in Lübeck's interest to create as much distrust as possible between the Danish and Scottish allies.

In February 1509 Maximilian ordered that no aid be given to Hans and that, in the event of war, all trade

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91. TA, iv, 109.
92. James IV Letters, nos. 166, 169; HR, C, v, nos. 360, 361.
93. James IV Letters, no. 170; HR, C, v, no. 362.
94. James IV Letters, no. 173; HR, C, v, nos. 344, 346, 347.
95. James IV Letters, no. 182.

between Denmark and the Empire was to be suspended.[96] Despite the possibility of further peace negotiations with Sweden, Hans too, was preparing for war. Hans asked his nephew in March to purchase one or two ships on his behalf, and possibly another three, in readiness for a campaign in the spring of 1510.[97] On 20 July 1509 he forlornly requested that James send two thousand men together with ships and arms to Copenhagen by the beginning of the following summer.[98]

In fact, war broke out before Hans expected. Lübeck had resumed its trade with Sweden and, in October 1509, effectively abrogated the Nyköping settlement by concluding an agreement with Sweden to maintain bilateral trade.[99] Hans' offer to the Swedes and Lübeck to settle their dispute by arbitration, conducted by the archbishop of Lund, the bishop of Roskilde, Hamburg, Lüneburg and James, was rebuffed.[100] With a peaceful solution apparently unobtainable, Hans asked James on 22 November to seize any Lübeck vessel in Scotland.[101] The following day he granted letters of marque to anyone willing to attack Lübeck shipping in the Baltic or the North Sea.[102] In December he urged James both to send four ships equipped for war to Marstrand in Norway and to permit Andrew Barton and his brother Robert to operate against

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96. HR, C, v, nos. 406-408.
97. James IV Letters, nos. 210, 227.
98. Ibid., no. 259. On 24 July Hans also requested that sailors be sent (ibid., no. 260).
99. HR., C, v, no. 485.
100. James IV Letters, no. 286.
101. Ibid., no. 278.
102. Ibid., no. 279.

his foes with their own ships.[103]

Again, however, James declined to send ships or men to Scandinavia and he ignored similar requests for aid dispatched in September and October 1510 and again in 1511 and 1512.[104] Even in the diplomatic sphere James showed signs of having tired of the whole business. Unlike 1507, James is not known to have sent any envoys to reconcile Hans and Lübeck. Neither are any Scottish representatives known to have participated in the peace talks between the Baltic powers, which were eventually held in Malmö in 1512. Such inactivity was, of course, a clear breach of the military alliance with Denmark. The spectre of the 1502 disaster and fear of a repetition, perhaps, partly explain James' refusal to send an expedition to Scandinavia. Also, as his relations with Henry VIII of England deteriorated and the prospects of Anglo-Scottish warfare increased, James could argue that he was in no position to help his uncle. Indeed, in 1512 and 1513, he asked Hans to send a fleet and arms to Scotland for use against the English.[105] James' lack of diplomatic involvement in Baltic affairs after 1507 is, however, more difficult to explain. He was, perhaps, disillusioned when the Nyköping settlement failed to bring peace to the Baltic and disenchantment is certainly evident in a letter which James wrote to Maximilian in August 1510. The

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103. James IV Letters, no. 286.
104. Ibid., nos. 321, 322, 330, 387, 411.
105. Ibid., nos. 445, 453, 455, 473, 506.

king declared that he now did not know which side in the conflict had a better justification.[106] Maximilian's own warnings to James not to support the Danes, perhaps, also had some influence. James' relations with Maximilian had always been cordial and, if James was to realise his other foreign policy ambitions (such as helping his other beleaguered kinsman Charles, duke of Guelders, and uniting Christendom behind the idea of a crusade), he required Maximilian's goodwill. There was, perhaps, another reason too for James' coyness to fully support Hans. Although Orkney and Shetland had been pawned to the Scots, Hans still maintained an interest in the islands and at times acted as if his jurisdiction over them was still in force. This no doubt rankled with James, but at least if Hans was kept preoccupied by his wars with Sweden, he would not risk alienating his nephew by attempting to fully reclaim the islands. Hans had also attacked his brother, Frederick, duke of Holstein. In 1509 Frederick had appealed for aid from James against Hans. James declined Frederick's request and probably did not wish to involve himself in the dispute between his two cousins.[107]

Nevertheless, although there were sound reasons for not involving himself too closely in Hans's wars,

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106. James IV Letters, no. 318.
107. See above, 189-191 and also Crawford, 'Foreign relations', 93-94; James IV Letters, nos. 176, 293.

James was not indifferent to his kinsman's fate. Much of the correspondence between the two kings records the exchange of gifts and displays a warm interest in the well-being of each other's families.[108] Moreover, James was becoming increasingly contemptuous of Lübeck's rôle in the Baltic conflict. It had been at Lübeck's instigation that Maximilian had written his warning to James in April 1510 and Lübeck had also advised James directly on 26 March not to support the Danes. James tersely responded to Maximilian that the town had acted with 'too high a hand': the conduct of an independent foreign polity by a town was certainly something unknown in a Scottish context.[109] James, therefore, attempted to save some face by permitting Scotsmen to assist Hans in a private capacity, but with official blessing. In July 1509 a Danzig envoy in Copenhagen reported the arrival of a Lübeck hulk of eighty lasts in the town which had been captured by the captain of a Scottish carvel.[110] In 1510 James granted permission to Andrew and Robert Barton to take up service with Hans.[111] David Schotte, probably a Scotsman, was described by Hans as 'unszen capteyn' in May 1511, following David's attempt to board a Danzig vessel and search it for enemy goods.[112] From a Danish

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108. E.g., James IV Letters, nos. 5, 8, 26, 121, 123, 248.
109. HR, C, v, 674 n.2; no. 610(54). The letter from Lübeck can not be traced in St A Lüneburg (Ibid., no. 318 ).
110. HR, C, v, no. 459(2). On the types of ship noted here, see above, 52-53.
111. James IV Letters, nos. 310, 324.
112. HR, C, vi, no. 184.

point of view, however, this type of assistance was hardly satisfactory. It did not help Hans in his primary aim of reasserting his authority in Sweden and Hans's displeasure can only have been compounded when Andrew Barton left his service without permission in February 1512.[113] From a Scottish perspective, however, even the semi-official Scottish participation in the Baltic wars had only negative effects. The Wendish towns, and Lübeck in particular, were left in no doubt about Scotland's hostility and consequently considered it legitimate to attack Scottish mercantile shipping. In 1510, for example, men from Lübeck captured a Dundee vessel in the Baltic, while in 1512 they seized goods belonging to Hans Muir, a Scotsman, from a ship sailing from Danzig to Scotland.[114] Thus, it was the Scottish mercantile community which bore the consequences of James IV's Danish policy. When this is taken into account, the longer term benefits to the Scots of the two treaties of Copenhagen seem more mixed. In commercial terms, the Scots were able to develop their trade in Denmark and Norway, but against this they became embroiled in a pointless, unofficial war of piracy with the Wendish towns, which lasted until the 1520s.[115] While the fundamental advantage to the

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113. James IV Letters, no. 412.
114. HR, C, vi, p. 409 and above 268
115. See above, 267-271.

crown of the cession of the northern isles can not be called into question, Scottish influence had been overwhelming in Orkney at least long before 1468. The Scottish Sinclair family had been in possession of the earldom of Orkney since 1379, the bishops of Orkney had also long since been Scottish (though they were still subject to the provincial authority of the archbishop of Trondheim), while by 1450 there does not appear to have been a single Norwegian or native churchman left in Orkney.[116] It was, therefore, perhaps only a matter of time before the Scots acquired formal authority over the isles, though the 1468 treaty certainly sped up that process. Nevertheless, the Scottish crown did not completely secure its authority over the isles in 1468. Even after James had bought the earldom of Orkney from the Sinclairs and received parliamentary approval for its annexation to the crown in 1472, Christian and Hans, as has already been noted, had not given up hope of re-acquiring the islands.[117] Moreover, in 1514 the Scots offered to repawn Orkney to Frederick I of Denmark for 100,000 florins when they needed the money to pursue their campaign against the English.[118]

(iii) The Empire and the Habsburgs

Both the Gueldrian marriage of James II and the Danish marriage of James III had, therefore, brought with them

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116. Crawford, 'Pawning', 40.
117. Macdougall, James III, 90-91, and above, 189-191, 406.
118. James V Letters, 101-102.

foreign entanglements as well as military alliances. Scottish political contacts with other north European princes were more limited. Maintaining few commercial ties with the landward parts of the Empire, sharing few common political interests and, above all, where there was a lack of royal ties of kinship, there was no reason for diplomatic contact between Scotland and these principalities to develop. Indeed, in the early and mid-fifteenth century even the evidence of contact between the Stewart kings and Habsburg emperors is patchy.[119] Frederick III's invitation to James II to send representatives to the diet of Nuremberg in 1444 (to discuss the council of Basle) was politely rejected.[120] Although an imperial envoy visited Scotland in 1453-4, the purpose of his mission is not clear.[121] Likewise, it is not known if anything came of the suggestion promoted by the Scottish estates in 1474 that James III negotiate an alliance with Frederick III, though, since it was envisaged that the alliance would be negotiated through the good offices of Christian of Denmark, the idea had perhaps arisen as a quid pro quo for the Scottish government's efforts to secure a Franco-Danish alliance

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119. Sigismund of Austrial-Tyrol, whom James II's sister, Eleanor, had married, was descended from the Tyrolese branch of the Habsburg family, while the Emperor Frederick III (1440-93) belonged to the Styrian line of the family. Their common grandfather was Count Leopold III, who was killed at the battle of Sempach in 1386. The Emperor Albert II (1438-9) was descended from Leopold's elder brother, Count Albert III.
120. Deutsche Reichsakten unter Friedrich III, Dritte Abteilung, ed. W. Kaemmerer, xvii (Göttingen 1967), no. 82; Baxter, Copiale, appendix, no. 42. John Athilmer, a Scottish graduate of Cologne university, did attend the diet as an advisor to the archbishop of Cologne (Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle (Glasgow 1927),
121. ER, v, 610.

in 1472.[122] The ability of the Scots to ignore imperial politics was, however, ended when Frederick III's son, Maximilian, married the Burgundian heiress Mary in 1477. Henceforth the Habsburgs, and Maximilian in particular, were in a position to influence Scottish commercial and political interests in the Low Countries. Although Maximilian was only de uxore duke of Burgundy, and when his son Philip was born in 1478 the Burgundian inheritance passed to him, Maximilian claimed regency powers in the Burgundian Netherlands from 1477 to 1493 and again after Philip's death in 1506 until 1509. In addition, he was also elected king of the Romans in 1486 and emperor after his father's death in 1493.

For several years after 1477, however, Maximilian's hold on the Burgundian domains was extremely tenuous. Louis XI of France had taken advantage of unrest after Charles the Bold's death to acquire the county and duchy of Burgundy and a large part of Arras. Facing a long struggle to assert his authority, one method which Maximilian employed to strengthen his position was to renew Charles the Bold's alliances with foreign powers. Treaties were negotiated with England in 1478 and 1480 and with Brittany in 1480.[123] Desirous of maintaining their commercial privileges in the Low Countries and renewing the treaty of Brussels, it was perhaps, however, the Scots who first approached Maximilian. In 1477 a

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122. APS, ii, 106 and above, 261-262.
123. Armstrong, 'Burgundian Netherlands', 226-229.

Scottish envoy passed through Lüneburg with a message for the 'duke of Austria', which may refer to either Maximilian or Duke Sigismund of Tyrol.[124] Maximilian was certainly in contact with the Scots before 1 June 1478, when parliament was informed that letters had been received from the duke of Burgundy. It was agreed that (another?) Scottish embassy should be sent to the duke with a view to renewing the Scottish-Burgundian alliance and trade treaties.[125] Preparations for this embassy had been underway for some time. By 22 April 1478 the Aberdeen town council had received a letter from James III 'makand mention of certane ambassat of his hienes to be send to the Duke and Duches of Burganze and Ostrage for the gude of merchandice and renovatioun of al privilegis'.[126] The burgh had been instructed to send commissioners to the king by 3 May to discuss the embassy. Maximilian duly confirmed both the alliance and the commercial privileges, but, lest this cause any offence in Paris, Bishop Elphinstone was dispatched to France in 1479 to assure Louis XI of James' continued friendship.[127]

Subsequently, Maximilian's relations with Scotland remained cordial. His support of the Scots during the dispute with Cologne about piracy has already been noted.[128] In 1495 he expressed interest in a marriage between his daughter Margaret and James IV. This

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124. StA Lüneburg, AB56(1), fo. 416.
125. APS, ii, 118.
126. DA Aberdeen, ACR, vi, 528.
127. Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 127.
128. See above, 144-150.

followed an approach made by James after discussions in the Scottish parliament. According to Boece, James believed that 'his dignity would be increased by an alliance with the blood of the Caesars', though the political situation in western Europe also favoured such a move.[129] In 1492 an Anglo-French treaty had been sealed at Etaple, leaving Scotland diplomatically isolated at a time when Anglo-Scottish relations were poor. At the same time, both Maximilian and James were supporting Perkin Warbeck, the Yorkist pretender to the English throne. Unfortunately, when the Scottish embassy, led by Elphinstone, arrived at Worms in the summer of 1495 with news of the marriage proposal, discussions between Maximilian and ambassadors from Spain concerning Margaret's marriage had already been underway for several months. Nevertheless, according to Venetian reports, the 'clever and astute' Scottish ambassadors (thus described because they spoke of Venice with praise) had a secret audience with the emperor-elect. The Venetians believed that, in addition to the marriage, they offered Maximilian a military alliance with a view to recapturing the counties of northern England, which had been lost in the twelfth century.[130] Although Maximilian was now committed to the Spanish marriage, he did offer James the hand

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129. Boece, Vitae, 80.
130. Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Mittlere Reihe, v (Göttingen 1981), 1750, 1755; Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, ed. R. Brown, i (London 1864), nos. 643, 647, 653.

of the daughter of the elector of Brandenburg.[131] Nothing, however, came of this proposal, since James was offered a marriage with Margaret Tudor, following Spanish mediation between England and Scotland in 1495. While a marriage with 'the blood of the Caesars' might increase James' dignity, a marriage with Margaret Tudor would be of more practical use in resolving James' disputes with his closest neighbour.

Until 1498 relations between the Stewart kings and Habsburg emperors were characterized by an unprecedented degree of harmony. Afterwards, a number of factors emerged to test the strength of the relationship. Imperial and Scottish interests clashed in Guelders after 1498 once Charles of Egmont reconquered his ancestral duchy. They also clashed in the Baltic once Maximilian openly came down on the side of Lübeck against the Danes.[132] Nevertheless, despite these differences Maximilian and James remained on good terms. James looked to Maximilian to lead a new crusade. From 1511 he hoped that they could jointly persuade Pope Julius II and Louis XII of France to settle their differences in order to facilitate the venture. Although it was a naive hope, since Maximilian was himself embroiled in the Italian wars, Maximilian still took the trouble to justify his Italian policy to James in great detail, perhaps

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131. Deutsche Reichstagsakten, 39, 777.
132. See above, 387, 403-404.

suggesting that he sought James' approval.[133] Nevertheless, James' influence with the emperor was rather less than his diplomacy at times implied. James had urged Maximilian to reach a peaceful settlement with the duke of Guelders, with the king of Denmark and with the pope. The emperor ignored these appeals and pursued policies which were in his own interest. This was only brought home to the Scots in 1514, when an imperial herald brought writs to the Scottish government from Maximilian. At the request of Henry VIII of England, the emperor 'declared the Scots to be enemies ... and gave their merchants and subjects four months notice to quit' his domains.[134] This was, of course, in complete contravention of the long-standing alliance and commercial treaties between Scotland and Burgundy.

Since 1427 it had been stipulated that the period of notice required before the agreements could be cancelled was one year and one day.[135] The shock expressed by the Scottish government at this message - at first it refused to believe that it was genuine - is understandable. It was not without justification that the Scots had regarded Maximilian as 'a father and protector' for, although the emperor had pursued policies

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133. James IV Letters, nos. 355, 372, 393, 533. In the summer of 1493 Frederick III and Maximilian had drawn up plans for a crusade which supposed that assistance from Scotland would be forthcoming. (Deutsche Reichstagsakten, 93, 96, 98).
134. James V Letters, 6-7; RSS, i, no. 2016. The letter from the emperor was written in 1513, but probably did not arrive in Scotland until early in 1514. The herald bringing the letter was still in England in December 1513 (James V Letters, 6, n.).
135. This was initially agreed in the treaty of Leyden of 1427. (S A Göttingen, Cod.MS.Hist.657 XVI, fos. 332r-333r).

in continental Europe which had not always met with the approval of the Scottish government, his de facto declaration of war in 1513 was totally out of character with his hitherto friendly direct dealings with James IV.[136] Indeed, there are indications that Maximilian was highly embarrassed by Henry VIII's request. Although he technically complied with the English king's wishes, he did so in as unofficial a manner as was possible. The letter which he sent to the Scots was not sealed and it was written in French rather than the customary Latin. Moreover, it was merely a report of verbal instructions which Maximilian had given to his envoy rather than a formal letter.[137] Thus, despite the contents of the imperial message, it may be doubted whether Maximilian genuinely desired to change a policy of previous friendship with the Scots into one of hostility. There is no evidence that the Scots were forced to quit their trade with the imperial domains.[138]

Barring this half-hearted aberration, then, Maximilian's relations with Scotland were generally cordial. Scottish relations with Maximilian's son, Philip, can on the whole be characterised in a similar fashion, though they were not entirely free from problems. Philip's personal rule in the Burgundian lands began in 1493 and lasted until his death in 1506. His inability, or refusal, to prevent Cologne skippers from attacking

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136. James V Letters, 6.
137. Ibid., 7.
138. Scotsmen continued to trade in the Burgundian domains undeterred. See, for example, Smit, Bronnen, B, i, nos. 277, 278.

Scottish shipping was partly responsible for James IV's decision to temporarily prohibit all trade with the Netherlands in 1498. This decision was also taken because Philip had unilaterally established a wool staple at Bergen-op-Zoom, which the Scots perceived to be against their interests.[139] The continued attacks of the men from Cologne, and also Philip's participation in the invasion of Guelders after 1505, served to keep the archduke's relations with James IV somewhat strained.[140] Nevertheless, shortly before his death Philip wrote to James expressing a wish to reaffirm the Scottish-Burgundian alliance. In a warm, almost sycophantic response, James declared that so long as he lived, 'Philip can hardly appeal to Scotland in vain'.[141] He agreed in principle to a renegotiation of the alliance but this proved impossible before Philip's premature death on 25 September 1506. Nevertheless, on hearing this news, James wrote to Philip's son, Charles, assuring him of goodwill and informing him that he was sending Lyon King-of-Arms and Robert Forman to deliberate further on a renewal of the alliance.[142]

With Charles still a minor Maximilian resumed the regency of the Burgundian Netherlands until 1509, when he delegated his powers to his daughter, Margaret of Savoy. Margaret had been betrothed to Charles VIII of

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139. Stevenson, Thesis, 111.
140. See above, 144-150 and James IV Letters, no. 34.
141. Ibid., no. 27.
142. Ibid., no. 69.

France in 1482, but in 1491 he had married Anne of Brittany. This insult notwithstanding, Charles proceeded to detain Margaret as a hostage and refused to give up possession of her intended dowry of Artois and the Franche Comté.[143] Her treatment at the hands of the French, coupled with inherent Habsburg-Valois rivalry, led Margaret into the pursuit of a steadfastly pro-English diplomacy. This, inevitably, exacerbated Scottish-Burgundian relations, once Anglo-Scottish relations deteriorated after the accession of Henry VIII in 1509. Unlike her brother's initial and lengthy benevolent neutrality towards Guelders, by 1511 Margaret had already secured English assistance for an invasion of the duchy.[144] Margaret also took a poor view of Scottish piracy committed principally by the Barton family off the Dutch coast. The Bartons' activities has arisen following the attack on a ship of John Barton by the Portuguese in the 1470s.[145] Although the Portuguese were deemed to be allies by the Scots, they had declined to deliver compensation. James III had, therefore, reluctantly issued letters of marque against them, which James IV had equally reluctantly renewed.[146] In 1508 John's son, Robert, used the letters to justify the seizure of a Portuguese vessel. The Portuguese, however, arranged for Robert to be arrested

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143. Armstrong, 'Burgundian Netherlands', 239-240.
144. See above, 401.
145. W.S. Reid, Skipper from Leith. The History of Robert Barton of Over Barnton (Philadelphia 1962), 33-34.
146. James IV Letters, no. 206; Smit, Bronnen, B, i, no. 308; Edin.Recs., i, 119-120.

at Vere in the autumn of 1508. James IV twice wrote to Maximilian requesting Robert's release, partly because Robert had been regularly employed by James as a commercial agent and, therefore, enjoyed royal favour.[147] James' intercessions secured Robert's release by the characteristically friendly emperor in January 1509, but in the same month Margaret of Savoy accused Robert's brothers, Andrew and John, of piracy.[148] Margaret made further complaints about Scottish piracy in 1511 and in 1512 she ordered the re-arrest of Robert Barton for allegedly pillaging English vessels. In 1512 James complained to her about the lengthy delays faced by Scottish merchants appealing about piratical attacks against them to Margaret's council in The Hague.[149] It is, therefore, perhaps not too fanciful to see the hand of Margaret behind Maximilian's letter to the Scottish government in 1513, in which he ordered the expulsion of Scots from the Habsburg domain. She, too, had written to the Scottish government, presumably in a similar vein, and the de facto declaration of war by the Habsburgs on Scotland was more in turn with her attitude to the Scots than that of Maximilian.[150]

This episode succinctly demonstrates how difficult it was for the Scots to play an important rôle in pan-European politics. The larger powers were inevitably

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147. James IV Letters, nos. 206, 217. See also above, 404-405, and James IV Letters, nos. 41, 84, 277.
148. Reid, Skipper, 89.
149. James IV Letters, nos. 468, 488.
150. James V Letters, 7.

influenced to a greater extent by their most powerful allies and their most dangerous enemies than by a small and poor kingdom situated on the periphery of Europe. In the later middle ages the Scots were regularly left to face the reality that their most powerful continental allies had deserted them. Yet, one constant strand evident in the diplomacy of James II, James III and James IV is their common aspiration to involve themselves more in European politics than their predecessors had. The parade of Stewart kings and princesses on the European marriage market in the fifteenth century successfully contributed to a greater awareness of Scotland in continental Europe. Medieval marriages were, however, frequently only tools of diplomacy and each of the three kings sought to use their marriages to establish diplomatic alliances with foreign powers. It is interesting that none of the three looked to France for a bride. Since the French and Scots normally shared a common diplomatic outlook, it would have been superfluous in diplomatic terms for any of the three kings to have chosen a French consort. Rather, they looked for brides in those countries, such as Denmark and England, whose relations with Scotland were strained, or, alternatively, in those countries, such as Burgundy and the Empire, with which a formal alliance would be advantageous in safeguarding Scottish political or commercial interest. Neither James II nor James IV can be criticized for the fact that their marriages ultimately failed to bring harmony to relations

with Burgundy and England respectively. Initially, both had seemed like astute and successful moves. Recently James III has been roundly criticized for his rash foreign policies and he can, perhaps, be accused of failing to foresee that his Danish marriage could well lead to Scottish entanglement in the conflicts of the Baltic.[151] Nevertheless, in defence of this much maligned king, it must be said that this did not happen during his own lifetime and, although James clearly acted unwisely over his claim to Guelders in 1473, he had quickly learnt the lesson that it was logistically impossible to pursue his claim to the duchy. Indeed, the legacy in international diplomacy which James III bequeathed to James IV was quite favourable. Unlike his father, the new king was not restrained by the Scottish estates from initially pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, as is evident from both his contacts with England and the Baltic.[152] After 1502 this gave way to a generally more cautious diplomatic tone, as James' evasive responses to the requests for military assistance from both the duke of Guelders and the king of Denmark demonstrate. Nevertheless, the legacy in foreign affairs which James IV in turn bequeathed to his son was decidedly unfavourable compared to that which he had inherited: it was one of hostility with England, hostility with the Empire, hostility with Sweden and hostility with the Wendish towns.

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151. J. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community. Scotland 1470-1625 (London 1981), 6; N. Macdougall, 'Foreign relations: England and France', Scottish Society, ed. Brown, 107.
152. On James IV's English policy, see Wormald, Court, 6 and Nicholson, Scotland, 595-606.

James IV's death in 1513 is, however, a convenient point to terminate this survey of Scotland's political relations with northern Europe. Hans of Denmark died in the same year and Louis XII of France in 1515. Maximilian was to die shortly afterwards, in 1519. By the time that James V had come of age in 1528, the political conflicts of Europe were radically different to those which James IV had encountered. Denmark was embroiled in a civil war between Christian II (Hans' son) and Frederick I (Hans' brother), while in 1523 Gustav Vasa had been elected king of an independent Sweden.[153] Although Guelders maintained its independence until 1543, the Egmont dukes had given up hope of support from Scotland. The printed volume of James V's letters includes no correspondence from the duke to Scotland and only one terse complaint about piracy sent from the Scots to the duke.[154] Meanwhile, on the death of his grandfather the new emperor, Charles V, had united all the Habsburg lands. As Habsburg-Valois rivalry increased, Charles declared war on Scotland, France's ally in 1522 and 1544.[155] Moreover, once Martin Luther had posted his '95 theses' at the castle church of Wittenberg religious discord was set to mingle with political strife.

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153. Frederick was victorious in the conflict in 1523. By 1512 his relations with James IV were poor, because of piratical attacks by his subjects on Scotsmen. (James IV Letters, nos. 469, 493).
154. James V Letters, 34.
155. Stevenson, Thesis, 120.

# CONCLUSION

> Thinking is a difficult business, and most of us prefer to do as little of it as possible. To avoid the anguish and responsibility of independent thought, we explain the past with historical clichés, we play with labels rather than grapple with the complexities of detail. [1]

This comment was addressed to historians of the English Reformation. It can be applied with equal validity to the comments of most historians on Scotland's commercial relations with northern Germany and the Baltic in the later middle ages. Although several of the general histories of the Hanseatic trade make no mention of Scotland,[2] those that do frequently resort to historical clichés when describing the Hansa's relations with Scotland. Most imply that the Hansa's trade with Scotland was basically similar in nature to its trade with England. All believe that the Hansa's relations with Scotland were soured by the indiscriminate attacks of Scottish pirates on Hanseatic shipping;[3] in one it has even

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1. C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', History, lxviii (1983), 391.
2. E.g. Schildhauer et.al., Hanse; Postan, Trade and Finance, chapter 2 (which is a survey of the trade of northern Europe as a whole, rather than just that of the Hansa).
3. E.G. Dollinger, Hanse, 323; K. Pagel, Die Hanse (Braunschweig 1952), 192; E.R. Daenell, Die Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse (Berlin 1905-6), passim; T.Hirsch, Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbe-geschichte (Leipzig 1858), 117-120.

been claimed that piracy was a national industry for the Scots.[4] Likewise, while the general histories of later medieval Scotland generally demonstrate an awareness of the existence of Scottish links with the Baltic, most skim over the complexities of detail. They make a few references to the commodities of trade and the adverse effect which Scottish piracy had on Scotland's trade with the Baltic.[5] It has been the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that, in reality, Scotland's relations with northern Germany and the Baltic in the middle ages were a good deal more complex. The commodities of trade partly determined which ports participated in trade; they reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish economy; and they accounted for the level of trade between Scotland and the Hansa. While piracy soured Scottish-Hanseatic relations, not all of the piracy was committed by Scotsmen. Moreover, in addition to being an irritant to trade, piracy was also symptomatic of political insecurity and economic depression.

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4. Pagel, Hanse, 172. Despite the large number of references to the activities of pirates in northern waters during the middle ages, there has been very little serious analysis of medieval piracy by historians. See, however, M. Mollat, 'Guerre de course et piraterie à la fin du Moyen Age: Aspects économiques et sociaux', HGb, xc (1972), 1-14.
5. Nicholson, Scotland, 226-227; Grant, Independence, 71; Dunlop, Kennedy, 358-362. The same can be said about Fischer, Germany, passim, and Fischer, Prussia, passim.

Scotland's relations with northern Germany and the Baltic in the later middle ages were determined principally by commerce and incidents, such as piracy, which are related to commerce. Further contact was, however, established by a few Scottish crusaders, who visited the Baltic from the later fourteenth century, and by Scottish students, who studied at the universities of northern Europe. Some Scottish masters remained abroad and taught at the universities of Cologne and Copenhagen. There was also some political contact between Scotland and northern Europe. James II, James III and James IV, in particular, sought to establish a closer relationship between themselves and the kings and princes of northern Europe. Royal marriages were the conduit for the establishment of such relations, but royal marriages, with princesses from Guelders and Denmark, were accompanied by formal military alliances. These marital and military alliances were an attempt by the Stewart kings to stress their importance in the European political arena. The greater participation of the Stewarts in European politics was not totally without success. James III could claim two notable successes in international diplomacy. In return for a military alliance with Denmark, he acquired Orkney and Shetland for the Scottish crown. He also

played a notable rôle in soothing Franco-Hanseatic relations and in establishing a Franco-Danish alliance. Nevertheless, it was a somewhat pretentious belief, that the king of a geographically remote country could exert great influence over the most powerful continental princes. Royal dabbling in continental affairs was, at times, opposed by the Scottish parliament. At other times the royal involvement in European politics backfired. James III's claims to Guelders were, for example, totally ignored by Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Although James IV's diplomacy was generally more cautious than that of his father, as a consequence of the Danish alliance, he allowed Scotland to become embroiled in a pointless, unofficial war of piracy with Lübeck and Hamburg.

It was through trading connections, however, that most medieval Scotsmen and Scotswomen came into contact with northern Europe. Scottish merchants and nobles traded with the Baltic; some Scots emigrated there; and many Scots consumed or used merchandise which had been brought to Scotland from the Baltic. The date of the earliest Scottish commercial links with German towns and merchants is unknown. Some contact had, perhaps, been forged in England or the Low Countries by the thirteenth century. By the later thirteenth century German merchants were certainly visiting Scotland. Berwick had been Scotland's most important port in the thirteenth century and it is there, that the earliest

German commercial activity in Scotland is recorded. Wool, sent to the Flemish textile manufacturing centres, was Berwick's principal export. It is likely that the German merchants active at Berwick had also come to purchase wool, which they, too, would then sell in Flanders.

After Berwick had been captured by the English forces, supplies of arms and victuals, sold by German merchants to the Scottish resistance, had to be delivered to other ports. Although the evidence is scanty, it seems that Aberdeen was the Scottish port, which attracted most German merchants during the Wars of Independence. Aberdeen was one of the earliest ports to be recaptured by Robert I's forces. Its distance from the Anglo-Scottish frontier made it difficult for the English, with no supply points in the vicinity, to effectively blockade the port. Nevertheless, in the longer term, Edinburgh was the principal beneficiary of Berwick's decline. Merchants from several Scottish burghs, in addition to those from Edinburgh, exported their goods through Leith, Edinburgh's port. During the fifteenth century Edinburgh consolidated its domination of the Scottish export trade. By the first decade of the sixteenth century 57.29% of all Scottish customed exports passed through Edinburgh.[6]

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6. M. Lynch, 'Continuity and change in urban society 1500-1700', Scottish Society, 1500-1800, edd. R.A. Houston and I. Whyte (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Lynch for allowing me to consult various statistics which he has compiled on the customs revenue raised at Scottish ports.

During the same period 66.6% of all Scottish cloth customs and 37.1% of all Scottish salt exports were raised at Edinburgh.[7] Since these were two of the most important Scottish exports to the Baltic, it must be presumed (in the absence of a continuous run of Scottish 'particular' customs accounts), that Edinburgh also handled the largest amount of Scotland's Baltic trade. By at least the end of the fifteenth century Dundee, too, perhaps specialized in Baltic trade: cloth was also an important component of its export trade. Many of the other east-coast Scottish burghs, between Aberdeen and Dunbar, had occasional contact with the Baltic. Haddington's contacts, perhaps, increased in the later fifteenth century, in line with the town's generally growing importance in the export trade. It specialized in the export of cloth and salt, both of which were sought in the Baltic. By contrast, as Linlithgow's overall trade declined from the mid-fifteenth century, so its share of Baltic trade appears to have declined.[8] Though Perth and Aberdeen were important centres of the export trade throughout the fifteenth century, their trade with the Baltic also seems to have declined in the later fifteenth century. Cloth formed a less substantial part of both towns' exports than it formed

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7. ER, xi-xiii, passim.
8. The reasons for Linlithgow's declining export trade are puzzling, for the decline occurred, despite the burgh's growing prominence as a royal centre. Edinburgh, however, was obviously attracting some of Linlithgow's earlier trade.

in the exports of Edinburgh and Dundee. Neither Perth nor Aberdeen had local supplies of coal or salt to export, while the market for fish, which they did export, was limited in the Baltic. Aberdeen's trade with Danzig was also adversely affected by a dispute over debts, which were owed by some of the town's merchants to merchants from Danzig.

Over two and a quarter centuries elapsed between the death of Alexander III in 1286 and the death of James IV in 1513. During this period the focus of Scottish trade with Germany shifted from the western Hanseatic towns to the eastern Hanseatic towns. A small community of merchants from Cologne had settled in or near Berwick by the end of the thirteenth century. Merchants from Soest, and conceivably from other Westphalian towns, were also trading in Scotland by the end of the thirteenth century. From the mid-fourteenth century, however, merchants from the Rhenish and Westphalian towns can no longer be traced in Scotland. Although some produce from western Germany, such as Rhenish wine, was still being sent to Scotland, this was probably purchased by Scots in the Low Countries. By the end of the thirteenth century, merchants from Lübeck, Hamburg and Stralsund probably also visited Scotland, though the trade, which they conducted, seems to have been conducted from the Low Countries, England and possibly Norway, rather than directly from

the German towns themselves. From the mid-1310s, however, the frequency with which Wendish merchants visited Scotland seems also to have declined. By then Scottish merchants appear to have conducted the bulk of Scotland's trade. Although it may be an illusion, created by the patchy mid-fourteenth-century source material, there appears to have been a revival of Wendish activity in Scotland in the later fourteenth century, while Scots were providing unwelcome competition to Hanseatic merchants at the Skanian herring fairs. From about this period the first evidence also survives of Scottish contact with the eastern Baltic; by the early fifteenth century merchants from Bremen, too, were regularly visiting Scotland. By the later fifteenth century, however, Bremen merchants do not appear to have continued visiting Scotland, save for their presence in Shetland. Although trade with the Wendish towns, and particularly with Stralsund, was more regular than that with Bremen, it is likely, that Danzig and, to a lesser extent, Königsberg were the principal destinations of Scottish trade to the Baltic, as they were in the later sixteenth century.

The shifting pattern of Scottish-Hanseatic trade was largely determined by the commodities of that trade. Wool, which was sold in the Low Countries, had probably first attracted German merchants to Scotland. Wool was not, however, a commodity which was in great demand in the Hanseatic towns. The earliest recorded

German commercial activity in Scotland was, therefore, probably in the rôle of an intermediary in trade between Scotland and the Low Countries. When, in the mid-fourteenth century, Scottish merchants began themselves to ship most of Scotland's wool to the Low Countries, they usurped the rôle of the Germans. In this the Scots were, perhaps, assisted both by the discriminatory customs dues imposed on foreign merchants from the 1330s and the continued attempts of the English to discourage Germans from trading in Scotland. Although the quality of Scottish wool and the value of Scottish wool exports declined markedly from the 1390s, wool remained Scotland's principal export throughout the middle ages. Because the principal market for Scottish wool remained in the Low Countries, Scotland's exports to the Hanseatic towns were inevitably less important than those sent to the Low Countries. There was, however, a market for Scottish cloth in the Baltic, particularly among the poorer section of Prussian society. Cheap and impure Scottish salt was in demand in the eastern Baltic, but less so in the western Baltic, where a better quality of salt was locally obtainable from Lüneburg. By contrast there was a limited market for coal in the western Baltic, but no apparent demand for it in the east. Cod from Scotland had been consumed in thirteenth-century Cologne, while Shetland's stockfish were purchased by merchants from Bremen and Hamburg. On the whole, however, the market for Scottish fish in the Hanseatic

towns was also limited, because it was easier to obtain supplies from Norway, Skania or Holland. Moreover, there appears to have been a migration of herring from the Scottish coast in the fourteenth century, when it even proved necessary for the Scots to import Skanian herring.

It was, however, the commodities which were available in the eastern Baltic that ensured that Scotland's closest Hanseatic contacts would be with the Prussian towns. Grain, flax, timber and sylvan products were particularly sought after by Scots. Apart from flax, these commodities were also sent to Scotland from the Wendish towns, but only in beer and, perhaps, timber could Wendish supplies match those from Prussia.

It has recently been demonstrated that the high level of manufactured imports to Scotland from Flanders reflected a weakness in the range of activity of the Scottish craft industries.[9] The imports from the Baltic reflected another weakness in the Scottish economy: in the agricultural sector of the economy. Scotland was a net grain importer. The shortage of grain was partly caused by war devastation, partly by a shift from arable farming to sheep rearing, but principally because of climatic deterioration. Timber imports reflected deforestation, particularly in the more populated parts

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9. Stevenson, 'Trade with the south', Medieval Town, edd. Lynch et.al., 189-190.

of the country, where timber was required for fuel and construction work. Although timber was less scarce in the north and west of Scotland, it was difficult to transport it to the south and east. Even in the north, however, James IV could find no timber suitable for the construction of ship masts.[10] Insufficient flax was grown in Scotland to supply the needs of the linen-making industry.

Scotland's high level of imports and, after the decline in the quality of Scottish wool, its low level of exports points to an economy in depression. It is probable that Scotland's trade with the Hansa contributed to, rather than counteracted, the Scottish balance of payments deficit in the fifteenth century. The Scots were not unaware of this problem. Parliament's regular attempts to restrict the drain of bullion was just one example of this awareness. Attempts were, perhaps, also made to stimulate both the cloth manufacturing industry (by imposing an import duty on English cloth) and arable production (by ordering the plantation of crops).[11] Nevertheless, the success of these measures was limited: grain continued to be sent from Prussia and, unlike England, Scottish woollen cloth exports failed to outstrip the value of wool exports.

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10. James IV Letters, no. 435.
11. APS, i, 571; ii, 51.

The high demand for imports in Scotland meant that merchants, at least, could expect to make a profit from trade. During the Wars of Independence and again in the early fifteenth century some relatively important German merchants found it profitable to trade in Scotland. The profits which they could make from the sale of imported goods was not, however, matched by the profits to be made from the sale of Scottish goods abroad. Hanseatic merchants were probably, therefore, never such frequent visitors to Scotland, as they were to England or Scandinavia. From the Scottish point of view this was advantageous: there were none of the quarrels between Scotland and the Hansa, which so marred Hanseatic relations with England, in particular; in the mid-fourteenth century and again . . . . from the mid-fifteenth century Scottish merchants were largely left alone to acquire those profits which could be made from trade between Scotland and the Baltic. Nevertheless, the extent of these profits should not be exaggerated. Many Scottish merchants found it more worthwhile to emigrate to the Baltic.

It was not, however, only the wealthier Scottish merchants who traded in the Baltic. The depression of the Scottish craft industries led several dyers and weavers from the cloth industry to emigrate to the Baltic. Although little is known about the Scots who chose to emigrate to the Baltic, many apparently turned to peddling.[12] The complaints about Scottish pedlars,

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12. Little is known about the exact origin of these Scots, since no propinquity books survive until the later sixteenth century.

which were voiced in Cologne, the Wendish towns, Denmark, Skania and especially Prussia from the 1470s, suggest that a large number of Scots had chosen to follow this lifestyle. By then their numbers were sufficiently great and their economic activities sufficiently important to cause the German authorities to regulate their activity.

The frequent repetition of these regulations suggests, that they were not very effective. A number of other factors did, however, periodically impede the conduct of Scottish-Hanseatic commerce. Shipwrecks, contractual disputes, debt default and the capture of ships during war were not uncommon occurrences. There was a fine line between legitimate attacks on shipping during war and the illegitimate activities of pirates. Some piracy was certainly committed for political reasons. Ships equipped for war not infrequently indulged in piracy as a profitable sideline. Other attacks on shipping, however, arose from economic motives: piracy was one method of bridging the gap between the desire for goods and the inability to pay for them. A country, such as Scotland, or a town, such as Bremen, both in the midst of an economic depression, were more likely to turn to piracy than towns such as Lübeck or Danzig, whose economies were reasonably healthy. The attitude of the Scottish government to piracy varied according to circumstance. Influential pirates, such as Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, were left to conduct their piracy at will. The Scottish authorities made no strenuous

effort to settle disputes about piracy, which arose with towns, such as Cologne, with which Scotland had little or no direct trade. By the later fifteenth century, however, the Scots were anxious to ensure that redress was given to Danzig merchants, whose goods had been captured by pirates and brought to Scotland for sale. In Danzig the authorities could order the seizure of Scottish goods in retribution: in Cologne, where there was no Scottish trade, that was impossible. The reaction of the Hansa to Scottish piracy also depended on the circumstances. In the early fifteenth century, when Prussian merchants conducted a substantial trade with Scotland, the Prussians took a lenient attitude towards the Scottish piracy committed by Alexander Stewart. At the same time, those towns which conducted little trade with Scotland adopted a much harsher line. Such diversity of reaction and the inability to adopt a coherent, unified response was, however, a hallmark of the loosely-knit Hansa.

Given the lack of statistical data it is virtually impossible to assess the importance of Scottish relations with the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany and the Baltic. The proceedings of the Hanseatic diet imply that, except during the period of the imposition of the Hanseatic trade embargo on Scotland in the early fifteenth century, Scotland was not usually foremost in the minds of the delegates to the diet. It is unlikely that Scotland's trade with the Baltic superseded its trade

with the Low Countries. Meanwhile, the political links which were established by the Scots with northern Europe were, to the Scots, of secondary importance, compared to the much more vital matter of relations with England. Nevertheless, Scottish kings, crusaders and students, despite the remoteness of their country, all helped to forge links with northern Germany and the Baltic; but it was probably because rather than in spite of later medieval Scotland's economic malaise, that merchants, pedlars and pirates dominated Scotland's contacts with the region.

## APPENDIX NO. 1

## THE RECOVERY OF BERWICK: THE CUSTOMS RECEIPTS 1328-1333

| Port | Period of Account: Feb/Mar 1327 to Jan/Feb 1328 | Jan/Feb 1328 to June 1328 | June 1328 to July/ Aug 1329 | June/Aug 1329 to June 1331 | June 1330 to Feb/Mar 1331 | Mar 1331 to Dec 1331 | Dec 1332 to March 1333 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aberdeen | 344-10-04 | 134-15-03 | * | 344-05-09 | 504-09-01 | 663-12-05 | 735-01-05 |
| Ayr | 2-04-00 | * | * | * | 16-17-06x | * | |
| Berwick | 674-00-02 | 287-07-01 | 698-05-11 | 423-05-11 | 540-04-09 | 562-15-06 | 664-08-08 |
| Cupar | 13-06-00 | 4-18-00 | * | * | * | * | * |
| Dumbarton | * | * | * | * | 3-14-00ø | * | * |
| Dundee | 240-04-08 | 125-11-05 | 0-02-04 | 267-04-06 | 291-03-02 | 303-02-08 | 299-04-04 |
| Edinburgh | 439-03-08 | 95-05-06 | 604-17-04 | 249-00-00 | 326-15-02 | 399-15-00 | 464-06-02 |
| Inverkeithing | 8-05-04 | 4-14-02 | 9-06-10 | 10-11-01 | 22-08-08 | 47-07-05 | 50-02-03 |
| Kirkcudbright | * | * | * | * | * | 1-10-01 | * |
| Linlithgow | 14-09-01 | 13-02-08 | 38-09-08 | 15-05-05 | 26-11-08 | 55-18-01 | 30-08-01 |
| Montrose | * | * | * | 6-07-04 | | * | 8-07-03 |
| Perth | 108-01-09 | 25-14-08 | 148-07-01 | 43-14-03 | 128-08-02 | 72-09-08 | * |
| Stirling | 2-11-08 | 1-07-04 | 5-12-04 | 7-13-08 | 9-12-09 | 6-13-03 | 7-18-00 |
| Wigtown | * | * | * | * | 0-18-04 | 1-01-08 | * |

Key: * Account missing or not paid
ø Account for two year period
x Account for three year period

Figures: £ (pounds) - s(shillings)-d (pence)

Note: Between 1331 and 1333 a double customs levy was imposed on merchandise exported by alien merchants.

Source: ER, i, 74-84, 95-101, 170-177, 274-281, 313-322, 365-374, 419-429.

# APPENDIX NO. 2

## SCOTLAND AND THE NORTHERN CRUSADES

Until recently the northern crusades in Prussia and Livonia received little attention from British historians. Until even more recently the Scottish involvement in those crusades was all but ignored. To a large extent that is no longer so, thanks to the work of Eric Christiansen and Alan Macquarrie.[1] To compare the works of these two scholars, however, presents a conundrum. Macquarrie argues that Scottish involvement in the northern crusades 'is one of the most striking features' of the later fourteenth century.[2] By contrast, Christiansen, in his index, finds no space for an entry under 'Scotland' or 'Scots'.[3] Partly, of course, this is because Christiansen and Macquarrie wrote from different perspectives. Christiansen wrote a general history of the northern crusades, while Macquarrie specifically analysed the Scottish contribution to the crusading movement. Nevertheless, if Christiansen's omission of references to Scotland is well founded, there is clearly an over-elaboration in Macquarrie's work.

To evaluate which opinion is more valid, the

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1. E. Christiansen, The Northern Crusades (London 1980); A. Macquarrie, The Impact of the Crusading Movement in Scotland (University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982); A. Macquarrie, Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560 (Edinburgh 1985).
2. Macquarrie, Thesis, 206.
3. Christiansen, Crusades, 272. (There is actually an unindexed reference to Scots on p.149).

documentary evidence has to be examined. This can be divided into several categories. The well-preserved English records incorporate some information about Scottish participation in the northern crusades. The Scottish records, and records of the Teutonic Order, are less complete and of considerably less use. A fourth source of valuable evidence is, however, available in the numerous English, Scottish, German and, indeed, French chronicles of the period.

Five groups of Scottish crusaders can be identified from the English records. On 20 August 1356 a safe-conduct was granted to two Scottish knights (Thomas Bisset and Walter Morgue), two esquires (Norman and Walter Leslie) and twelve men on horseback to travel through England to Prussia.[4] On 2 February 1362 David de Berclay, a scutifer, was given a safe-conduct to travel to Prussia via England with twelve men and horses.[5] Adam de Hepburn, travelling with ten men and horses, received similar permission on 21 November 1378.[6] A fourth reference occurs on 1 January 1391, when an unnamed Scottish knight received a gift of cloth in Prussia from Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby.[7] The fifth and final indication of a Scottish crusader among the English documentary records dates from ca.1400, when Sir John de Abernethy and two servants were

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4. Rot.Scot., i, 797.
5. Ibid., 869.
6. Ibid., ii, 13.
7. Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby, in the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3, ed. L.T. Smith (Camden Society, new series, 1894), 111.

granted safe-passage through England while travelling to and from Prussia.[8]

Two factors explain why evidence of Scottish participation in the northern crusades should emerge among English records. Firstly, some Scotsmen journeying to Prussia travelled via England and, secondly, English crusaders, such as Derby, met Scots while on crusade themselves. Nevertheless, the English evidence can not provide an accurate reflection of Scottish involvement in the northern crusades. The English safe-conducts frequently made no mention of a traveller's destination. Thus, some other crusaders, whom it is impossible to trace, may also be concealed among the English records. Even when destinations are recorded, it is not certain that the recipients actually made use of their safe-conduct, as the example of Walter Leslie demonstrates. Leslie was granted a second safe-conduct, for travel to an unknown destination, in October 1356.[9] This was in addition to the one which he had already received the previous August for travel to Prussia. Clearly, the time gap between the two safe-conducts was not sufficient for Leslie to have made use of the August safe-conduct, though he may have used the second safe-conduct to travel to Prussia.[10] Moreover, although some Scots certainly intended to travel to

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8. CDS, iv, no. 593.
9. Rot.Scot., i, 814.
10. For journey times between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, see above, 63-64.

Prussia via England, this was hardly the most direct route. While travelling via England avoided an uncomfortable and lengthy voyage across the North Sea, Scots had long since been used to journeying to the European continent by ship. After ca.1380, when ships began to use the Sound route more frequently, many Scots crusaders may have journeyed directly to Prussia by sea. Before (or indeed after) this, other Scottish crusaders may have taken a ship to the Low Countries or north-western Germany and proceeded further from there, either by sea or by land. In either case, they would not necessarily have applied for an English safe-conduct. For various reasons, therefore, the English safe-conduct evidence must be treated with caution. Similarly, by their very nature, the earl of Derby's accounts of his expedition to Prussia can not be expected to give a detailed list of all the Scots on crusade in the Baltic, even for the brief period between 1390 and 1392. The mention of a Scotsman in these financial records is purely coincidental. Nevertheless, although it is certain that not all of the Scottish participants in the northern crusades are recorded in the English records, the evidence which they do contain - five examples in fifty years - can hardly be described as 'plenty of evidence' of Scottish involvement in the Teutonic Order's wars.[11] Neither can that claim be upheld on the basis of the surviving Scottish evidence, which is even more jejune than that from England.

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11. Macquarrie, Thesis, 206; Macquarrie, Crusades, 84.

Among the manuscripts of the duke of Hamilton there is a fragmentary copy of a writ, dated at Danzig in 1300.[12] It refers to a debt owed by Sir James Douglas to Sir Robert Stewart. Douglas promised to repay the debt, in Prussian money, by the following Easter in Danzig. Should he fail to do this, he promised not to bear the arms of a knight without Stewart's agreement. The reason for the presence of the two Scottish knights in Danzig is not stated, but it can be assumed that they were there to participate in a crusade. Quite clearly the date of the original manuscript was miscopied. 'Good' Sir James Douglas, who died in 1330, was probably too young to have participated in a crusade in 1300 and he only emerges on the Scottish political scene in 1306.[13] Subsequent commentators have placed the document between 1389 and 1391.[14] As for the two participants in the transaction, it has been generally agreed that they should be identified as Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer and Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith.[15] The

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12. Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts [HMC], Eleventh Report (London 1887), appendix, part vi, 210-211.
13. The date of this Sir James Douglas' birth is not known but has been guessed at about 1286. (Dictionary of National Biography [DNB], edd. L. Stephen and S. Lee (London 1885-91), v, 1206). By 1306 he was an active supporter of Robert Bruce and was too preoccupied with the Wars of Independence to have had time to go on crusade. He did, however, subsequently take the late king's heart on crusade to Spain, where he died in 1330 (Barrow, Bruce, 156-158, 323-324).
14. HMC, Eleventh Report, appendix, part vi, 211 (which dates the document to between 1389 and 1391); Macquarrie, Thesis, 213 (dating it to ca. 1390); Fischer, Germany, 278 (also supporting 1390).
15. HMC, Eleventh Report, appendix, part vi, 211; Macquarrie, Thesis, 213.

former was an ancestor of the Stewarts of Rosyth, into whose possession the original document found its way. The latter, whose main claim to fame is, perhaps, through his unfriendly horse, which kicked and disabled the future King Robert III in 1388, was a contemporary of Sir Robert's. Douglas' links with the Teutonic Order are attested by his appearance on a list of Scottish debtors to the Order between 1396 and 1417, while the fact that he had a will written on 13 September 1390, some thirty years before his death, suggests that he was contemplating a dangerous undertaking at about the same date.[16] The date of the will means that Douglas cannot have arrived in Danzig before late in 1390, at the earliest, and on this basis the Hamilton manuscript must have been copied from an original which was dated no earlier than the winter of 1390-1.

This argument hinges on the widely accepted fact that the Sir James Douglas of the Hamilton manuscript can be identified as Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. There is, however, ... compelling evidence to reject this identification. On 10 November 1390 Sir James Douglas of Strathbrock, Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer, Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale and Sir William Douglas of Strathbrock were in Bruges, where they borrowed

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16. Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 76 (The debt, amounting to 36s., was for half a chalder of wheat); Registrum Honoris de Morton (Bannatyne Club 1953), i, p.xv-xx; ii, no. 193.

£26-13s-4d from Lawrence Preston and David Pullay, two Edinburgh burgesses.[17] The four knights promised to repay their debt in Bruges by Easter 1391. Since the original document from which the Hamilton manuscript was copied came into the possession of Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer's descendants, it seems likely that Stewart visited Danzig. From various chronicle entries it is certain that William Douglas of Nithsdale visited Prussia at about this time. It, therefore, seems probable that Stewart, Douglas of Nithsdale and the two Douglases of Strathbrock, rather than Douglas of Dalkeith, journeyed to Prussia together, either between November 1390 and Easter 1391 (when they were expected to be in Bruges) or, more probably, since summer crusading campaigns were more popular than those held in winter, after Easter 1391.[18]

This is the only evidence preserved among the Scottish records of Scottish participation in the northern crusades. Further evidence of this involvement can, however, be gleaned from various chronicles. In September 1377 Duke Albrecht of Austria accompanied the Teutonic knights on crusade. Among his company was Peter Suchenwird, a poet of some acclaim. Shortly after returning to Austria, he composed an account of Duke Albrecht's escapades in Prussia. Among those who joined his patron were '<u>von Schottenlant her Ekhart, Wilhelm und Ritschart'</u>.[19] Who these Scots were is not expounded upon.

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17. SRO, AD/1/27.
18. See below, 449.
19. <u>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</u> [SRP], edd. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen and E. Strehlke (Leipzig 1861-74), ii, 168.

The next chronicle references to Scots on crusade relate to Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale. Douglas attracted the attention of several European chroniclers. Among Scottish writers, the earliest accounts of his visit to Prussia are contained in Bower's continuation of the Scotichronicon and in the later Liber Pluscardensis, a work largely based on Bower's chronicle.[20] Bower's account was also the basis for the sixteenth-century historians, John Major and George Buchanan, and, indeed, for Hector Boece, who, characteristically, embellished Bower's story.[21] It might have been expected that Andrew Wyntoun, writing in the early fifteenth century, would also include some relevant material. While he mentions Douglas in other contexts, he includes nothing about Prussia.[22] There are three near contemporary Prussian chronicles which mention Douglas: that of Wigand of Marburg, a knight and brother of the Teutonic Order, who concluded his chronicle with the events of 1394; that of John of Posilge, who died in 1405; and the Altere Hochmeisterchronik, probably written shortly after 1433 and drawing much of its material from Posilge's chronicle.[23] The sixteenth-century writers, Casper Schutz and Simon of Grinau, also refer to Douglas' adventures.[24] There are also two other

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20. The relevant passages from Bower are printed in SRP, ii, 796-797; Liber Pluscardensis [Chron. Pluscarden], ed. F.J.H. Skene (Edinburgh 1877-80), i, 324-325.
21. Fischer, Germany, 275-277; Fischer, Prussia, 123-124; SRP, ii, 797-800.
22. Chron. Wyntoun (Laing), iii, 30-32.
23. SRP, ii, 644; iii, 172, 620.
24. Fischer, Prussia, 123-124.

important sources. An unknown biographer recorded the life of the French Marechal Boucicaut.[25] This was probably written during Boucicaut's life (he died in 1421) and is important as Boucicaut claimed to be in Prussia on his third northern crusade at the same time as Douglas. Finally, an unknown monk of Westminster, who continued Ranulph Higden's Polychronicon, also mentions Douglas.[26] He naturally wrote from an English perspective - which is of particular interest since English crusaders probably murdered Douglas.

Douglas was the illegitimate son of Archibald, third earl of Douglas.[27] He was also a warrior of sufficient reputation to marry Egidia, the daughter of Robert II. He visited Prussia in the 1390s and was made admiral of a fleet of ships assembled to commence an expedition, or reyse, 'ad oppugnandum paganos'.[28] Before, however, Douglas could embark on the reyse he was attacked and probably killed. When and where this occurred is, however, a matter of some dispute. The date of Douglas' death has been variously placed in 1390, 1391 and 1392. 1390 was favoured by the most reliable of the Scottish accounts, that of Bower. He was then followed by Boece, Buchanan and Major. Among

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25. SRP, ii, 786.
26. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis [Chron. Westminster], edd. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby (Roll Series, 1865-86), ix, 258-259.
27. The Scots Peerage, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh 1904-14), iii, 163; DNB, v, 1265.
28. SRP, ii, 796.

the German accounts that of Casper Schutz alone supports this, as, by implication, does the French account of Boucicaut.[29] Most of the German chronicles, that is those of Wigand of Marburg, John of Posilge and the Altere Hochmeisterchronik, prefer 1391. Indeed, Marburg and the Altere Hochmeisterchronik infer that the incident occurred between June and August of that year.[30] The summer of 1391 also found favour with the monk of Westminster. More recently Keyser and Macquarrie (apparently unaware of the discrepancies) also chose 1391.[31] A few writers have placed Douglas' death in 1392, implying that he did not die in Prussia at all.[32] Rather, it is claimed, he survived the attack and returned to Scotland. The only evidence to substantiate this theory is a reference in the accounts of the bailies of Dumfries, which were presented at the exchequer audit held in February 1393.[33] The bailies reported that 'the late Sir William Douglas' had uplifted part of the burgh's fermes. Their accounts were, however, for four terms, covering the two years 1391 and 1392.[34] They paid the fermes for 1392 in full and over half of those due 'de anno

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29. Boucicaut implied that events happened in the year of the death of the grand master Conrad Zoller (i.e. 1390) (SRP, ii, 786).
30. Ibid., 644; iii, 620.
31. Chron. Westminster, ix, 258; E. Keyser, 'Die Ermorderung des schottischen Grafen William Douglas in Danzig im Jahre 1391', Mitteilungen des westpreussischen Geschichtsverein, xxvii (1924), 12; Macquarrie, Thesis, 211.
32. DNB, v, 1265; Balfour Paul, Scots Peerage, iii, 163; Fischer, Germany, 72.
33. ER, iii, 332.
34. Bailies normally presented their accounts annually for two terms which lasted from Martinmas to Whit and Whit to Martinmas. ER, iii, passim.

precedento' (i.e. 1391). Douglas took the other part of the fermes for 1391. It is quite conceivable that he drew the money during the Whit term of account, before he ever went to Prussia. The evidence does not, therefore, prove that Douglas was still alive in 1392.

Of the other two years suggested for Douglas' death, 1390 seems the less likely. Only one of the fifteenth-century accounts, that of Bower, specifically ascribes events to that year. Moreover, Douglas was probably in Scotland as late as 18 July 1390, when he was named as a conservator of the Anglo-Scottish truce.[35] It seems unlikely that he would have been appointed to this position had he not been in Scotland at the time or, indeed, if it was known that he was about to depart on crusade. By November 1390 he was in Bruges and he may have travelled immediately from there to Prussia.[36] This is, however, unlikely. Winter campaigns were normally mounted in Prussia only when the temperature was cold enough to have frozen the rivers, while, on the other hand, the snowfall had been light. Summer reyse were, therefore, normally more popular and numerically larger than those held in winter.[37] If Douglas was in Scotland in the summer of 1390, it seems probable that it was not until the summer

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35. CDS, iv, no. 416.
36. SRO, AD/1/27.
37. Christiansen, Crusades, 165.

of 1391 that he went to Prussia. This also fits with Wigand of Marburg and the Altere Hochmeister-chronik, which, with impressive exactness, place Douglas' death between June and August of that year.

The events surrounding Douglas' death are similarly confused. Perhaps the simplest way of deciphering the tale is to begin at its conclusion. Douglas was killed, together with two of his servants, following a fight with certain Englishmen: on that the chronicles are agreed.[38] The identity of Douglas' murderer is not clear. The Liber Pluscardensis ascribes no blame for the incident. Bower and Boece point the finger at, but do not categorically state that, Thomas, Lord Clifford, was involved, though Macquarrie has expressed some doubt about this because 'this man has not been identified certainly'.[39] In fact, Douglas and Clifford were old adversaries. As lord of Nithsdale Douglas was an important figure on the northern side of the Anglo-Scottish frontier. Clifford had succeeded to his father's lands in Cumberland and Westmorland in 1389.[40] In 1385 he had been appointed governor for life of Carlisle castle, while, in 1386, he was appointed a warden of

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38. SRP, ii, 644, 786, 797, 799; iii, 172, 620; Chron. Westminster, ix, 259; Chron. Pluscarden, i, 325.
39. Macquarrie, Thesis, 212; Macquarrie, Crusades, 86.
40. Calendar of Fine Rolls (London 1911-49), x, 298.

the eastern English march.[41] On 20 June 1390 Douglas received a safe-conduct to travel to England to advance a plea in the king's court of chivalry 'regarding certain deeds of arms' with Clifford. Clifford had himself applied for the safe-conduct on 6 June.[42] According to Bower and Boece, Clifford had challenged Douglas to a single combat fight. Douglas then travelled to France to purchase armour for the clash, which, perhaps, explains why he borrowed money from the two Edinburgh burgesses in Bruges in November 1390. Clifford claimed that Douglas had fled, but when he returned, Clifford apparently declined to fight Douglas.[43]

The bad feeling between the two men persisted and resurfaced during Douglas' visit to Prussia. When Douglas went to church, a dispute broke out between the priest, who professed obedience to the Roman pope, and Douglas, whose country adhered to the Avignon pope. The priest refused to conduct the service in the presence of a schismatic. According to the monk of Westminster:

> Ad haec dictus Willelmus Duglas excanduit et multo furore repletus hoc asseruit sibi fore maliciose procuratum per dominum de Clifford.[44]

The fight which led to Douglas' death occurred when Douglas left the church:

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41. DNB, iv, 533.
42. Foedera (H), iii, pt. iv, 60; CDS, iv, no. 414.
43. SRP, ii, 797-798.
44. Chron. Westminster, ix, 258.

> "Quia finita dictus Willelmus Duglas cum suis Anglicos in aperta strata furibundus invasit, quendam armigerum mutilavit. Armiger vero recepto vulnere irruit in eum ense nudo et letaliter vulneravit, qui ex eo vulnere cecidit interfectus. Occubuer utque cum alii duo Scoti. [45]

Whether Clifford was present during this incident is not clear. He was certainly in Prussia at about this time and probably died there in August 1391.[46] The monk of Westminster initially suggested that Clifford did at least witness the murder. Having described Douglas' demise, he added:

> ....fuerunt etiam ibidem in illa civitate domini de Anglia protunc, scilicet dominus Despencer, dominus filius Walteri, dominus de Beaumond dominus Clifford, dominus de Bourceriae... [47]

The names of Clifford and Beaumond are, however, underlined and an addendum in the margin states '<u>duo isti subtracti non erant ibi secundum quosdam</u>'. The English account of the fracas is the most detailed contained in the chronicles. Its objectivity may have been prejudiced by nationalistic sentiment, but, on the basis of the evidence which it presents, Clifford's culpability must remain unproven. The German chronicles provide no details about Douglas' assailants, but they were not unsympathetic to Douglas' fate. The <u>Altere Hohmeisterchronik</u> stated:

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45. <u>Chron. Westminster</u>, ix, 259.
46. <u>DNB</u>, iv, 533; <u>Complete Peerage</u>, edd. G.E. Cokayne <u>et. al.</u> (London 1910-40), iii, 292.
47. <u>Chron. Westminster</u>, ix, 259.

> Do irslugen dy Engelischen gar eynen erbaren graffen ausz Schottland, do grosse leide umb was undir alle herschaft, wen her was gar eyn truuer man leibes guttes und ere[48]

It was at this point that Boucicaut's biographer took up the story. Boucicaut allegedly challenged Douglas' murderers to a fight, despite the fact 'qu'il y eust grand foison de gentilshomme du pays d'Escosse', who could have avenged their compatriot's death.[49] Boucicaut's challenge, which was perhaps elaborated to glorify the Frenchman, fell on deaf ears:

> A cette chose ne voulerent les Anglois rien, respondre aius dirent que si les Ecossois qui la estoient leur voulorent de ce aulcune chose dire que ils leur en respondroient, mais a luy ne vouldroient rien avoir a faire.[50]

While the Scots won French support, those crusaders who professed obedience to the Roman pope (the Germans, Bohemians and Gueldrians) rallied to support the English. It was only when the crusade actually began that the rift between the crusaders was healed.[51]

There remains, however, one further point of contention: where exactly the Douglas-Clifford feud was fought out. Macquarrie believes the site was Königsberg. This was the 'natural starting point for a raid on Lithuania'. His reasoning, if not his

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48. SRP, iii, 620.
49. SRP, ii, 786.
50. Ibid., 786.
51. Chron. Westminster, ix, 259; SRP, ii, 644.

conclusion, is open to criticism. Moreover, in dismissing Bower's setting of Danzig, Macquarrie is wrong to state that 'the other sources all agree that the place was Königsberg'.[52] While Königsberg was the obvious starting point for a crusade, many crusaders arriving from western Europe passed through Danzig. In 1390, for example, Henry of Derby spent between two and four days in Danzig before travelling on to Königsberg. In 1392 he sojourned there for over a fortnight.[53] Indeed, modern writers, particularly Danzig historians, have been inclined to accept the view of all of the Scottish chroniclers that the murder occurred 'super pontem de Danskin'.[54] The debate hitherto has not been between Danzig and Königsberg, but where in Danzig. The controversy is based largely on Wigand of Marburg's cryptic description of the place as 'in ponte juxta summum'.[55] Thomas Hirsch, bearing in mind Boece's references to the church incident, thought that altare should be appended to summum. He took ponte to mean the bridge on the Mottlau, the present day Dugłe Pobreze. He added that the Frauenthor gave ready access from the Dugłe Pobreze to the principal Danzig church, the Mariatzka.[56] Erich Keyser, however, used his

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52. Macquarrie, Thesis, 212.
53. Smith, Expeditions, p. lxxii.
54. SRP, ii, 644; Keyser, 'Douglas', 12-13; P. Simson, Geschichte der Stadt Danzig bis 1926 (Danzig 1913), i, 104.
55. SRP, ii, 644.
56. Ibid.

expert topographical knowledge in an engaging counter-argument. The Frauenthor was not built in the fourteenth century. The fourteenth-century pons longus was on the other bank of the Mottlau. Taking summum to mean castrum he concluded that,

> ...die Ortlichkeit des viel besprochenen Ereignisses wäre somit in dem Bollwerke an der Ordenburg zu sehen. [57]

Keyser dismissed the possibility that the murder may have occurred in Königsberg, since there was no bridge near a castle in Königsberg. The Danzig theory received further support from T.A. Fischer.[58] He recorded that local tradition had it that a commemorative gate, the Hohe Tor, was previously called the Douglas Gate.

The principal argument against Danzig is that its supporters read too much into Wigand of Marburg's description of events. He does not explicitly state that Douglas was murdered in Danzig. Apart from the Scottish sources, all the other contemporary sources say the incident happened at Königsberg. The Scottish sources may have placed events in Danzig, because Königsberg was not, at this time, apparently as well known to Scots even as a trading centre.[59] The topographical objections to Königsberg can also be surmounted. Summum, in the fourteenth century, frequently meant 'a high altar'.[60] There is,

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57. Keyser, 'Douglas', 14.
58. Fischer, Prussia, 124-125.
59. See above, 287-289.
60. Medieval Latin Word List, edd. J.H. Baxter et.al. (London 1934), 411.

therefore, no need to look, as Keyser did, for an adjacent bridge and castle in Königsberg. As for the so-called Douglas Gate, there is no evidence to confirm its existence. In fact, the story appears to have developed only in the eighteenth century.[61] Königsberg, then, was the probable site of Douglas' demise.

While William Douglas is the crusader to whom the chroniclers devote most attention, he is not the last Scottish crusader to be mentioned. The Polish victory at the battle of Tannenberg in July 1410 put an end to the Teutonic Order's expansion in Prussia. The French chronicler Enguerran de Monstrelet reported:

> Car sans le Poulenois, dont il en mourut bien dix mille monrurent bien aussi le nombre di six vingt mil Sarrasins, comme tout ce fut rapporté par héraulx et aussi par le bastard d'Escoce, qui se appeloit conte de Hembe.[62]

The '<u>conte de Hembe</u>' was probably involved in the battle of Tannenberg. In attempting to identify him, Macquarrie highlighted several problems.[63] The name has clearly been Frenchified. The title '<u>le bastard d'Escoce</u>' is not helpful, since no one person in Scotland is known to have had this name. Macquarrie suggests that the earl may be one of Robert II's many illegitimate

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61. <u>Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands 1572-1782</u>, ed. J. Ferguson (SHS 1899-1901), iii, 522.
62. <u>SRP</u>, iii, 455.
63. Macquarrie, Thesis, 214-215; Macquarrie, <u>Crusades</u>, 88.

offspring. In fact, as far as is known, none of Robert II's bastards was styled earl.[64] If one accepts Monstrelet's description of '_conte_' as genuine, two contemporary Scottish earls were bastards: George Douglas, earl of Angus and Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar. Philologically, Angus seems closer to _Hembe_ than Mar. An earl of Angus is also known to have had commercial links with the Teutonic Order between 1396 and 1417.[65] George Douglas, however, was captured at the battle of Homildon Hill in 1402 and died of plague in English hands.[66] Mar's movements in 1410 are not clear. In December 1409 he was at Kildrummy castle. In April 1410 he was accused of having attacked a ship laden with goods belonging to Danzig merchants. He next appears in December 1410 at Kincardine castle.[67] Thus, he appears at least to have had the opportunity to travel to Prussia in the summer of 1410.

The chronicles, like the surviving documentary evidence, are not a perfect source for the history of Scottish participation in the northern crusades because no chronicle was devoted solely to this topic. The deficiencies of the chronicle evidence are highlighted by the fact that none of the Scottish crusaders referred to in the documentary evidence are mentioned in the chronicles. From the evidence which

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64. Dunbar, _Kings_, 169-170.
65. Sattler, _Handersrechnungen_, 76.
66. Balfour Paul, _Scots Peerage_, i, 173; Cokayne, _et. al., Complete Peerage_, iv, 432.
67. _A.B. Ill._, iv, 177, 453; _HUB_, v, no. 938.

is available, it would appear that, with the exception of the mysterious earl at Tannenberg, the northern crusades did not attract the participation of the élite of the Scottish aristocracy. Rather, most of those who journeyed to Prussia originated among the middling and lesser ranks of the aristocracy. Of the former group, the life of William Douglas of Nithsdale is the best documented. In 1385 he participated in a Scottish raid on Carlisle and in 1388 he joined another attack on Carlingford in Ireland, in which Robert Stewart of Durisdeer was also associated.[68] On returning from Ireland Douglas plundered the Isle of Man. Although he was not present at the battle of Otterburn, he assisted in subsequent Scottish raids on Cumbria. When not involved in war he was no stranger to tournaments.[68] Douglas' wealth derived principally from his lands in Nithsdale, which he gained on marrying Egidia Stewart, though he also had property at Harbertshire in Stirlingshire. In addition, Douglas received regular annuities from the customs revenue, particularly that raised at Linlithgow.[68]

Comparatively little is known about most of the other Scottish crusaders. Walter Moigne and David de Barcley subsequently went on other crusades to the Holy Land.[69] Moigne, previously captured at the

68. Balfour Paul, Scots Peerage, v, 1, 163; ER, iii, 149, 172, 689, 691; see also above,
69. Macquarrie, Thesis, 208; Macquarrie, Crusades, 81-82.

battle of Neville's Cross, eventually became a steward of the king's household. He regularly witnessed royal charters and in 1364 David II put Kildrummy castle in his custody.[70] Norman Leslie, too, found royal favour. He was deputy chamberlain between 1357 and 1359 and was later employed as an envoy to France, Rome and England.[71] Sir John Abernethy had commercial links with the Baltic, but, thereapart, little is known about him. Adam de Hepburn is not traceable, but may have been related to the Hepburns of Hailes.[72]

Since so little is known about most of these men, it is inevitable that the particular factors which motivated individuals to join the northern crusade are obscure. More generally, the prevailing political climate in both the Baltic and Scotland during the later fourteenth century was conducive to Scotsmen participating in the Teutonic Order's wars. By then, the Order's power was based on two distinct domains, one in Prussia, the other in Livonia. The Order aimed to expand its lands and unite Prussia and Livonia. This, naturally, brought it into conflict with neighbouring Poland and Lithuania. By the later fourteenth century internal feuding within Lithuania between, on the one side, Prince Kenstutis and his

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70. Rot.Scot., i, 678; RRS, vi, nos. 164, 228, 249, 291, 295; ER, ii, 166.
71. ER, ii, 1, 4, 30, 80, 83, 113.
72. HR, A, iv, no. 28; Sattler, Handelsrechnungen, 41, 91; Macquarrie, Crusades, 91.

son, Grand Duke Witold, and, on the other side, their nephew and cousin, Jagiello, latterly King Wladyslav IV of Poland, afforded the Order plenty of scope to play one side off against the other. It frequently abandoned Christian solidarity for political expediency and allied with the pagan Witold against the Christian Poles.[73] In order to pursue its wars the Order looked for assistance from western Europe. Rhenish crusaders are recorded in the Baltic by the early fourteenth century and by the mid-fourteenth century assistance was forthcoming from many parts of north-western Europe.[74] Indeed, the need for such help increased rather than diminished, particularly once the Grand Masters Conrad von Wallenrod (1391-3) and Conrad von Jungingen (1393-1407) committed themselves to a particularly aggressive policy of expansion. It was probably the first of Wallenrod's expeditions, led by the Margrave Frederick of Meissen, that William Douglas of Nithsdale joined. In addition to the political opportunity which existed for crusading, and the honour and acclaim which crusading bestowed on its participants, the style of warfare pursued during the northern crusades perhaps also attracted Scotsmen. The reyse were quick seasonal raids, characterised by devastation and pillage. The Scots,

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73. Christiansen, Crusades, 159ff; F.R.H. du Boulay, 'Henry of Derby's Expeditions to Prussia, 1390-1 and 1392', The Reign of Richard II. Essays in Honour of May McKisack, edd. C. Barron and F.R.H. du Boulay (London 1971), 155-159.
74. Christiansen, Crusades, 149.

with their experience of war on the Anglo-Scottish frontier, were not unfamiliar with such tactics.

Until the second half of the fourteenth century, however, frequent war with England ensured that Scotland's prospective crusaders were otherwise preoccupied. This, it has been argued, explains why Scots did not venture to Prussia sooner.[75] In fact, the first indication, dating from August 1356, that Scots were intending to join the northern crusade occurs at a time when the Anglo-Scottish dispute was far from over. In February 1356 Edward III's forces devastated the Borders during the 'Burnt Candlemas' raid. Only in September 1356, following the French defeat at Poitiers, did the Scots begin to negotiate with the English for a truce. Similarly, Adam de Hepburn hardly needed to sail to Prussia in search of a war: one was already starting in the Anglo-Scottish march.

Nevertheless, it is generally correct to regard Anglo-Scottish relations as more peaceful in the second half of the fourteenth century. Some crusaders certainly took advantage of Anglo-Scottish truces to travel to Prussia. The three Scots with Duke Albrecht of Austria in 1377 were there during the truce of 1369-84, while William Douglas of Nithsdale and his associates travelled to the Baltic shortly after a multilateral truce had been agreed at Leulighem in June 1389.

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75. Macquarrie, Thesis, 207-208; Macquarrie, Crusades, 84-85.

While the Anglo-Scottish conflict was the most obvious factor determining Scottish involvement in the northern crusades, other considerations also came into play. Crusading was a major financial and religious, as well as military, undertaking and Macquarrie has given due deliberation to the economic and spiritual consequences of the Black Death and how these may have affected potential crusaders.[76] It is, perhaps, also worth mentioning that during the schism, Scotland and Prussia adhered to different popes and some Scots may have wondered about the ethics of fighting for the 'wrong' pope. Moreover, for those intent on taking the cross, Prussia always had a rival. Some Scots continued to participate in the crusades in the Holy Land.[77]

One final matter deserves consideration: how Scots ever came to hear that their services could be made use of in Prussia. The evidence on this point is not very substantial, but there would appear to have been two methods. The Rhenish crusaders of the early fourteenth century had passed word about the crusades to their neighbours.[78] The Scots, perhaps, also heard about them from their neighbours and allies. Englishmen had participated in the northern crusade since at least 1329 and Frenchmen had been active in Prussia since at least 1336. The

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76. Macquarrie, Thesis, 207; Macquarrie, Crusades, 84.
77. Macquarrie, Thesis, 215; Macquarrie, Crusades, 88.
78. Christiansen, Crusades, 149.

Sire de Beaugeau, a French crusader, had, for example, been in Scotland in 1352.[79] After the 1380s, and the development of trade between Scotland and the eastern Baltic, merchants, too, doubtless brought news of events in Prussia to Scotland. While unofficial word of mouth was probably an important means of communicating news of the crusades, the Teutonic Order may also have sent out official recruiting agents. Bower states that William Douglas had been called 'ad mensam honoris magistri de Spruzia ab heraldis'. This could be a reference to a Tyrolean knight, Oswald von Wolkenstein, who had served in Prussia from 1377 to 1385. By 1388 he was in Scotland assisting the Scots at Otterburn.[80] The Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order were certainly in the habit of writing to Scotland, possibly to request assistance. Although no such letters survive, the names of Robert III and his son, David, duke of Rothesay, are contained in an address list of European princes belonging to the Grand Masters Conrad and Ulrich von Jungingen.[81]

Any assessment of Scottish involvement in the northern crusades can not overcome the jejune evidence. Still, there is no record of Scots crusading in Prussia during the first half of the fourteenth century and, even in the later fourteenth century, the

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79. SRP, iii, 453.
80. SRP, ii, 173-174.
81. GSA. Berlin, OF3, 5.

evidence of Scottish participation is hardly overwhelming. The Teutonic Order, alone among the prominent military orders, received no grants of land in Scotland.[82] From the available evidence it can only be assumed that Scottish participation in the northern crusades was essentially limited.

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82. Macquarrie, Crusades, 132.

# APPENDIX NO. 3

## GERMAN SHIPS AND CARGOES ATTACKED IN SCOTLAND BY ENGLISHMEN, 1402-1406

### TABLE ONE. ENGLISH ATTACKS ON GERMAN SHIPPING IN SCOTLAND 1402-1406

| | Date of attack | Name of Skipper | Skipper's Home Port | Port visited in Scotland | Description of Ship (when available) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 16.4.1402 | Otto Poleman | Bremen | ? * | cog |
| (2) | 9.8.1402 | Nicholas Rotermund | Bremen | Blackness | cog (115 lasts), owned by Gerard de Dettenhusen Engelbert Scot, Gotschalk Hellingsteden, Johann Bodeker, Johann Duvele, Werner Wisen, Johann Wulve, Ludovik Groven and Nicholas Rotermund, valued at 600 nobles. |
| (3) | 9.8.1402 | Herman Vlotow | Bremen | Blackness | ship of 60 lasts, belonging to Johann Cremer, Albert Jungeman, Gerard Zottorp and Herman Vlotow, valued at 120 nobles |
| (4) | 9.8.1402 | Bernard Johannson | Danzig | Blackness | |
| (5) | 9.8.1402 | Jakob Hugenson | [Prussia] | Blackness | |
| (6) | 1402 | Tideric Durdewant | Danzig | ? x | |
| (7) | 1402 | Bolhagen of Elbing | [Prussia] | ? x | |
| (8) | ante 13.12.1402 | Meynekin Melsing | Hamburg | [a Forth port] | half-owned by Meynekin Melsing, his brother Johann and Johann Vorniden of Hamburg, and the other half belonging to Johann van der Heyde and his brother-in-law Heinrich, both from Lübeck,• valued at 200 nobles. |
| (9) | 6.5.1403 | Kolingh | Bremen | ? | valued at 100 nobles |
| (10) | 8.4.1404 | Reyner Kukens | Bremen | ? | valued at less than 144 nobles |

Source: Kunze, Hanseakten, nos. 317 (2-5, 9), 329 (1), 330 (1), 332 (1), 334-6, 337 (1), 338 (1), 339 (1), 360; HR, A, v, no. 445.

Symbols:

* ship bound for Berwick-upon-Tweed, but diverted by storms to Scotland.

x ship attacked by English fleet operating against Scotland, but not certain that ship trading in Scotland.

• These are the merchants listed by the Lübeck authorities as jointly owning the ship, but the Hamburg authorities ascribed the second half of the ship to Ludekin Sund of Lübeck.

TABLE TWO. CARGOES OF GERMAN SHIPS ATTACKED BY ENGLISHMEN, 1402-1406

| | Skipper of Ship | Merchant | Merchant's Home Town | Merchandise and Property | Value (when given) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Poleman | Johann de Buren | Bremen | 5 lasts wheat, 2 lasts ale | 142 nobles |
| | | Meynard de Varle | Bremen | 6 lasts wheat, 2 lasts ale, 300 wooden posts | 175 nobles |
| | | Gerard de Dettenhusen | Bremen | 2 lasts wheat | 30 nobles |
| | | Husingh | Bremen | 2 lasts wheat | - |
| | | Conrad Hasenwod | Bremen | 6 lasts wheat | - |
| | | Otto Poleman [skipper] and partners | Bremen | 22 lasts wheat | 450 nobles |
| (2) | Rotermund | Meynard de Varle | Bremen | 2 lasts flour | 28 nobles |
| | | Christian Gellerstede Johann Schilling | Lübeck | 8 lasts flour, gold, 1 chest with clothes and arms | 154 nobles |
| | | ? | [Prussia] | rye and corn | |
| (3) | Vlotow | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| (4) | Johannson | ? | ? | corn | 400 nobles |
| (5) | Hugenson | ? | ? | corn | 92 nobles |
| (6) | Durdewent | ? | ? | cloth and money | 1252 nobles |
| (7) | Bolhagen | ? | ? | cloth and victuals | 92 nobles |
| (8) | Melsing | Marquand Godingh | Hamburg | 4 lasts herring | 60 nobles |
| | | Johann Unstorp Johann van dem Haghen | Hamburg | 1 last herring | 15 nobles |
| | | Johann and Heinrich van der Heyde | Lübeck | 11 lasts herring | |
| | | Bertold van Northen | Lübeck | 4 lasts herring | 386 nobles• |
| | | Werner Hoep | Lübeck | 2 lasts herring | |
| | | Johannes Luneborc | Lübeck | 2 lasts herring | |
| (9) | Kolingh | Meynard de Varle | Bremen | gold | 44 nobles |
| | | Johannes Vasmers | Bremen | gold | 6 nobles |
| | | Conrad Pistor | Bremen | gold | 3 nobles |
| | | Herman Stenvert Johann Huden | Bremen | gold | 16 nobles |
| | | Albert Jungheman | Bremen | 1 last beer | 6 nobles |
| | | Lubbertus de Borstelle Tyderic de Stocken Spaneke | Bremen | skins and cloth | 80 nobles |
| | | Albert Ryppe | Bremen | gold, cloth, salted skins | 60 nobles |
| | | Albert Hardenacke / | | | |

| | Skipper of Ship | Merchant | Merchant's Home Town | Merchandise and Property | Value (when given) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (9) contd. | | Albert Hardenacke | Bremen | cloth and beer | 20 nobles |
| | | Johann Papendorp | Bremen | | 60 nobles |
| | | Johann Roze | Bremen | | 11 nobles |
| | | Dideric Lange | Bremen | grey and coloured cloth, 5 pounds of spermaceti | 87 nobles |
| | | Johann Wolerk | Bremen | coloured, white cloth | 9 nobles |
| | | | | clothes and arms | 5 nobles |
| | | Bernard Holthusen | Bremen | Scottish cloth | 23 nobles |
| | | Johann van Buren | Bremen | | 18 nobles |
| | | Kolingh | Bremen | unspecified | 100 nobles (including value of ship) |
| (10) | Kukens | Hilmer Bolte | Bremen | 1 last barley, 1 last ale, 2 lasts mead, 1 last wheat, 9 tons wheat flour, 1 last rye flour, 800 linen cloth, 140 pounds wax, personal goods, including 40 linen cloth | 80 nobles |
| | | Heinrich Vetteniche | Bremen | 4 lasts barley, 1 last ale, 1100 linen cloth, 3 swine carcases, personal goods | 87 nobles |
| | | Johann Stederdorp | | 1 last barley, 82 ells linen cloth, personal goods | 8 nobles |
| | | Johann Roze | | 8 tons ale, 1 last barley | 24 nobles |
| | | Martin Crull | Bremen | 1 last barley, 1 last ale, 22 linen cloths, personal goods including arms and clothing | 23 nobles |
| | | Papenthorp | Bremen | 1 last ale, arms, clothes | 28 nobles |
| | | Bernhard Dele | Bremen | 7 lasts barley, 2 lasts ale, 1 last wheat, 100 linen cloths, ready cash ('promptos denarios'), arms, clothes | 100 nobles |
| | | Albert Wisesotken | Bremen | 1 barrel steel, 300 linen cloths, 2 tons beans, 12 swine carcases, personal goods | 34 nobles |
| | | Albert Hardenacke | Bremen | 1 last wheat, a 'lot' of linen cloth and ale, personal goods | 24 nobles |
| | | Reyner Kukens | Bremen | unspecified goods, personal goods | 144 nobles (including ship) |

Source: Kunze, Hansæakten, nos. 317 (2-5, 9), 329 (1), 330 (1), 332 (1), 333 (1), 334-6, 337 (1), 338 (1), 339 (1); HR, A, v, no.445.

Key: • The total of the Lübeck damages is not certain. In Kunze, Hanseakten, no. 333 (1), they are put at 486 nobles (presumably including 100 nobles for the half share of the ship). But elsewhere (ibid, no. 329(1) the value of the listed goods comes to less than 361 nobles.

## APPENDIX NO. 4

## THE VALUE OF SCOTTISH CARGOES CAPTURED BY BREMEN PIRATES IN 1444

TABLE ONE. TOTAL VALUE OF SCOTTISH CARGOES CAPTURED FROM THREE SHIPS BY BREMEN PIRATES IN 1444

| Burghs claiming Damages from Bremen | Name of Ship's Master: Johnson | Joyse | Howison | Total Value of Goods |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edinburgh | £2310-13s-0d | £1041-11s-0d | - | £3352- 4s-0d |
| Linlithgow | * | * | - | 400-11s-0d |
| Perth | 247-16s-0d | 129- 0s-0d | - | 386-16s-0d |
| Cupar | 72- 6s-0d | - | - | 72- 6s-0d |
| Dundee | 282-17s-6d | 105- 9s-0d | £18- 5s-0d | 407- 1s-6d |

Key: * Figures not available
- No goods aboard ship

Source: SA Bremen, 1/BC 1445 Juli 15; August 4; August 10; Aigist 12; August 13/1; August 13/2

TABLE TWO.

## COMMODITIES AND VALUES OF MERCHANDISE CAPTURED FROM EDINBURGH GROUP OF MERCHANTS FROM THOMAS JOHNSON'S SHIP

| Quantity | Description | Value |
|---|---|---|
| 2400 | Futefells* | £ 60 |
| 1700 | Lentrinware * | 153 |
| 1500 | Rabbit skins | 11 5s |
| 200 | Fox skins | 12 |
| 80 chalders | Salt | 80 |
| 40 ells | Dyed cloth | 6 |
| (unspecified) | Cloth and wine | 1988 8s |
| | TOTAL | £2310 13s |

Key: * A type of lambskin

Source: SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15

TABLE 3. COMMODITIES AND VALUES OF MERCHANDISE CAPTURED FROM EDINBURGH GROUP OF MERCHANTS FROM PETER JOYSE'S SHIP

| Quantity | Description | Value |
|---|---|---|
| 11,372 lengths* | Cloth | £963- 7s- 0d |
| (unspecified) | Other goods (unspecified) | 9- 0s- 0d |
| (unspecified) | Mixed cargoes of cloth and other goods (unspecified) | 69- 4s- 0d |
| | TOTAL | £1041-11s.- 0d |

Key: * the exact size of the cloth is unknown

Source: SA Bremen, 1/Bc 1445 Juli 15.

TABLE FOUR. DISTRIBUTION OF CARGOES ACCORDING TO VALUE

| Burgh | Ship's Skipper | Value of Each Cargo | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Up to £10 | £10 to £20 | £20 to £30 | £30 to £40 | £40 to £50 | £50 to £60 | £60 to £70 | £70 to £80 | Over £80 |
| Edinburgh | Johnson | 19 | 15 | 19 | 8 | 9 | - | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Edinburgh | Joyse | 4 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | - |
| Linlithgow | Johnson/Joyse | 2 | 2 | - | 2 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Cupar | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Perth | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Dundee | Johnson | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - |
| Dundee | Joyse | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Dundee | Howison | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| T O T A L | | 25 | 21 | 30 | 17 | 14 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 2 |

Key: * Figures not available

Source: SA Bremen, 1/Bc, 1445 Juli 15; August 4; August 10; August 12; August 13/1, August 13/2.

TABLE FIVE. NUMBERS OF SHIPS DEPARTING FROM THE PORTS OF SCOTTISH BURGHS 1443-1445

| Date | Burgh | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Edinburgh | Linlithgow | Perth | Cupar | Dundee |
| 16.7.1443 to 21.4.1444 | 6 | * | * | * | * |
| 21.4.1444 to 18.7.1444 | 9 | * | * | * | * |
| Total for 1443-44 | 15 | * | * | * | 2 |
| Total for 1444-45 | 10 | * | 'several' | * | 2 |
| Total for 1443-45 | 25 | * | * | * | 4 |

Key: * Figure not available

Source: ER, v, 143-157, 176-192

# APPENDIX NO. 5

## SHIPPING AT DANZIG IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

| Year | Number of Ships Arriving from Scotland | Number of Ships Departing for Scotland |
|---|---|---|
| 1460 | 3 | * |
| 1468 | 2 | * |
| 1469 | 5 | * |
| 1470 | 10 | * |
| 1471 | 8 | * |
| 1472 | 13 | * |
| 1474 | 12 | * |
| 1475 | 8 | * |
| 1476 | 7 | * |
| 1477 | * | 14 |
| 1490 | * | 9 |
| 1491 | * | 6 |
| 1492 | * | 4 |
| 1498-9 | 13 | * |

* Figure not available

Source: WAP Gdańsk, 300/19/1

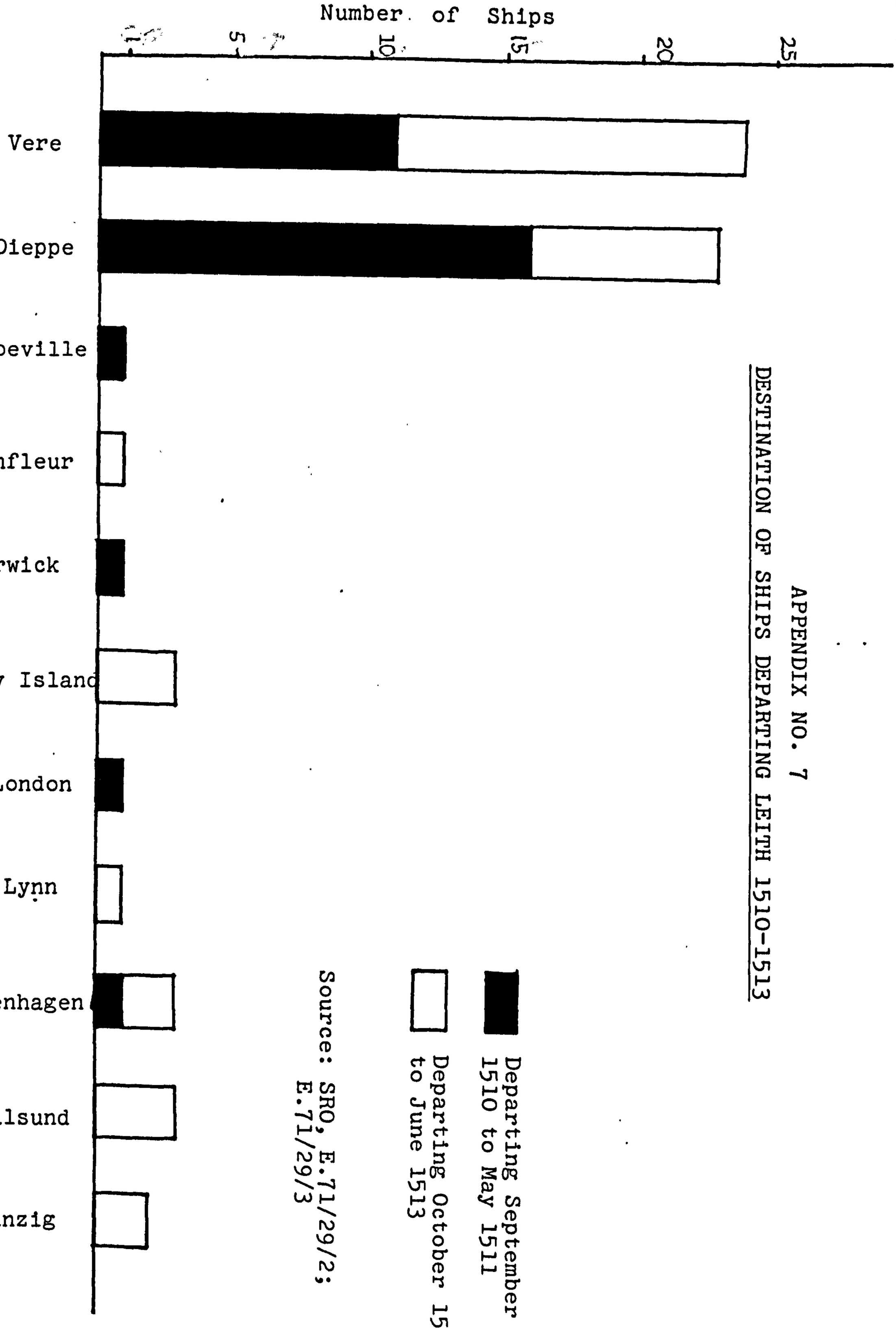
# APPENDIX NO 6

## SCOTTISH SHIPPING AT THE SOUND

| Home Port | Date of Sound Toll Register | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1497 | 1503 | 1528 |
| Aberdeen | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Cupar | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Dundee | 7 | 6 | 10 |
| Dunfermline | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Dysart | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Edinburgh and Leith | 5 | 18 | 12 |
| Inverkeithing | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Kirkcaldy | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Montrose | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Queensferry | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| St. Andrews | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| unspecified ports | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| Total number of Scottish ships | 21 | 43 | 40 |
| Wendish ports | 61 | 123 | 101 |
| Eastern Baltic ports | 141 | 172 | 180 |
| Scandinavian ports | 5 | 5 | 12 |
| English ports | 0 | 21 | 57 |
| French ports | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Netherlands ports | 567 | 856 | 589 |
| North-west German ports | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Total number of ships | 795 | 1222 | 982 |
| Proportionate share of Scottish shipping | 2.6% | 3.5% | 4.1% |

Source: Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund 1497-1660, ed. N.E. Bang (Copenhagen and Leipzig 1906), I, 2-4.

Note: The original manuscript copies of the Sound Toll Registers are preserved in the Rigsarkiv , Copenhagen. They include the names of the skippers, which are not included in the published edition of the registers. By comparing these names it is possible to account for the home ports of some of those skippers who are described only as 'from Scotland'. Hence the numbers listed above under 'unspecified ports' are less than those which appear in the printed registers. Correspondingly, the figures for some of the named ports are greater. A list of Scottish skippers recorded in the registers, compiled by Dr. Thomas Riis, is in the District Archive, Aberdeen. I am indebted to Miss Judith Cripps for allowing me to consult this list. The definition of home port used in the registers is unclear. It may apply either to the home port of the skipper or to the Scottish port of departure, or destination.




APPENDIX NO. 7

Source: SRO, E.71/29/2; E.71/29/3

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is arranged in five sections, viz., (i) Manuscript Sources, (ii) Printed Records, (iii) Chronicles, (iv) Printed Secondary Works and (v) unpublished theses. Secondary works which also include a considerable number of either calendared or fully published original records are included both in section (ii) (under the author/editor's name) and in section (iv).

## (i) Manuscript Sources

### a. Aberdeen, City of, District Council Archive

ACR - Aberdeen Council Register, volumes i - x

ASR - Aberdeen Sasine Register, volumes i - iii

### b. Berlin (Dahlem), Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Stadtarchiv Königsberg)

OBA - Ordensbriefarchiv (letters sent to the grand master of the Teutonic Order)

OF - Ordensfolianten volumes 2a-24a, 32, 33, 85, 89, 140-149, 157, 159, 292 (Registers of the grand masters of the Teutonic Order and other folio volumes compiled by the officials of the Order)

Schieblade - (letters sent to the grand master of the Teutonic Order)

### c. Braunschweig [Brunswick], Stadtarchiv

AI 1, no. 44 - (letter sent to Brunswick from Bremen, dated 29 August 1318)

d. Bremen, Staatsarchiv

1/BC - (correspondence sent to Bremen from Scotland)

1/Z - (correspondence sent to Bremen from the grand master of the Teutonic Order and other diplomatic documents concerning Bremen and Scotland)

Cop.Arch.266a - (copy of a letter sent to Bremen from James II, dated 3 February 1454)

e. Dunfermline, Incorporation of the Guildry of,

Gild Court Book of Dunfermline 1433-1597

f. Edinburgh, City of, District Council Archive

Edinburgh Council Minute Book, volume i

g. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

Adv.Ms.662 - (photographs of letters, preserved in Lübeck, sent to Lübeck from Scotland)

Charters 56-58 - (photographs of letters, preserved in AH Lübeck, sent to Lübeck from Scotland)

h. Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office

AD/1/27 - Records of Lord Advocate (record of a financial agreement drawn up by Scots in Bruges, dated 10 November 1390)

E.71 - Exchequer Records ('particular' customs accounts)

SP - State Papers (letters sent to the Scottish crown from abroad)

i. Frankfurt-am-Main, Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle (Staatsarchiv Schwerin)

Aw.103 - Britannica, volume i (1513-1700) (correspondence relating to the British Isles)

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j. Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtarchiv

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300/43- Akta Miasta Gdańska (Schöffengericht), volumes 1-5 (judicial records)

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m. Hamburg, Staatsarchiv

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o. Koblenz, Bundesarchiv (Stadtarchiv Reval)

I.Ad - Städtische Finanzen, volumes viii, xxiii (financial records)

I.Af - Kaufmannsbücher, volumes ii-xxvi (merchants' handbooks)

p. Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv der Stadt

Brb. - Briefbücher, volumes 1-39 (copies of correspondence sent from Cologne)

Hanse U - Hanse Urkunden (documents concerning the Hansa)

Hanse IIIK - Korrespondenz und Akten bis 1530, files 1-39 (Hanseatic correspondence and acts to 1530)

Hanse IV - Ämtsbücher, Akten der Kontore Brügge, Antwerpen und London (official records of the Hanseatic Kontors at Bruges, Antwerp and London)

HUA - Haupt Urkunden Archiv (main document archive)

Rp. - Ratsprotokollbücher, volumes 1-8 (records of the city council of Cologne)

Schreinsurk.Schöff - Schreinsurkunden Schöffenschrein (judicial records)

Univ. - Universität (documents relating to Cologne University)

q. London, British Library

Cotton MA. Nero BII - (correspondence to Anglo-Hanseatic peace talks, held in The Hague in 1407, sent from Scotland)

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r. London, Public Record Office

E.122 - Exchequer Records ('particular' customs accounts)

SC.1 - Ancient Correspondence

SC.8 - Ancient Petitions

s. Lübeck, Archiv der Hansestadt

Anglicana - (correspondence sent to Lübeck from Scotland)

t. Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv

Br. - Briefe (correspondence sent to Lüneburg)

AB6[1] - Liber Memoriales 1408-1614

AB56[1]- Stadtrechnungen 1443-1479 (financial records)

AHIV - Urkunden, volumes i-vi (collections of correspondence, records of Hanseatic diets etc.)

u. Paris, Archives Nationales

X[1A] 57 - Parlement de Paris, Lettres - Arrêts-Jugés (records of the parlement of Paris)

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