

The auld alliance (1295-1560) : commercial exchanges, cultural and intellectual influences between France and Scotland

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▶ **To cite this version:**

Muriel Canallas. The auld alliance (1295-1560) : commercial exchanges, cultural and intellectual influences between France and Scotland. History. 2009. dumas-00429946

HAL Id: dumas-00429946

https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-00429946

Submitted on 5 Nov 2009

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MASTER II CIVILISATIONS CONTEMPORAINES ET COMPAREES

« THE AULD ALLIANCE (1295-1560) : COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND SCOTLAND »

UNIVERSITE DE TOULON ET DU VAR
FACULTE DES LETTRES ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

SEPTEMBRE 2009

Sous la direction de Mr GILLES LEYDIER

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank Mr Gilles LEYDIER for his advice and help which contributed to the elaboration of this work as well as the course of this year at the university.

I also express all my gratitude to the teachers who allowed me to carry this year of study to a successful conclusion, in addition to my job as a teacher.

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France and Scotland have always shared an obvious sense of friendship through the centuries. Few countries in history have been connected this way. One may wonder why.
We can answer first and foremost that these links, that still exist today, arise from the Auld Alliance.
My interest in Scotland, apart from my numerous trips to this country, led me to feel the need to study its history. As I discovered that it had been so closely united to my own country, I decided to examine this relationship more closely.

Why and how did this coming together occur ?
Obviously at first to counter an old and common enemy : England. But apart from this statement, I discovered that numerous links between the two countries were established, little by little, over the years, and even the centuries. I realised that Scotland and France installed various exchanges, that brought these countries together, despite their numerous differences.
Indeed,, France was an important country at the time and was involved, with Spain and later with England, in the world domination. She had an important foreign trade with other countries and her intellectual and cultural influence in the world was fundamental.
On the other hand, Scotland was still an isolated country, with few relationships with the outside world.
France was politically well-established as a stable monarchy whereas Scotland had problems finding a kind of political stability, and her sovereignty was permanently threatened by England.

I wanted to study these exchanges and see which influences derived from them, especially for Scotland, that could but only benefit from theses relations with a country such as France.
I could easily find examples of these exchanges in general books dealing with the history of Scotland, but most of the pieces of information I could find were related to the military and diplomatic connections between the two countries.
They had of course important consequences but I thought that the other sorts of exchanges and influences were equally fundamental in the forming of the two nations.
The idea was also to try and find out which country influenced the other one the most. Was there a global equilibrium or did one country take advantage of the situation ?

Consequently, the most difficult point for me was to find varied sources dealing with these aspects of the Auld Alliance. Moreover, several libraries could not send me the books they had and I didn't have the possibility, this year, to travel much.
In any case, I managed to receive books from universities in France, like the library of Ste Geneviève in Paris, from the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh or from Germany.
Thanks to these sources, I tried to figure out the consequences, for Scotland in particular, of these influences and exchanges during the official period of the Auld Alliance.

First of all, we can ask what this alliance consisted in. At the very beginning, it was a military and diplomatic alliance against the English. France and Scotland were united to defend themselves against their old enemy, England, a country that, at the time, was threatening France and Scotland's liberty, and king Edouard I and his hegemonic ambitions.

The military aspect of the Auld Alliance is mentioned by Shakespeare who, writing from England's viewpoint, says in « Henry V », act I scene II :

« For you shall read, that my great-grandfather
Never went with his forces into France,
But that the Scot on his unfurnish'd kingdome
Came pouring, like the tide into a breach,
With ample and brim fulness of his force,
Galling the gleaned land with hot essays,
Girding with grievous siege castles and towns ;
That England, being empty of defence,
Hath shook and trembled at the ill neighbourhood. »

The Auld Alliance was signed by every French and Scottish kings, apart from Louis XI.
But this alliance was not signed once and for all. Indeed, several treaties were signed through the years. The first one occured on October 23rd 1295 between Philippe Le Bel, king of France, and John Balliol, king of Scotland but the alliance goes back to 1165, when Guillaume Le Lion sent Louis VII of France an embassy, but no written document exists.
On February 23rd 1296, the Scottish Parliament ratified the treaty. It mentionned that if one of the two countries should be attacked by England, the other one would invade England, as for instance during the Flodden Field battle in 1513.
Indeed, the king of Scotland was the French ally par excellence. For example, in the documents of the royal chancellery, the letters pattern always mentioned his position as ally.

During Charles VI's reign, one could read : « A hault et puissant prince nostre très chier et très amé cousin le roy d'Escosse…. » or « Salut avec parfait amour et bonne acroissance de parfaicre alliance… ».

After 1423, James I was even addressed as « brother »[1].

The same was true for the Scottish lords. No other French ally enjoyed such preferential treament.

In 1326, Robert Bruce renewed this alliance by the Corbeil Treaty.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this treaty was renewed six times.

In 1558, the alliance was even reinforced by the wedding of Mary Stuart and the Dauphin François (who was to become François II, king of France).

Indeed, Henry II wanted to benefit from the fact that Marie de Guise was Mary's mother and projected her union with his son François. But during Henry VIII's « Rough Wooing »[2], the English king tried to force the Scots into a wedding between Mary and his own son, Edouard. But Henry II had long-term plans for Scotland and thanks to gold, pensions, military orders and lands given to the Scottish nobility, Mary married the Dauphin François (Illustration 1).

Henry II was really attached to the Auld Alliance ; he gave special privileges and granted naturalization to his Scottish Guard in 1548 and to all the Scots after the wedding in 1558. The Scottish government reciprocated, thus establishing mutual naturalization or joint nationality.

This was not the first time : Louis XII of France had already granted naturalization to the whole Scots nation in 1513.

But in the sixteenth century, the Auld Alliance was said to go back to Charlemagne, although no proof can be shown. Father Thomas Innes, in the eighteenth century, settled that this fabulous story was not a recognized fact. But this belief was shared by the French who used it and mentioned it in official documents' preambles, or to justify certain actions in several documents, not only French but Scottish ones.

This alliance was a special one as it treated two countries as equals as it can be seen in the 1371 treaty, in which reciprocity was a key word.

[1] Autrand Françoise, « Aux origines de l'Europe moderne : l'alliance franco-écossaise au XIVe siècle », p.34

[2] Words used to describe Anglo-French wars between 1543 and 1550

On a military level, the Scotts's feat of arms in France were numerous and famous. In 1429, for instance, the Scotts helped Joan of Arc to lift Orléans's siege.

But it was not the only occasion for the French and the Scottish armies to help each other and fight together. We can find various examples of common battles.

In 1336, at the beginning of the Hundred Years War, the French king Philippe de Valois provided David II, king of Scotland, a military help, when in was in exile in France (he had been deposed by Edouard III, king of England).

Ten years later, in 1346, Scotland invaded England to defend the interests of France but the Scottish army was defeated and David II taken prisoner during the battle of Neville's Cross.

In 1355, the company led by Yon de Garencières only had about fifty men.

In 1385, the action led by Jean de Vienne was more numerous, but it did not result in a close collaboration between the two staffs[3].

In 1420, a company composed of 6,000 Scots landed in La Rochelle to help the man who was to become Charles VII. It was commanded by John Stewart or Stuart, Earl of Buchan. He was the Duke of Albany's son, regent of Scotland. He was made constable in 1423.

At the battle of Baugé, in 1421, the French and the Scottish armies harshly defeated the English but it did not last for long, as in 1424, the Scottish forces were annihilated at the battle of Verneuil. But in spite of this defeat, it enabled France to protect itself from a complete invasion of England.

In 1513, The Auld Alliance led to disastrous consequences for Scotland. Indeed, James IV attacked England to help Louis XII. But he was killed at Flodden. He was succeeded by his son James V, eighteen months old. James V also died fighting the English and Henry VIII in 1542 at Solway Moss. His daughter, Mary Stuart, was seven days old.

[3] Autrand Françoise, « Aux origines de l'Europe moderne : l'alliance franco-écossaise au XIVe siècle », p.41

The French kings even had their own Scottish Guards[4].

The origin of the Scottish Guard is known to begin in at least year 882, when a contingent of Scottish nobles came to France to form the guard of king Charles III.

However, the Scottish Guard was not formally created until the reign of Charles VII.

Documents attest of its existence in 1425, but it can be supposed that it was founded at the end of 1410.

There is anecdotal mention of Charles III's grandfather, Charlemagne, also employing Scottish bodyguards.

The guardsmen enjoyed a large salary and grew fond of the king. However, their trade was dangerous because they were also employed as a combat unit.

An example of this is when a number of its members were killed in 1465 in the Battle of Montlhéry at the side of the king Louis XI. At this time, it was mainly made up with archers considered for their great skill.

It was an elite Scottish military unit founded in 1418 by Charles VII of France, to be personal bodyguards to the French monarchy. They were assimilated into the Maison du Roi and later formed the first Company of the Garde du Corps du Roi or « Life Guards ».

In 1450, king James II sent a company of 24 noble Scots under the command of Patrick de Spens, son of his custodian. This company took the name of « archiers du corps » of « gardes de la manche ». On 31 August 1490, this company began to be the first company of « archiers of the King's guard » under the command of Guillaume Stuier or Stuart.

At the beginning, it included 100 « gardes du corps » (25 bodyguards and 75 « archiers »). Each bodyguard had four men-at-arms under his command (a squire, an archer, a craquenier and a servant).

The Scottish Guards even protected the kings on several occasions, for instance during the murder of John the Fearless at the bridge of Montereau, and rescued him from a fire in Gascony in 1442. There were Scottish Guards who fell at the Battle of Montlhéry defending their king, Louis XI in 1465. It was an officer of the Life Guards Patrick de Spens who wounded Charles the Rash Duke of Burgundy who died soon after in January 1477. King Charles VIII took the motto of this officer in his honour : « si Deus (pro nobis), quis contra (nos) ? ».

[4] Pagesperso-orange.fr/jean-claudecolrat « La garde écossaise de Charles VII »

They were finally disbanded in 1830 at the abdication of Charles X.

Moreover, the French court was open to the Scottish nobility and numerous Scottish lords settled in France, like the Stuarts of Darnley, who became Lords of Aubigny (a small town in North Berry in France). This town remained « Scottish » up to the eighteenth century.
This alliance worked first and foremost because the French never threatened their ally's independence and liberty. The best proof of it is that Henry II, king of France, granted French nationality to the Scottish people in 1558, when Mary Stuart married the Dauphin François.

But with the end of the Hundred Years War and the advent of the Reformation in the 1520s, the circumstances in which the alliance had been formed ceased to exist. Moreover, the lords of the Congregation asked Elizabeth I, Queen of England, a military support against Marie de Guise who was Scotland's regent. They reproached her for being a Catholic and above all, they particularly resented the importance given to her French favourites.
Thus on July 6th 1560, the Edinburgh Treaty officially revoked the Auld Alliance. Protestant Scotland was to become England's new ally.

The purpose of this master's essay is to study the ways in which the life of the Scottish people was affected by the Auld Alliance, apart from the military and diplomatic aspects.

In this perspective, we will first of all probe into the commercial bonds between the two countries. What were the goods and materials exchanged between the two countries and which areas were concerned ? What were the consequences of this trade on transport and travel ? Finally, how did Scotland benefit from its commercial relationship with France, keeping in mind that it was, at the time, out of the commercial routes ?

Then, we will examine the cultural and intellectual relations and influences between Scotland and France through the French influences on the Scottish architecture, then we will see who these students in the French universities were. Finally, we will study the French influences on music, dance and literature. Were there positive consequences for Scotland ? Let us remind that, at the very beginning of the alliance, Scotland was like a mythical

country, it was seen as a foreign and strange country, full of legends, even as a « savage » one. Froissart talked about « douce Escoce »[5] but also of « sauvage Escoce »[6].

Finally, we will go over the consequences of the Auld Alliance for the Scottish people, as regards immigration and emigration, language and the relationships between the two peoples. Were they as peaceful as it seems ?
These are the points we will examine below.

I/ THE COMMERCIAL BONDS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND FRANCE :

The special relationships existing between Scotland and France can be seen in their commercial bonds. The two countries exchanged numerous goods and materials over the centuries.
Trading already existed between them before 1295 because of immigrants from Brittany, Normandy and Flanders coming to settle in Scotland in the twelfth century.
With the setting up of the Auld Alliance, commerce flourished between the two nations, as seen below.

I-1/ The different sorts of trade and the regions concerned :

First we are going to study the Scottish imports and see which products and goods the French brought to Scotland and whether these exchanges had a kind of influence on the Scottish society.
We can first notice that Scottish imports fell into two groups : raw materials, such as salt and dyestuffs and exotic semi-luxuries such as wine, fruit and quality textiles.
We will study first the imports of exotic semi-luxuries and the wine trade in particular.

[5] « Œuvres de Froissart. Chroniques », éd.par le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols (Bruxelles : 1867-77), X (1870), p.398
[6] Ibid., p.338 and 336

I-1-1/ Scotland's imports : exotic semi-luxuries :

I-1-1-1/ Wine, vinegar and oil :

The quantity of wine imports shows the important consumption of wine in Scotland at the time.

In the thirteenth century, Henri d'Andeli used to picture the Scots drinking wines from La Rochelle. Archaeological evidence, such as the French wine jugs found at Glenluce, points to contact with La Rochelle region, though we cannot be certain that either the ceramics or the wine which they contained, arrived in Galloway directly from France.

Bordeaux merchants also imported at least some Gascon wine.

In the fourteenth century, Froissart talked about ships coming to the port of Bordeaux to load wine for Scotland.

In 1467, a Parliament act designed La Rochelle and Bordeaux as specific places for the Scottish trade[7]. Later, another act, setting the prices of wines in Scotland, exclusively mentioned wines from Bordeaux and La Rochelle[8].

From a very early date had developped an important market for claret in Scotland and the stream of wine-boats between the mouth of the Gironde and the Firth of Forth was considerable.

It was the favourite drink in Scotland for generations, with an import of ½ million gallons a year up to 1600.

Symptomatic of this viticultural relations is the story of the escape from death of Alexander, third Duke of Albany, brother of James III of Scots.

According to « Pitscottie » (really Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount), the Duke was imprisoned at Leith when he was sent two casks of Bordeaux from friends. In one of them, he found a rope and a letter. He invited the Captain of the Guard to try the good wine contained in the second cask. Once drowsy, he stabbed him to death and escaped by the window.

[7] Michel Francisque, « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse », Vol I, p.359, 360, 361

[8] Ibid., p.362

Four hundred years later, the arrival of each new shipment from Bordeaux was still announced by vendors in the streets of Edinburgh and Leith, selling sample cups or « tassies »[9].

Generally, Bordeaux was the most commonly port used by the Scottish traders but when the routes were threatened during the war with England, La Rochelle became popular.

The main wines imported were from Gascony and Burgundy. The « Romany » from Burgundy was drunk in the monasteries and could be accepted as a way to pay one's rent in the sixteenth century.
But a wide variety of vintages from western and southern Europe were consumed in medieval Scotland.
King Robert II, for instance, was known to purchase the produce of Orléans and Gascon claret and other French wines, including the expensive vintages of Beaune in Burgundy, dispatched at the time to Scotland.

The later fifteenth century witnessed an expansion of Scotland's wine trade.
Some Beaune and Orléans clarets, along with whites from Blois and Bagneaux, near Paris, reached Scotland, partly from the Norman ports of Dieppe and Honfleur. This area became an important source of Gascon wines. Rouen merchants were selling these French wines at Leith in 1517 and 291 tons of wine, some of it from Gascony, arrived at Dundee in 1551. But Gascon wines were also being shipped regularly from Bordeaux and La Rochelle.

By the mid-sixteenth century, those wines arriving at east coast ports were generally higher priced than those arriving in the west. The reason why is uncertain : we do not know whether it was a consequence of the volume of supply or the level of demand.

All the others liquid imports could not stand comparison with those of wine.
There were occasional imports of foreign ale and also cider, mainly from Normandy but it never achieved such a popularity as wine. Indeed, in spite of the counter-attraction of ale, beer and whisky, it was the most popular drink. It was also a reminder of French friendship.

[9] Fenwick Hubert, « The Auld Alliance », p.22

Although the Bordeaux-Scotland trade was dominated by wine, and though wine determined both the timing and the direction of sailings, it did not monopolised the cargo space of the typical Scots vessel.
Vinegar, literally « the bitter wine » made from lees or from inferior wines, was brought regularly in fair quantity but olive oil, the « oyle doly » or « oly doly » of contemporary Scottish records, rarely came in bulk.

Apart from these liquid imports, Scotland also bought other semi-luxuries, as studied below.

I-1-1-2/ Other semi-luxuries :

As regards these goods, such as fruit, vegetables or textiles, France set the standards of housekeeping and attire, especially in the days of Marie de Lorraine and her daughter.
Boissonnade speaks of « la clientèle élégante en Ecosse »[10] on whose dinning-tables French fruit and confections gave distinction.
From the ports of Normandy, for instance, a variety of vegetable products was shipped, grown either in the hinterland or in these Mediterranean countries with which the Normans had kept in touch.
Shipments of a dozen barrels of prunes for example, were frequent. The Scots word « ploomedamis » or « pruindames » suggests Damascus plums. They were used by Scottish housewives in a variety of recipes such as « a pullet with some prunes in the broth ».

As for the textiles shipped from the ports of Normandy, they were examples of the embroidery, lacework, tapestry for which the French were famous.
But cloth was also purchased from Lille, which was not one of the draperies most renowned for the quality and expense of its products.
Cloth was frequently used, some of it of linen, by the monarchy to make sheets and shirts.
On the whole, the textiles which the Scots imported were luxurious, such as satin, silk or velvet.

[10] Lythe S.G.E, « The economy of Scotland in its European setting », p.169

Thanks to all these luxuries, the upper middle-classes wanted to show their social position thanks to their clothes and to what they had on their dinning-tables.

The Scottish imports did not amount to these luxurious products but the Scots also bought many basic consumer goods and armaments to defend themselves against the English.

I-1-2/ Scotland's imports : raw materials and arms :

Apart from wine and semi-luxuries, Scotland also used to import raw materials. These products we are going to consider below.

Scotland's imports came from two geographically different regions in France, from which the Scots obtained two distinct groups of products.

I-1-2-1/ Grain :

First, Scotland traded with Normandy, through Dieppe and Rouen. Several sorts of commodities came from this area such as grain for instance, with a cargo sometimes shipped to Scotland.

The harvest in Scotland were generally not large enough and in spite of the legislation of 1457 to force peasants to grow wheat, it and other types of grain were often imported from France.

I-1-2-2/ Woad :

Woad, which was one of the common dyestuffs of this period, came mainly from Picardy but was also grown along the banks of the Somme and sent to Scotland through Dieppe.
Boissonnade claimed that « la France était le grand centre de production des ingrédients végétaux indispensables à l'art des teinturiers »[11].

By value, woad was the second biggest item in Scotland's purchases at Bordeaux and it constituted one of the principal exotic raw materials of the wool cloth industry.

[11] Boissonnade, « Mouvement commercial », p.2

On the other hand, the main interesting trade with Normandy was in the sophisticated manufactures made available for the Scots.

I-1-2-3/ Arms :

All these goods occupied a small place on the cargoes passing from Dieppe or Rouen to the east coast of Scotland.

The main freight was composed of arms, so long as France and Scotland were united against a common enemy : England.

So, between 1546 and 1547 for instance, a dozen Scottish ships were freighted at Dieppe with artillery, munitions and powder to Scotland[12] and in June 1571, the Bishop of Ross recorded in his diary :

« this day Jhone Chesolm departit furth of Diep towart Scotland with money and munitione »[13].

The same French industrial skills enabled France to sell Scotland a variety of ironware, for instance iron pots and barrel girds and small manufactured articles, such as probable the first alarm-clocks in Scotland which were found in the Neptune of Dieppe at Burntisland in 1564.

I-1-2-4/ Salt :

The second region of trade was the Biscay ports, from where apart from wine, Scotland imported great quantities of salt.

The great centres of production could be found in the bays and inlets between the mouths of the Loire and the Gironde.

Salt was used in the crude state to preserve food, fish, prepared leather and other purposes.

The salt ships moved in convoy to the English Channel and North sea for two reasons, because the trade was seasonal and also for mutual protection against potential enemies.

Generally, five or six salt cargoes a year entered the port of Dundee and the place of departure was mainly La Rochelle.

[12] Michel Francisque « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse » 1862, Vol.2, p.511
[13] Lesley, « Diary », in « Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club », Vol.3, p.127

The cargoes were usually shipped during the first half of the year, probably for climatic reasons.
The French salt was derived from sea water, just like that of Scotland but it was sun-dried in France and boiled in Scotland.
There was also another difference : the different methods of extraction led to different qualities of salt.
The French one was coarser than the Scottish one but both contained impurities.

At the end of the sixteenth century this trade declined because of civil and religious war in this region of France.
Thus, the prices rose, such as in 1575 and at the same time, Scotland's production of salt increased and improved.

In return for the imports, Scotland exported fish, coarse cloth, wool and skins.
At the end of the sixteenth century, France was the second commercial partner of Scotland, after the Netherlands.

We will study these exports below.

I-1-3/ Scotland's exports :

I-1-3-1/ Fish :

By the standards of the time, France had an important population, mainly Roman Catholic, with a concentration of it remote from the sea. Thus, France offered a great market for fish and as Boissonnade puts it « parmi les poissons importés figuraient surtout les saumons qui provenaient des golfes sinueux d'Ecosse »[14].

At the time, fish was in Scotland in abundant supply. Thus, much of it was exported. For instance, salmon and herring were sent mainly to St Omer. They constituted the mainstay of later medieval Scotland's fish trade, whereas cod remained insignificant export until the sixteenth century.

[14] Boissonnade, « Mouvement commercial », p.200

But exports of herring certainly exceeded those of salmon. Many accounts testify of high levels of exports and the value of the herring in Franco-Scottish trade was emphasised by Scotsmen as well as foreigners.
We can also note in Wedderburne's Compt Buik and in the Notarial Notebook of James Mason, individual shipments arrangements between merchants and skippers in the Scottish ports to the sale of the consignment in Rouen, La Rochelle or Bordeaux[15].
The fish sent to La Rochelle was distributed throughout Poitou, for instance.

As for fish consumption in Scotland, documentary evidence shows that herring predominated and was the most commonly caught species of sea fish in Scottish waters.

The French market was undoubtedly the biggest one for Scoltland as the Leith accounts of 1510-11 and 1512-13 suggest.
This trade focused on two regions, Normandy and Gascony, but it was not really important until the end of the Hundred Years War in 1453. Even then, Scottish fish were not regularly dispatched to Gascony.
On the contrary, Normandy became an important destination. Although in 1499-1500, only 28 of the 464 barrels of salmon exported from Aberdeen were destined for Dieppe, the Norman ports received 68% of the salmon and 99% of the herring exported from Leith in 1510-11 and 1512-13, some 2,448 barrels of fish in total.

But in the sixteenth century, French fishermen were operating as far as the Western Isles, thus making the quantity of fish bought to Scotland decrease.

I-1-3-2/ Skins, wool and cloth :

The rural economy of Scotland was heavily based on pastoral farming and hunting and we can find these products on the French market.

[15] Lythe S.G.E, « The economy of Scotland in its European setting », p.182

Calf, deer and ox skins were dispatched to France. This is confirmed by the Scottish customs accounts. Although only two ships left Aberdeen for Dieppe in 1499-1500, almost half of the town's hide exports were sent there.
France, and mainly Dieppe, was also the recipient of 86% of hide exports from Leith in 1510-11, 89% in 1512-13 and 97% in 1527-28.
Although the value of hide exports never outstripped that of wool, they remained comparatively more buoyant.

As for wool, it was especially sold in the northern and north-western parts, French Flanders and Normandy.
The possibilities of exports were so important that the great entrepreneur clothier, Guillaume de Varyte, sent his agents to seek supplies and France turned all the more towards Scotland that England was more and more reluctant to export wool[16].

Moreover, given the fact that cloth industries were not numerous in La Rochelle or Bordeaux, the Scots used to sell textiles there.
Foreign demand for Scottish wool was geographically restricted.
As for France, producers made use of local wool clips and in southern France, of Spanish wools.

But from the fifteenth century, large consignments of Scottish wool were shipped to Dieppe, presumably to be later dispatched to the newly important cloth manufacturers of Normandy.

In the thirteenth century, the Cistercians probably traded abroad directly, without the recourse of merchants in Scottish towns.
The wool of Melrose, for instance, was renowned and was even included in a list of « British » wool prices compiles at Douai in 1270. In the price schedule, it was valued at £35 livre parises (= £10.938 sterling) per sack-weight of 364 lb.

[16] Lythe S.G.E, « The economy of Scotland in its European setting », p.182

But by the early fourteenth century, the value of clips from the other four Scottish monasteries increased and that of Coupar Angus ranked foremost among Scottish wools at £12.333 sterling.
It is clear from the Douai schedules that they were differently priced and the Melrose wool was really priced lower[17].

Scottish wools suffered a rash competition from the British Isles but also from the Netherlands and the Iberian peninsula, the Rhineland and the Baltic.

The importance of wool in the medieval economy derived from its role in cloth manufacture. It was with woolen-based garments that most people clothed themselves.

But although Scotland was an important producer of wool, it was not a big producer of cloth. A good deal was indeed manufactured, as much in the countryside as in the towns, but Scotland never emerged as the major exporter of cloth.
In 1434-35, the Solway town accounted for 28.4% of all Scottish cloth exports and although its volume and share of total cloth exports declined, it still accounted for 13% of total cloth exports in the 1470s.

The destination of these exports is not clearly known. It seems the cloths were dispatched to south-western France, providing a return cargo for shipment of wine and iron.

But a lot of manufactures, such as Douai, were abandoned in the fourteenth century and only in the fifteenth century was there a revival in the production and exports at Lille, Amiens, Arras and St Omer.
There, for instance, manufactures had fallen from about 40,000 cloths in 1290 to only about 400 or 500 per year in 1467.
It constituted a major problem for the Scottish wool producers from the fourteenth century onward, as the cloth industry made use of Scottish wools.

[17] Ditchburn David, « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560), p.165

I-2/ Transport and travel :

I-2-1/ The length of the journeys :

All the contacts between Scotland and Europe, at the time, depended on the evolution of communication.

Travels were dangerous because of numerous reasons, such as storms, diseases, piracy or political tensions, especially with England.

Scotland naval transport had another inconvenient : in northern Europe, navigational techniques were rudimentary compared to those in the Meditterranean. For instance, the Scots had compasses but sea charts were rare.

But land travels were not safer : pilgrims could obtain letter of recommendation from their bishops, and diplomats often carried letters of credence and procuration.

As we can see in Appendix 3, in the early sixteenth century, it took French people from Tours, for instance, almost six weeks to reach Scotland. A traveller had to wait for about nine weeks before landing there. This figure shows how long, difficult and consequently dangerous, travelling was at the time.

I-2-2/ The Scottish ports and the European destinations :

In medieval Scotland, all sea-journeys began at a port. But at the time, ports were not synonymous with towns. Although Scotland is surrounded on three sides by sea, few of its towns were established by the sea.

Of about fifty burghs in 1250, almost two-thirds were located inland[18].

But lack of ports meant a limited volume of trade. As a sign of prosperity and evolution in the exchanges, the fifteenth century saw considerable investment in the construction of harbour facilities, even at small ports and this improvement carried on during the following century.

[18] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560 », p.2

But still, the departures from the Channel ports being greater than those from Scotland, some Scots used to travel to Europe through south-eastern England.

There is some evidence of direct contacts with France, although they were probably less frequent.
The main destinations in France for the Scottish vessels are clearly identified. From north to south-west we can find St Omer, Dieppe, Rouen, Honfleur, La Rochelle and Bordeaux (see Appendix 4).
In the absence of a complete run of French or Scottish customs accounts, we cannot assess precisely the importance of the market, but it seemed quite big.

But sailings to the ports of Normandy rose in the fifteenth century and by 1527-28, 43% of foreign-bound vessels leaving Leith made for Dieppe.

Sailing for Bordeaux was longer, as the town is about 1,050 miles from Leith.

Evidence of direct contact between Scotland and Gascony is not numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But in 1385, a Waterford ship carried wine from La Rochelle to Scotland.

In the early fifteenth century, a few Scottish merchants procured safe-conducts to Bordeaux and La Rochelle.
No Scottish ship can be traced in the extant Bordeaux customs accounts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

On the Scottish side, we know that the Firth of Forth, for instance, developped important merchant centres with France. Small merchants barques transported Scottish salmon, cod, herring and oysters.
Others transported wool, skins or ale and coal from the Lothians and Fife coalfields.
These vessels returned with claret and luxurious textiles as well as sugar, spices and timber.

As for the port of Aberdeen, Appendix 5 shows the number of overseas bound ships departing between 1360 and 1452.
These numbers vary significantly, from the lowest peak in 1409 with about two or three vessels to the highest figure in the 1360s, of about twenty-five vessels. The number of ships is steadier between 1400 and 1450, between five and ten vessels per year, apart from a few exceptions : less than five in 1410, around 1420, 1436 and 1445.

I-2-3/ Vessels and people :

What sorts of ships did the Scots use ?
By the thirteenth century, the most common type in northern Europe was the cog.
In the fifteenth century, hulks are often mentioned in the shipping tolls from Leith.
Scottish vessels seemed to be larger, compared to those in other countries. Thus, the number of voyages they made was reduced.

One striking feature is that, in Scotland during this period, vessels and men were not always Scottish.
Indeed, the Scots used not just Scottish shipping, but also French, English, Danish, German, Netherlandish, Norwegian or Spanish vessels.
As for the men and the crew, foreigners were as well as Scots, employed on Scottish ships.
For instance, the crew of the Great Michael included Spaniards and Frenchmen. It was, at the time, the biggest ship. She had been built at Leith to the designs of Jacques Tarett, a French naval architect. She was destined for the Mediterranean but never went beyond Brest. She was sold to Louis XII in 1514 and finished her days in decay. It had cost £30,000 and her construction used up all the timber in Fife and most of the oak in Norway[19].

With regard to the owners of these vessels, they could be owned either by an individual or by a group of shareholders.
Kings, bishops and nobles were often sole proprietors but they often hired out their ships to others.
Some townsmen could also own a vessel alone but by the fifteenth century, they frequently shared their ownership of a vessel.

[19] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance » p.24

To organize a crossing was not always an easy thing to do.
Because of the dangers we have already seen above, safe-conducts could be obtained, at a certain price, from the prince whose territory was being traversed.
Furthermore, some ships were armed for self-defence and convoys were another safeguard against attacks. Some of them were very impressive. Those which travelled from the Baltic to the Bay of Bourgneuf, for example, were composed of over one hundred vessels.
Once the vessel was found, travellers had to settle and negociate the conditions of their crossing. Ships not only carried passengers, of course, but also goods belonging to merchants who were not necessarily on board and both the passengers and the cargo were the responsibility of the skipper.

How did all these merchants understand foreigners, during their travel or when they reached their destination ?
They apparently had a smattering of rudimentary Latin in one of the urban grammar schools of later medieval Scotland. For Latin was the west's *lingua franca* and many merchants could maintain their financial records thanks to their knowledge.
The Scottish government often transacted business with foreign powers in Latin too.
There is little evidence to prove that linguistic barriers were a problem for merchants.
Business abroad provided an opportunity to acquire language skills and by the mid-sixteenth century, Edinburgh merchants were even sending their sons to Bordeaux so as to gain proficiency in language and business.

We also know that the Scots merchants were often familiar with the French language and could dispense with the services of an interpreter in their commercial dealing in France.
For instance, when John Barton was preying on the English merchantmen out of Calais in the 1540s, one of his crews included twenty Frenchmen from Dieppe « speaking good Scots and disguised even in their garments »[20].
Travelling apparently provided also opportunities for visiting the friends or relatives who resided abroad, though the frequency of these should not be exaggerated.

[20] Lythe S.G.E, « The economy of Scotland in its European settin », p.168

As a matter of fact, many Scots had emigrated in the later medieval period, as we shall see in chapter III.
We know little about the mechanism by which they maintained contact with relatives, but these travels may have represented good opportunities.
It was an additional occasion for the Scottish merchants to improve their knowledge in French language.

How were all these transactions paid for ?
There was no common currency at the time. A table of exchange rates compiled by an early sixteenth century Aberdeen council official reveals that the Scots were not only familiar with the coinage of neighbouring countries, such as England, Flanders or France but also with Italy, Spain or Hungary.

But it was dangerous for travellers and merchants to carry large amounts of coin. They could of course try to hide it during the journey, like John Chalmers who secreted a linen purse containing seven gold French crowns in a feather bed when he boarded a ship in 1496[21].

The development of loan and credit arrangements was one of the key element of the thirteenth century commercial revolution. Evidence of credit can be seeen in the numerous references to debt. Similar facilities were available to Scots abroad.

There were two types of financial arrangements :
First, the letter of credit, similar to a modern travellers' cheque, which were sold to travellers. They were frequently obtained by Scots.
There is also the bill of exchange which could de repaid by a representative of the borrower to an agent of the lender in a different place ot that where it had been issued.

Less certain is the mechanism by which the monks of Coupar Angus arranged for the annual delivery of £20, payable at Troyes in France to Cistercian headquarters at Citeaux. The sum

[21] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560 », p.27

may have been dispatched by coin or letter of exchange from merchant bankers, repaying the loan from the proceeds of its wool sales in the Low Countries[22].

These relations and exchanges added to the subsequent travels of Scots to France and French to Scotland, inevitably had numerous consequences, not only on the economy of Scotland, but also on its commercial laws and on the way of life of its people.

I-3/ The consequences for Scotland :

As regards the latter point, the semi-luxuries brought from France demonstrate the taste of French culture prevailing in Scotland at the time, and especially among the nobility and the aristocracy but not only.

How did these consequences show ?

I-3-1/ Food habits :

In the wake of the Norman diaspora of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Scots palate was already used to French taste. There was little variation in aristrocratic tastes between the two countries.

This influence was all the more important during Mary Stuart's reign for she was familiar with French eating habits as was her mother, Marie de Guise.

Miss F.Marian McNeill explained all this influence on Scottish cooking in two volumes « The Scots kitchen » and « The Scots Cellar ».

Furthermore, in Monsieur Pinguillon's notes, French Comptroller of the Royal Household, for instance, we can see that the main meals might include four kinds of soup, four entrées as well as beef, mutton, chicken, pidgeon, hare and rabbit, and fruit. The guests also had bread rolls and wines.

Other social groups also aspired to this fashionable diet. But the food market was not only fashioned by these tastes but also by religion, which had a powerful ascendancy over

[22]Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560 », p.28

people's way of life. The church's sacramental requirements dictated a regular demand for wine, for example.
The urban populace too became a significant consumer of wine, and not only the aristocracy.

I-3-2/ Furniture :

Food was not the only French touch found in Scotland at the time.
Andrew Halyburton, a Scottish merchant settled in Middelburg, stated that a lot of Scottish houses had French furniture.
In 1550, Lawrence Murray de Tullibardine left « twa clois beddis » among his possessions. These are wardrobe-shapped beds which can be found even in remote parts of Scotland but also in Brittany, in France.
Indeed, the trading of furniture for the church or the houses was not largely developed in the beginning but considerably increased in the sixteenth century.
From the later fifteenth century, aristocrats used to buy an important amount of mats and carpets acquired in France.
Indeed, Marie de Guise's palace in Edinburgh, in High Street near the Castle, was renowned for its rich Renaissance furnishings, some carved panels having been taken to the Museum of Antiquities.
After the death of Marie de Guise and Mary Stuart's return to Scotland, Holyrood House was redecorated in the latest French manner, oriental carpets were placed, cloth of gold hangings adorned the walls and silver lamps lit the rooms. The ceilings were ornated with Renaissance patterns and Franco-Scottish heraldry.

Apart from furniture, other items from France were brought to Scotland.
James IV, for instance, bought gold rings in France.
The developping trade at the time also encompassed the exchange of more mundane metallic objects. For instance, the abbot of Glenluce purchased six shovels and six spades from France by the 1520s and iron pots figured among the cargo of a Dieppe ship which docked at Dundee in 1551.

The close commercial links established between France and Scotland thanks to the Auld Alliance brought about economic consequences for the Scottish market as well as modifications in the country's laws.

I-3-3/ The economy :

As for the wine trade, for example, it was protected by the law and to adulterate wine was a serious offence.

Some Scottish merchants settled abroad and foreign merchants were given goods such as wool or salmon in exchange for wine.

But the price of wine varied a lot and the Scots had to pay a more expensive price as time went by.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, wine was sold twelve pence per pint whereas its value increased threefold at the end of the Auld Alliance.

During the sixteenth century, the Franco-Scottish trade seemed to be quite profitable for the Scots, especially as far as their exports were concerned, according to the Leith customs accounts of 1510-11 and 1512-13.

Louis XII granted the Scottish merchants many privileges including freedom from most customs in Normandy, direct access to the wine-growers of the Bordeaux hinterland and the right to sell their own goods from the holds of their vessels without exposing them on the open quayside.

In 1565, they were also exempted from a new duty on the wine which was exported from Bordeaux.

Some important Scotsmen are said to have strived for particular advantages or privileges in France.

The Archbishop of St Andrews and the Earl of Arran were sent to France to negociate some commercial privileges.

Moreover, during his stay in France, the Duke of Albany tried to make the Scottish merchants be granted some facilities and in 1518, François 1er edicted a royal decree in Amboise to exempt the Scottish goods which were unloaded in Dieppe.

But the functioning of the Scottish and the French markets was different. In spite of these facilities, some difficulties still remained.
First of all, traders were subject to an array of regulation. The Scottish legislation wanted to determine where ships might sail, which goods they might carry and who might board them.
It was supplemented by local by-laws which regulated the places and occasions on which both natives and visiting foreign merchants might sell their wares.
Moreover, commercial risks existed because of the contradictions between an open market in Bordeaux, for example, and a controlled market in Scotland.

As for wine again, the prices fluctuated considerably from month to month and year to year in France.
The character of the exports from Bordeaux was highly seasonal, thus entailing an immediate sale of the current vintage, due to the technique of conservation which was not developed at the time.
Moreover, internal political conditions in this region complicated the effect on prices of crop variation.
In 1559, for instance, the level of demand increased sharply thus overweighing the harvest. Consequently, prices rose. Moreover, besides the fact that the long-term price trend was upward, there were seasonal variations, which complicated the trade of wine for the Scottish merchants.

In addition to these price variations, the Scottish merchants passed from a free economy in France to various controls in Scotland.
Under an Act of 1540, the King, the prelates or the barons could enjoy the right of pre-emption on wines entering the kingdom.
But it was applied only with the reinforcement of a series of Privy Council enactments because some of these people were slow payers.

Administrative action was authorised as when the royal « simleir » or sampler had the power to break open lockfast places and to search ships, using « our sovereign Lord's keys to that effect »[23].

Under these regulations, one-tenth of the wine was liable to pre-emption.

The total import was subject to price control as it passed into consumption for under the same statute of 1540, the burghal authorities were charged of fixing retail prices, based on the bulk prices paid in France.
The statutory price schedules of the 1550s and 1560s throw light on this pattern.
Under the Privy Council's schedule of 1562, wines from Bordeaux could be sold in bulk at £18 a tun. La Rochelle and others inferior wines were sold at £14.

Thus, the inevitable question is whether the Scottish exports paid for the imports. The answer is not so clear cut.
It is apparent that a great deal of the Franco-Scottish trade was on a near-barter basis, that is to say that merchants sold goods and the money was immediately used to purchase other goods for the return vessel.
Estienne Perlin said in 1550 : « Les Ecossais ne payent pas en argent le fin qu'ilz pregnent de ceulx de Bordeaulx, mais leur baillent d'autre merchandise au lieu de ce »[24].

But there is also evidence that the physical transfert of coin was not uncommon.
In 1562, the Privy Council thought that gold and silver were being drained from Scotland to purchase French wines. Thus, we can suppose that there might have been a movement of cash balances to Scotland.
For instance, the King of France was granted a loan of £4,000 in 1583 by Wedderburne, thanks to the money realised by the sale of his wares in France.
But on the whole, there is no precise data which could enable us to answer clearly the question of the profitability for Scotland but we can guess that trade became more and more difficult for Scotsmen.

[23] Lythe S.G.E, « The economy of Scotland in its European setting », p.179
[24] Michel Francisque « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse » Vol.II, p.129

As we have seen above, the price of the wines fluctuated and rose permanently whereas the fish prices were relatively lower.
The Scottish merchants used the fish trade to cover their pruchases of French wine.
As Boissonnade puts it, French wines had « en effet sur les marchés d'Europe une sorte d'empire incontesté »[25].

Thus, in the long run, the terms of trade were probably not favourable to Scotland, as she would have to sell more and more fish to purchase a constant quantity of wine.
Although there was no collapse of the Franco-Scottish trade, it may have become less and less attractive to Scotsmen.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Scottish privileges were invalidated because of a rise or protectionism in France.
Later, during the Napoleonic Wars, the imposition of a stiff customs duty on French imports seriously reduced the consumption of claret in Lowland Scotland and people then turned to beer and spirits.

Generally speaking, even if Scotland's overseas trade was globally lucrative, the major part of the population did not share the commercial prosperity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it had in the thirteenth century.

These numerous commercial exchanges and close relationships entailed French influences on Scotland's constitution.

I-3-4/ The laws :
France passed on Scotland her own institutions, coming from the Roman empire and present in all the Christian countries of the European continent.
Scotland derives most of her civil laws from France.

The French system was copied as for the case of the violation of the guarantee of a vessel's insurance, for example.

[25] Boissonnade, « Mouvement commercial » p.221

Long before it existed in England, there was the « cessio » in Scotland or the cession to his creditors from a debtor who was prosecuted.
This system existed in France too.

The Scots adopted another French institution in 1553 : the Crown Court.

The consequences of such a particular alliance does not only show in commercial exchanges. Most obvious evidences of this collaboration can be seen in French cultural and intellectual influences in Scotland. This is the point were are to study below, beginning with the architectural influences that one can still admire today throughout the country of Scotland, as a reminder of this particular periode between the two countries.

II/ THE CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES :

II-1/ French influence on Scottish architecture :

II-1-1/ Origins and particularities :

As a matter of fact, the architecture of Scottish abbeys, churches and castles bears strong resemblances to the French art. Indeed, as D.Cruickshank puts it « in Scotland, still an independant nation until the Act of Union of 1707, the Auld Alliance meant strongly French architectural charactristics in castle building which, owing to unstable political conditions, were still functionally necessary »[26].
A great deal of Scottish architecture suggests France rather than England, just as the overwhelming use of stone and other non-English features, such as the « common stair » for example. Scots masons liked the roundness of Romanesque, with its eltic overtones so they welcomed the florid French « flamboyant » style. They used to put in a rounded arch rather than a pointed one, a semi-circular apse rather than a flat-ended one. They preferred a tall, many-sided chevet from the Ile de France to a chancel from southern England and instead of

[26] Cruicksank D. « Sir Barister Fletcher's : a history of architecture »

Tudor « perpendicular » they adopted the expressive buttresses and elaborate traceries and flèches of French « flamboyance ».

These influences trace back to the Norman period when they came to Scotland and built castles and churches.
The spiral characteritics of the French castle was already well-known in Scotland : the round towers were flanked by cone-shaped roof. This example can be seen at Pinkie or Glamis Catle (Illustration 2).
The Scottish houses were made of mud, wood and stones, from three to twelve storeys as we could see in Edinburgh, for example, between the Castle and Holyrood Palace. Then, the French style prevailed, with turrets, sheer gables, dormer windows and mouldings.

The best examples of influence are Melrose and Rosslyn, as far as abbeys and churches are concerned, and Stirling and Falkland, as regards castles.

II-1-2/ Galloway :
But Galloway can be seen as the first example of direct association between France and Scotland. Indeed, in the fourth century, St Ninian, the first Scottish bishop, built a stone cathedral of « candida casa » or « white house » at Whithorn, in Wigtonshire. He constructed this cathedral with the help of Gallic stone-masons from the Valley of the Loire[27]. The original walls have been unearthed recently and are really daubed white.

In Galloway still, we can also see the shield-shaped castle of Caelaverock, built « com uns escus estoit de taille », according to the author of the popular Gallic poem « Le Siège de Karlaverock »[28].

II-1-3/ Dirleton Castle :
East of Edinburgh is Dirleton Castle (Illustration 3), whose design was probably influenced by the reconstruction drawing by Eugénie Viollet-Le-Duc, of the Norman Château de Coucy.

[27] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.3
[28] Ibit, p.5

The oldest part of this castle dates to the thirteenth century and it was abandonned by the end of the seventeenth century.
It was begun in around 1240 by John de Vaux, from a Norman family originated in Rouen and settled in England following the Norman conquest of 1066. He also built Tarbet Castle on the island of Fidra.
The castle was heavily damaged during the wars of Scottish independence. Repaired by the Halyburton family in the fourteenh century, it was acquired by the Ruthvens in 1505.

II-1-4/ Bothwell Castle :

South-east of Glasgow, above a bent in the river Clyde, stands Bothwell castle (Illustration 4). It was built by Walter of Moray in the latter half of the 1200s. The original design was never completed because of many sieges and invasions. What we can see today is the work of the Earls of Douglas in the years around 1400. Its great donjon or tower is well-known. Dt W.Douglas Simpson, librarian of King's College at the university of Aberdeen has described it as « the grandest piece of secular architecture the Middle Ages has bequeathed to us in Scotland ».
In the fourteenth century, Joanna Morray and her husband Archibald « the Grim », third Earl of Black Douglas rebuilt Bothwell.
The hall and the chapel still stand and are impressive examples of later medieval castle architecture.

Both Dirleton and Bothwell betray similarities to Coucy-Le-Château, built by Enguerrand de Coucy, father of the thirteeth century Scottish queen Marie de Coucy[29].

II-1-5/ Melrose Abbey :

As regards churches and abbeys, Melrose (Illustration 5) has been one of the emblems of French architectural influence since the fourteenth century, after the deposition of Richard II. From then on, English models were abandoned and the abbey turned to France.

[29] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the Medieval kingdom and its contact with Christendom », p.132

It was despoiled and rebuilt frequently, thanks to the benefactions of the Bruces and Stewarts and the skill of successive generations of French masons or French-trained master-builders.
It was founded in 1136 by Cistercian monks at the request of Richard I, King of Scotland. The eastern wing was completed in 1146 and the other parts of the building were built in the following fifty years.
It took the shape of St John's cross, a Gothic architectural style. It is famous for its stone carvings, such as saints, dragons, gargoyles and plants.
Some of its later stonework was supervised by a French mason, John Morow or Moreau, in the late fourteenth century. He was well-known at the time in Scotland and worked at the cathedrals of St Andrews (Illustration 6) and Glasgow, Paisley Abbey and the church of Lincluden.
His inscription was twice inserted into the west wall of the south transept and on one of the stairs, it can be read « Be halde to ye hende ». This sentence became the motto of the town[30].
We can find his tomb in the abbey, with those of Alexander II and the wizard Michael Scott. His epitaph states that he was « born in Parysse certainlie, and had in kepying al masoun work at Sant Andruys, ye hye kirk of Glasgu, Melros and Pasley, of Nyddisdale and Galway »[31].
Melrose was, at the apex of its wealth and fame, a miracle of French « flamboyant » architecture transplanted from the Oise to the Tweed. It remains the most French-looking ecclesiastical structure in the north. The lilies of France still decorate the roof groining in a ruined side-chapel.
It remained for a long time the training ground for architects and sculptors under Abbot Hunter, Lord High Treasurer to James II of the Fiery Face and Scots Ambassador at the Court of Charles VII of France.
A hundred years later, the powerful Cardinal de Guise, brother-in-law of James V and uncle of Mary Queen of Scots, was last titular Abbot of Melrose.

II-1-6/ Tombs :

During this century, we also know that King Robert the Bruce ordered a marble tomb for himself to be made in Paris by one Master Robert to be shipped to Scotland and erected in

[30] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the Medieval kingdom and its contact with Christendom », p.127
[31] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.32

the Abbey Kirk at Dunfermline. Master Robert was later appointed Master Mason to the King of Scots and participated in the building of Castle Tarbert, on Lock Fyne, begun in 1326 by Robert I.

The influence did not stop then. The fifteenth century saw the blossoming of architectural connections between France and Scotland.

A masterpiece of French « flamboyant » art was created as a monument to royal piety, rich in sculptural details : the altar tomb of Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert III, sister of James I of Scots and widow of the great Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, Duc de Touraine and Lord of Longueville (Illustration 7).
It can be seen among the ruins of the former Collegiate Church of Lincluden, near Dumfries and tells the story of contemporary Scottish chivalry and its many continental links. It is an example of the Scots love for ornate carving and decoration.
Later on, in the mid-fifteenth century, the Burgundian Marie de Gueldres married James II of the Fiery Face. It was a way of reaffirming the bond between France and Scotland. She brought with her to Scotland her love for « flamboyant » Gothic architecture and founded Trinity College in Edinburgh in 1460, in loving memory of her dead husband.
She was painted as St Cecilia on one of the folding panels of a triptych made to go behind the altar of Trinity Votive Kirk.
The church, located in the area now known as Edinburgh's Royal Mile, was demolished in 1848 to made way for Waverley Station, although it was partially reconstructed in 1870 under the name Trinity Apse.
Marie was buried in the church but her body was moved to Holyrood Abbey in 1848.

II-1-7/ Rosslyn :

Another Scottish emblem of French architectural influence is the magnificent Rosslyn (Illustration 8). Its foundation began in 1440 and ended forty years later. It is located in the village of Roslin, Midlothian. It was intended by its founder, William St Clair, third Earl of Orkney, to be a complete collegiate kirk but only the choir and Lady Chapel were finished. The building was interrupted by St Clair's death.

Even though, it is the most famous exemple of « flamboyant » Gothic in Britain, for here the various masons excelled themselves with coral beds and jungles and the laws of nature seem to be defeated by feats of structural ingenuity.
In spite of that, the plan is simple and repeat the Choir of St Mungo's in Glasgow while the main vaulting looks like Burgundian churches of the Cistercian Order in central France.
French inspiration can be seen also in carvings, such as the Church of Rue near Abbeville, the Porch at Louviers in Normandy and the Savoy Mausoleum at Brou in Bresse.
The most beautiful and ornate feature is the « Prentice Pillar », which used to be called the « Prince's Pillar ».

Other holy places in Scotland are the witnesses of the French influence, although less strikingly than Melrose or Rosslyn.

II-1-8/ St Salvator's College :
As for St Salvator's College in St Andrews (lllustration 9) for example, the chapel was founded by James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews in 1450 as part of the College of the Holy Saviour.[32]
It is a beautiful example of late Gothic architecture, with its three-sided apse[33].
Inside this chapel are two examples of the collaboration between Scotland and France. First of all, the Mace which was made in France in 1461 for James Kennedy.
Then, we can find on his own tomb, carved details characteristic of the Tournai school.
Kennedy had it built sometime between the consecration of the church and his death in 1465.
We do not know whether he employed a Scottish mason with experience of continental sculpture or imported a foreign artist.

II-1-9/ Stirling Castle :
As for famous castles in this period, Stirling Castle is the witness of the introduction of the Renaissance into Scotland, thanks to Robert Cochrane, Master Mason to James III of Scots (Illustration 9).

[32] « st-andrews-ac-uk/about/universitychapels »
[33] Donaldson Gordon « La Vieille Alliance : histoire de l'amitié Franco-Ecossaise », p.18

The Great Hall of the castle is his masterpiece. But the Army remained installed there for a long time and its façade was seriously damaged : the windows, oriels and statuary for instance. The building of the Great Hall occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century and we can suppose that Cochrane had met architects, sculptors and painters coming from Italy with Charles VIII of France, either in France or in Italy.

He brought continental culture and architecture in central Scotland long before the South was influenced.

Stirling Castle was later also rebuilt by Thomas Franche, engaged by James III. The family of Franche was a renowned family of masters.

As for the « Palace Block », it was the work of James Hamilton of Fynnart, who had French masons under his command and who had visited the Châteaux of the Loire, under James IV.

Stirling Castle was startlingly French in its completeness, its Renaissance wing coming almost direct from Amboise : James V's wing was supplied with Renaissance sculptural decoration, such as the figures of pagan cherubs and nude women, frenchified courtiers and royal guards.

It is no surprise that Stirling Castle was chosen first for trying out the spectacle of Son et Lumière in Scotland, an art invented by the French.

Stirling Castle « Palace Block » was principally created by James IV for his two French queens, Madeleine de Valois and Marie de Guise.

The French Spur at the entrance (Illustration 9) dates back to Mary de Guise's improvements. Parallels have been drawn between some of the sixteenth century features at Stirling Castle and those at the French Châteaux of Châteaudun, Nancy and Joinville.

It is a pity the Army should have stayed so long there. The glorious « Stirling Heads », richly carved, have gone from the ceiling of the King's Chamber and the royal tapestries, ordered by James V in Paris in 1538, have been destroyed : Testament Auld and New, the Creation of the World, Solomon, the Story of Troy, among others.

II-1-10/ Falkland Palace :

But the greatest symbol of the alliance between France and Scotland is the South Range at Falkland Palace (Illustration 10), built by French craftsmen or Scots trained in France, mainly between 1537 and 1542[34].

[34] Lythe S.G.E « The economy of Scotland in its European setting », p.166

For example, the French mason Moyse Martin was appointed master mason for the crown in December 1536 and in 1537, he was engaged in the major remodelling of the palace. Indeed, he had accompanied James V in France and it is plausible that the courtyard façades were modelled on those at Fontainebleau and Villers-Cotterêts.

He was later succeeded by another French mason, Nicholas Roy, who worked on the palace until 1541, with three French assistants.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Falkland was entirely recast and made into a Renaissance hunting lodge in the François Premier manner.

Falkland was James V's favourite haunt as well as his daughter's. The Stewarts loved to relax there, play a game of tennis and ride.

We can find there the first tennis court in the world (Illustration 10). It contains four courts and a gallery. It dates from 1539 and was part of James V's transformation of Falkland into the finest Renaissance building in Britain.

As Neil Cunningham, who works for the National Trust of Scotland, told me during my last visit to the Palace, Mary Queen of Scots is said to have shocked the courtiers by playing tennis in breeches.

The remarkable South Range include the Keeper's quarters, the Old Library, the King's and Queen's rooms and the Bakehouse and above all, the Chapel Royal, occupying the east end of the South Range.

II-1-11/ Famous French masons :

Linlithgow Palace and Holyrood have also been restored or rebuilt by French masons of French-trained ones.

Nicolas Jackson, grandson to Robert J. who worked with Cochrane at Stirling, helped refashioning the Royal Palace at Linlithgow and its attendant Collegiate Kirk of St Michael and thus, show strong traces of the Renaissance.

David Lindsay said about these buildings :

« Lithgow, whose palyce of plesance

Micht be ane pattern in Portugal and France »[35].

Nicolas Jackson also created the Votive Kirk of Our Lady at Ladykirk on Tweed, opposite Norham, which is called the « Kirk O'Steil ». He was commissioned by James IV. As in St

[35] Fenwick, Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.34

Michael in Linlithgow but also in the Kirk of the Holy Rood in Stirling and the little parish church at Arbuthnott, the transepts and choir have polygonal apses in the pure French « flamboyant » manner.

The Jacksons, as other well-known mastermasons, were apprenticed to French or French-trained masters, as the family of Franche.

John or Jean Franche, father to Thomas we have already seen above, had already brought a French touch to Linlithgow and St Michael, when engaged by James III. He was even buried there.

Apart from Stirling, his son Thomas worked in Aberdeen on the famous old Brig O'Dee and the second of Stirling's renowned crown-spires, the one that surmounts King's College Chapel.

He completed St Machar's Cathedral in old Aberdeen : the ceiling is covered with heraldic devices representing the whole armorial panoply of contemporary Christendom.

In 1509, a central tower and a choir were added to this cathedral by William Elphinstone (1431/1514). He was a bishop and a statesman, educated in France. He took senior office under James III and was ambassador to France under James IV. He founded King's College in 1494, the University of Aberdeen. His beautiful memorial stands before King's College Chapel.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, French masons installed sculpture and decoration, including some unusual internal tilework. Moreover, a magnificent Renaissance fountain was built there.

II-1-12/ Holyrood Palace :

Holyrood Palace cannot be forgotten in this display of French architectural influences (Illustration 11).

It was built around a quadrangle, west of the abbey cloister. It contained a chapel, a gallery, royal appartments and a great hall.

As we saw above, the French mason Thomas Franche worked at Holyrood. James IV also employed the French Master Mason Walter Merlioun, to build a new turreted wing, intended to attach to the abbey and clerical quarters to make them into a royal abode. This building

was to be the home of Mary Queen of Scots, who carried out some restoration work to the structure.
Other masons fitted a double-staircase, no doubt inspired by Leonardo da Vinci's famous creation at Chambord.
In 1559, shields were carved to commemorate the wedding of Mary and François II, king of France.

James IV also decided the restoration of Dunbar Castle and thus the French architecture is also present there.

II-2/ The universities :
The intellectual ties between France and Scotland are numerous and ancient and, just as the Auld Alliance itself, participate in the myth.

II-2-1/ Their organisation :
In the seventeeth century, Godefroy, a French historiographer, was inspired by the alliance formed between Achaius, king of Scotland, and Charlemagne and researched the annals of France for his observation[36]. He prefaced his Discourse with a long preambule, explaining that Achaius sent ambassadors to France with his brother William and four scholars, disciples of Bede, named Clemens, Johannes, Rabanus and Alcuinus. Clemens is said to have founded the university of Paris.
In his Discourse, Godefroy also cites Hector Boece, an early Scottish historian, who studied and obtained a Master of Arts at the university of Paris in 1494.
There are no clear evidence of this statement but one thing is certain : from the Middle Ages onwards, Scottish students came to France in such number to the university of Paris that they constituted what was called « a nation »[37].
What was a nation ? It was the administrative units into which universities were divided at the time.[38]

[36] Bonner Elizabeth « Scotland's Auld Alliance with France, 1295-1560 » p.78
[37] Exhibition « France and Scotland : seven centuries of friendship and cultural exchanges »
[38] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe, the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom » p.234

They also constituted a nation in Orléans because of their large group in 1336, as they studied civil law there, for only Paris could teach canon law up to 1679. This nation was to be dissolved in 1538 because the number of students was not important enough at the time. This date is symbolic as this is the year when Scrimgeous, of the Scottish contingent, came to Bourges to study law.

In the Middle Ages, the universities were ecclesiastical. The members had privileges given by the Pope as were the diplomas, as for example the licentia docendi.
It was an autonomous community of masters and students, or universitas magistrorum and scolarium. There was an important peregrinatio academica, that is to say an important mobility among the masters and the students as well.[39]

The key elements of teaching were the lectures, during which texts were read and explained by a lecturer.
Then came the disputation with questions regarding the application of knowledge being debated.

Most of the students stayed abroad for a limited period. A bachelorate in arts used to take three years, but those studying for higher degrees had to stay longer.

The lifestyle in these universities was certainly quasi-monastic and women as well as weapons were banned from within their walls.[40]

II-2-2/ <u>The students</u> :
In fact, most members of the elite began their careers at university.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a quarter of Scottish students were from noble or episcopal family although we can find in the universities matriculation lists the term of

[39] Bideaux M. and Fragonnard MM. « Les échanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance » p.13/14
[40] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560 » p.238,239

« paupers » that meant absolved, partially at least, from payment of fees. They might be poorer than other students but could not be qualified as « poor », generally speaking.
But poverty was not unknown at the time. Bursaries existed and some institutions developed loan arrangements for students.
But some of them had to pawn their books in order to alleviate cash-flow problems.
Many students also drew an income from ecclesiastical benefices but a few stayed to teach full-time, such as Thomas Lyall, who studied in Paris and went on to serve as Rector of his last academic home in 1489, 1502 and 1509.
We will study this aspect of the intellectual alliance in the third part of our work, dealing with the emigrant Scots.
In the thirteenth century, the choice of universities where to study was limited to Paris and Bologna. Paris was famous for its theological studies and its arts degree.

Indeed, the first three Scottish universities were established in the fifteenth century by bishops : St Andrews in 1412, Glasgow in 1451 and Aberdeen in 1495. Some 1,100 Scots went to universities abroad before the foundation of St Andrews. But the scholarship there remained unadequate and Scottish students went on travelling abroad to attend French universities. It seems likely that French universities remained the most successful in attracting Scottish students.

It is easy to locate where the Scottish students went to study. But what accounted for the popularity of the universities ? Students were certainly attracted by the reputation of some particular institutions. The choice of subject was another reason. The reason why Paris attracted so many students was its popularity all over Christendom. But Orléans was also famous because Roman law was taught there, which was not the case at the university of Paris. Montpellier’s reputation, meanwhile, rested on the medical training which it offered.
Apart from the question of reputation and the subjects taught, was the reputation of the teachers. It can be read in Abelard’s account of the competitive intellectual and personal disputes associated with the ascent of the university of Paris in the twelfth century. This rivalry subsided in later centuries as the corporate fame of institutions outweighed that of the masters who taught in them.

During the fourteenth century, the Scottish students were the most numerous nationality among those assigned to the misleadingly named « English-German nation » at the university of Paris : there were at least twenty-nine Scots in 1329-30.
After 1313, the Rue du Chaudron in Paris became the Rue d'Ecosse and lodgings for students were created. A similar street name could be found in Dieppe, which was a stopping place between Scotland and France.[41]

But Scots could also be found at Orléans and Montpellier. At least one studied at Angers too. Moreover, a lot of them went to the university of Avignon, founded in 1303, once the papal court had settled there.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Avignon and Paris began to stagnate a little and the university of Bourges started to experience more and more success.

Famous Scots studied in Paris, such as the bishop of St Andrews, Walter Trail in 1391, the bishop of Argyll in 1491 or William Elphinstone who went to Paris, then to Orléans before going back to Scotlant nine years later.[42]

Despite the Reformation, students went on attending French universities and about a dozen Scots were appointed Rectors at the university of Paris, William Manderston in 1525, Herbert Heryot in 1538, William Granston in 1542, John Stuart in 1550. Other Scots could be found in Bordeaux, Poitiers, Toulouse and Catholic Scots, such as Blackwood, who studied in Paris and Toulouse and taught at Poitiers and Bordeaux, as well as Protestants, such as John Cameron, who taught theology in Saumur then Montauban. John Mair or Major was a teacher in Paris from 1515 to 1533, George Buchanan from 1526 to 1536 and from 1553 to 1561 in Bordeaux.

We are now going to focus more precisely on several universities : Paris, Bourges, Orléans, Louvain and the Scots College in Paris.

[41] Michel Francisque « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse », p.10
[42] Ibid., p.303

II-2-3/ The university of Paris :

As regards the university of Paris, we know that it has always been a famous one, ever since the twelfth century.

Well-known Scotts studied in Paris. We can mention Hector Boece, the historian and first Pincipal of King's College in Aberdeen, who later taught in Paris.
James Liddell, who brought the art of printing from France, was Regent at Paris university. He published a student's text book which inspired the setting up of the first Scottish printing press by Messrs. Andrew Myllar and William Chepman, who learnt their craft in France. He was named Proctor of the « German Nation » in 1484.
Scotsmen were four times elected to represent this nation in the latter half of the fifteenth century, such as John de Irlandia in 1461 and Chaplain and Rector in 1476.
Richard Muirhead had a similar career : he graduated as master of arts and bachelor of theology and became later Rector and Proctor there. He served as Clerk Register and Royal Secretary to James IV.

Several sources and registers show evidence of foreign students in Paris. Were they numerous and where did they come from ? As Hubert Fenwick puts it, in the six years between 1494 and 1501, for instance, as many as one hundred and sixty « Ecossais » are listed as having graduated on the banks of the Seine.[43]

The *Acta Rectoria* for example, show proof of the presence of numerous students from all France and Europe, including Scotland. They are registers in which each university Rector listed the names and dioceses of origin of all the graduates who swore the statutory oath of allegiance to the university.

Two other different souces testify this fact.

[43] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.63

The first are the records kept by the proctors and the treasurers of the four nations, which composed the Faculty of Arts.
Between 1494 and 1526, about seven hundred and fifty students came to the university from sixty-three different dioceses in the British Isles and the Habsburg Empire.
The second source that shows the presence of international students there, can be found in books printed in Paris in the early sixteenth century.
Indeed, numerous graduates from Scotland were authors or colleagues mentionned by authors in their dedicatory epistles, prefaces and liminal poems.

But we can find contradictory sources, such as the *Certificates of Study* or the *Rotuli Nominatorum* that show a very small contingent of international students in Paris.

The *Certificates of Study* were recorded between 1512 and 1515 and contain the testimony of nearly 1,400 masters about the studies of 1,220 graduates of the Faculty of Arts. But the period they cover is rather small and the Faculty of Arts does not mean the whole university.

As for the *Rotuli Nominatorum*, they are a list of supplications for benefices drawn up under the auspices of the university. This resource is more vast as it covers a 300-year period, from 1493 to 1792.

We can wonder where these differences come from as all these sources are precise registrations of a number of students. The covered period is not the same as regards the *Certificates of Study* and the two other sources. But it is similar concerning the *Rotuli Nominatorum* and the *Acta Rectoria* as it concerns the latter part of the fifteenth century. The *Rotuli Nominatorum*'s registration of students even goes up to the eighteenth century.
Another reason could come from the fact that the Scottish students could mix with students from other origins as they could register on the lists of the nations of other origins[44].
An additional source shows that two hundred Scottish students had a canon law degree in Paris between 1340 and 1410.[45]

[44] Farge James K. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto in « Les échanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance », Bideaux M., p.302
[45] Ibid., p.301

II-2-4/ Bourges :

The situation was different at the university of Bourges. It was the favourite university for the Scottish students who wanted to study law.

It was founded in 1462 by Louis XI and the first lecture was given in 1467. It was not the only university which taught law in France. There were also Orléans, Toulouse, Angers and Poitiers. There were six Scottish students in Orléans, twenty-seven in Poitiers, nineteen in Toulouse and eight in Angers, between 1538 and 1625[46] and forty-one in Bourges. But Bourges was the Scottish students' favourite university.[47]

The first student who registered there was Alan Levenax in 1480 and no other student followed for a certain period of time, which is surprising. The nomination of Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray and ambassador of James IV, as archbishop of Bourges in 1513 did not have any positive consequence as regards the coming of Scottish students to the university. On the contrary, Jean Charpentier, a French known as John Carpenter, went to St Andrews in order to give public lectures.

The real success of this university only came in 1538 with the arrival of Scrimgeour, who was a diplomat and a lecturer in law in Geneva.

One can see two distinct frequenting periodes : from 1538 (sixty years after Levenax's arrival) and 1584 and from 1616 to 1626.

Other well-known Scots attended the university of Bourges, such as Bishop James Boyd and his nephew, Mark Alexander Boyd who wrote an essay dedicated to Bauduin, another one in French entitled « Discours civils sur le Royaume d'Ecosse » and a 168-folio commentary of Justinien's « Institutes » dated 1591. There was also John Logie, who had a licence in utroque and who was the first lawyer at the court after the Reformation, and Alexander Scot who was master in Carpentras in 1593 after being a student in Bourges.

[46] Durkan J. « The French connection in the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century » in « Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850 », Smout TC, Edinburgh 1986, p.34-44

[47] Tucker MC « Maîtres et étudiants écossais à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Bourges, 1480-1703 », éd.Honoré Champion, Paris/Genève, 2001, p.58-71

During the latter sixteenth century, Edward Henryson, Alexander Arbuthnot and William Barclay, after their studies there, stayed in France to teach law.

Barclay taught in Pont-à-Mousson then in Angers.

Henryson participated in the foundation of the university of Edinburgh and Arbuthnot became Rector of King's College in Aberdeen.

Recent studies from John Durkan and D.Baird show that the most significant contributions from Scots in the study of the Roman law were brought by Henryson and Barclay.

Henryson's *De Testamentis* was published in Paris in 1556 and Barclay's commentaries on *Le Digeste, De Rebus,* were published in Paris in 1605.

Later, Henryson supervised a group of scholars who influenced the various commissions which were organized after the Reformation in order to revise the Scottish laws. Their aim was to assemble the written sources of medieval law and provide the basis which would later enable other lawyers to create the very sturcture of modern Scottish laws.[48]

Paris had other rivals apart from Brouges, that is to say Orléans and Louvain.

II-2-5/ Orléans :

As we have already mentioned above, there was an important nation in Orléans with numerous Scottish students studying civil law. Many Scots priests and men of letters were trained there : Richard de Corneil, the first Master employed at St Andrews and William Elphinstone, the episcopal founder of King's College in Aberdeen, who later returned to become Professor of Civil Law « at his alma Mater ».[49] In between, he became a master of arts at Glasgow and a doctor of decrees, or the Deretals, in Paris.

II-2-6/ Louvain :

After Paris and Orléans came Louvain, which was also a meeting place for scholars and teachers. John Lichton and Bishop Turnbull of Glasgow, for example, were alumni there. John Lichton was elected Rector in 1431.

As for Turnbull, he was connected with the founding of the Glasgow College in the reign of James of the Fiery Face.

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[48] Tucker M.Claude « les échanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance » Bideaux M. and Fragonnard M.Madeleine, p.308

[49] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.64

James Muirhead obtained a degree of civil law in Louvain, apart from his studies at the university of Paris.

II-2-7/ The French model :

These close intellectual relations were not limited to the registration of Scottish students in French universities.

The latter served as models to the founding of universities in Scotland. Two well-known universities were concerned. St Andrews, for example, was founded by bishop Wardlaw who had previously studied in Paris and Orléans.[50]

It was the same for King's College in Aberdeen. Elphinstone taught in Paris, as did Hector Boece, his first master. The customs which were in force in Paris were a model for foreign universities.

The very existence of the Auld Alliance can explain one difference with the university of Paris : the French language was sometimes allowed in the Scottish universities, instead of latin. This exception was due to the Alliance.

Another common point was that the Scottish universities were divided in « nations », just like the French ones.

II-2-8/ The Scots College :

The strong intellectual links that were forged during the Auld Aliance are embodied in the founding of what can be seen as a symbol of this side of the Alliance on French soil. This building is the Scots College.

Its history dates back to 1325 when Bishop David Moray endowed the lands of Grisy-Suisnes, just outside Paris, on which the Scots College was built.[51]

Not long before 1323, King Robert the Bruce of Scotland had sent an embassy including the Bishop of Moray, to « conclude a treaty of confederacy » renewing the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France. The Bishop was a passionate benefactor of religious learning and the Collegium Scoticum came into existence. Its foundation was confirmed by Charles

[50] Donaldson Gordon « La Vieille Alliance : histoire de l'amitié franco-écossaise », p.16

[51] An exhibition, Edinburgh festival « France and Scotland : seven centuries of friendship and cultural exchanges »

Le Bel, King of France, in August 1326. Moray's aim was to enable four poor students from his diocese to study in France and afterward for any Scottish student who wished to be educated on the continent.[52]

The Scots College is thus a college of the former university of Paris, located Rue Cardinal Lemoine, where an inscription in the chapel of the modern Ecole Ste Geneviève states that the place was founded « when Charles the Fair was reigning in France and Robert the Bruce in Scotland, being allied by an ancient treaty (*Antiquo Foedere Conjunctus*) »[53].

When the Roman Catholic Church was disestablished in Scotland, the Scots College became a center for Catholic Scots abroad and a political center for persons who hoped to reconvert Scotland.

Mary Queen of Scots contributed to it even from prison.

Despite the Reformation, some four hundred Scots appear to have attended the Scots College during the sixteenth century.[54]

One of the most famous was John Barbour, who became later Archdeacon of Aberdeen and who composed a metrical history of the reign and exploits of Robert the Bruce. He came to France in 1365 and stayed here until 1368. He was an early student at the newly opened Scots College.

After the great schism between Rome and Avignon, when France and England supported the Pope in Rome and Scotland the Pope in Avignon, and when the papal breach had been healed, the Scots College enjoyed one of its many revivals.

During the French revolution, the people of Paris paid little respect to either Catholic or Protestant symbols. Social transformation had changed paradigms entirely and the Scots College, seen as an aristocratic institution, was sacked in 1792 and many of its valuable documents were destroyed.

During the Reign of Terror, the building was even taken for use as a prison.

In accordance with ancient texts, the former Scots College is now administrated by a state-approved foundation, the « Fondation Catholique Ecossaise ».

The first statute of this establishment states that its main aim is to welcome and train foreign students in France, mainly students from Scottish origins.

This foundation can give grants and awards and organize cultural conferences or events.

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[52] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.62
[53] Ibid., « The Auld Alliance », p.62
[54] Brander, Michael « The emigrant Scots », p.14

In addition to the intellectual exchanges, the particular relationship between France and Scotland during the period of the Auld Alliance can be seen in literary influences but also as regards music, dancing and painting.

II-3/ Literature and arts :

The French culture in these fields had numerous consequences on Scotland, the latter being still a « remote » country, apart from the others.

The privileged links between these two countries had important consequences not only on the political future of Scotland, of course, but also on the cultural and thus social development of this country.

Thanks to France, Scotland found itself concerned by the important movements and changes in Europe due to the Renaissance, especially during the last period of the Auld Alliance, because of the French influence which was strenghtened by the Regence of Marie de Guise and later by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, herself.

First, we are going to study the literary influences between France and Scotland.

II-3-1/ Literature :

In the fourteenth century, French people enjoyed a particular view of Scotland through Froissart's eyes. As a matter of fact, he was not only a reporter or a chronicler, but also a writer who liked to study his time, his country and particularly Scotland for he had stayed there each and every season of the year.

Through his work, French people used to see Scotland as a remote, savage and mythical country of the north. He described the lands, heather and game of Scotland. He also talked about the towns and castles as well as of the Scottish people and noticed « la manière et ordenance des Escoçois » and their particular way of fighting. He conveyed a sense of strangeness about them. He often evoked the « douce Escoce » but more frequently the « sauvage Escoce ».[55]

[55] Froissart, « Chroniques » edited by the baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vol. (Brussels 1867-77, X, 1870, p.398

But what is particularly interesting is the fact that he compared Scotland with other countries in a personal vision of the world.
In his Chroniques, Book IV, he opposed the « savage Ireland » in the west to the « savage islands » in the east.
In the second book, the two farthest borders of the world, according to him, are Russia in the east and Scotland in the west.
He talks about « sauvages Escots » and even King Robert Stuart is described as follows : « uns grans boins homs à uns rouges yoels rebrachiés (il sambloient de chendal) ».[56]
Froissart is said to have influenced Walter Scott, who read his books as a child, when he wrote Quentin Durward, his firt international book and the real ancestor of the romantic movement in similar vein of Dumas and Hugo.

This strangeness about Scotland was especially due to the fact that it was isolated from the international trade. So, people used to see this country as « unreal » and mysterious. Even Juvenal des Ursins, in his « Histoire de Charles VI » tells the story of a man who, in 1403, desperate because his king had lost his mind, tried to find some piece of advice from the devil himself. He was told « qu'il allast en Escoce la sauvage » and he actually met the devil there. He was told horrible things and never repeated them to anybody.[57]

Other important people used to write about foreign countries, and Scotland, without ever having been there. In France, for example, the people from the chancellery did not know Scotland but formed their opinion from books.
As for the clothes, they talked about « vilis veste Scotus ». They had never met any Scot in person but had certainly read in the English Barthelemy's « Livre des propriétés des choses » that « les Escoçois…sont moult belles gens de corps et de visage mais ilz ont ung habit qui moult les allaidist ».[58]

[56] Froissart, « Chroniques » edited by the baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vol. (Brussels 1867-77, X, 1870, p.77
[57] Juvénal des Ursins Jean « Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France » ed.Michaud et Poujoulat, first series, II, Paris 1836, p.425-26
[58] Autrand Françoise « Aux origines de l'Europe moderne : l'alliance France-Ecosse au XIVe siècle » p.36

The important distance of Scotland entailed a particular romantic aura which surrounded medieval novels such as « Le tournoiement aux Dames » and « L'histoire d'Aurélie et Isabelle, filles du Roi d'Ecosse ». These two Scots princesses contributed to the development on the Continent of the culture of Scotland, spreading abroad a touch of magic and romance.

Hector Boece's « History » had a wide audience in France when it was translated into French. Boece had obtained a Master of Arts at the university of Paris and his « History » of the Scots was first published in 1526. He wanted to present models of virtuous kings to the young king of Scots and they became the main sources for the myths which were elaborated during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.
It was translated from Latin to Scottish by Archdeacon Bellenden and then to French.
His « History » helped to convey in France the idea that the Scottish monarchy was the oldest in Europe.

Later, George Buchanan took up the whole story in 1558, referring to it in his poem, « Epithalamium », composed to celebrate the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the dauphin François :
« An old descent
Is hers ; a hundred ancestors have sent
Her crown to her ; and twice a thousant years
Stretches the line of those august compeers »[59]

He was a famous Scottish latinist who had studied in Paris and been to Bordeaux as a teacher, where he translated and wrote latin « tragédies ». One of his pupils at the Collège de Guyenne was Michel de Montaigne. He was his personal tutor in Latin in 1544. Montaigne kept Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia in his château in the Dordogne.[60]

[59] Buchanan George « A memorial », 1506-1906, ed. D.A.Millar, 1907, p.312
[60] Fenwick Hubert « the Auld Alliance » p.49

In the early sixteenth century, John Major had also a great influence in France. He studied as well at the university of Paris and taught there, just like Buchanan, and Erasmus remarked that the Scots « plume themselves on their skill in dialectic subtleties ».[61]

France was not the only partner which took advantage of positive influence in the literary field. Scotland also received numerous and incontestable benefits from this alliance with France.

In the Middle Ages, books were works of art and the study of literature was an exclusive pastime and as far back as the fourteenth century, French books could be found in Scotland. For example, the four Fife rectors owned studies by the famous Parisian academics Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson.

Scottish writers also had access to a certain number of sources, as Fordun or Bower, who consulted Martin de Troppan's thirteenth century chronicle or a late copy of Vincent de Beauvai's « Speculum Historiale », probably compiled after 1254.

French literature was clearly not foreign to lords and even kings as we know that James IV purchased French works including these of the fifteenth century Poitiers professor Nicholas de Orbellis. The famous compilation of saintly lives by James de Voragine survived at court in editions published in Lyon in 1493, 1502, 1510 and 1554.

Numerous translations of French works were written in Scotland at the time. For example, an Aberdeen notary translated a « handbook of good behaviour » from Alain Chartier's « Le bréviaire des nobles » in 1490.
Eleanor Stewart, duchess of Austria, wrote a translation of the French « Pontus and Sidonia », itself a translation and adaptation of the Anglo-Norman « Horn and Rimenhild », into German.
New translations appeared in Scotland in the fifteenth century and were numerous.
It is a perfect example of the international nature of the medieval culture and the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland served as a perfect way to share it.

[61] Bonner Elizabeth « Scotland's auld alliance with France, 1295-1560 » p.30

« The buik of king Alexander the Conqueror » was translated from the « Roman d'Alexandre » while another thirteenth century French text provided the basis of « Lancelot of the Lake ».
The first English translation of Rabelais was made by a Scotsman.
The French poem « Le débat de l'homme et de la femme » by Guillaume Alexis was translated in Aberdeen in the early sixteenth century.
But one fact is surprising : the works of Christine de Pisan and François Villon, two of the greatest French writers of the fifteenth century, never found a Scottish audience, even through translation.[62]

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the golden age of poetry. French writers greatly influenced Scottish ones and we can also find borrowings from French poems in the works of William Dumbar, Robert Henryson or Sir Gilbert Hay.
Sir David Lindsay, for instance, drew inspiration from Pierre Gringoire to write « Ane Pleasant Satyre of the thrie Estaitis », a direct attack on ecclesiastical abuse, which was at first performed at Linlithgow in 1552 but not published until 1602. It is an attack on the Three Estates represented in the Parliament of Scotland : the clergy, the lords and the burgh representatives, symbolized by the characters of Spirituality, Temporality and Merchant. Written not long before the Reformation, it embodies the social tensions at work in Scotland at the time.

Pierre de Ronsard was also well-known in Scotland and lived there for three years. During this period, he became James V's page boy when the Scottish king married Madeleine of France. He also became Mary Stuart's master in poetry and is said to have given her a complete edition of his works in 1560.
We can find a memorable passage on the death of Madeleine de Valois in his « Tombeau de Marguerite de France ».

Later, we know that James VI was greatly influenced by the huguenot poet Sallustre du Bartas. His famous poem « La Sepmaine » written in 1578, was translated in English. He

[62] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.120-130

seemed to have influenced the works of Milton, among others. He met James VI in Scotland and the king even translated one of his poems. After his death in 1590, James VI published the translation of one of his famous poems « La Lépanthe du roi d'Ecosse », which celebrated the famous victory over the Turks in 1571.

Apart from literature, artistic influences provided another form of cultural experience and link between Scotland and France at the time.
As Tom Devine and Paddy Loque put it in « Being Scottish », the Auld Alliance was as much a matter of culture as economics or politics.

II-3-2/ Music and dance :
French music, for example, travelled all the way north to Scotland. It served both for amusement and for more serious religious contemplation.
French influence can be traced to the thirteenth century, as scores contain material of French derivation coming from the Notre Dame school of music in Paris.
Such influence can be seen for instance in the hymn composed for the wedding of Margaret, daughter of Alexander III and the Norwegian king in 1282.
Later on, we can find a French touch in the Paisley fragments. In the early 1990s, an ancient vaulted drain was discovered running from the abbey to the White Court. Many items were discovered there, including a slate with music marked on it, which is believed to be the oldest example of polyphonic music found in Scotland.

Courts preferences were also favourably disposed towards French music. The Scottish courts often invited musicians, organists and above all ministrels from France. James IV, for example, invited French singers and tambourin players.
In Mary Stuart's time, French music also used to prevail at the court of Scotland.

Some of these musical troops came to Scotland because they were invited to do so, but others arrived unannounced in search of patronage, because the Scots taste for French music was well-known.
We do not know exactly what they performed but the fact that some of these troops were highly esteemed is unquestionable.

During the sixteenth century, we have evidence that French songs were copied from French books and that Scottish poems were set to French music. We can even talk about a Franco-Scottish style.[63]

Some Scots used to travel to France to receive musical training and instruments could be acquired in France : in 1507, lute strings were imported from France.

This exchange of musicians was not however one way.
For instance, a « Jean d'Ecosse » served as a ministrel to the French king Charles VI in 1419, or « Manghomoran », a famous trumpeter of a Scottish captain, whose capture was reported in a letter from Strasbourg to Frankfurt in 1439.[64]

Along with music, dancing was one of the favourite entertainment in Scotland.
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, is said to have introduced French dances at court which were not very acceptable, according to contemporary writers.[65]

II-3-3/ Painting :
Just as some Scottish musicians traveled to France to be trained, some Scottish artists also ventured overseas, probably to develop their skills.

Some of the sixty Scottish painters who plyed their craft between 1300 and 1560 went to France.

In the fifteenth century, protraiture became increasingly popular at court but also in other levels of the Scottish society.
The great François Clouet, for example, drew Mary Queen of Scots and her contemporaries.
Royalty apart, no Scottish figure survives. But depictions of Joan of Arc circulated in France in the fifteenth century and at least one of them was acquired in Arras by a Scot.

[63] Donaldson Gordon « La vieille alliance : histoire de l'amitié franco-écossaise » p.26
[64] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.111
[65] Miss Bannerman Edith « Les influences françaises en Ecosse au temps de Marie Stuart » p.107

III/ THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE :

This rich network of exchanges and influence, either commercial, cultural or intellectual, which prevailed throughout the period of the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland, had direct consequences not only on the countries, as we have seen above, but also on the people, and particularly on the Scottish one.

III-1/ The Scottish language :

One of these consequences is on the Scottish language, as more and more French words were adopted by the Scots, in everyday expressions or in particular fields, such as cooking, for example.

III-1-1/ The French language in Scotland :

In everyday life, the French was the aristorcratic lingua franca in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, following the Norman diaspora. But one must distinguish this particular influence from the continuous consequences of the use of the French language during the alliance between the two countries.

The two languages thus developed the same way and from the same elements but independently.

The important French presence in Scotland and the particular relation between the two countries account for this fact.

The French language was currently used at court. Alexander III, for instance, took his coronoation oath first in Latin and then in French, which shows that this language was widely understood at the time. French was thus probably the official language in both the French and the Scottish courts.

Another example can demonstrate this assertion : the negociations which took place in Norham in 1291 between Edward I and the Scottish nobility were for the most part conducted in French.

Moreover, some fifteenth century Scotts still wrote to English kings in French, such as Christina, countess of March, who wrote to Henry IV of England in French.

In addition to that, a visiting Spanish diplomat believed at the end of the fifteenth century, that « manu (Scots) speak the French language ».[66] It is true that the French language was not only used at court or among the nobility.

The commercial exchanges between Scotland and France, as we have studied this point in the first part of our work, led a lot of merchants to travel to France and the crews on board the ships came from various nationalities.
Thus, we can consider that many merchants were often sufficiently familiar with the French language to dispense with the services of interpreters in their commercial dealings with France.[67]
When John Barton, for example, was preying on the English merchantmen out of Calais in the 1540s, one of his crews included at least twenty Frenchmen from Dieppe, « speaking good Scots and disguised even in their garments ».[68]
Thus, linguistic barriers posed no major problems for Scottish merchants at least. Business abroad provided them an opportunity to acquire skills in the French language.
By the mid-sixteenth century, Edinburgh merchants were sending their sons to France, for example to Bordeaux, for them to gain proficiency in the French language, as well as business.

Still in the sixteenth century, the French language was taught in the main schools of Scotland, probably by French teachers. In Perth's most famous school, for instance, where the eldest sons of lords and landowners were pupils, French was taught and spoken in the Principal's own house.

[66] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.30
[67] Trocmé and Delafosse « Le commerce rochelais » p.85
[68] Winchester B. « Tudor family portrait », 1955, p.242

But French was nevertheless challenged by Latin.
In the thirteenth century, the Scottish government, unlike its English counterpart, often preferred to transact diplomatic business with France in Latin rather than in French.
Later on, the rise of the vernacular made communication more difficult.
In the 1380s, the French government thought advisable for an interpreter to accompany a diplomatic mission to Scotland.
By the fifteenth century, it often entrusted such business to Franco-Scots, such as William Monypenny, lord of Concressault, and Bernard Stuart, lord of Aubigny, who were fluent in both Scots and French.
But private individuals had difficulties in traveling abroad in the company of an interpreter. So, some of them relied upon ad hoc translation services. In 1548, for instance, a Scots notary and a Scottish priest, who could both speak French, were required to elucidate the circumstances of a fracas in an Edinburgh house, which erupted between several visiting Frenchmen and during which one of them had died.[69]

In the seventeenth century, the French language, as well as the Gaelic one, were superseded by the Scot, which was closer to the Inglis.

As for Miss Edith Bannerman, the French elements in the « Middle Scots » represent three different periods : first, the settlement of an Anglo-French colony in the Lothians, then the material extracted from Chaucer and finally the close relationship between France and Scotland during the Auld Alliance, due to the diplomatic exchanges between the French and the Scots courts and the numerous Scottish students at the university of Paris.
Later, the common interest dedicated to Protestantism provided another source of influence.
Many borrowed words or expressions to the French language came directly from rhetoricians because they provided a large amount of ready-made expressions, but not only.

[69] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.31

III-1-2/ The French words and expressions :

Numerous French words or expressions can thus be found in the Scots language.

Even the « guid Scots tongue » acquired a cross-channel vocabulary, some of it straight from the French, the rest being phonetic transcriptions, such as « gardyloo » for « gardez, de l'eau », the cry familiar to Edinburgh folk, picking their way through narrow wynds and vennels into the old town, and a necessary alarm against receiving a pail of slops over the head.

The list of French borrowing is long, but we can mention « haggis », « ambre » and « gigot », for instance, which come from the French words « hachis », « armoire » and « gigot d'agneau », as Professor Laidlaw put it in 2001 in an interview to Canal Académie with Marine Digabel.

Ruth Fincher and Jane Jacobs, in « Cities of difference » give the example of the word « bush », which derives, according to them, from the French word for « market-débouché ».

To quieten down an argument, the expression « dinna fach yoursel », is clearly phonetically drawn from the French « se fâcher », as Gordon Donaldson states it. He also notices that the words « ashet » come from the French « assiette », « disjune » from « petit-déjeuner » and « vennel » from « venelle ».[70]

As regards sports and games, the French influence passed through language. As a matter of fact, cards were first recorded in the Latin west in the 1370s. They were recorded in Lille in 1382 and probably reached Scotland from northern France shortly afterwards.

Thus, French expressions were found in the Scottish language, as in other pastimes such as « hasard of dis » (dice) and « cross and pile », the original name probably derived from the marks on French coins.[71]

[70] Donaldson Gordon « La Vieille Alliance : histoire de l'amitié franco-écossaise » p.7

[71] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.110

Some strange distortions of friendship between French and Scottish people lay behind the Inverness practice of branding the « fluir ye lyis » on the cheeks of female slanderers ![72]

Many words derived from the French fell into disuse or were later used in more English forms, such as « glorie », « memorie », « cair », « disdain », « garrison » or « sugar ».

Names of months come from the same origin : Janevar, Janevere, Janiveir, Janeuar, Janueir, Januar for janvier ; Feverer, Februeir, Februar for février ; Averil, Aperil, Apereyle for avril and Julet, Julzie, Juilzie, Juillie for juillet.

There are also examples of influence in language in the universities, as they were modelled on the French ones : the servants, for instance, were called « garciones » ant there were « nations », just as in France.

Hubert Fenwick also mentions other instances of French borrowing. Scots folk drank wine from silver « tassies », for « tasses », and cut their meat with a « Jockteleg », after Jacques de Liège, the French inventor of the table knife. A fireside chair of the period was known as a « cackling chair », from the French Caquetoire and the « foy », allowance given a Scots Laird's son before setting off on his travels abroad, was an abbreviation of the French « feu de joie ».[73]

[72] Lythe S.G.E « The economy of Scotland in its European setting » p.170
[73] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance » p.42

III-1-3/ French words in cooking :

This list of French influence on the Scots language is also strongly gastronomic in bias.

As Ian Duncan puts it in « Scott's shadow : the novel in Romantic Edinburgh », there was an importnt enrichment of the Scots cuisine by French influence, thanks to the Auld Alliance.
This enrichment is so important that numerous French words are applied to the Scots cooking.

In « The Penguin companion to cook », Alan Davidson quotes F.Marian McNeill, who provided an appendix of almost 150 Scots culinary terms which are of French derivation. Being an authority on Scottish cooking, she has studied the influence of the Auld Alliance on the Scottish domestic culture in two volumes, « The Scots kitchen » and « The Scots cellar ». She mentions, among other specialities, « Feather Fowlie », owing something to velouté de volaille and « Lorraine soup », probably named after the Queen Regent, Marie de Guise, or coming simply from Soupe à la Reine.
Florentine pie or « Veal flory » clearly dates from the arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots.
F.Marian McNeill also quotes the roast deer recipe, spiced and marinated in claret, vinegar and lemon and basted in liquor, which was used at Holyrood in the days of James IV or even earlier.

People in Scotland also ate thin triangles of shortbread called « Petticoatails », coming from « petites gatelles », as they still do.
They also enjoyed codfish dressed in horse-radish and egg sauce called « Cabbie-claw », derived from the French « cabillaud ».[74]

People can even enjoy an « Auld Alliance Pudding », which is basically a cheese paté made from Roquefort and blended whisky. This pudding is said to celebrate the traditional alliance between Scotland and France !

[74] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance » p.42-43

III-1-4/ Scottish influence :

On the contrary, no real Scots words can be found in the French language.

But some expressions evokes directly the relationship which once existed between the two peoples.

« Fier comme un écossais » was used in Rabelais' time and can be found later in the « Virgile Travesti » from Jacques Moreau.

« Pain béni d'Ecosse » was used for « foie de bœuf » and « Percé à jour comme un poignard d'Ecosse » meant numerous holes in a material or fabric.[75]

One of the most obvious reasons for this mutual enrichment can be seen in immigration and emigration as people obviously took their way of life abroad.

III-2/ Immigrants and emigrants :

The Auld Alliance, at the beginning, was established as a mutually offensive / defensive military alliance against England.

But it gradually developed over familial, personal, social and cultural associations.

As Alain Chartier, a fifteenth century French poet put it :

« The Auld Alliance is not written on parchment in ink,

But engraved on the living flesh of man's skin in blood »[76]

We are going to consider the question of French immigrants first.

[75] Michel Francisque « Les écossais en France, les français en Ecosse », 1861, vol.2, p.9

[76] Bonner Elizabeth « Scotlant Auld Alliance with France, 1295-1560 », p.5

III-2-1/ The French soldiers in Scotland :

First and foremost, the military pressure prompted the French crown to recruit large mercenary forces. Thus, small contingents of French soldiers were occasionally dispatched to aid the Scots in the wars with England during the fourteenth century and a larger force arrived under the command of Jean de Vienne in 1385.

This French military presence in Scotland will go on until the official end of the Auld Alliance, but as the military aspect of it is not the subject of this study, we will not probe further into it.

French immigrants could also be found at all levels of society. They were often present at court. The cultural exchanges entailed the coming to Scotland of musicians and artists. Some clerics were also brought in the train of foreign queens. Kings too, recruited foreign retainers as for example the court of James IV, which included among others a French blacksmith.
There are examples of craftsmen or artists sent to Scotland in Antoinette of Bourbon's letters to her daughter, Mary de Lorraine, who married James V in the sixteenth century.

They were however limited in number in urban society and even scarcer in Scottish towns. Berwick was the only truly cosmopolitan Scottish town in the thirteenth century.
Whereas Scots abroad often possessed their own religious shrines, the Luccese were the only foreigners who maintained their own altar in Scotland.

Moreover, there were no development of French quarters in Scottish towns in later medieval Scotland, while the Scots abroad collectively inhabited particular quarters in French towns, frequently bequeathing their name to a particular street.

French immigrants were not more numerous in the country. Farmers and labourers from abroad did not replace the peasant families wiped out by disease or war. Instead, when the cultivated lands were not simply abandoned, the size of native landholding increased.

The same went for the aristocracy. The afflictions were met with a similar response. In between these two social extremities, French incomers were equally rare. The foreigner most likely to have been encountered by a thirteenth century Scot would probably have been a priest, like William Malvoisin for example, bishop of St Andrews.

Some families settled in Scotland, such as the Bonevill, the French, the Mautalent or the Norman families Goupil or Leslie.[77]

III-2-2/ Scottish emigrants in France :

The question of Scottish emigrants was of higher importance.

As a matter of fact, from at least as early as the Hundred Years War, the Scots fought in the French service for pay, land and honour. Thus, they were a people quick to seek their fortune abroad by temporary or permanent migration.

The scale of the population movement relative to the size of the country was extroordinary and it resulted in a diaspora of many millions of Scottish descent scattered across the world.[78]

Indeed, many Scots of humble status emigrated in the later medieval period.

Between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, Scotland's greatest export was undoubtedly men. Scotsmen went abroad as soldiers, mercenaries, merchants, seamen or scholars and clerics.

[77] Michel Francisque « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse », vol.1, 1861, p.15
[78] Grosjean Alexandre and Murdoch Steve « Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period », 2005, p.9

III-2-2-1/ Soldiers :

The Scots prized loyalty above all. Thus, they proved themselves notable mercenaries and soldiers in France.

As early as the ninth century, Charles III of France was said to have a Scottish guard.
In the mid-thirteenth century, a Scottish force fought in the eighth crusade under Louis IX.
Many Scots served with the French in the Hundred Years War from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century.

Then were formed the Scottish Archer Gard, « Les Gardes du Corps Ecossoises », which was the bodyguard of the king of France, and later, the Scottish Men-At-Arms, « Les Gens d'Armes Ecossoises », were amongst the elite forces in France.[79]
They were established in recognition of the service rendered by the Scots in the war against England. This was outlined by Louis XII in his « general letters of naturalization for all the nation of Scotland » given at Amiens in September 1513 (Appendix 2), in which Louis asserted that « since that time, and the service rendered to Charles VII upon that occasion, for their great loyalty and virtue, he selected two hundred of them for the guard of his person ».
They were led from 1461 by a series of Scottish captains, William Stuyer (1461-64), Thomas Stuyer (1465-72), Robert Cunningham (1473-78) and Robert Stuart, fourth sieur d'Aubigny, chevalier of the order of St Michael and marshal of France.[80]

In 1558, the Scottish government reciprocated, thus establishing mutual naturalization or joint nationality.

[79] Brander Michael « The emigrant Scots », p.13
[80] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1241-1560 » p.227

But there is little evidence that Scots soldiers were to be found in great numbers in the fourteenth century. Nonetheless, there were exceptions.
Sir William Douglas, for instance, and « a great many Scots » assisted the French at the battle of Poitiers in 1356.
The norman Leslie « who had come from Scotland to help the French » was captured at Flavigny in 1360.

The fifteenth century witnessed a radical shift in the recruiting pattern of Scottish soldiers.
By September 1418, the duke of Burgundy found himself in control of the French government and seeked Scottish recruits by dispatching his Scottish échançon Patrick Legget across the North Sea to recruit men-at-arms and archers in Scotland.
In 1419, the Dauphin had little choice but to seek military support from Scotland. The Scots may have accounted for no less than a quarter of his armies. It has been estimated that between 1419 and 1424, over 15,000 Scots were recruited to aid the cause of the future Charles VII.

Most of the Scots who fought in France in the early fifteenth century constitute a distinctive Scottish army : John Stewart, Lord of Darnley, was appointed as « constable of the scottish army » in 1424. He also received Concressault and was designated constable of the Scots in France. On March 1423, he was granted the lordship of Aubigny by Charles VII who declared in his letters pattent « our dear and beloved cousin……putting into effect the ancient alliances of the kingdoms of France and Scotland……we give and grant always and perpetually to him and his male heirs of his body in direct line, the town ant its castle and lands of Aubigny ».[81]

Aubigny-Sur-Nère (Berry), is the most Scottish town in France. It possesses its own tartan, its bagpipe players and Franco-Scottish weeks. The castle of the Stuarts is till there of course and there is a museum dedicated to the Auld Alliance. It had been a Scottish town for more than four hundred years.

[81] Bonner Elizabeth « Scotlant Auld Alliance with France, 1295-1560 », p.15

The Scottish archer was to remain an important element in the French royal armies long after the Scottish army met a grisly end at the battle of Verneuil on August, 17th 1424. Christian Chambers, for example, served as captain of the Sctos archers in the king's guard by 1438. Indeed, most of those who fought in France between 1419 and 1424 were mounted archers.

In the earlier period, Scots constituted about 25% of the French armies but this proportion fell to about 10-20% between 1425 and 1440.

The average length of service of those who served in the French army was twelve years, while for those in the Scots Guard it was twenty-three years.

Many of these Scots came from families long established in France, such as Bernard Stuart, for instance, who was the grandson of the constable in the 1420s, John Stewart.

A family tradition of service in the French armies developed among the Scottish community by the second half of the fifteenth century. But some still arrived annually fresh from Scotland. It was in essence a form of military apprenticeship. Pages and valets were enlisted in the grand ordonnance in their mid to later teens, and instructed in the arts of combat by serving men-at-arms and archers.

In 1515, freshly arrived from Scotland, Robert and David Anstruther came to serve in king François's Scots Guard. Robert went back to Scotland later while David, who had come with his two sons, Robert and David, stayed in France and then established a naturalized French branch for ten successive generations.[82]

Apart from John Stewart, there are other early examples of a Scot acquiring a French title.

Nicholas Chambers or Chambre was granted the seigneury of Guerche in Touraine in 1444 by Charles II.

Not long afterwards, the lands of Arcenay in Burgungy were acquired through marriage by one Cunningham, spelled Coningans, Conyghan or Coninglant. The family disappeared at the time of the French Revolution and reappeared in 1814. It is said to be still in existence today.

Another family established in Burgundy was that of Kinninmond, corrupted into Quinemonts, seigneurs of numerous domaines.

[82] Miss Bannerman Edith « Les influences françaises en Ecosse au temps de Marie Stuart », p.51

In the nobility of Touraine, the Gohory family is a corruption of the familiar Scots name Gouvril. Other such corruptions include de Gaulle for Dougal, du Glas for Douglas, Dromont for Drummond, de Crafort for Crawford, d'Handresson for Anderson, d'Espence for Spence, Leviston for Livingstone, de Lisle for Leslie, de Lauzon for Lawson, Locart for Lockhart, Mauricon for Morrison, Montcrif for Moncrieff, Folcart for Flockhart, Torneboule for Turnbull, Le Clerc for Clark, Vullençon for Williamson and Ramezay for Ramsay.

III-2-2-2/ Writers and artists :

To the numbers of soldiers and their relatives, we must add the writers and artists who came to France.

In Paris in 1324, for instance, Nicolas d'Ecosse and Robert l'Ecossais were booksellers and most probably writers.

One Jehan Fary, born in Scotland, was a famous minstrel and two Scottish painters were at the Duc of Burgundy's service by the mid-fifteenth century.[83]

III-2-2-3/ Merchants, sailors and fishermen :

Besides, the commercial exchanges between France and Scotland inevitably led to the settlement of Scottish merchants, sailors and fishermen on the French soil.

The most obvious starting point for searching out those emigrant Scots in the fourteenth century especially, is thus in the foreign ports at which their ships docked. Of those who stayed longer in the port towns many sought employment in the maritime related occupations of commerce, seafaring and fishing.

[83] Michel Francisque « Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse », vol.1 , p.8-9

Moreover, after the thirteenth century, Scottish merchants obtained citizenship in the port of Dieppe, for instance. All these merchants spent a good part of their lives in those towns where they acquired citizenship or membership of the local guild. Because of the costs and obligations of such a status, no casual, short-term visitors, were enticed. But many never abandoned their homeland entirely. Sailors, in particular, pursued a peripatetic existence. Crews were often of mixed nationality : in 1346, for example, at least one Scot was in the service of the French corsair Jean Marant. The same can be noted of fishermen.

III-2-2-4/ Craftsmen and labourers :

Apart from the sea-related activites, craftsmen and labourers could be found in rural areas and in market towns where a significant number of Scots were located. We may distinguish the unskilled and the skilled craftsmen. Among the unskilled ones, hucksters and vagabonds could also be found as Simon of Dysart's « Travels » clearly indicates.

III-2-2-5/ The clergy :

The clergy was not spared by this emigration. Numerous priests came to France.

By the end of the Middle Ages, the demarcation between the traditional tripartite divisions of society into those who worked, those who fought and those who prayed were becoming frayed. Thus, most members of the elite began their careers at university, as we have seen so in the second part of our work.

Another familiar figure overseas was consequently the Scottish scholar or cleric. Some stayed abroad for as long as twenty years. Others in holy orders, turned to the church, as for example John Carmichael of Kirkmichael, who became bishop of Orléans under the title of Jean de St Michal.

Historians have dwelt long on the careers forged by prominent graduate clergymen but further down the social scale there was also a substantial exodus of lesser priests too. Most were members of the secular clergy though some regulars went to France as well.

Differences in the demographic concentration, social and economic status prevent us from generalizing about the experience of emigrant Scots. Some were really successful in their new environment, like Bernard Stuart, lord of Aubigny, for example.
Much the same can be said for some Scottish academics. But only John Duns Scotus, who had studied at Cambridge, Oxford and Paris before his death in 1308, was of truly international academic nature.
Nevertheless, several others acquired important positions in their town universities and some won wider recognition outside academia. John Major, for instance, attracted a lot of intellectual stars to his Parisian classroom.
But the vast majority of emigrants remained obscure. Even among the merchant émigrés, few acquired the political prominence in urban affairs which their counterparts at home exercised.
Some others were nonetheless able to acquire lands they would perhaps not have done in Scotland.
As Atsuki Ichijo puts it in « Scottish nationalism and the idea of Europe : concepts of Europe and the nation » : « the Auld Alliance is, according to these respondents, one proof that the Scots were pro-European in the past ».

III-3/ <u>The relationship between the two peoples</u> :
The Auld Alliance thus entailed a particularly rich closeness as regards commerce, culture and intellectual links.

But could it be said to be the same for the peoples ? How did each people consider their « partners » ?

In Froissart's time, we know that, generally speaking, the French people thought that the Scots were strange and savage.
As for Scotland, the people felt a sense of loyalty towards France, because French people never tried to act against their independence. Sadler stated that the Scots were well disposed towards France because it was a question of friendship and liberty. France had always helped Scotland with money and ammunition. This favourable impression endured until today, since

Hubert Frenwick was told : « Tous les Ecossais sont nobles » by a French Squadron leader in Toulon, Var.[84]

III-3-1/ The benefits :

As for the profits gained by each country, the opinions differ.

For Miss Edith Bannerman, French people paid a lot for everything they bought and there were numerous riots because of provisions.[85]

SGE Lythe, on the contrary, says that « in trade as well as in other ways, Scotland had to pay heavily for her rather one-sided friendship with France ».
The cost may be briefly expressed. Friendship with France involved England hostility. The fact that this close relationship with France could be embarrassing for Scotland is also expressed by J.Wormald in « Court, kirk and community » as follows : « In 1524, they [the Scots] were complaining bitterly about the Auld Alliance because it hampered trade with England, Flanders and Spain ».
There were thus no smooth relations !

III-3-2/ The French in Scotland :

Considering the French soldiers on the Scottish soil, the reactions were not always positive.

Froissart in the second book of his « Chroniques », gives an edifying example.
The 1371 treaty had been renewed in 1385. Amiral Jean de Vienne launched an important expedition in Scotland. This « voyage d'Ecosse » or « li rese d'Escoce » as Froissart put it, was far from creating positive contacts between the two staffs. For Jean de Vienne, Scotland was only a « belle entrée en Engletière ». The Scots wanted to reconquer their castles situated on the frontier and reproached the French king for regularly signing peace treaties with England.

[84] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.135
[85] Bannerman Edith « Les influences françaises en Ecosse au temps de Marie Stuart », chap.3

The friendship between the peoples was not spared either. The Scots were complaining about the French soldiers and often blamed them for their defeats. They accused them of being far too much self-confident.
Back from Scotland, Jean de Vienne exclaimed « si Dieu m'aide, plus aurais-je désir d'être comte de Savoie ou d'Artois que roi d'Ecosse ! ».[86]

The French soldiers complained about the Scots too.
They felt disappointed by their relations on the terrain. Back in France, the French knights denigrated Scotland where they rarely found something to eat and nothing to drink ![87]

Another example shows that the Scots were not always considered as friends in France. An incident occured in 1547 : on the 29th June, sixteen vessels commanded by Léon Strozzi, an exile Florentine lord and Admiral of the French squadron, landed with soldiers at St Andrews. On the 15th August, he sailed back to France with prisoners. William Kirkcaldy, Norman Leslie, John Leslie de Parkhill and Peter Carmichael of Kilmadie were put in prison in the castle of the Mount St Michel ; James Melville de Cambic was sent to Brittany and imprisoned in Brest ; John Knox and Balfour de Montquhamy were chained up to the galley oars on the Loire and spent the winter there ; Balneaves of Halbill was put in jail in Rouen and Sir James Kirkcaldy in Cherbourg.
Kirkcaldy and his friends managed to escape. Norman Leslie and John de Parkhill went to Brittany and Kirkcaldy and Peter Carmichael to Brest. They wandered in France for three months, avoiding to talk with the peasants because they were foreigners and Protestants. They managed to take on board a French boat as poor Scottish sailors and landed on the west coast of Scotland.[88]

[86] Duchein Michel « Histoire de l'Ecosse »
[87] Autrand Françoise « Aux origines de l'Europe moderne : l'alliance franco-écossaise au XIVe siècle », p.41-42
[88] Bannerman Edith « Les influences françaises en Ecosse au temps de Marie Stuart », 1929, p.63

III-3-3/ The Scots in France :

What was the situation of the emigrant Scots on the French soil ? Living together was not always easy. Native hostility may explain why the emigrant Scots often lived in the same quarters. Another reason may be that they found it congenial as well as prudent.

A Scottish presence in Paris may be responsible for the rue d'Ecosse in the parish of St Hilaire (known before 1313 as the rue du Chaudron).

Living in the same areas made their Scottish identity probably more enduring than elsewhere. They could continue to use their own language in everyday life. Scots, for example, remained the language of the Scots Guard in the sixteenth century.

Sometimes too they married among themselves and could also transact business among themselves.

Their religious bonds also reinforced their sense of Scottishness.

At the university of Orléans, for instance, where Scottish students constituted a nation, St Andrew's Day was a special feast day.

Altars had been founded in Dieppe, in the Church of St James, by the early sixteenth century.

Thus, how did they get along with French people ?

Emigrants were often the first victims of political conflicts and emigrant Scots were not spared by negative reactions.

First of all, they were often difficult to distinguish from Englishmen and since the English government had lots of enemies in the Middle Ages, this confusion could prove dangerous.

For example, the Berwick dressmaker William the Scot called the Englishman encountered troubles in France in 1326. In the aftermath of the Anglo-French war of St Sardos, he was arrested with Englishmen. On confirmation of his Scottish origins he was released and given official ducumentation authentificating his place of birth and nationality. But in 1342, he was once again harassed as a suspected Englishman by royal officials in the Vermandois. Four of his fellow countrymen met a less fortunate destiny. They were murdered in 1349 by three young French esquires on the grounds that the assailants thought they were English.

Furthermore, in 1425, eighteen Scottish inhabitants were expelled from Tours as part of the town's efforts to preclude another Scot succeeding after the unwelcome overlordship of the Earl of Douglas, who had died at the battle of Verneuil in the previous year.

Such occurrences seem to be rather common as Honoré de Bonet constructed one of the hypotetical paradigms of his « Tree of Battles » around a case which involved the misidentification of Scots as English.

It is true that the larger the emigrant communities are, the more hostile native people become. In some areas, the natives perceived the Scots as an economic threat. They could be regarded as a physical or social threat as well. That is because the soldiers used to harm the non-combattants too. After the English were ousted from Gascony in 1453, the Scots fought against the Spanish and their murderous brawls continued for another four years. Between 1450 and 1464, over 30% of crimes committed in Gascony were perpetrated by soldiers, many of them Scottish.

The Scots pretentions and aspirations became dangerous for the French. Indeed, Scottish military leaders had already usurped the role of the native nobility. For example, the social pretentions of subordinate Scots irked the Dax shoemaker who bellowed « damned Scots villain, I'm as well born a man as you are ! ».[89]

The French chronicler Thomas Basin was not displeased when the Scottish army was crushed at Verneuil in 1424, because he thought that, had the Scots defeated the English, they would have proceeded to murder the nobility of Anjou, Touraine and Berry.
He thought that they were savage and barbarian. He was probably not the only one to express such point of view.

Of course, by the fifteenth century, French and Scottish people were well acquainted with one another and their relationship was not always difficult.
There was little friction at Orléans, for example, under the protection of John Stewart, Lord of Darnley and John Kirkmichael, the local bishop.
It varied obviously according to the political situation.
But it was also a question of particular circumstances, in particular places.

[89] Ditchburn David « Scotland and Europe : the medieval kingdom and its contacts with Christendom : 1241-1560 », p.244

All these exchanges, influence and relations could have ended in 1560 with the official ending of the Auld Alliance.
As Atsuki Ichijo puts it in « Scottish nationalism and the idea of Europe : concepts of Europe and the nation », « the Reformation broke Scotland's most important link with a continental country, that is, the Auld Alliance with France ».
Scotland had become a Protestant country. Moreover, the fact that Mary Stuart had married the Dauphin François, who was to become king in 1557, had of course numerous positive consequences but also important negative ones.
A crucial event in England was to have inescapable consequences for Scotland and France as well : Elizabeth became queen in 1558.
The Catholic Marie de Guise became a real obstable. Her French favourites were overshadowing the Scottish lords. Thus, in 1557, the Lords of the Congregation swore to defent the Protestants in Scotland against the Regent's attacks. Elizabeth I decided to support them and sent a garrison to Leith. The Regent died in July and France and England signed the Edinburgh Treaty, which made provision for the departure of all rench troops from Scotland, and thus put an end to the Auld Alliance.

Scotland had become England's ally. But its relations with France did not cease then.
As regards the contacts between the two governments, the Act of the Council of State in the name of Louis XIV in 1646 was the last of the Franco-Scottish agreements which confirmed the « friendship and confederacy between the two kingdoms, offensive and defensive, of crown and crown, king and king, people and people ». The last marriage between the Scottish and French royal families was that of Henriette-Anne to Philip, Duke of Orléans, in 1661.[90]

As for the Scots Guards, they ceased to exist in 1791.

Politically speaking, France remained an « Auld Ally » for a long time.

[90] Bonner Elizabeth « Scotlant Auld Alliance with France, 1295-1560 », p.30

As long as Jacobitism was alive in Scotland, numerous Scots, from different origins including kings, sought refuge in the Catholic France. James II, for example, fled to France in 1688.
During the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1719, France gave them a military support.
In 1745, Charles Edouard Stuart hoped that France would help him when he landed at Eriksay from a French vessel and proclaimed his father James VIII, King of Scots. But he was vanquished at Culloden. The legendary Bonnie Prince Charlie was born.

This situation was not one-way : numerous Huguenots arrived on the Scottish shores. The Presbyterian Kirk itself was founded by a protégé of the Huguenot Duc de Bouillon.
Indeed, there had been a French Protestant community in Scotland since the triumph of the Reformation in 1560 and it was still augmented by an important influx from the Continent of people fleeing Louis XIV and for about a hundred years, the French community in Scotland flourished.

In France, the « voyage en Ecosse » became fashionable and Edinburgh was seen as the Athens of the North.

The intellectual links did not stop either.
The French philosophers Voltaire and Diderot were impressed by Bonnie Prince Charlie's adventures and referred to him ; Voltaire in « Le siècle de Louis XV » chapter 24 and Diderot in his « Lettre à Sophie Volland » in 1760.
During the eighteenth century and the Enlightment, there were meetings between Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot and Hume, Smith, Boswell and Smollett for instance.
David Hume stayed in France for three years and wrote the « Treatise of Human Nature ». He also met J.J.Rousseau and Diderot who wrote to him :
« My dear David,
I love you and revere you. If ever you come amongst us again I shall present you to Madame Diderot, who will kiss you on your cheeks…. ».[91]
Adam Smith spent three years in France, from 1764 to 1766, where he met Turgot and Necker.

[91] Fenwick Hubert « The Auld Alliance », p.104

As for Voltaire, he enjoyed a considerable vogue among the Scots and his château at Ferney was famous.
Sir Walter Scott had special links with France. He read Froissart and personally knew Molière, Le Sage, Voltaire and Rousseau. In 1796, he even married a French wife, Charlotte Charpentier, daughter of a former royal civil servant, Jean Charpentier, Ecuyer du Roi.
In « The Tales of a Grandfather », he evoked the Auld Alliance and his hero, Quentin Durward, who seeked fortune in France.
In « Waverly », he explored Louis XV's ambiguous role during the 1745 uprising.
In « Peveril of the Peak », the French cooking is a target for satire.
He went back to France in 1826 and wrote Napoleon's biography.
His works influenced Dumas, Balzac, Vigny and Hugo who saw him a a leader of the Romantic movement.

Robert Louis Stevenson must not be forgotten. He lived in France, in Hyères, for instance, where he wrote his « Child's Garden of Verses ». He was, on his own admission, really happy there for the only time in his life.

Architectual and artistic influences also continued after the Edinburgh Treaty.
For instance, Robert Adam encountered Charles Clérisseau, the main entrepreneur of the neo-classical mode. It was to have a profound effect on taste in architecture and interior decoration in the United Kingdom and led to the development of the renowned « Adam style ».

As far as painting is concerned, the master in the post Cézanne genre in Scotland was S.J Peploe, who studied at the Académie Julien in Paris, followed by F.C.B Cadell and J.D Fergusson.

As for the Scots College, its story goes on and its chapel is full of Scottish souvenirs, including the tablets and memorials to the two founders, Biship David Moray and Archbishop James Bethune, to James VII and II, to James VIII and III, the Duke of Perth and the tombs of Principals.

Nowadays the cultural association has more enduring results than the diplomatic and military one.In 1942, Charles de Gaulle declared that the Auld Alliance was the oldest alliance in the world and Jacques Chirac referred to it during a lunch in Glasgow in 1996 with the Lord Provost.

One must remember that Scottish people were granted French nationality up to 1903.

Throughout France and Scotland, folkloric or sporting events are important, as well as commemoration, as for instance in St Germain-en-Laye or in Aubigny-Sur-Nère.

The French Tourist Office even propose a trip following the important places in Scotland related to the Auld Alliance.

Twin towns are numerous in France : St Germain-en-Laye with Ayr, Aubigny-Sur-Nère with Haddington, Orléans with Dundee, Guyancourt with Linlithgow, Villeneuve-Sur-Lot with Troon, Jarnac with Dalkeith and Gace with Kinross, among others.

The « Auld Alliance » has clearly become the « Auld Friendship ». This chapter of the relations between France and Scotland is obviously not closed yet as I discovered last August in the Botanic Gardens of St Andrews. As I was wandering about a pool in the gardens, I saw the following sign, which clearly indicates that, on Scotland's part at least, our common history is not only behind us but is still to be pursued and renewed.



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APPENDIX

1/ The 1295 Treaty

2/ Lettre of naturalization granted to the whole Scots Nation by Louis XII in 1513

3/ Speed of correspondance to Scotland, 1505-13

4/ Scottish trade links

5/ Overseas bound ships departing Aberdeen 1360-1452

6/ Universities attended by Scots in the later Middle Ages



LA VIEILLE ALLIANCE FRANCE - ECOSSE A 700 ANS

Texte du

TRAITE DU 23 OCTOBRE 1295

ENTRE PHILIPPE LE BEL ROI DE FRANCE ET JOHN BALLIOL ROI D'ECOSSE

(Traduction abrégée de Michel Duchein)

(L'original, conservé aux Archives Nationales de France sous la cote J 677 n° 1, est en latin)

Philippe, par la grâce de Dieu Roi de France, à tous ceux qui verront ces lettres, salut.

Parmi tous les moyens qui existent pour conforter la gloire des rois et des royaumes et pour leur procurer les bienfaits de la paix et de la tranquillité ainsi que la prospérité de leur Etat, celui qui, après mure considération, parait être le plus efficace est de conclure entre rois et royaumes des traités d'alliance garantissant leur amitié fidèle et leur union solide.

Aussi, pour remédier aux injures et aux violences injustifiées des méchants, comme pour repousser les attaques qui sont lancées contre eux au mépris de la justice, les rois et les ,princes ne peuvent-ils mieux faire que de s'unir par une amitié sincère, grâce à laquelle ils s'entraident dans la prospérité comme dans l'adversité, afin de réprimer les entreprises de ceux qui haïssent la paix et de procurer la douceur de la concorde (...).

C'est pourquoi l'illustre prince Jean, roi d'Écosse, notre spécial ami, soucieux avec prudence de l'utilité et des besoins de son royaume, nous a envoyé les vénérables pères Guillaume, évêque de Saint Andrews, et Mathieu, évêque de Dunkeld, ainsi que les chevaliers Jean de Soule et Ingelram d'Umfranville, comme ses ambassadeurs et procureurs, avec pleins pouvoirs pour le représenter, comme il apparaît plus au long dans les lettres de mission qui leur ont été délivrées sous le sceau dudit Roi et dont la teneur est jointe aux présentes, afin de conclure avec nous un traité formel de confédération et d'amitié.

Donc nous, approuvant pleinement ce souhait louable dudit roi, et partageant son désir de voir notre amitié et confédération étroitement nouée pour l'avenir sous les meilleurs auspices, avons convenu et accordé (avec le plein accord de notre cher frère et fidèle Charles, comte de Valois et d'Anjou), que le prince Edouard, fils aîné dudit roi d'Écosse et son héritier, épousera Jeanne, fille aînée de notre dit frère Charles. (...).

De même ledit roi d'Ecosse, en prince juste et pacifique, mû par sa sincère amitié pour nous, notre royaume et notre peuple, considérant les graves injures, énormes excès, attaques injustifiées et agressions iniques que le roi d'Angleterre, en violation de son serment de fidélité, commet chaque jour contre nous et nos sujets (...), promet expressément que, dans la présente guerre que nous menons contre ledit roi d'Angleterre et ses complices, tant le roi d'Allemagne que les autres, il mettra à notre disposition, et à celle de nos successeurs si cette guerre se prolonge jusqu'à leur règne, toutes les forces de son royaume, tant de terre que de mer, afin de nous aider ouvertement et publiquement en Angleterre (...).

En outre, afin de mieux réprimer les injures dudit roi d'Angleterre et de le contraindre à cesser ses attaques contre nous, ledit roi d'Ecosse s'engage à nous envoyer de l'aide, dans toute la mesure de ses moyens et à ses propres frais (...).

Lesdits procureurs du roi d'Ecosse, au nom de leur souverain, promettent que ce présent traité sera ratifié et accepté par les prélats, comtes, barons et autres nobles et villes du royaume d'Ecosse, qui s'engageront à nous aider dans notre guerre contre le roi d'Angleterre, comme il est dit ci-dessus, et que lesdits prélats, comtes, barons, nobles et villes notables d'Ecosse nous enverront leur accord par lettres munies de leurs sceaux le plus tôt possible.

En contrepartie, si le roi d'Angleterre s'avisait d'envahir le royaume d'Ecosse, personnellement ou par d'autres sur son ordre, après la fin de la présente guerre qu'il mène contre nous, nous apporterions notre aide au roi d'Ecosse, soit en tenant le roi d'Angleterre occupé par ailleurs, soir en envoyant des secours directement en Ecosse à nos frais.

Si enfin le roi d'Angleterre venait à quitter personnellement son royaume (pour envahir le notre), le roi d'Ecosse s'engage à entrer à son tour en Angleterre, le plus loin possible, et à y mener la guerre par tous les moyens, batailles, sièges, dévastations, le tout à ses propres frais.

Il a été convenu, par accord exprès entre nous et lesdits procureurs du roi d'Ecosse, que si une guerre advient entre ledit roi d'Ecosse et le roi d'Angleterre (comme suite au présent traité), nous ne conclurons avec le roi

d'Angleterre aucune paix ou trêve sans l'accord du roi d'Ecosse notre allié, et que lui-même, de son côté, ne conclura aucune paix ou trêve avec le roi d'Angleterre sans notre accord et sans que nous y soyons compris (...).

Fait à Paris, le 23 du mois d'octobre, l'an du Seigneur 1295.

Additional Record

23 February 1296

Letters: letters patent narrating and ratifying the Franco-Scottish Alliance†

The confirmation of the Scottish treaty

To all who shall examine the present letters, John, by the grace of God king of Scots, greeting. Desiring with all our heart to continue and increase for the future the inward love and affection which our ancestors and the whole community of our kingdom have particularly felt towards the most excellent kings of France hitherto, lest love conceived over such a long period of time should any longer, so to speak, lie concealed, but should rather continue into the future on an ever more solid basis; in order that the evidence of this work shall be more clearly revealed, we have lately sent across [to France] the venerable fathers William [Fraser] bishop of St Andrews and Matthew [de Crambeth] bishop of Dunkeld and John de Soules and Ingelram de Umfraville, knights, our beloved and faithful subjects as our attorneys, procurators and special envoys to the most excellent prince and lord Lord Philip by the grace of God illustrious king of the French [Philip IV, king of France], to contract a betrothal and marriage between Edward [Balliol], our first born son and, what is more, future heir, and any female descendent or kinswoman of the said lord king, and to discuss, ordain, transact and accomplish all and singular pieces of business which relate to us, Edward our firstborn son, our aforesaid kingdom and its inhabitants in any way whatsoever, and anywhere in the kingdom of France, and with any individual whatsoever. These our procurators then having negotiations with the said king, both on the subject of the wedding and on contracting and entering into mutual bonds of friendship between the said lord king of France and us, and the inhabitants of both kingdoms, agreed according to a fixed manner and formula, as is more fully

contained in the present letters of the said lord king made upon this, sealed by his seal, and ours by the same, of which the tenor is as follows:

Philip by the grace of God king of the French, to all who shall inspect the present letters, greeting. Among the other means by which the exalting of rulers and kingdoms is attained and won, and the goodly quality of peace and tranquillity [is won] and steps are taken to ensure the happy and prosperous condition of subjects, this is the most important: that the bonds of love, unity and faithful friendship be nurtured among kings and kingdoms, and thus kings and princes should display, when the cause demands it, feelings of loving devotion to each other for the sake of their zeal for justice, in repelling the injustices and quelling the insolent acts of the wicked, and putting down attacks by enemies, so that the one gladly helps the other in prosperous circumstances and is not found wanting in adversity, or that at least through the remedy of timely defence, when the harmful attacks of those who hate peace have been put down, the sweet quality of the peace [long] hoped for may prevail; and by the beauty of this peace, they, as devoted sons of peace, may serve more devotedly, because more peaceably, He who brings peace. [Therefore] the renowned prince John, illustrious king of Scotland and our special friend, carefully paying attention to the aforesaid advantages and useful benefits has specially sent to us the venerable fathers William [Fraser, bishop] of St Andrews and Matthew [de Crambeth, bishop] of Dunkeld, bishops, and John de Soules and Ingelram de Umfraville, knights, as his emissaries and procurators, specially appointed for this purpose (as is more fully contained in certain letters procuratorial made on this subject and strengthened by the king's own seal, of which the text is given below, word for word) for agreeing alliances and bonds of friendship for the future. Since, therefore, we graciously agree with the laudable wishes of the king in this matter, in order that the family bond of this alliance and the faithful coming together of friendship may flourish all the more and endure with a greater stability, according as it is better strengthened by the auspices and has been bound by a stronger link, it has been enacted, agreed and a harmonious settlement reached between us, with the good will and consent of our beloved and faithful brother german Charles count of Valois and Anjou, and the aforesaid procurators, acting with procuratorial power in the name of the aforesaid king, that a marriage should be contracted between Edward, the firstborn son of the said king, the future king of Scotland, and who, according to the agreement made with the aforesaid procurators, is to succeed the same king in the kingdom of Scotland and all his other lands, and J[eanne] the firstborn daughter of our aforesaid brother german. To the said king, in the name of his said son, we promise that we and our successors will see to it and ensure that 25,000 *petits livres Tournois*, counted out, be given towards the marriage with the said daughter. Likewise the king will be bound to give and assign to the said daughter £1,500 sterling of an annual income for the dowry or gift on account of the wedding, of which he will pledge £1,000 sterling of annual revenue in lands with all manner of jurisdictions and rights not pertaining to the crown, in the undermentioned places, namely, of Bailleul, Dampierre, Helicourt, [and] Hornoi, in the kingdom of France,

also of Lanark, Cadzow, Mauldslie, Cunningham, Haddington and in Dundee castle in the kingdom of Scotland, with the pertinents of these places, to the same [daughter], with this proviso, that if the revenue and income from these places should exceed the said sum of £1,000 sterling in annual value, that which is in excess over and above the same sum may remain with our lord the king of Scots. And if there should be a shortfall in that sum, the same [king], our lord will be held liable to make it up in its entirety from his other revenues in the kingdom of Scotland, or, if we prefer, he will assign that same £1,000 and the remaining £500 to be received by him in his purse in fixed places, annually, at two fixed times, and he will give her an assurance regarding the keeping of the aforesaid dowry and receiving it from her after the said marriage has been contracted and until the death of the said son, for as long as he remains in this world. Wherefore if the aforesaid future couple should perchance wish to depart from the said king, they are to freely enjoy the said dowry even in the lifetime of the said king. And if in the course of time the aforesaid king wishes to pass to a second marriage, he will have to ask our counsel or communicate on this matter. Likewise also the king, in the manner of a just prince, both out of fervent love of justice, and also arising from the zeal of internal affection which he is known to have towards us, our house, our throne and the inhabitants of our kingdom, being aggrieved at the burdensome wrongs, excesses, hostile incursions and unjust aggressions with which the king of England, violating the duty of fidelity by which he is bound to us, is known to have offended against us and our faithful subjects, by land and sea equally in many ways up to the present, and continually endeavours and attempts to thus offend, and therefore in order that he may bind us and our successors more closely with the affection of mutual love to himself and his [successors], and therefore proposing to give us effective and powerful help, out of pure feelings of affection, to effect the salutary quelling of these wrongs, assaults and acts of aggression, he has entrusted [power] to the said procurators. And they, in the name of the same king, expressed as procurators, and acting for him, promised us expressly that the same king [of Scots], in the present war which we are waging against the said king of England [and] his supporters, both the king of Germany and any other of his supporters, should publicly and openly assist us and our successors in England if a war of this kind occurs against them, with all his resources and those of his realm, both by land and sea, and they will provide counsel and help speedily. And in order that the wrongful attacks of the aforesaid king of England may be more readily inhibited, and the same king may be all the sooner forced to give up the wicked incursions and hostile acts, caused by his hostility, the more he is preoccupied elsewhere, the said king of Scots will endeavour to initiate and continue war against the king of England at his own expense with all his might and that of his subjects and kingdom, as often as it will be appropriate for him [to make war] with all his resources, while we are prosecuting and maintaining the war begun by us. The aforesaid procurators promised moreover in the name of the aforesaid king of Scotland, by virtue of their procuratorial authority, that the same king will ensure that his prelates, as far as it is lawfully possible for them, and the earls, barons and other nobles, likewise the corporate bodies and communities of the towns of the kingdom

of Scotland, will conduct themselves towards us and our successors in the said war in a similar manner in all respects as was said above, and will make war on the said king of England, likewise, with all their resources, as set out above; and that the said prelates and earls, barons and nobles, and the corporate bodies and notable communities of the said kingdom of Scotland will send us their letters patent regarding this matter, fortified with their seals, as quickly as possible. It was agreed between us and the aforesaid representatives, in the above name, that if perchance it should happen that the aforementioned king of England should gather together his forces and attack the kingdom of Scotland, either personally or acting through someone else, after the war has been begun by the king of Scotland at our request, or after the present alliance or treaty entered into by us by occasion of the same, we providing only that we have been given timely warning regarding this on the part of the king of Scots himself, will help him by keeping the king of England occupied in other parts, so that in this way he is distracted from the aforesaid invasion he has begun in other directions, or else, by sending him appropriate help into Scotland at our expense until he† shall have come into Scotland. But if the aforesaid king of England perchance leaves England in person, or has denuded that land of a notable number of armed knights or foot soldiers, while the war between us and him is still continuing, the aforesaid procurators, under the terms of the aforesaid procuratorial powers, have promised that, particularly in this eventuality, the aforesaid king of Scotland will endeavour to enter the land of England with all his forces, to as wide and as deep an extent as possible, making war and a pitched battle, besieging and laying waste and assailing the king of England and his aforesaid land, using every means he can, at his own expense. It was delivered furthermore and expressly agreed between us and the said procurators, in the name of the above, that, concerning the war which the aforementioned king of Scotland and the successors of the same shall make on our behalf against the oftmentioned king of England, after they have made that war at our request, or if, begun by reason of the relationship or alliance, the same king of Scotland now shall make the abovesaid war, or the king of England [shall have made war] against him for any reason arising from the foregoing, we shall also not be able to settle our aforesaid war or enter into peace or truce unless they are included in the peace or truce which we make concerning all the said wars; and similarly he shall not be able to make a peace or truce concerning all the aforesaid wars without us. For the holding, implementing and observing of all and singular those abovewritten things we bind ourselves, our heirs and successors and all our and their moveable and immoveable goods wherever they are, and of whatever they consist, present and future, to the said king of Scotland and his successors. The said king of Scotland is held to ratify and approve and renew in his name the treaty or conventions, agreements and all and singular things written above, and to send to us his letters patent authenticated by his seal upon the ratification, approval and renewal of the aforesaid, as soon as possible. The contents of the actual aforesaid procuratory letters are as follows:

To the most excellent prince his lord and, if it pleases him, his friend, the Lord Philip by the grace of God illustrious king of France, [from] John by the same grace king of Scots, greeting in the Lord. Your royal highness shall know that we make, establish and ordain by the present [letters] our beloved and faithful venerable fathers William [Fraser, bishop] of St Andrews and Matthew [de Crambeth, bishop] of Dunkeld, bishops, and John de Soules and Ingelram de Umfraville, knights, our attorneys, procurators and special ambassadors for treating with you, if it pleases you, upon the betrothals and marriages to be undertaken with the serene young lady being your descendent or kinswoman and Edward our firstborn son and heir. Giving the same people general, free and full power and special mandate for agreeing, making and completing the betrothal and marriage (in so far as a contract of this sort is permitted to be entered into for betrothal and marriage between absentees), and completing by procurators or ambassadors specially appointed to this end, and doing all and singular other things which pertain, or which shall in any way pertain, to the said contract or agreements, and without which the said contract or agreements may be considered impossible to put into effect. Whatever our said procurators and ambassadors, or three or two of the same, shall command to be done in the foregoing being held as approved and firm now and in the future. In testimony of which matter we have caused our seal to be appended to the present letters. Given at Stirling on 3 Nones of July in the year of our Lord 1295 and the third year of our reign [5 July 1295].

Item. To all who shall inspect the present letters, John by the grace of God king of Scotland, greeting in the Lord. All of you shall know that we have made, established and ordained by the present [letters] our beloved and faithful venerable [fathers] William of St Andrews and Matthew of Dunkeld, bishops, and John de Soules and Ingelram de Umfraville, knights, our attorneys, procurators and special ambassadors for negotiating, ordaining, making and completing all and singular our business touching us, our firstborn son and heir Edward, our kingdom and the inhabitants of our kingdom of whatever rank, and in any place in the kingdom of France, with any persons, clergymen or laymen, of whatever condition or estate they may be. Giving to all of these, or three or two of them, general, free and full power of binding us and our aforesaid son, our aforesaid kingdom and the inhabitants of the same, and for swearing oaths on our soul, of our son and of the inhabitants of our kingdom, also of making and completing all and singular things which shall be necessary or opportune for the aforesaid treating, ordinances and necessary negotiations, and also of making and completing all and singular other things which we, our son and the inhabitants of our kingdom might be able to do if we were present, also even if they should need special mandate. Whatever shall be done, carried out or procured in the foregoing, and in each of the foregoing, by the said four, three or two of the same, having our approval now and in the future. In testimony of which matter we have caused our seal to be appended to the present letters. Given at Stirling on 3 Nones July in the year of our Lord 1295, and the third year of our reign [5 July 1295].

In testimony of all of which we have caused our seal to be appended to our present letters. Done at Paris on 23 October in the year of our Lord 1295 [23 October 1295].

We, indeed, recommend, desire and approve the said treaty, agreements, compacts and confederations by the ways and agreements abovewritten, and ratify and expressly renew [the same] by these letters reinforced by the authentication of our seal, in our name and the name of Edward our abovesaid son and our successors. And because the prelates of our kingdom (as far as law allows them) and the earls, barons and other nobles, also the corporate bodies and communities of the towns, approved and firmly promised themselves to observe the said treaty, agreements, compacts and confederations as expressed above in their name, the seals of the venerable fathers William [Fraser, bishop] of St Andrews, Robert [Wishart, bishop] of Glasgow, Matthew [de Crambeth, bishop] of Dunkeld and Henry [Cheyne, bishop] of Aberdeen, bishops, and of the abbots of Arbroath, Dunfermline, Holyrood, Kelso and St Andrews, also John Comyn, earl of Buchan, Donald earl of Mar, Malise earl of Strathearn, John [de Strathbogie] earl of Atholl, and John Comyn, James the steward of Scotland, Alexander de Balliol, Geoffrey de Mowbray, Richard Siward, Herbert de Maxwell, Patrick de Graham, Nicholas de Hay, Nicholas de Graham, Alexander Comyn of Buchan, Alexander de Bonkle, barons, in addition the communities of the towns of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick, are appended to the present [letters] in proof of their consent and approval. Given at Dunfermline 7 Kalends March, in the year of our Lord 1295, and the fourth year of our reign [23 February 1296].

1. Source: Archives Nationales, Paris, Tresor des Chartes, reg. v, f. 132v-135v. See extensive comment on the manuscript in the original text.
2. The translation that follows is by Dr A. B. Scott. The editors would like to thank him for his assistance.
3. ‘he’ seems to imply the king of France, or his army, travelling to Scotland.

savoir qu'il était satisfait de l'offre de paix qui lui était faite, et qu'en aucune façon il n'avait l'intention d'envahir l'Angleterre, malgré son alliance avec la France. À cet effet il envoya en France l'archevêque de St.-Andrews pour faire savoir au roi Louis qu'il lui donnerait toute l'aide en son pouvoir, mais qu'il n'envahirait pas l'Angleterre car il s'était engagé à ne pas le faire [...].

L'archevêque aborda en France et se rendit à la cour du roi, mais comme il vit qu'aucune aide n'arrivait d'Écosse il écrivit au roi [Jacques] une lettre très véhémente, lui disant que son honneur serait atteint s'il ne tenait pas sa parole et sa promesse d'aide. Et la reine [Anne de Bretagne] envoya de son côté une lettre d'amour* au roi d'Écosse, l'appelant « mon amour » et lui exposant qu'elle avait souffert bien des critiques en France à cause de lui en tentant de défendre son honneur, et qu'elle était sûre qu'il aurait à cœur de la payer de ses peines en venant à son aide avec ses chevaliers dans l'état de détresse où elle se trouvait, c'est-à-dire en levant son bras [contre les Anglais] et en avançant en Angleterre, ne serait-ce que d'un pas. En foi de quoi elle lui envoya un anneau de son doigt et quatorze mille couronnes de France pour ses dépenses.

(Le résultat de cet appel chevaleresque, selon le chroniqueur, fut la campagne de Flodden en 1513, avec le résultat désastreux que l'on sait. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, éd. A.J.G. Mackay, I, 1898, p. 255-256.)

Annexe VI. Lettres patentes du roi Henri II accordant aux Écossais la qualité de sujets du roi de France (1558)

À l'occasion du mariage du dauphin François et de Marie Stuart, reine d'Écosse, le roi de France Henri II accorda aux Écossais l'équivalent de ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui la nationalité française.

Henri, par la grâce de Dieu roi de France, à tous présents et à venir, salut. Comme depuis le mariage pourparlé [négocié] entre notre très cher et aimé fils le dauphin et notre très chère et très aimée fille [la reine d'Écosse], les députés des États du royaume d'Écosse ont fait à notre fils le serment de fidélité, comme à leur vrai et naturel seigneur [...], et désirant à cette fin mieux établir, entretenir et fortifier l'amitié entre nos sujets et ceux dudit royaume d'Écosse [...], savoir faisons qu'à tous les habitants dudit royaume d'Écosse, sujets de notre fils le Roi-Dauphin et de notre fille son épouse, Nous permettons, accordons et octroyons par ces présentes qu'ils puissent, toutes et quantes fois que bon leur semblera, habiter et demeurer en notre royaume et en icelui tenir et posséder tous bénéfices, dignités et offices ecclésiastiques dont ils pourront être canoniquement pourvus [...]. Et davantage [en outre] acquérir en notre dit royaume tous biens, tant meubles qu'immeubles, et en ordonner et disposer par testament, donation entre vifs et en quelque autre sorte que ce soit [...] tout ainsi que faire pourraient s'ils étaient originairement natifs de notre royaume [...].

* *Sic* : « a love letter », en *scots* « ane lufe letter ».

Donnons en mandement à nos amés et féaux les gens de notre cour de Parlement et à tous nos baillis, sénéchaux et autres justiciers et officiers, que de nos présentes grâces ils laissent lesdits sujets du royaume d'Écosse jouir et user pleinement et paisiblement, faisant cesser tous troubles et empêchements au contraire, car tel est notre plaisir [...].

Donné à Villers-Cotterets, au mois de juin 1558, de notre règne le douzième. HENRY

(Version modernisée et abrégée du texte original publié par A. Teulet, *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Écosse au xvi^e siècle*, I (1862), p. 312-314.)

Annexe VII. le Covenant national de 1638

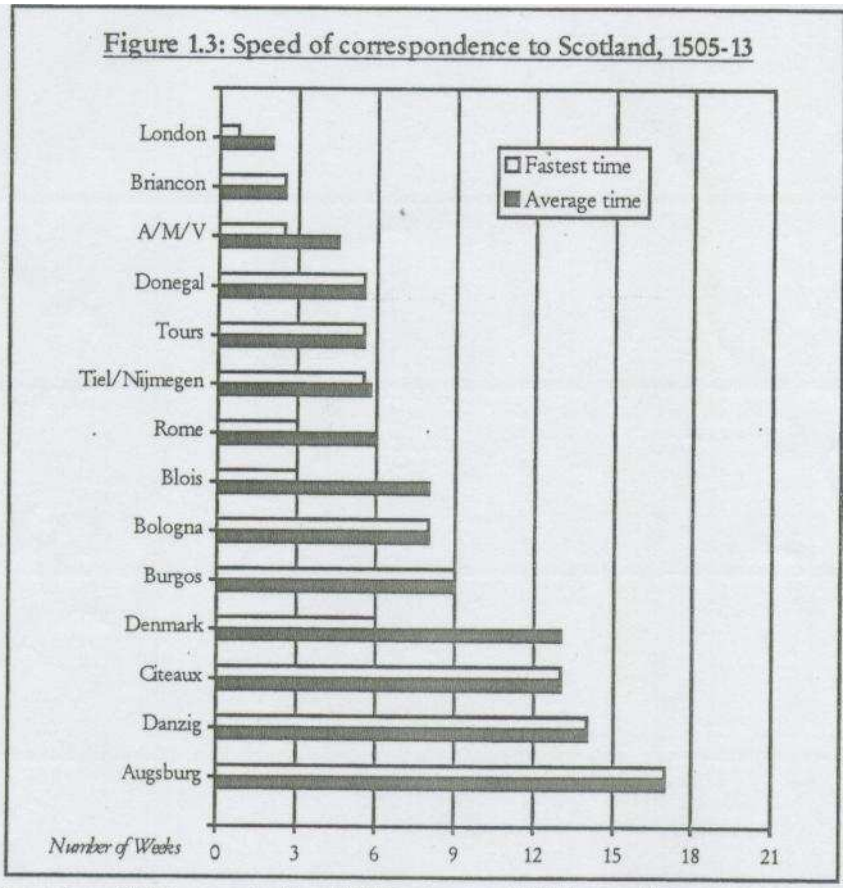
Le National Covenant, *ou Pacte national, signé en 1638 par d'innombrables Écossais, est le document fondateur de la résistance écossaise aux innovations religieuses lancées par Charles I^er. L'original est en scots. Le texte qui suit est une traduction abrégée.*

Nous tous, soussignés, protestons qu'après long et mûr examen de nos consciences en matière de vraie et fausse religion, nous sommes entièrement convaincus de la vérité de la Parole et de l'Esprit de Dieu, et confessons de tout notre cœur, devant Dieu et le monde entier, que la seule véritable religion chrétienne, apportant le salut à l'humanité, est celle qui est révélée par la prédication du saint Évangile telle que le reçoivent l'Église d'Écosse, Sa Majesté le roi et le peuple entier de ce royaume, et que l'exprime la confession de foi plusieurs fois confirmée par le Parlement [...].

À cette confession et à cette forme de religion nous adhérons en tous points, comme à l'inébranlable vérité fondée sur la Parole de Dieu. En conséquence, nous détestons et abhorrons toute autre doctrine et religion contraire, principalement le papisme sous toutes ses formes. Nous détestons et refusons l'autorité usurpée de l'Antéchrist qui siège à Rome, ainsi que toutes les lois tyranniques édictées contre notre liberté de chrétiens en matière de culte. Nous proclamons que seule est légitime l'autorité de la Parole divine telle qu'elle est exprimée dans la Sainte Écriture ; que seule la foi justifie ; que seuls existent deux sacrements et que les cinq autres sont illégitimes ainsi que les rites et cérémonies qui y sont attachés ; que la doctrine de la présence réelle du corps du Christ ou transsubstantiation dans le pain et le vin du sacrement est blasphématoire ; que la messe est démoniaque ; que les cérémonies pour le repos de l'âme des défunts sont profanes ; que le culte des anges et des saints, la vénération des reliques, images, crucifix, les prières en langue incompréhensible au peuple, les processions, les litanies, les vœux, les consécrations d'autels ou d'églises, les fêtes liturgiques, la confession auriculaire, l'eau bénite, le signe de croix, les ornements, agenouillements, prosternations (etc.) sont des abominations et des blasphèmes contre la Parole de Dieu.

(Suit une liste des lois depuis 1560 qui établissent et confirment l'Église réformée en Écosse).

Nous reconnaissons que la libre monarchie ne peut être maintenue



Source: James IV Letters, passim. *Key:* A/M/V = Antwerp, Middelburg and Veere

[102] *Chron. d'Escouchy*, i, 176-77.
[103] *Chron. Lanercost*, 104-5; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), v, 411.
[104] *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk, 1377-1421*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997), 152-53; *Chronicle of Adam of Usk A.D. 1377-1421*, ed. E.M. Thompson (repr., Llanerch, 1990), 112.

Figure 4.1: Scottish Trade Links (selected)

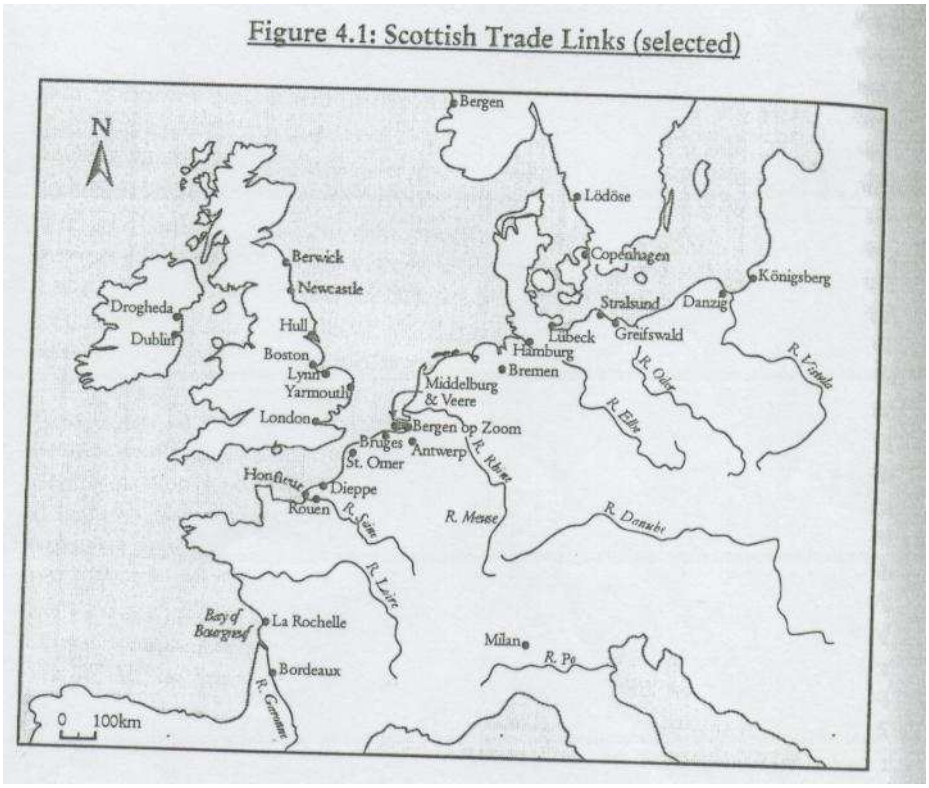
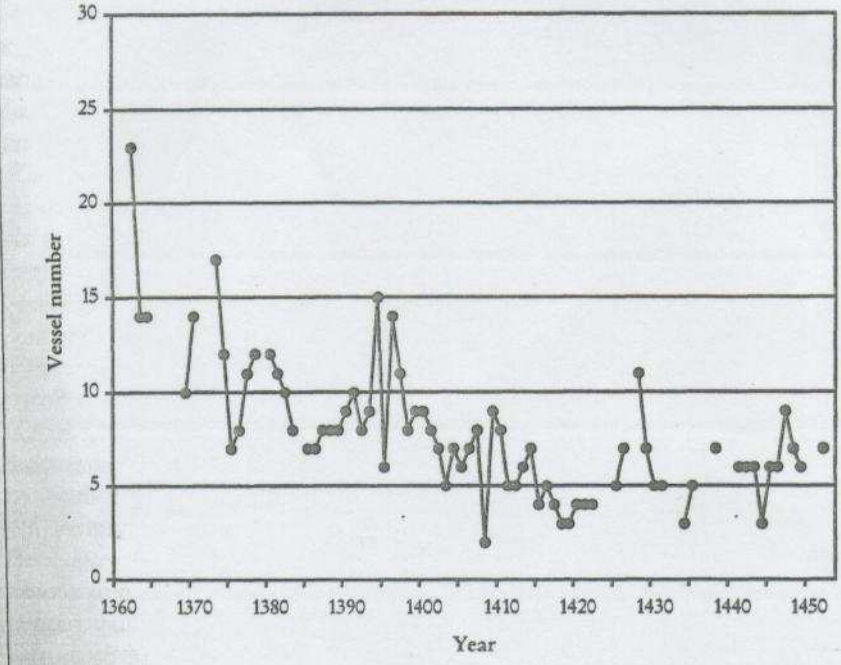
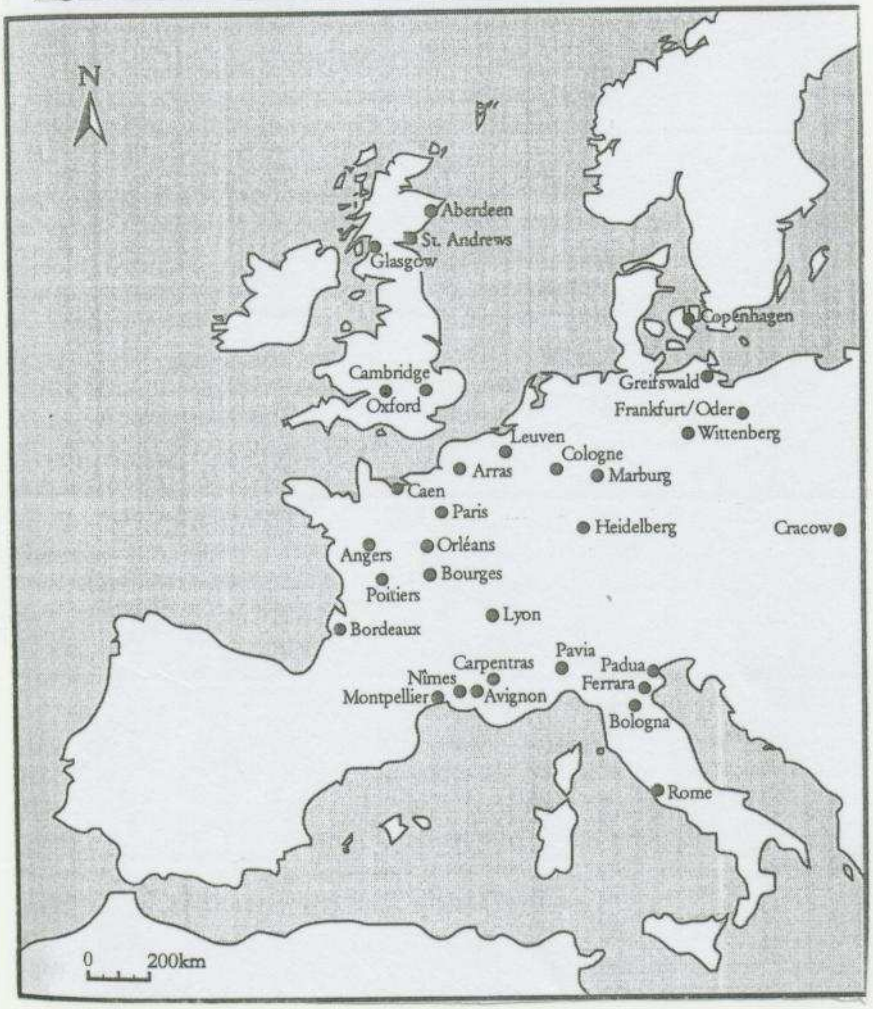


Figure 1.1: Overseas Bound Ships, Departing Aberdeen, 1360-1452



Source: ER, passim. Note: where accounts are for periods of two or three years, vessel numbers have been averaged per year. An additional but unspecified number of boats are also recorded in 1416 and 1431.

Figure 5.1: Universities attended by Scots in the later middle ages



ILLUSTRATIONS

1 - François, Dauphin of France, and Mary, Queen of Scots, from the miniature-painting in the « Livre d'Heures » of Catherine de Medicis in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

2 - Glamis Castle

3- Dirleton Castle

4- Bothwell Castle

5- Melrose

6- St Andrew's cathedral

7- Princess Margaret's altar tomb

8- Rosslyn

9- Stirling Castle

10- Falkland Palace

11- Holyrood Palace



François, Dauphin of France, and Mary, Queen of Scots. From the miniature-painting in the "Livre d'Heures" of Catherine de Medicis in the Bibliotèque Nationale, Paris.



Glamis Castle



Dirleton Castle



Bothwell Castle



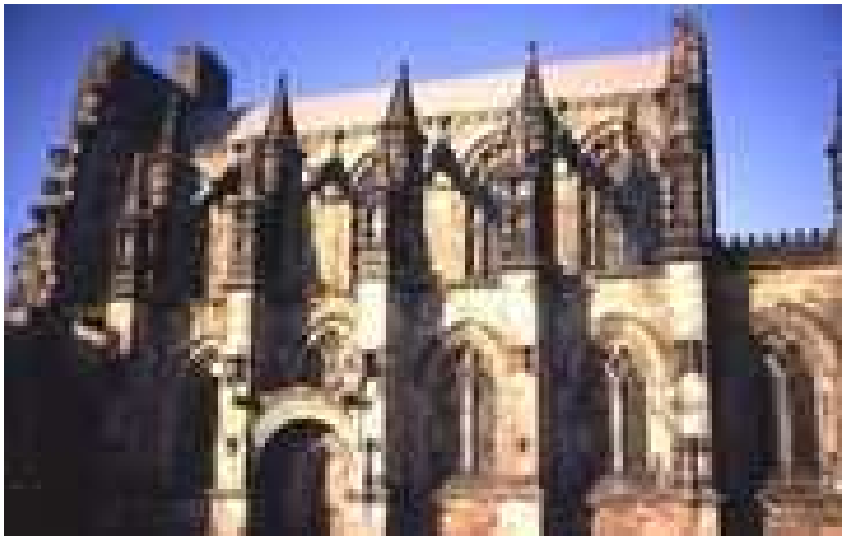
Melrose Abbey



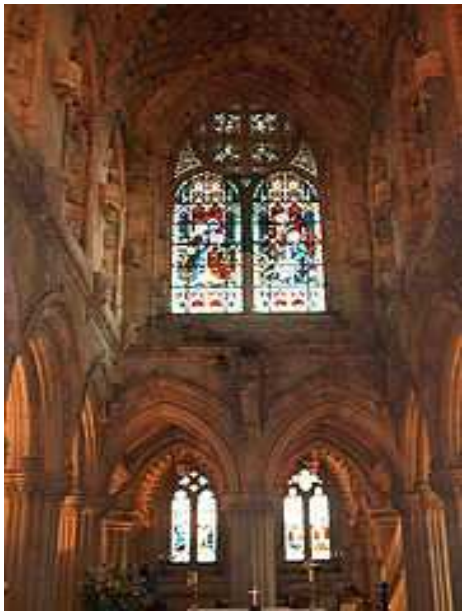
St Andrews : the cathedral



1 Tomb of Princess Margaret, Duchess of Touraine, widow of Archibald Douglas, in the Collegiate Kirk at Lincluden, Dumfriesshire



Rosslyn Chapel



Inside Rosslyn Chapel



Stirling Castle



Stirling Castle : The French Spur



Stirling Castle : The Great Hall



Falkland Palace : the South Range



Falkland Palace : The Royal Tennis Court



Holyrood Palace

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1295 : First formal treaty of alliance signed between Scotland and France

1326 : Treaty of alliance signed between Robert the Bruce and Charles le Bel

1325 : The Scots College founded by Bishop David Moray

1359 : Ratification of the Auld Alliance by Charles, Duc de Mormandie (later Charles V) and David Bruce

1512 : Treaty of alliance concluded between James IV of Scots and Louis XII

1513 : All Scots made citizens of France

1560 : Treaty of Edinburgh ending formal alliance with France

Kings of Scots	French kings
John de Baliol (1292)	Philippe IV (1285)
Robert I (Bruce) (1296)	Louis X (1314)
	Philippe V (1316)
	Charles IV (1322)
	Philippe VI (1328)
David II (Bruce) (1329)	John (1350)
Robert II (Stewart) (1371)	Charles V (1364)
Robert III (1390)	Charles VI (1380)
James I (1403)	Charles VII (1422)
James II (1437)	
James III (1460)	Louis XII (1461)
James IV (1488)	Charles VIII (1483)
James V (1513)	François I (1515)
Mary (1542)	Henry II (1547)
	Mary and François (1559)
	Charles IX (1560)

BIOGRAPHIES

ROBERT THE BRUCE
born: 11-07-1274
birth place: Scotland
died: 07-06-1329

Born in 1274, Robert the Bruce inherited the title Earl of Carrick and swore fealty to Edward I. However, in 1297 he joined the Scottish revolt, under William Wallace, and was appointed one of the four guardians of Scotland.

In 1306 Bruce was crowned King of Scotland. After being defeated by the English army at Methven, in 1306, he was forced to flee to Raithlin Island, off the coast of Ireland.

Returning to Scotland, Robert waged a highly successful guerrilla war against the English. At the Battle of Bannockburn in June 1314, he defeated a much larger English army under Edward II, confirming the re-establishment of an independent Scottish monarchy.

Scotland's army was not only outnumbered at Bannockburn but lacked the experience and weaponry of Edward's troops. Bruce decided that his best hope was to force the English to fight on his territory. Bruce chose a site by a stream called Bannockburn; if the English were to attack, they had to advance on a narrow front.

When the English arrived at Bannockburn, Sir Henry Bohun, the leader of the English party, recognised Robert Bruce, and charged the Scottish king. Bruce killed Bohun with a blow from his axe.

Scottish spearmen, who had been hiding in the woodland, launched an attack. The English knights, still not organised, were forced to retreat, archers were called forward but they were charged by the Scottish knights.

Edward decided to use his knights to charge the Scottish position, but the Scottish blocked their advance and soon the English army was in retreat, and suffered heavy casualties. The battle of Bannockburn was the worst defeat in English history. Bruce was now able to launch attacks on northern England.

Two years later, his brother Edward Bruce was inaugurated as high king of Ireland but was killed in battle in 1318. Even after Bannockburn and the Scottish capture of Berwick in 1318, Edward II refused to give up his claim to the overlordship of Scotland.

In 1320, the Scottish earls, barons and the 'community of the realm' sent a letter to Pope John XXII declaring that Robert was their rightful monarch. This was the 'Declaration of Arbroath' and it asserted the antiquity of the Scottish people and their monarchy.
Robert the Bruce died in 1329.

JOHN BALIOL

Little of John's early life is known. He was born between 1248 and 1250 at an unknown location, possibilities including Galloway, Picardy and Barnard Castle, County Durham.He was the son of Dervorguilla of Galloway, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway and granddaughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, by her husband John, 5th Baron Balliol, Lord of Barnard Castle. From his mother he inherited significant lands in Galloway and claim to Lordship over the Galwegians, as well as various English and Scottish estates of the Huntingdon inheritance; from his father he inherited large estates in England and France, such as Hitchin, in Hertfordshire.

Following the death of Maid of Norway in 1290, John Balliol was a competitor for the Scottish crown in the so called 'Great Cause', as he was a great-great-great-grandson of King David I through his mother (and therefore one generation further than his main rival Robert Bruce, 5th Lord of Annandale, grandfather of the future Robert the Bruce), being senior in genealogical primogeniture but not in proximity of blood. He submitted his claim to the Scottish auditors with King Edward I of England as the arbitrator, at Berwick-upon-Tweed on 6 June 1291. The Scottish auditors' decision in favour of Balliol was pronounced in the Great Hall of Berwick Castle on 17 November 1292, and he was inaugurated accordingly king of Scotland at Scone, 30 November 1292, St. Andrew's Day.

Edward I, who had coerced recognition as Lord Paramount of Scotland, the feudal superior of the realm, steadily undermined John's authority. he demanded homage to be paid towards himself, legal authority over the Scottish King in any disputes brought against him by his own subjects, contribution towards the costs for the defense of England, and military support was expected in his war against France. He treated Scotland as a feudal vassal state, and repeatedly humiliated the new king, who became known as "Toom Tabard" due to his lack of real authority. Tiring of their deeply compromised king, the direction of affairs was allegedly taken out of his hands by the leading men of the kingdom, who appointed a council of twelve—in practice, a new panel of Guardians—at Stirling in July 1295. These men were more likely a group of advisors to King John, and they went on to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance with France, which became known as the Auld Alliance.

In retaliation Edward I invaded, commencing the Wars of Scottish Independence. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar, and the English took Dunbar Castle on 27 April 1296. John abdicated by a Deed signed in Stracathro near Montrose on 10 July 1296. Here the arms of Scotland were formally torn from John's surcoat, giving him the abiding name of "Toom Tabard".

John was imprisoned in the Tower of London briefly at first, but eventually released in July 1299 and allowed to go to France. When his baggage was examined at Dover the Royal Golden Crown and Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland, with many vessels of gold and silver, and a considerable sum of money, were found in his chests. Edward I ordered that the Crown should be offered to St. Thomas the Martyr, and that the money should be returned to John for the expenses of his journey, but he kept the Seal himself. John was released into the

custody of Pope Boniface VIII on condition that he remain in a papal residence. He was later released around the summer of 1301 and lived the rest of his life on his family's ancestral estates at Hélicourt, Picardy.

However, as his abdication had been obtained under considerable duress, his supporters subsequently argued that he was still the rightful King of Scotland. When the Scots rose in rebellion in 1297 under William Wallace and Andrew de Moray, they claimed that they were acting on behalf of King John. Although rebellions in Scotland continued over the years, this claim looked increasingly tenuous as John's position under nominal house-arrest of the papacy meant that he could not campaign for his release and return to Scotland, despite the Scots' diplomatic attempts in Paris and Rome. After 1302, he made no further attempts to extend his personal support to the Scots. Effectively, Scotland was left without a monarch until the accession of Robert the Bruce in 1306.

John died around 25 November 1314 at his family's château at Hélicourt in France. On 4 January 1315, King Edward II of England, writing to King Louis X of France, said that he had heard of the death of 'Sir John de Balliol'and requested the fealty and homage of Edward Balliol to be given by proxy.

It is supposed that he was interred in the church of St. Waast at Bailleul-sur-Eaune, though this is another man by the name of Jean de Bailleul.

He was survived by his son Edward Balliol, who later revived his family's claim to the Scottish throne, received support from the English, and had some temporary successes.

DAVID DE MORAVIA (died 1326)

He was Bishop of Moray during most of the First War of Scottish Independence. He was elected Bishop of Moray, probably in early 1299. Extended details exist regarding the election because of an extant letter of Pope Boniface VIII. The result of the election was that David had 13 votes, the Dean had 4 votes, the Chancellor had 3 votes and the Archdeacon 1 vote. The Dean declared that David was elected, and sent a request for confirmation to the Papacy. The latter found an irregularity, though what exactly this was not revealed. The election result was nominally declared void, but the Pope himself provided David directly to the bishopric. He was consecrated as Bishop at Anagni in Italy on June 28, 1299, by Matthew of Aquasparta, Cardinal-Bishop of Porto.

In 1306, King Edward I of England charged Bishop David with complicity in the murder of John III Comyn, Lord of Badenoch. David was excommunicated and fled to the Earldom of Orkney. King Edward sent a request to King Haakon V of Norway for Bishop David to be arrested. David escaped capture. On June 17, 1320, the bishop was again excommunicated,

by Pope John XXII, as an abettor of King Robert I of Scotland, enemy of King Edward II of England. On the orders of the Pope, the Bishop of Dunblane and the Bishop of Winchester delivered a sentence of excommunication on David and other bishops on May 23, 1322.

Bishop David is particularly notable as the founder of the Scots College in Paris in 1325, by donating the land on which it was built. The foundation confirmed by Charles the Fair, King of the French, in August 1326. Bishop David, however, died before the College was formally instituted. He died on January 6, 1326, and was buried in the choir of Elgin Cathedral

WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE

William Elphinstone , 1431-1514, Scottish prelate, founder of the Univ. of Aberdeen.

He was trained in the law and was employed on many political missions before becoming bishop of Aberdeen in 1483.

For his loyalty in the struggle with the nobles, James III made him lord high chancellor in 1488.

In 1494 he procured a papal bull founding King's College (part of the present-day Univ. of Aberdeen). Bishop Elphinstone introduced the printing press into Scotland.

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