

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

THE RISE OF A SCOTTISH NAVY,

1460 - 1513.

by

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Cap. I. Introduction.

1. 1314 - 1424.

From the earliest times the inhabitants of the greater part of Scotland must have been seafarers, constrained like the Greeks by the configuration of their land, with its wealth of firths and islands. The modern explanation of "mormaer" as "sea lord" opens up alluring vistas, but it must be admitted that the constructive imagination of a Boece would be required to compose a history of the Scottish navy from the time of the Picts until today. Still, the recollection of the Irish, Norse, Flemish, and French connections is sufficient to show the great and continuous importance of the sea as a factor in Scottish history.

To hark back to the name of Boece, his prefatory description of Scotland, together with that of Leslie in his history, reflects the outstanding importance to Scotland of its harbours and ships at the beginning and end of the 16th century. Starting from "nether Galloway", with "Kirk combrie ane riche toune full of marchandice", Boece rambles north round the coasts of Scotland and down the East coast, passing "Cromarte, ane firth and sicker port to all shippis to saif thame fra danger of tempast, naimit be the pepil the Heil of

Schipmen", down to the busy Firth of Forth.<sup>1</sup> Leslie, writing after James V's pilot, Alexander Leslie, had made his survey, is fuller, especially in describing the West coast, with Ayr, "a prettie sey porte quhair strange natiounis oft arrayues and thair landes, the porte is sa commodious", Irvine little its inferior, and Glasgow which "hes a verie commodious seyporte, quhairin litle schipis ten mylis frome the sey restis besyde the brig, quhilke haveng 8 bowis is ane gret delectatione to the lukeris upone it." North round West Scotland and south down the east coast he comes to the rich town and port of Leith which, "in this our unhappie age, nocht anes hes felte the curst and cruell furie of the weiris."<sup>2</sup> If Leslie and Boece give us actual descriptions of the coasts of Scotland, the poets also with many only too real experiences of the sea, might be pressed into the service of stressing the place played by ships and the sea in 15th and 16th century Scotland; indeed if only the

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1. Boece, tr. Bellenden, Bk. 1. p. xxxii. Major, pp. 35, 36, places Cromarty as the safest among Scotland's many harbours, and writes that the sailors call it "Sykkersand", which he interprets as "safe sand." Cf. also his comment "now Scotland is so cut up by arms of the sea, that in the whole land there is no house distant from the salt water by more than twenty leagues."
  2. Leslie, l. pp. 15, 17 & 22. Leslie goes badly wide of the mark where he writes of districts unknown to him. Cf. p. 43 "the cheif tounè in Cathnes is called Wik; ar lykwyse mony tounis and sey portis verie commodious" - which is sheer nonsense.

chroniclers had used sea terms with the precision and knowledge of the poets, we would have had abundant material for the technical side of Scottish naval history.

Popular memory, thanks mainly to Lindsay of Pitcottie, preserves only the names of Sir Andrew Wood, rather shadowy Bartons, and James IV's "Great Michael", all usually centred round James IV and his creation of a Scottish Navy.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the one King who made Scotland a power at sea was James IV, and it is also true that his navy was largely a personal creation. Nevertheless this Scottish Navy was quite as natural a growth as the aureate language of the makars who grew along with it, or as the later College of Justice of James' son.

We may trace its beginning back to Bruce's ship-building yard at Cardross on the Clyde.<sup>4</sup> There he lived after he had won his kingdom and there he built ships, probably for service in the Isles, and in 1330 a payment is noted in the Exchequer Rolls for

3. Thanks perhaps to James Grant's fine story "The Yellow Frigate," where, to suit the plot, Wood's victories are put slightly forward, and the building of the "Michael" very much backwards, to 1488.
4. The sea played an important part in the War of Independence, and that Scotland's rulers were alive to the importance of sea trade is obvious from such things as the letter of Wallace and Andrew Moray to Hamburg, and the clauses dealing with the redress of the grievances of Scottish merchants in Bruce's treaty with Norway of 1310. A.P., l. 464a.

the custody of the "great ship."<sup>5</sup>

During the troubled period of his son David II's reign, the Scots had to help themselves at sea, the Crown being impotent there. The English crown at the same date was equally powerless or else was careless of the woes of its merchants, and in the many private fights between the ships of the two countries the Scots seem to have held their own. The manner in which the merchants of both nations were left to shift for themselves at sea is well illustrated by the case of Andrew Mercer of Perth. He was the son of a rich Scots merchant, "as well known to the King of France as in Scotland." When his father was captured and imprisoned by the English, he gathered a force of Scots and Spanish ships with which he scoured the seas, released his father, and plundered the place of his captivity, in the year 1378. The English Government did nothing, and it was left to a London merchant Sir John Philipot to avenge the affront.<sup>6</sup> Later, in 1400, there is another illuminating incident showing us the

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5. Ex. R., l. 296. According to Grant, O.S.N., p.viii Bruce's ships were built in the Norwegian style, which means I suppose, like the galleys of the Isles.
6. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, l. 369, 370. The Introduction vol. II, p.xviii, places Andrew Mercer's imprisonment at Cherbourg in France, (cf. vol. I, p. 371) not Scarborough. In 1377 John Mercer and his son Andrew were captured at Grimsby, and taken to London. Calendar etc. Scotland IV. 244, 248, 253. The records throw no further light on the incident.

seamen left to protect themselves. When English ships invaded the fisheries near Aberdeen, a Scottish knight, Sir Robert Logan, with some ships proceeded against them but was captured by John Brandon and other merchants, and brought captive to Lyme in Norfolk.<sup>7</sup> The Earl of Mar, the future victor of Harlaw, at this time turned his hand to piracy, preying on English ships between Berwick and Newcastle, and in 1409 he captured the "Thomas" of London belonging to Richard Whityngton and other merchants of that city. The period was one of uncontrolled piracy at sea, and the Scots there held their own in spite of the weakness of the Crown.<sup>8</sup> Their trade too, was flourishing, if we may judge by the instance Rooseboom gives of the cargo of a Scots ship being sold in Flanders for "£880 'great' or about £500 sterling, a very considerable sum of money for that time."<sup>9</sup> The Scots seamen themselves were as fearless as they had been during the Wars of Independence earlier, and it was one of them, Walter Curry, who retook Edinburgh Castle in 1341 by a clever stratagem.<sup>10</sup>

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7. Walsingham, I. p. 246. Cal. etc. Scotland, 573.

8. Cal. etc. Scotland IV, 789. The Scottish Crown did sometimes secure redress - Rot. Scot. I. 969 etc. Cal. etc. 720.

9. Rooseboom p. 13, 1411-23.

10. Liber Pluscardensis, vol. II. p.220 Edin. 1880.

The Crown, however, did do a little to assert its power at sea, as when under Robert II in 1380 two ships were bought for £500 and sent "contra piratas Anglie et predones."<sup>11</sup> The first known Admiral of Scotland does not appear until 1449 under James II, and whether this was actually the first appointment or not, the office could not have been created very long before.<sup>12</sup> The very existence of an Admiral implied an obligation on the Crown, through him, to enforce its jurisdiction in Scottish seas, and over the wide range of maritime causes; but even if we take the appointment of an Admiral as a sign that the Crown intended to guard the peace of its waters, there is little doubt that the King's ships were intended for trade, though it also follows that this interest of the King in trade would teach him the importance of the suppression of piracy. The "King's barge", met with in 1380, was a trading ship carrying the King's wool, skins, and other merchandise.<sup>13</sup> Many of the greater monasteries and spiritual and temporal lords exported abroad the produce of their estates, and transported it by sea within the kingdom itself. The

11. Ex. R., III. pp. 1, 55, etc.

12. Ex. R., XIII. p. clxxvii. Under James III, among the Scottish conservators of the truce with England in 1484, are "the admirals at sea", Cal. etc. Scotland. 1505., an interesting entry.

13. Ex. R., III. p. 667. "Barge in the 14th century was of the galley type - a medium sized galley." (Brooks, p. 78.)

monastery at Scone sent its ship for the produce of its lands in Caithness.<sup>14</sup> The King brought the produce of his lands in Fife over to Leith by ship, and possibly Sir Andrew Wood started his seafaring life on this vessel and thus began his career.<sup>15</sup> Indeed the more famous and wealthier seamen such as Wood and the Bartons very probably owed their rise and position to their acting for the King, or for one of the lords, and to the privileges this entailed. Similarly the hiring of a store in Leith in 1369<sup>16</sup> would probably be mainly for storing the King's goods there; but it was to grow into the "Kingis Wark" under James I, "at once a lodging for the King, a shipbuilding establishment, a workshop, and a storehouse."

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14. Caithness and Sutherland Records. Viking Club, Old Lore Series, Vol. X. p. 12. See also I. F. Grant, "Social and Economic Development of Scotland," p. 362 on the importance of the coasting trade.
15. Wood has been claimed as a native of Leith, but there can be little doubt that Largo, his mother's home, was his birthplace. R. M. S., 2019.
16. Ex. R., II. 348, & III, 88.

2. 1424 - 1460.(a) James I.

With the return of James I to Scotland, his reforming activity makes itself felt as much in naval as in other spheres. He put an end to the many exemptions from customs granted to the nobles during the Albany regime. He asserted his power at sea, as when he sent ships "ad partes boreales contra insulanos pro defensione patrie," or empowered the officers of all ports of England, Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, to arrest certain Scots accused of piracy in time of truce.<sup>1</sup> His attempt in 1429 to enforce the obligation of galley service for lands in the West, and to spread the tenure, may have unwittingly helped to make the galleys of the Isles the formidable force they became in the reigns of his son and grandson.<sup>2</sup> He encouraged the building of Scottish ships, finding that their shortage one year compelled him to suspend the act against the use of foreign bottoms.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ex. R., IV. 265. Cal. etc. Scotland 1039. Cf. p.lviii for abuse of customs exemptions to magnates and favoured merchants under the Albany regime, Ex. R. IV.
  2. A.P., II. p. 19, c 17.
  3. A.P., II. p. 16, c 7. - "the King has grantit to the merchandis quhare scottis schippis may nocht be gottyn that thai may fure ther gudis and thare merchandice in schippis of othir countreis...for a yere not agaynstanding the statute maide ther-apon in the contrare" - but I cannot trace this statute, presumably one of James I's.

The King's own trading activities were large, both in his own ships, and through foreign merchants. On his return to Scotland he at once sent out vessels exporting the produce of his lands, and importing goods for his use. A year after, in 1425, he proposed to pay the debts to London merchants he had incurred during his captivity, by sending them cargoes of Scottish merchandise in the "Marie de Lythe," an early example of the preference for making international payments in goods instead of gold!<sup>4</sup>

In 1434 the "Kingis Wark" at Leith was started, and its master of work, Robert Gray, was also in charge of the building of a barge to the King.<sup>5</sup> All that we can discern of an immense naval activity are a few glimpses of ships bought or building for him, or of those in charge of them when under repair,<sup>6</sup> though James' success in increasing Scottish shipping must have been considerable, if he were really able to add "three notable hulches and six tried barges"

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4. Cal. etc. Scotland 989. The ship belonged to a Davy Lyndesey.
5. Ex. R., IV. cxli & 581. It may date from 1428.
6. Ex. R., IV. 300, 383, 625.

to the fleet carrying his daughter to France.<sup>7</sup>

His sojourn in England may have influenced James in the naval sphere as much as in other directions. During it, Henry V had built up a splendid fleet, with fixed centres for stores and equipment.<sup>8</sup> The Lancastrian, it is true, needed it for his adventure in France, and James had no such need, but the example must have been useful to him when he set about building and encouraging the building of ships in Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Whatever its causes, James' naval activity is of capital importance in the naval history of Scotland, for the effects of his efforts persisted and can easily be seen under his successors. Major would not "give precedence over the first James to any one of the Stewarts," and had a Scottish Navy survived

7. Barbé, p. 97. The reports conflict, cf. p. 11. Prof. J. H. Baxter, "Scots Magazine," June, 1931 p. 194, stresses the French and Scots lack of shipping, and their reliance on Spanish transport. Liber Pluscardensis makes him send 3,000 men at arms with the fleet. L.P. vol. II p. 282. Historians of Scotland series, vol. X. Edin. 1880.
8. Oppenheim, p. 34. The ships were sold on his death to pay his debts.
9. Too much might be made of any such possible influence. For example the permanent Kingis Wark in place of the previous hired store might be an idea germinated by English example, but equally it was quite an obvious development.

James I could have disputed the honour of its foundation with his grandson James IV.

(b) James II.

Development on the lines laid down by James I can be traced during the reign of James II. The marriage of Princess Isabella to François of Brittany secured a Scottish connection with a great shipping country, and the marriage of Mary to the lord of Campvere in Zealand strengthened an already strong tie between Scotland and the Low Countries. Her brother James II married Mary of Gueldres, thus forging a relationship with the House of Burgundy, the rulers of the Netherlands, and, through the family of Gueldres, handing on a legacy which was to cause some trouble to his grandson James IV.

His reign, to judge from the nomenclature of ships met with, witnessed a considerable development in types. When Mary of Gueldres arrived, "thar come with hir XIII gret schippis and ane craike" i.e. carrack.<sup>10</sup> In 1450 there occurs the payment of £10 to John Matheson for the preparation of the King's ship called the Carvel,<sup>11</sup> and the same year £28.5.0 was paid for wood, tar and other necessities for its

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10. Short Chronicle, p. 24.

11. Ex. R.V., p. 387 "navis regis vocate le Kervale".

repair, while again, in 1455, lead and tar were provided to the same end.<sup>12</sup> We cannot definitely identify this ship with the later glorious "Yellow Carvel," but there is nothing insuperable against such an identification. This would certainly credit it with a long life, but not an impossibly long one.<sup>13</sup> The point of importance here is that evidently Scotland was sharing in the general technical advance in the process of shipbuilding, for "carvel" built, as opposed to the old "clinker" built ships, were essential for the carrying of artillery.

The King had other ships also, payments being recorded for the keeping and repair of one called the "Lambkin" in 1447.<sup>14</sup> The care of these vessels would necessitate at least a very rudimentary form of

12. Ex. R., VI. p. 3 this time only "navicule", which Brooks thinks was equivalent to the "batel", a small vessel with only a master and crew of 16. Brooks, p. 78.
13. The last mention of it occurs in 1507 - Ex. R., XIII. p. clxxxi. From the facts that the "Flour" was used continually even after her fights in 1488-90, and that the "Carvel" almost disappears, it is legitimate to infer that the latter was the older of the two.
14. Ex. R., V. 278. It is notable that when, in 1445, James was negotiating a new trade agreement with Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg, etc., Bremen, to gain his favour, offered to give him a fully equipped ship called the "Rose." "The Scottish Staple at Veere", Davidson and Gray, London, 1909. p. 51 note 1.

"establishment." When in use, as they were most of the time for trade, there was no need for this, so the necessary labour may simply have been recruited when needed. The upkeep of the "Kingis Wark," on the other hand, implied the permanent employment of one or more persons.<sup>15</sup>

As to the size of the Scottish ships of the early fifteenth century, the surviving information is very scanty. Indeed from Scottish sources, there is no indication of the tonnage of any ship till the reign of James VI. In English records there is mention of two Scottish ships of 200 tons trading to England in 1450.<sup>16</sup> Bigger vessels did exist, but, at that time, the great bulk of the trade was carried by ships of this size.<sup>17</sup> The "Salvatour" of Bishop Kennedy, and perhaps the King's ships, would be much larger, and it may be presumed that the largest Scots vessels would trade to the Baltic, to the Low Countries, and to France. Therefore, although it is

15. Oppenheim, "Naval Accounts and Inventories," p.xxii is of the opinion that the English "Clerk of the Ships" did not control men of war unless they were under repair.

16. Cal. etc. Scotland. 1227, 1230. In 1491 there is one of 160 t., and in 1440 one of 100 t., so that the average is high. Ibid., 1579, 1141. It is curious however that after 1460 the Scots ships trading to England decrease in size to well under the 100 mark. cf. Rot. Scot. II 414, 417, 426, 432.

17. Sailing ships their History and Development. Part I. G.S. Laird Clowes. Lond. 1930,p.30.

dangerous to argue from insufficient evidence, it is probable that in size the Scots ships compared favourably with those of surrounding countries.

Thus during his brief reign, James II maintained the strength at sea gained by his father, and handed it on unimpaired to his son James III. He built ships and traded as James I had done, the King's Barge sailing to Rochelle for

"Fresche fragrant clairrettis out of France,  
Of Angers and of Orliance".....

In 1454, the King and his court sailed in a large ship across the Forth to Kinghorn, the first mention of these cruises on the Firth, which, under James IV, were to be a favourite pastime of the Scottish King.<sup>18</sup> We may argue from this instance a personal interest in his ships on James' part, but it will be well to add, that with the Forth separating the two richest and most important provinces of their Kingdom, its ships and their importance must have been ever present to the minds of all Scottish Kings. It is not to be wondered at that the six Jameses and Mary Queen of Scots were all well acquainted with the sea and seamen.

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18. Ex. R., V. 633.

Cap. II. James III.1. The Minority.

James III came to the throne, a minor, in 1460. His personality, and how far he influenced his age, are still subjects of controversy, but the importance of the last half of the 15th century in Scotland is indisputable. It saw the great poets, scholars and historians like Boece and Major, statesmen not so great, but at least including Elphinstone and James IV, in all making a splendid roll of names. At sea it was to prove Scotland's golden age, as surely as in poetry.

The general background of the naval history of the period is important. It was the greatest period of exploration and discovery the world has seen, and the necessary prerequisites and concomitants of that discovery were improved ships, charts, astronomical tables, and the directional instruments, such as the adaptation of the astrolabe to navigation in 1483, and the later cross-staff and compass. The Spaniards and Portuguese led the way with all these, producing tables, maps, and instruments, but the ferment in nautical affairs was as wide spread as the Renaissance itself.<sup>1</sup> Among the earliest printed books, for example, were the Hanse sea laws of the North issued in 1505, and in the South the "Book of

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1. Laird Clowes, History, p. 400.

the Consulate of the Sea," published at Barcelona in 1494, two years after Columbus' discovery of the West Indies. The century ended with France, England, Scotland, and Denmark busily creating royal navies where previously Spain and Portugal had been the greatest naval kingdoms.

Scotland shared in this general stir. The disasters of James III's reign, and the splendours of his son's, are apt to make the one seem a mere prelude to the other, but the harvest reaped by James IV was indisputably sown under his father's rule. The scantiness of the surviving material on the reign of James III unfortunately reduces us to guess-work on most points, and thus perhaps tends to make the naval expansion of Scotland under James IV seem more sudden than it actually was. In the history of the development of the Sea-laws of Scotland for example, James III's reign is of vital interest. Thence date the regulations requiring a charter-party for every outward bound ship, and others of prime importance.<sup>2</sup> The records of the Court of the High Admiral for the period are not extant, if indeed any were kept, but the fact that James' brother Alexander, Duke of Albany, was Admiral, and that the Hepburns, the co-leaders with the Humes

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2. Welwood, Sea Law of Scotland. See pp. 51, 67, etc. for references to Acts of James III.

of the final revolt against the King, annexed the office and retained it for generations, suggest that it was of some importance.

In shipbuilding too Scotland was not behind. The naval progress made by James II was maintained and enhanced during the minority by the Queen Mother, Mary of Gueldres, and Bishop Kennedy. The "Kingis Wark" at Leith was kept in good repair.<sup>3</sup> The Queen seems to have devoted as much attention to trade as James I, and her ships sold her wool abroad. The mention of one of them, "le balingare", is the earliest notice of this type of vessel in Scottish records.<sup>4</sup> This, like the "Carvel", may date from James II's day, and the occurrence of these names is suggestive of progress in building. Bishop Kennedy's great ship, the "Bishop's Barge," was as famous in its day as the "Michael" was to be later, ranking, along with the Bishop's tomb and St. Salvator's College, as the three marvels, "al alyk sumptuous", wrought by him. It was remarkable only for its size. It was, we have seen, customary for the greater lords and prelates to export the produce of their lands, and Kennedy himself possessed another ship the "Mary",

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3. Ex. R., VII. 213.

4. Ex. R., VII. 139, 173.

and perhaps others unrecorded.<sup>5</sup>

The naval history of the minority is tolerably full. Piracy was rife. The English government, hopelessly weak during the Wars of the Roses, by an act, rather ironically entitled "for the safe-keeping of the seas", had given it a tremendous fillip, almost legalising it, and in addition England's war with the Hanse, which was still the dominant mercantile force in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, filled the North Sea with ships bearing letters of marque from one power or another.<sup>6</sup> The Scots, it may be supposed, were not loath to profit by the tangle. In 1459, James II's last year, French ships brought English prizes into Leith.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, we may probably put the capture in 1467 of Bjorn Thorliufson, the Danish governor of Iceland by Scots pirates, to the account of the Hebridean galleys.<sup>8</sup> Orkney too, still nominally Danish, was

5. Boece (Ferr.), p. 388c, 40, 50. The "navis immanis et fortissima" of Major. Leslie, II. p. 87, as in text. Pitscottie, I. p. 154, "he knew nocht quhilk of the thrie was costliest." Their unanimity arouses suspicions of their independence. The "Mary" was captured by the English. Cal. etc. Scotland. 1303.
6. Oppenheim, "Accounts and Inventories", p.xxviii "piracy was regarded as an ordinary sea risk and fewer efforts were made to deal with it, at this date, than at either an earlier or later period." Power, p. 123 etc.
7. Ex. R., VI. p. 498.
8. Power, p. 179.

infested by the latter, so that the Bishop of Orkney wrote to Denmark complaining of John, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, "ab antiqua inimicus capitalis", and his bands, who "came in great multitudes in the month of June, with their ships and fleets in battle array, wasting the lands, plundering the farms, destroying habitations, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, without regard to age or sex."<sup>9</sup> And in 1460, when the Sinclair Earl of Orkney was in attendance at the Scottish Court on the affairs of the young King, the Islesmen made a swoop on the defenceless Orcadians.<sup>10</sup> Piracy, till past the Elizabethan age, was the sign of a growing sea power, though not of a strong government. The piratical activities of the Scots are therefore significant of the sea strength of the nation, and even the more antiquated galleys of the Isles played their part in convincing the Danes, and perhaps the Orkneymen, that only the Scottish Crown could defend the Earldom from its enemies.

The Islesmen were used by Edward IV of England when he made the treaty of 1462 with the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and the exiled Earl of Douglas, to

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9. Anderson, Orkneynga Saga. p.lxx.
10. Deputy Keeper's Reports no. 46, app. II p. 52, for Earl of Ross v. Orkneys in 1461, and Records of the Earldom of Orkney. S. H. S. 1914, p.51.

partition Scotland, and incidently rid the Yorkist king of England of all danger of Scottish support of the Lancastrian Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Donald Balloch plundered Atholl and violated a sanctuary, but lost his galleys and their booty returning in a storm, and, accepting the disaster as a retribution for his sacrilege, was induced to make his peace. But it must have been as a result of this threatening situation that, at Aberdeen, there was warning of the imminence of invasion by sea in 1463.<sup>11</sup> In the event, Edward IV was occupied elsewhere, for Margaret of Anjou, who with a convoy of four Scottish ships had sailed from Kirkcudbright to Brittany to obtain French aid, soon made another attempt on England.

An action of Bishop Kennedy's, of the year before his death, deserves to be recorded. In 1464, the young Duke of Albany, returning in a swift sailing ship, from a visit to his maternal relatives in Gueldres, fell in with the English fleet from Iceland, and was captured after a sharp battle with five English ships, whose duty it was to convoy the fleet and guard it against piratical attack.<sup>12</sup> It was

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11. C. R. Aber., p. 25.

12. Boece, "Vitae", p. 31. Albany was in a "celox", a yacht or swift sailing vessel. The use of the word is an example of Boece's Renaissance Latin, and of one of the evils of that change, for it conveys no idea of the type of the vessel.

quite in character for the gamekeeper to turn poacher, and for ships armed against pirates to play the pirate when the occasion offered. Kennedy, on news of Albany's capture, at once sent an embassy to England with the demand, "outhir with schip and al to lat him pas frie, saife and sound or up troues against thame he sal proclayme weiris", and through this ultimatum the young Prince was restored and compensation given.<sup>13</sup> It is true that the peremptory tone of the demand probably owes its terseness to Leslie, who liked the phrase and repeats it more than once, and it is also true that Edward IV was in a weak position, and consequently in a conciliatory mood. Still, the contrast with the seizure and detention of James I is striking, and shows us the strong position of Scotland at the time.

Among the final events of the minority we may put the Danish marriage. It strengthened the already important connection with Denmark, and the final years of James III and the entire reign of James IV show us a very vigorous Baltic trade, while, of course, the Scottish aid in ships to Denmark under James IV, and the hope of aid in return at the time of Flodden, are direct consequences of the marriage. In internal affairs the acquisition of the Orkneys made

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13. Leslie, II. p. 87. Boece (Ferr.), p. 380c 10. Major, p. 388.

it imperative that the Scottish Crown should protect its new northern subjects against the galleys of the Isles, so that the ordering of the Lords of the Isles became an inescapable duty.

2. 1469 - 1487.

At the end of his tutelage James' assets and liabilities in naval affairs were both considerable. The riot of piracy in the North Sea, and the increasing tendency for states to suppress such disorder in their own waters, and to expect reciprocal action, made it likely that he would have to devote more energy to sea power than had hitherto been the custom, and that royal ships would have to be kept for other purposes than that of trade alone. The acquisition of Orkney too, made the subjection of the Isles, with their galleys, more important than ever. But neither were the assets inconsiderable. The internal troubles of England rendered all external danger remote, and James inherited a large and growing sea trade and a sturdy race of seamen used to long voyages. He inherited also a certain amount of naval supplies, in the "Kingis Wark" and elsewhere, capable of expansion as required, besides some ships belonging to the Crown, if they still existed.

Unfortunately we cannot tell for certain what ships belonged to the King, if indeed any did! The

problem is, whether ships such as the "Yellow Carvel" and the "Flour" actually belonged to the Crown, or whether it only freighted them fairly constantly, and whether the term "Kingis ship" definitely implies ownership. There is also the interesting question as to how far the usual dilapidation of a royal minority in Scotland would apply to the ships of the King. In England, Henry V's fleet was sold at his death as a matter of course. The Scots vessels, being for trading purposes, would be safer, but it is difficult not to imagine that some, at least, might not be hypothecated. When, for example, a King was badly in debt to a wealthy seaman, as James V was to Robert Barton, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that a royal ship might well change its ownership.<sup>1</sup>

There are indications favourable to the belief that at least one ship belonged to the King, for in 1474 we find him giving William Todrik the large reward of £5, "for his tithingis that the Carvile wes on life," after it had broken from its moorings near North Berwick, probably driven adrift by a storm.<sup>2</sup> John Barton, the founder of the famous sea

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1. A possible case occurs in 1516. T.A., V. p. 65. A share in a ship "le Bark de Bartanze" is sold by the Treasurer, but it probably came into his hands through escheat, and its sale may thus have been quite in order.

2. T. A., I. 54, 66 & 68.

family, is at this period named "magister caravalis domini regis."<sup>3</sup> It is tempting to identify this ship with the "Carvel" of James II, and it is certainly the famous "Yellow Carvel". In November, 1474, the "Yalou Kervele" had conveyed an embassy to France, and on its return voyage it was captured by the English. Either relations with England were good, or strong representations were made at this breach of the truce, for, in 1475, Edward IV sent his almoner Dr. Legh to give redress to Albany, the High Admiral of Scotland, for a ship called the "Yellow Carvel", captured by the "Mayflower", belonging to Richard of Gloucester, Admiral of England.<sup>4</sup> Thus at least the "Carvel" seems to have belonged to the King, and his anxiety over its fate, manifested by the size of the reward to Todrik, together with his ready alms to shipwrecked men, are highly suggestive of an interest in ships resembling that of his son.

If we may give James the credit for securing the restitution of the "Yellow Carvel", we may note him acting vigorously in a similar matter some years before, when, in 1472, the famous "Bishop's Barge", the "Salvatour", was driven ashore by storm on the

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3. Ex. R., VIII. p. 293.

4. T. A., I. pp. xi & 54. In 1482 Albany went from France to England in another "Scottish Carvel" whose master was a James Douglas. Cal. etc. Scotland. 1474.

coast of Northumberland, promptly plundered by the English, and the survivors of the wreck held to ransom, all in time of truce. This was no isolated occurrence on that coast, whose natives seem to have been incorrigible wreckers. Redress was demanded, the Duke of Burgundy being asked to bring his influence to bear on the English King,<sup>5</sup> and in the course of the negotiations for the marriage of Prince James to Edward IV's daughter Cecilia, Edward agreed to pay 500 marks compensation, while the Scots could also sue for damages in the English courts. On the same occasion Sir John Colquhoun of Luss by his own exertions secured 100 marks for his ship, also captured, while trading his "gere" after the manner of so many Scottish magnates.<sup>6</sup>

These two cases, of the "Bishop's Barge", and of the "Yellow Carvel", show James successful in obtaining redress for injuries at sea, and must therefore be put to his credit. It may be admitted that in each case the moment was propitious, and that, of the ships, one was probably the property of the King, while the other belonged to the foremost prelate in the land. In the case of losses incurred by the

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5. Rooseboom, p. 27.

6. Rymer, Foedera, XI. pp. 820 & 850; Rot. Scot., II p. 434. Cal. etc. Scotland. 1409, 1414, & 1424. Colquhoun secured a promise of redress from the mouth of the English king. 1429.

smaller fry, we can hardly claim that James was advancing before his age in the matter of redress of injuries at sea, and the case of John Barton even suggests a slackness in demanding redress for a severe injury to one of his subjects.<sup>7</sup>

The curious incident which started the Barton feud against the Portuguese shows us James not even issuing letters of marque. Our earliest accounts of the affair date from James IV's reign, and slight discrepancies exist, due mainly to the varying tenuity and fulness of the different accounts. In the main they state that, when leaving Sluys in the Low Countries in 1476, John Barton was attacked by two Portuguese ships, under Juan Velasquez and Juan Pret, while more Portuguese ships lay by. His ship was captured, many of his men slain, and the others sent ashore in a boat as best they could.<sup>8</sup> We have

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7. That age's attitude is well embodied in the reply of the French king to Portuguese ambassadors complaining of the deeds of a certain Ango of Dieppe, who had blockaded the Tagus as a reprisal for the seizure of one of his ships. Said the king, "Gentlemen it is not I who am at war. Find Ango and settle the affair with him." This may have been James III's attitude to John Barton.
8. Ep. Reg. Scot., p. 91 etc. For James IV letter of marque of 1506, see Law and Custom of the Sea, vol. I. p. 170, granted to Andrew Barton and his heirs and assigns, viz, "Roberto precipue et Johanni Bertoun fratribus dicti Andree," to make up the loss of seven men slain and goods to the value of 2,000 Portuguese ducats. The letters of marque were handed down, through Robert, like heritable property, and even appear to have been sold. At least a Robert Logan had them, or a share in them, in 1561. Acta C. Ad. Scot., p.117. They were cancelled in 1564. A.P., II. 554.

only Barton's version of the story, detailed at the earliest in letters of James IV, by which to judge the affair. From the later Barton reputation it may be doubted if this attack was entirely unprovoked, and it may also be doubted whether the Bartons petitioned very strongly for redress, but it is curious that they do not seem to have secured letters of marque from James III, and James IV attributed this to his father's unwillingness to proceed to extremes. The feud, by a freak of chance, was to have a strong influence on the future history of Scotland.

Of naval history, in the sense of anything to narrate, there is very little, though James entertained not a few projects, including a pilgrimage to Rome and an expedition to prosecute a claim to Brittany, which would have involved the use of ships on a large scale. The latter of these two designs was only stopped by the strong objections of his lords. In 1476 James intended an expedition to the Isles, but the preparations, alone, were enough to induce the Earl of Ross to surrender himself to the royal mercy, which he obtained at the cost of his earldom.<sup>9</sup> There was peace with England at the time: so the Island chief could rely on no external support. Again, in 1478, there is a hint of another contemplated

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9. Balfour's "Annals", p. 199. Boece (Ferr.), p. 393. Leslie, II. p. 92.

expedition to the Isles, when two French ships at Ayr were stopped "ad transeundum ad insulas," but whatever was the intention, it was abandoned, and the ships released and compensated for delay.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in 1483, a ship was sent from Ayr to the Isles to capture the traitor Patrick Haliburton, a former emissary of Edward IV and the Douglasses.<sup>11</sup> It is notable that it was sent by the customer of Ayr, and was presumably a ship hired, probably forcibly, just as the two French vessels were commandeered. Henry VII can often be found similarly commandeering Spanish ships for his use, a practice, in both cases, implying lack of Crown ships and of suitable native shipping.

In 1481, on the other hand, there was some serious work. James' brother, John, Earl of Mar, had died, in whatever manner, in 1479, after his and his brother Albany's rebellion. Albany was in France, and internally the situation was moving towards all that is indicated by the name of Lauder Bridge. Dr. John Ireland had lately come as an Ambassador from France to persuade the Scots to break

10. Ex. R., VIII. p. 5 - 40.

11. Ex. R., IX. 211. He was chaplain to James, Earl of Douglas. Cal. etc. Scotland. 1333.

with and attack England, and his arguments were powerfully backed by a certain William Elphinstone.

At this conjuncture the Earl of Angus, in 1481, led a foray across the Border, and Edward IV seized this as an excuse to get his blow in first. So about mid-April an English fleet swept the Firth of Forth, seizing eight ships, burning Blackness Castle, and capturing a merchant vessel lying in its shelter. It is not certain whether there was any resistance, but it is possible that Andrew Wood may have attacked and disposed of some of the invaders, and that it was for this service that he got his charter of the lands of Largo in fee, granted on March 18, 1482-3, "*considerans gratuita et fidelia servitia..... tam per terram quam per mare, in pace et in guerra impensa, in regno Scotie et extra idem.*"<sup>12</sup>

Invasion by land was still threatening, and the sea raid roused the Scots Parliament of 1481 into energetic measures for meeting the threat of that "revare Edward, calland him king of England." For defence against sea raids, it ordered "boundis to be lynmit apoun the sey coist every 6 myle of lenth and

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12. Boece (Ferr.), 394; 30. Hume Brown, I. 274 - 5 follows Ferrerius. Leslie, II. p. 95 is not clear as to the two English raids - Conway, p. 2. Oppenheim, "Accounts and Inventories," p. xv says ships were prepared in the winter of 1480-1, but of the projected expedition adds, "actually it, under Duke Gloucester did not occur till 1482 and the amount of service done by the fleet is not known, but naval necessaries etc. were being obtained.....in 1481." Wood's charter in R.M.S., II. 1563.

a myle of bred, and capitanis to be lynmit every 6 myle to gader the cuntre....."<sup>13</sup> Ferrerius records two invasions of the English fleet, the one already described, and another presumably after the Parliament. The second one was quite unsuccessful, whether owing to these measures or perhaps because Wood's exploits were performed during this attack.

On the whole, James had come out of it fairly well as far as the naval war went, since no country could prevent a sudden sea attack then, any more than we can one by air now. The raiders did not attempt to keep any of the key points of the Forth, even if they did burn Blackness, either because they intended no more than the raid, or because resistance was unexpectedly strong. Again, when the English actually gained Dunbar, in 1483, through Albany's treason, they made no serious attempts to retain it, and if this may be explained by the troubles of Richard III's short reign, the rather lengthy duration of the Scottish siege may be similarly explained by James' troubles with his nobles.

Dunbar had now got an unsavoury name. "That auld spelunck of treasoun" the poet Kennedy called it, and when taken, its destruction was ordered, "because it hes done gret scaith in tyme bygane."<sup>14</sup> It was

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13. A.P., II. 139c 4. See Appendix, Wood.

14. A.P., II. 211c 18.

essential, however, for the defence of the Forth, as James IV realised, and its destruction was a weak measure, confessing the King's inability to trust such a key position to any of his men.

The whole episode suggests that James owed little to his own initiative for his lack of failure at sea - to put it as high as it can really be put. The praise for Wood's deeds at this conjuncture was evidently due to himself alone, if we are justified in reading so much into the phrase that they were rendered "gratuitous." If Albany was able to hand Dunbar over to the English in 1483, we must infer that the Forth itself, not to mention "the Scottis Sea,"<sup>15</sup> was badly plagued with pirate and enemy vessels - an inference supported by the events of 1488-9 - although the Scots probably held their own in the game of piracy.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. 1487 - 1488.

The final rebellion against James III demonstrates the importance of the Scots ships. The rebellion itself had as its main props two families powerful in southern Scotland. As Robert Birrel's diary puts it tersely, James was "slane be Hume and

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15. The Scottis Sea proper, was the waters east of the Bass and May, those west being the Firth. Sibbald, Fife and Kinross, p. 338.

16. Cal. Etc. Scotland. 1487.

Hepburn."<sup>1</sup> The North was on his side. The action all centred round the Forth, which divided the King's opponents and his adherents.

When the young Prince was taken from Stirling Castle in February 1487, and the King decided to cross the Firth, the decisive act of rebellion was the seizing of the royal baggage train at Leith, while Wood, in his ships, carried James over the Forth. The rumour then spread that James intended flight to the Netherlands. Instead he gathered his forces in the North and advanced south on the rebel forces, who were centred round Blackness, where a first pacification was effected but not kept, and where the Earl of Buchan got the better of the rebels in a skirmish, to be followed by another compromise; and on James' return to Edinburgh, Wood was among those rewarded for their devotion.

The lull was only for a moment, and the final battle at Sauchieburn on June the 11th was fought in sight of the Forth, with "two schipis of Captane Wodis travessing up and doune the firth, the quhilk schippis the ane of them was callit the flour the uther the yallow carvell schippis, and send thair flat bottis to the land and ressavit money hurt men out of the

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1. Dalryell, "Fragments", p. 13. Birrel's remark may be accepted as giving us the popular tradition, though of a later date.

feild....The prince and the lordis that was witht him thinkand that captane Wode was principall servand to the king at that tyme and haveand wages of him and furnist him and his schipis oftymes to pace quhair he plessit, tharfor they beleifit that he sould have waittit on the king in the feild and have brocht him to the schipis...."2

Pitscottie and Buchanan both tell of the Lords' message to Wood at Leith, to find whether the King was on board his ship; and Pitscottie has the further curious story of the young James IV mistaking Sir Andrew for the dead king, a story justly characterised as "equally difficult to believe or to believe invented." The whole episode lends strong support to the importance of the part played by the ships, although there is evidence for the view that James' fate was not nearly as long unknown as the usual tale suggests.<sup>3</sup> In continuing his narrative, Pitscottie depicts a solidarity among the seamen which other

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2. Pitscottie, p. 213.

3. It has been pointed out that the Prince appears to have been proclaimed King on the day after the battle (T.A., I. lxix), and, from the terms of the Bull delegating powers to absolve from the guilt of the crime, the embassy to the Pope cannot have pleaded that the murder was as accidental and the murderers as obscure as Pitscottie makes out. For the Bull, see Innes' "Critical Essay", Appendix X, p. 439. On p. 169 Innes accepts the murder story.

instances support.<sup>4</sup> Fearing Wood's intentions, after his declaration to the young King - "I was your father's true servant and shall be to the authority till I die and enemy to thaim quho was the cause of his downe putting,"<sup>5</sup> - the lords tried to induce the mariners of Leith to attack and capture him. They utterly refused, John Barton being their speaker, and declaring that ten ships could not capture Wood's two. It was a tribute to Wood's prowess, but it was also another illustration of the way the Leith men and the seamen stood by each other against all outside interests.

#### 4. Results of James III's reign 1460 - 1488.

It is very difficult to assess with any degree of certainty the effect of James III's reign on Scottish shipping. Pinkerton, usually unfavourable to the King, concedes that "amid the signal fortuitous advantages of the reign of James III may be placed the first minute appearance of a warlike fleet in Scotland;

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4. eg. Pitcairn, p. 72. Alexander Bertoun of the sea family and others convicted of "wilful error on assize", in favour of Florence Corntoun and others, also connected with the sea, in 1510. Florence Corntoun was later in charge of the repairs of James V's ships.

5. Pitcottie, P. 215.

and the warm loyalty of Wood seems to indicate that this establishment was indebted to royal patronage."<sup>1</sup> Against this moderately favourable judgment we may place that of Thomas Dickson, who, with later and fuller information writes, "at the accession of James IV maritime enterprise was in a very backward state and even the fisheries appear to have been almost entirely neglected."<sup>2</sup>

Yet these two contrary judgments are not so irreconcilable as might at first sight appear. It is true that at the accession of James IV, and therefore during his father's last years, Scotland, in things naval, was in a very bad way. The Firth of Forth, infested by pirates and suffering under however unsuccessful English descents, saw the decision to destroy one of its main foci of defence, Dunbar, because of royal inability to hold it. In ship-building, too, the case must go by default. The King certainly owned a balingar,<sup>3</sup> and most probably one or two other vessels, whether we can include the

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1. Pinkerton, History, II. p. 4.
  2. T.A., I. p. cxxv. He stresses the fact that the King's ships were used for trade...."the king's most distinguished captains....were merely traders;....and his ships only armed merchantmen." This is true, but it applied equally to England and other countries at the time.
  3. Ex. R., VII p. 173 "le balingare" in 1463, if it still survived.

"Flour" and the "Carvel" among these or not, but we cannot point to any ship as actually built for him, with the possible exception of the "rowbarge" used in the siege of Dunbar Castle in 1484.<sup>4</sup> We may argue from the detention of the two French ships in 1478 that there must have been a shortage of Scots vessels, and, though expanding trade might be the cause of that, it does seem as if the impetus to shipbuilding still apparent under James II, and at the beginning of the reign of James III, had rather died away, certainly as far as royal shipbuilding was concerned. It must, however, be remembered that the troubles of the last years would stop any royal shipbuilding and that at the same date in England only the "Regent", the "Sovereign", and possibly another small ship belonged to the Crown.<sup>5</sup>

All this is true, but there are weighty considerations on the other side. One obvious point is perhaps the most important. Any record of shipbuilding, and anything favourable to James III's

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4. Ex. R., IX. p. 288 and liii, for the rowbarge. An English ship called the "Flowre" was captured in 1482 and taken to Ayr. As its captors offered it to its owner for £70, this cannot have been the "Flour" of Wood's exploits. Power, p. 194.
  5. Oppenheim, Accounts and Inventories, p.xxviii.

actions therein, would appear in the "Treasurer's Accounts", and these only survive for the years 1473-74 in a few sheets, so that most of our judgments must be founded on indirect and very uncertain evidence. We must, therefore, make an allowance for the fact that we have the case for the prosecution given with gusto, while the defence must be hesitating and conjectural.

We may admit that James apparently did not satisfy the demand of the time that the Crown should guard the peace of its own waters. The evidence, such as it is, rather shows him in the older role of a trader and promoter of trade, and here it is rather favourable. James IV's often quoted act of 1493 is anticipated by an act of 1471, ordering that lords spiritual and temporal and burghs "gar mak or get Schippis buschis and uther gret pynck botis witht nettis and al abulzementis ganing for fysching".<sup>6</sup> The act is there. The doubt as to its enforcement applies almost equally to that of James IV.

Two other acts strengthen the view that in naval affairs an adverse verdict on James III's reign must rest on the troubles of the last decade. In 1467, the burgesses secured a statute against other than "fre men burgis duelland within burghis or thar familiaris" sailing overseas in merchandise, and

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6. A.P., II p. 100c. 10. "Busch" or "buss", a two or three masted fishing boat.

also instituting a minimum level of wealth for such merchants.<sup>7</sup> The enactment of such a measure rather argues a period of flourishing trade, with all classes venturing, many beyond their means, to share in the golden spoil. The King undoubtedly encouraged trade and the trading classes. Pitscottie testifies that in 1488 some were afraid to join the rebels, "because they knew the king to be weill louit witht all the commons and the burrouis....." The author of the "Thrie Priestis of Peblis" makes the King (a character sketch of James III) say -

"Welcome my burgesses, bald and bliss,  
 Quhen ye fair wele, I may na myrthis myss,  
 Quhen ye your schippis haldis hale and sound,  
 In richness guid and walefair I habound;  
 Ye ar the casiss of my lyf and cheire."<sup>8</sup>

The complaint of the Aberdeen Council at his unavenged death, and the story of his life all show us the burgess and trading class devoted to him, presumably because, in Ferrerius' phrase, "omnes artes bonas in pretio habebat singulari." If trade and shipping flourished in his earlier years James seems to have encouraged them.

7. A.P., II. p. 86. There is a saving clause allowing "prelatis lordis barounis clerkis to send thar propir gudis with thar servandis and to by agane thingis nedeful to thar propre use."

8. "Thrie Priestis", p. 6. The coinage troubles also, an undoubted grievance, were only acute towards the end. They were made a slogan against James, and were not a cause of the revolt. Parliament legislated against the same trouble right through the reign of James IV.

The second act, one of 1481, presents a contrast. It was intended to encourage strangers to trade, "considering that the merchandice of this realm ar throw weiris stoppit."<sup>9</sup> Taken along with the history of the final events of the reign, it is conclusive evidence that the last years of James III from the invasion of 1484 must have been as disastrous in the naval sphere as elsewhere.

In naval affairs then, the reign shows no new development. We can credit James with a close contact with ships and shipping, but not with being in advance of his age in the mode of their employment, and the misfortunes of his reign are felt at sea as well as on land. The one considerable advance is the birth and growth of a great race of seamen, and the fact that its leaders all served the King testifies in his favour, although even here we must make reservations as to James III's personal position. The very prominence of a seaman like Wood tells against James for it implies that, unlike his son James IV, he was ruled by his servants instead of ruling them. Legislation for the regulation of foreign trade and of ships and shipbuilding enable us to infer a growing trade and a strong interest on the part of the King and his circle in its growth.

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9. A.P., II. p. 141c. 18.

Nor is this small praise. Whatever part the King played, all that James IV was to use so magnificently was grown and mostly came to maturity under his father's rule, and it was no small feat to attach such seamen to the cause of the "auctorite."

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Cap. III. James IV.

The reign of James IV saw the creation of four royal navies in the Northern Seas. In England Henry VIII followed the lead of his father and built a strong fleet. After the French crown had secured the succession to Brittany it found itself with its sea power doubled, and to meet the English menace it had further to strengthen this power, and to add to its mobility by galleys drawn from its fleet in the Mediterranean, where they faced the Spanish power. King John of Denmark, who so often applied for Scottish aid, ended his reign successfully as lord of the Baltic, with the Hanse sea power gone. Scotland, under James, was involved in the naval struggles of these three powers, and herself built a navy which was as big, in proportion to her size, as that of the others.

The naval history of the reign is exciting and full. There is the picturesque opening with Wood's famous victories, followed by a lull with its calm disturbed by a few alarms in the Perkin Warbeck period, not to mention the Rabelaisian adventures of the poet Dunbar in the "Katharine." Next there comes the expeditions to the Isles, to Denmark, the great shipbuilding period with its preparations for a Crusade, and the final adventure of the Scottish fleet

to France. It is full of personalities; the King himself, wholehearted in everything, riding down to Newhaven in the early morning and spending all day at the shipyards; old Sir Andrew Wood; the Bartons bringing home the Dark Lady from some encounter with a Portuguese caravel, or the gruesome, though acceptable, present of a barrel full of the heads of Dutch pirates; Andrew Barton, adventurous and single minded, Robert Barton skilful on sea or land, David Falconer, William Merymouth, "king of the sea" and the many others whose names we have but whose deeds are unrecorded. The tale of the deeds of the seamen, along with the naval history of the reign, shows that the great development of the navy was quite a natural evolution. It is however a legitimate subject of enquiry how much was owing to the personal effort of the King, whether he overstrained the resources of the country in the effort, how much of his work would have been permanent had he lived, and what actually survived.

1. The Opening Years.

James IV was in a very dangerous position, alone in the midst of men who had slain his father, while the defeated lords might revolt at any moment, for they had every temptation to exploit the wide-spread

popular discontent. Aberdeen Town Council as late as September 1489 complained that "our souv<sup>r</sup>ane lorde wes slayne, and nay punicion maide tharfor apone the treasonabile vile personis....." his slayers, and demanded "the reformacione of the misgouernance of oure souerane lordis tresour and dispositione of his heritage", as well as the ending of the injustices inflicted by his stronger on his weaker subjects.<sup>1</sup> The Home-Hepburn "corner" in offices also gave scope for complaint and dissension among the governing clique itself, and there was danger from without, from Henry VII, to whom, among other princes, James III had appealed for aid shortly before, and who besides being on friendly relations with the murdered King, was himself so insecurely enthroned that trouble in Scotland would be a safeguard to his position in England.

All these parties assailed James at once; the former supporters of James III in the North rose under Lord Forbes, carrying the murdered King's bloody shirt as a banner; Lennox, the dissatisfied member of the victorious party, held Dumbarton in the West against the King; and by March 1489 Henry VII had decided to send help to the rebels. As far as open aid from England was concerned, the murder of the

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1. C. R. Aber., p. 45.

Earl of Northumberland dislocated the plans for help by land.<sup>2</sup> Munitions for Dumbarton Castle were dispatched by sea, but, though we know that during James' siege of the Castle an English ship chased and damaged a Scottish ship off Dumbarton, there is no proof that any aid did actually arrive. The rebels from the North and West effected a junction, but the revolt was ended when Lord Drummond defeated Lennox at Talla Moor on October 12, 1489, and the vanquished received very clement treatment from James.

Meanwhile the most interesting theatre of war had been in the East, where the action was at sea. The Firth of Forth, in the last years of James III and the opening period of James IV's reign, seems to have been infested with pirates, English and Danish. Indeed Danish ships, both peaceable and piratical, were particularly conspicuous. Junker Gerhard, uncle of King John I of Denmark, and thus grand-uncle of James, visited the Scottish Court in 1488 and departed in 1489. By nature a stormy petrel, he must have been a formidable guest at the best of times, and as it was, the Scottish King had enough trouble of his own. While at Stirling, in July, 1488, James gave £250 to a Danish naval captain, and on the 3rd of August visited some Danish ships, probably

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2. Conway, p. 29.

Gerhard's, at Leith, giving £9 in "drinksilver" to the sailors.<sup>3</sup> There was even a Danish ship in the west of Scotland, at Ayr, an unusual place for Danes to visit. As to the pirates, Danish or English, the records tell of a ship of George Touris of Edinburgh captured some time between August 1488 and July 1489, and of the £100 given by the King on 10th July, 1489, "to the men that had thare schippis and gudis takin be the Denssmen."<sup>4</sup> The first Parliament of James IV, in ordering the sending of an embassy to Denmark for renewal of the alliance, had included as one of its objects "that justice be askit of Luthkin Mere and his complices, quhilkis has done hevvy iniuries within our souerane lordis watteris."<sup>5</sup> The same Parliament had again ordered the destruction of Dunbar Castle, as a danger to the realm, as had been proved during the rebellions of Albany; but the necessity for such a weak preventive was soon obviated by stronger measures. The Danish pirates were the first to be dealt with, and by August, 1489, Luthkyn Mere and his men were led captive to the King

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3. T.A., I. pp. 89-90 and lxxvii. "Yong Kere Garde" and "Yonk Gerhard."

4. T.A., I p. 115. The Danish ship at Ayr (Ex. R., X 47) may have been one of those sent by the Danish king to help the French in Brittany against the Spaniards and English. Pelicier, Lettres de Charles VIII, tom. II. p. 360.

5. A.P., II. p. 241 and T.A., I. p.civ. note 1.

at Stirling. They were sent back via Linlithgow to Edinburgh, where the Treasurer's clerk laconically registered their end in the grim note, "Item, for the costis made in Edinburgh upoun XXXVI of his folkis that was taken in Leytht ay quhill thai war justy-feit."<sup>6</sup>

The name of Deyf Luthkin's captor is unknown, but already James had gained over the Scots seamen to his side, if we may judge by the adherence to the young King of Sir Andrew Wood, the faithful servant of the old. On July 27th, 1488, James IV confirmed Wood's charter of Largo, granted by James III a few months before in March 1487-8.<sup>7</sup> The rebels and the English, if indeed they had had any hope of his support, were soon undeceived.<sup>8</sup> In 1489, using according to Pitscottie's narrative only the "Yellow Carvel," and the "Flower," Wood fought and captured five English ships which had been plundering Scots

6. T.A., I. pp. 115 & 118. The words "taken in Leytht" might inspire the suspicion that they had ventured ashore there and were captured. If that were so they must have been accustomed to act thus with impunity under James III. But this is pure speculation.

7. Reg. Mag. Sig., 1750.

8. Pollard, "Henry VII, Sources", p. 141. As late as 1495 Ramsay (Bothwell) writes "thar is mony of his faderis servants wald sea remedy of the ded of his fadyr zit", and hints at possible defections among the seamen.

ships in the Forth.<sup>9</sup> These English ships must have been pirates, but, remembering the attempted aid to Dunbarton Castle in the West, we may well suspect that they stood in the same relation to the first Tudor as Drake did to the last. As a result of these victories James was now fairly secure in the East and the West.

The sequel as told by Pitscottie is well known; Henry VII's rage, Stephen Bull, a skilled English sea captain, volunteering to avenge the insult; his wait with three strong ships behind the Isle of May for Wood returning from Flanders; the sighting of the Scots ships "apoun ane summer morning a lytill eftir the day breaking;" the Homeric combat; the shores of the Firth thronged with the onlookers; the truce imposed by the night-fall, and the next day's battle with the interlocked ships drifting to the Inchcape, "fornent the mouth of Tay," when the victorious Scots took their captives to Dundee. There is every reason to give credit to Pitscottie here. We know that Henry VII made a payment to Bull for his expenses on

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9. Pitscottie, p. 226. Conway p. 30. Hume of Godscroft, p. 230, adds that the five ships "also many times came ashore and pillaged the country." Drummond, "Five Jameses" p. 122, writes that they were sent too late to aid the rebels and instead pretended a revenge on the king's disloyal subjects.

the sea in the Michaelmas Term 1490-1.<sup>10</sup> The lying in wait behind the May was a practice of ships pirating in the Forth.<sup>11</sup> Considering how long after the event it was before Pitscottie wrote, the details of the narrative cannot be pressed far; but, allowing for this, it is worth noting how Wood is credited with outmanoeuvring Bull, as when the Scots "cast them to windwart of the Englishmen," and this has been quoted as a proof of the superior seamanship of the Scots. The point seems allowable since, even in Pitscottie's day, naval warfare was very much of a "land-battle at sea," as indeed was the greater part of this fight.

In 1491 Wood was granted a licence for his new castle at Largo, "domus et fortaliciū" built "per manus Anglicorum dict. And. captivorum." These

10. Pitscottie, pp. 228-230. Cal. etc. Scotland, 1576, and Conway, p. 31, for Henry VII's payment to Bull. Aneas Mackay thinks the stanza, "Sum takis be sie," in Dunbar's "Discretion in Taking", refers to this exploit. Dunbar "Scottish Kings," p. 216 dates this encounter 1504, an impossible date.
11. P. C. Reg., II. p. 625, for a case in 1577. The licence for the guild, afterwards the Trinity Corporation, testifies to the swarming of Scots, among other foreigners, as "lōdismen" in England, and thus indirectly to the ubiquity and skill of the Scottish seamen. Oppenheim, "Administration of the Royal Navy," p. 92. Cf. the case of John Graunt, a Scot, in 1498, who for thirty years "hath had the principal rule of the best shippes belonging to Bristowe.." Cal. etc. Scotland. 1645.

captives must have been taken in the earlier fight of 1489, if we are to credit the account of James IV's magnanimous release of Bull and his men unransomed, with a polite warning to Henry VII not to do it again.<sup>12</sup>

This stirring opening to the naval history of the reign must not blind us to the grave picture the necessity for these deeds presents. The end of Luthkyn Mere was not the end of the Danish pirates, for in 1491 a Dundee ship was rescued "from the weirmen of the Danes." An act of Parliament of 1491 is founded on the danger from English, Danish, and other pirates in the Firth of Forth. It provided for the establishment of a fort on the Island of Inchgarvie to guard the upper reaches of the Forth, and the licence for Wood's fortalice on the other side of the Firth cited the same necessity of defence against pirates.<sup>13</sup>

In the pacification of 1493 between England and Scotland, it was agreed that the Scots had suffered more at sea than the English. The very small amount

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12. Reg. Mag. Sig., II. 2040. Henry VII's contrite answer is highly improbable.

13. A.D.C. 1478-95, p. 218. A.P., II 270. The fort on Inchgarvie was not built.

of 1,000 marks to be paid to the Scots as compensation for their losses over and above those of the English may be due more to Henry's parsimony than to the approximate equality of the losses sustained by either nation.<sup>14</sup> The indications are, however, that the Scots, what with Wood's victories, and others unrecorded and hardly known, had cleared their own waters, so far as that could be done in those days, if we may argue both from the small amount of compensation, and the fact that all the later instances of piracy known to us show us the Scots avenging the injury. Thus the opening years of the reign left no doubt that the Scots were to keep the "Scottis Sea," and to lord it in the seas round Ireland.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. The State of Naval Affairs in Scotland till 1502.

There is a passage in Pedro de Ayala's report of July, 1498, which says of Scotland that "no King can do her damage without suffering greater damage from her, that is to say on land; for they know that on the sea there are many Kings more powerful

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14. Rot. Scot., II. p. 510-12.

15. Power, p. 194 for Scots control of the North Channel.

than they are, although they possess many fine vessels."<sup>1</sup> We must give due weight to that last phrase, but it is obvious that James had not yet concentrated on shipbuilding to any great extent, or de Ayala would have noted it in sketching his character and deeds. James during his early years till 1502 was occupied with the wars with England and his support of Perkin Warbeck, yet in spite of the demands made by these, and the many other occupations of his active life, his interest in sea power and his use of it is marked.

Looked at from the point of view of naval history, the period was one of continued though scattered and interrupted maritime activity. It saw ships built and bought for the King. It saw the rebuilding of the Castle of Dunbar and some consideration of the defences of the Firth of Forth. In its first years, until interrupted by the Warbeck episode, it saw expeditions to the Isles employing ships there, a development which may be credited to James IV,<sup>2</sup> and its end saw the dispatch of a small but effective fleet to aid the King of Denmark. The King's ships still trade and are hired for trading purposes, but this use of ships on such a large scale

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1. Cal. Spanish, 210.

2. James III had intended such use of ships there.



for warlike purposes, is a new thing, and was to have vast effects on the history of James' reign. The quickening in English naval history occurs at the same time, with, at first, more emphasis on building and acquiring new ships, and, until the advent of Henry VIII, less extensive use in war.

a. The Ships.

The continued use of the King's ships for trading has been noted, but whatever was the practice earlier, (and James I at least exported his own produce), under James IV hiring out royal ships seems to have been the rule. In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1495-6, there is an entry recording that "James Wood master of the Kingis schip callit the bark Douglas," has it "sett to him for ilk raise (voyage) in and furth" for £45, and owes therefore £90 for two voyages. John Irwin, master of the "Christopher," pays £100 in the year for the ship. The arrangement seems to have been that the master of one of the King's ships served the King with it when required, the King paying him then, and had the ship let out to him at other times.<sup>3</sup> Part at anyrate of his freight might be paid in kind, as when in 1490 James Wood and John

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3. T.A., I. 217 & 269.

Irwin pay partly in rolls of cloth.<sup>4</sup> Besides providing the ship, in 1534 the rule obtained that the King also paid for the "apparalling", that is the tackle and other equipment, and it is to be presumed that this would hold good earlier under James IV.<sup>5</sup> The "bark Douglas," and the "Christopher," were presumably inherited from James III, and though we cannot guess their sizes, the sum of money paid for their use is quite large.<sup>6</sup>

The expedition to the Isles of 1495 furnishes us with an example of the mode of hiring a ship for the King's use. An indenture has been preserved, dated Edinburgh, 28th December, 1492, whereby "William lord of Sanct Johnis, duncane forster of skipinche and Andrew wod of largo, knychtis, for the parte of our souerane lord on a parte," engage "Nicholas of bowr maister under god of the schip Callit the verdour" to bring it "to the goraik (Gourock bay) on the west bordour and sey VIII mylis fra dumbartane or tharby be

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4. T. A., I. 318.

5. A.D.C., p. 430.

6. There was a "Christopher" of 60 tons trading to England, Rot. Scot., II. 412. But the name was a common one for a ship and this was probably not the same vessel. £100 was the annual "pensioun" of a high official like "Henry Lord Sinklere, maister of the Kingis artaillery." T.A. IV. 267.

the first day of the moneth of maii next tocum," and there to take on board three hundred fully armed soldiers with their equipment and victuals, and with them to accompany "the kingis hienes at his pleasure and his lieutenants and deputies" for two months, and land and re-embark them. For these services he is to be paid £300, "usuale money of Scotland." The engagement is most elaborate and provides for all contingencies. The exact capacity of the ship, for example, seems to have been doubtful, so, if it is "of mare portage," Nicholas is to get 20/- for each man above the three hundred, if of less, he is to forfeit an equivalent sum of the £300; if the ship be required for more than the two months Nicholas will get more money, and he is to get his pay if he does his service for two months should the troops fail to appear.<sup>7</sup> This seems on the face of it to be a free bargain, but the King, in the case of war and some other circumstances, exercised the right of "arresting" any ships and choosing those most suitable for his purpose. The owners were paid for their use, or perhaps we should say, became creditors of the King for the sums due.

Of the ships actually belonging to the King, the

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7. A.D.C., (1478-1495), p. 380.

"Christopher" and the "bark Douglas" have been mentioned. The "Flour," which seems also to have belonged to the King, was still "on life," making a voyage to Denmark with ambassadors, and under Sir Andrew Wood going to the Netherlands and on the expeditions to the Isles.<sup>8</sup> It, presumably, was the "Kingis schip" brought from Largo to deal with Angus in Tantallon in 1491.<sup>9</sup> Halyburton's ledger shows us these three, and the "Lyon," "Verdour," "Julyan," and others trading to Flanders, but apart from the three, we cannot identify more King's ships, though there may have been others.<sup>10</sup>

These, however, were added to by purchase and building. At the close of the siege of Dumbarton in 1489, £130 was paid to the Laird of Laucht for a ship, and her equipment, including guns and "schipmannis feyis", came to £270.12.0 more.<sup>11</sup> During the Warbeck

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8. From Ex. R., X. 376 & 576, and T.A., I. 172 and other entries elsewhere, it seems certain that the "Flour" belonged to the King. It is curious that only the payments for the hires of the "Douglas" and "Christopher" should survive, and that the "Flour" is always associated with Wood as owner. It often seems that the expression "Kingis schip" did not imply ownership. cf. A.D.C., 1496 - 1501, 470 where even the words Wm. Gray "had an schip of the Kingis hienes" only seems equivalent to "of Scottish register," and C.R. Aber. 65, "our said schip" - Scottish ship.

9. T.A., I. 312.

10. The skipper of the "bark callit the Mary," got £5.5.6 in 1496 "for a mast he put in the samyn schip in Danskin" (Dantzic) T.A., I. 300. This would seem to mean that the ship belonged to the King, but it may only have been freighted by the King. Andrew Halyburton, pp. 7, 10, 21, 40.

11. T.A., I. 125.

period, James paid £60 in 1497 for a ship given to Roderic de Lalain, a member of the great Burgundian family, who was aiding Perkin, and next year a "broken ship" was bought from a "Portingale man of the West sea" for £35, doubtless that the timbers might be used in a new ship.<sup>12</sup> This was not an unusual practice, for suitable wood was a precious commodity. In the preparations for the 1495 expedition to the Isles, there is the curious item, "thir ar the expanssis maid.....apone sertane wrychtis and werk men takand upe the auld schype that was sunkyne in Dumbartane in the watter, for the bygin of the barge."<sup>13</sup>

The building of this rowbarge and other boats belongs to the story of the voyages to the Isles, but even apart from such special occasions, James' careful maintenance of his ships needs no stressing. That there was a desire to make Scotland take its proper place as a naval power, can be seen by the act of 1493 to cause fishing boats to be built and manned by the idle men of the burghs. Although James III had passed a similar act, the new one specially mentions the immeasurable riches "tint" through not prosecuting the fishing as other nations do. The tonnage of

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12. T.A., I. pp. 274, 388.

13. T.A., I. 245-254.

the "busches" was to be high, the twenty tons of the proposed fishing boats comparing perhaps too well with the eighty tons of the average merchant ship.<sup>14</sup>

b. Defence.

James was also alive to the need for protection against raids and invasion from the sea. During the wars with England, of the Warbeck period, there are no recorded sea fights, and the connection with the Low Countries was never interrupted, which would seem to favour the view that either the Scots were strong at sea, or the English not strong enough to cut their connections. It must be admitted, however, that lack of evidence is no proof.

There was one English sea raid, though it came to nothing and would be better called a scare. James had invaded England in 1496, and in revenge Henry VII sent a force under Surrey against Scotland. Ramsay, once James III's Lord Bothwell, Henry's spy at the Scottish Court, had advised invasion by sea, writing that almost all the sailors were away with the Scottish army (an interesting sidelight on their amphibious activities), and that the way was thus

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14. A.P., II. 235. But the fish would probably be pickled and stored on board, necessitating a large hold.

open.<sup>1</sup> Henry took the advice, and great preparations were made for the invasion by land and sea. In 1497, the "Regent" became the flagship of a fleet commanded by Lord Willoughby. "We know nothing of his proceedings, and apparently the fleet had no fighting; but from one reference the admiral, and possibly part of his command, were at one time in the Firth of Forth."<sup>2</sup>

In 1497 there is a minute of the Town Council of Aberdeen which reads almost as if the English fleet lay off that town, so insistent is its tone, and so full its detailed orders.<sup>3</sup> On August 21st, there is the dramatic entry in the "Treasurer's Accounts" of the payment of 18/- "that samyn nycht to Dande Doule, be the Kingis command, to walk on the sandis for to wait on (watch for) the Inglis schippis."<sup>4</sup> By September 17th, 1497, the "Regent" was back at Portsmouth, and the whole affair over. These are all the meagre details we have of the doings of the English fleet, with the exception of a reference in Boece's "Lives." There, Henry VII is depicted sending "sexaginta celoces et quadraginta onerarias naves"

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1. Pollard, 142. Conway, 108.

2. Oppenheim, Naval Accounts etc., 26 & xlvi where he comments that Gardiner has not realised the strength of this expedition.

3. C.R. Aber., 61.

4. T.A., I. 353.

to the Forth, and there is a reference to many fights at sea and on land caused by the war.<sup>5</sup> In December, 1497, the "Mare Bartane" lay at Aberdeen laden with spoils taken from the "auld innemeis."<sup>6</sup> It probably had letters of marque from the King, and the incident would support Boece's reference to many sea fights, if we may argue from the one case recorded. The fleet itself, however, seems to have effected nothing beyond providing the usual supplies for Surrey's army, and though it evidently entered the Forth, no landing seems to have been made nor any damage done, which supports Boece's view of it as a feint to keep the Scots out of England. The Cornishmen had risen and penetrated to Blackheath in the June of 1497, so that the English King had his hands full at home.<sup>7</sup>

The war itself ended when Pedro de Ayala negotiated the Peace of Aytoun in September, 1497, between the two countries, but even before the sea raid of that year James had been studying the defences

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5. Boece, "Vitae", p. 56.

6. C. R. Aber., 65. The name would suggest ownership by the Bartons, but the master was "our louit fameliar squiar Nichele Ramsay." The Admiral and his deputes are discharged from taking admiralty (dues) "of any maner of gudis, wore witht our said schip." As this exemption is to endure "for all the daies of the saide Nicholas Liff," it is personal, and not an exemption to a ship of the king. Once more the "our" does not denote ownership.

7. ...."ut Scoti, Anglicarum copiarum exponendarum prohibitioni intenti, coactu exercitu in Angliam proficisci facile non possent." Vitae p. 56.

of the Forth. As a result, in that very year Sir Andrew Wood was made governor of Dunbar, and under his direction the rebuilding of the castle, which later was to be praised as "the strengthiest in Britane", proceeded energetically.<sup>8</sup> On the 23rd of May, James inspected the progress of the work and afterwards sailed to the Bass, doubtless on one of his many pleasure cruises on the Forth, but also, we may assume, to survey the defences needed for the Firth. Dunbar, Blackness, and Inchgarvie were the three vital points on the south shore of the Firth, though, in spite of many good intentions, Inchgarvie was not actually fortified until Albany became Governor after Flodden.<sup>9</sup> On the north side of the Forth Wood's own tower of Largo was regarded as a defence against pirates and invaders.

In his defensive measures, James may have been caught ill prepared by the invasion of 1497. Yet the rebuilding of Dunbar had been determined and probably started before it, and we may justly give some credit for the raid's failure to James' preparations. A swift raid was always feasible, and could not be met

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8. Bellenden, XXXVIII. cap. 10.

9. The usefulness of Inchgarvie's fort was a controversial matter, cf. P.C. Reg., I. p.90.

at sea, even if James could have kept all the available ships idle awaiting its coming. Any naval war like that of 1512-13 was only a matter of cross-raiding, murderous but indecisive. Shore defences and watches were the only remedy, and these James had set about providing.

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Cap. IV. The Naval Expeditions.

History notoriously cannot be divided into cut and dried slices, and in this survey of the period from 1488 to 1502, the tale of the expeditions to the Isles has been omitted, along with that of the expedition to Denmark. They deserve to be treated each as a whole, and such a method, though involving overlapping, will serve to stress the essential unity of the naval history of the whole reign. The story of the years from 1488 to 1502 is full enough to demonstrate that the great shipbuilding period which followed, though undoubtedly conducted at a Soviet "tempo", was no wayward development. The King had been in contact with ships from the first days of his reign, and always in circumstances likely to inspire him with a lively appreciation of their value. From his dealings with the Isles it is clear that he favoured their use, and his daily actions prove his natural love of the sea and ships. During the first decade of his reign too, there is ample evidence of a growth in the number of Scots ships and of the widespread exploits of a race of seamen containing many individuals who, as James Grant wrote of Sir Andrew Wood, "would be as well-known on the quays of Sluys as on the Timber Holfe, and as welcome a guest in the houses of Hamburg and Lubeck as in those of the

Burgess-close and Broadwynd at home."<sup>1</sup> Surrounding states also built up fleets at the same time as the Scots King, but he did not imitate them, if anything he preceeded them, and his development of a Scottish fleet was dictated by motives native to James, his life and country.

1. The Expeditions to the Isles.

James' troubles in the Isles were inherited from his father's reign, and they arose from the usual feuds, complicated by the claims of aspirants to the Lordship of the Isles. James was at Dunstaffnage in August, 1493, apparently surveying his ground, and in April, 1494, he was at Tarbert, Bruce's old castle, which he repaired, victualled, and garrisoned. July saw him back at Tarbert, and he then took and garrisoned the castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre. Most of his men were then dismissed, and he was leaving the district when Sir John of Isla captured Dunaverty in sight of the King's ships, and hung the garrison on its walls, in a mad challenge to the King.<sup>2</sup> Ships were employed in these expeditions both in April and July, and we know that the "Christopher" under John Irwin was at Tarbert and was

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1. Grant, Constable of France, etc., p. 192.

2. Gregory, p. 89.

victualled from Ayr. Indeed, the surviving records of their equipment would suggest that their presence in the Isles was continuous, not separable into two or more distinct expeditions in April and July, when the King was present in person.<sup>3</sup>

To meet Sir John's defiance, a fresh force was got ready in 1495, and it was for this expedition that the "Verdour" under Nicholas Bower was engaged to carry three hundred soldiers to the Isles. The work of preparation proceeded quickly at Dumbarton, where Sir George Galbraith was master of works, and we have very full accounts of the building of a rowbarge and two boats, and of the repair of the "Christopher." To supplement Dumbarton's wrights six were sent from Leith, and their account amounted to £160.18.0 for 24 weeks 3 days. Timber for the boats came from the woods near at hand, in Argyle and on Loch Lomondside, the keel coming from Rossdhu. The iron work was partly made on the spot from Spanish iron, and partly fetched from Edinburgh and Leith. Lord Bothwell presented a mast, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth three sails. Other sails and sixty-eight oars were purchased, mostly from Sir Andrew Wood and Peter Falconer, and a new "cabill" (rope) weighing 37 stones

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3. Ex. R., X. p. 477, & T.A., I. p. 224.

was bought from Robert Barton. Salvage, too, played its part, as we see by the note...."thir ar the expenssis maid be Schir George apone sertane wrychtis and werkmen takand upe the auld schype that was sunkyne in Dumbartane in the watter, for the bygin of the barge." Its timbers were dried at fires of bracken and heather and used in constructing the new rowbarge which, if the date on which payment to the workmen ceased is a reliable guide, was completed by the end of March.<sup>4</sup>

In January, 1494-5, James was in Bute, and on the 6th of January inspected the progress of the ships at Dumbarton. He kept Easter at Stirling, and after it his "abilyement for the Ilis" was got ready; a crimson and black velvet "jurenay" worn over his armour, sea coat, "brekis" of English green, white "hos to the kne," and stuff for his bed, a "letacampbed" or travelling bed.<sup>5</sup> On the 5th of May he arrived at Dumbarton, with the "lords of the Westland, Eastland, and Southland," and next day was at Newark Castle, where he probably embarked. On the 18th of May he was at Mingarry Castle in Ardnamurchan. Besides the ships already mentioned as prepared for this expedition - the "Christopher" the rowbarge and

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4. T.A., I. pp. 245-254 in one account.

5. T.A., I. pp. 240, 226.

two boats, and the "Verdour," - at least the "Flour", with Sir Andrew Wood also accompanied it. The operations were very successful, and, driven from their fastnesses, Sir John and his four sons were later caught by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and beheaded in Edinburgh in 1500.<sup>6</sup>

It is possible that some of the ships may have remained in the Isles, employed in victualling the castles and rendering other services, but on the whole, during the episode of Warbeck, the Isles received little attention, so that another expedition had to be prepared immediately after it. In the second week of July, 1497, Perkin sailed from Ayr, in a ship named the "Cuckoo," under the command of Robert Barton, and he was accompanied by his wife, the prothonotary Andrew Forman, and at least thirty attendants. The victuals were abundant and varied - beef, mutton, wine, ale, cider and beer, biscuits, oatmeal, and cheese, herring and "keling", besides a supply of peat and coal, and a hundred candles.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Ex. R., X. pp. 537, 571. Gregory, p. 90.

7. T.A., I. 344. Note 1, p. clii deals with the litigation over the ownership of the "Cuckoo." It was probably this trouble which led to Barton's arrest in Brittany later.

At once James prepared for an expedition to the Isles, and in February, 1497-8, he was at Ayr for that purpose. There wrights were busy on Lord Kennedy's "pykhert" (a small ship but evidently with sails). As mariners were fetched from Leith, one of the bigger vessels may have been used,<sup>8</sup> but we have references only to smaller vessels, "George Heris' bote", "the laird of Bomby's boat", the laird of Fast Castle's bote", John Wilson's boat, and Sir Robert Ker's galley. The use of these smaller vessels may indicate that, on this occasion, the need was for rapidity of movement rather than for any great force.<sup>9</sup>

On the 8th of March, James passed to sea, spent a night in Arran, and by the 12th was at Loch Kilkerane (near the modern Campbeltown) in South Kintyre, for on that day two boats towed in the "Spanzeart schip." This vessel may have been with the King, or it may have been taken somehow in the Isles.<sup>10</sup> - James again made rapid trips to

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8. A.D.C., 1496-1501, 277. Action over "the Mary quhilk brak in the Ylis." It was apparently hired by the King at this time, and presumably for this expedition.

9. T.A., I. 378.

10. T.A., I. 382. In November 1497 Spaniards were involved in a brawl in Leith. A.D.C. 1496-1501, p. 93.

Kilkerane early in May 1498, and again on the 18th of May, going each time by ship from Dumbarton.<sup>11</sup> James' policy was wise and successful, and for the time being the Isles were peaceful.

He had sworn servants in the persons of chiefs like MacIain of Ardnamurchan, Mackay of Strathnaver in the North, and others, but an act of his in 1498 was to cause renewed trouble, for, unfortunately, on the 16th of March, 1498, James revoked the charters granted to the vassals of the Isles during the last 6 years. In the autumn of 1499 he held his court at Tarbert in South Kintyre, and all was quiet, but the trouble was brewing, and the entrusting to the Earl of Argyle, of the power of leasing out the greater part of the Lordship of the Isles brought matters to a head, for, if the King were not to keep the Isles in his own hands, Argyle, Huntly, and others would eat up the chiefs piecemeal. It is difficult to account for James' sudden change of policy, unless, indeed, we may put it down to bad and interested councillors. Alone among the chiefs, MacIain was rewarded.<sup>12</sup>

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11. T.A., I. p.clxvi.

12. Gregory, p. 75. We may attribute the change of policy to bad counsel as Drummond does in the case of the "recognitions" Drummond, p. 151.

In the castle of Inchconnel, there had been kept captive for 40 years Donald Dhu, a grandson, though in an illegitimate line, of John, lord of the Isles. In 1501 he escaped and was sheltered by Torquil Macleod in the Lewes. James' clemency having raised the false hope that he intended to restore the Lordship of the Isles, the Islesmen rallied to the claimant, and during Christmas, 1503, Donald broke into Badenoch and overran it. The usual measures in such cases had been taken, Huntly had been sent to Lochaber, and Argyle and others were to act from the South, but, as happened time and again later, these methods were useless, and the Parliament of 1504 warned "all the partis of the Realme quhar our souerane lord thinkis expedient to mak thaim reddy with thar schippis and ger quhen thai be chargeit to pas in the Iles".....<sup>13</sup>

In April, 1504, a force sailed from Dumbarton and Ayr to besiege Carneburgh, a strong fort on a small isolated rock near the west coast of Mull.<sup>14</sup> James, who had to deal with troubles among the Borderers, did not lead the squadron, but he inspected the ships at Dumbarton, accompanied there by Robert

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13. A.P., II. p. 248.

14. T.A., II. pp. 429, 430. Gregory, p. 100.

Herwort, the gunner. A French ship carried wine and other victuals to the force, Leonard Logy saw to the supply of gunpowder and gun-stones through Dumbar-ton, and Sir Andrew Wood, who is generally said to have accompanied the fleet, certainly victualled it.<sup>15</sup>

In May, Robert Barton and Hans, the gunner, went to the siege, and in August, Barton's ship, the "Columb", sailed from Leith to Dumbar-ton, provisioned with powder by Hans, a master gunner.<sup>16</sup> John Merchamston is mentioned by name as in charge of one ship at the siege, and the "Earl of Arran's ship" was there, and perhaps the Earl in person, to judge by the dainty bread sent to it.<sup>17</sup> John Smolet, burgess of Dumbar-ton, got £169.12.0 for victualling the "Kingis schip" in the Isles from 17th August 1504 till Yule. Men of this family were to perform the same duty in after years, and Tobias Smollett was descended from one of them.

In 1505 operations in the Isles still proceeded, though Carneburgh was captured in that year and given to the custody of the Earl of Argyle.<sup>18</sup> There

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15. T.A., II. pp. 432, 437.

16. T.A., II. p. 454.

17. T.A., II. p. 431. The Introduction, p. xliv, states that Arran did go.

18. Ex. R., XIII. p. 224.

appears to have been a plan that Huntly with a force should act from the North, in support of the southern expedition, and so catch the rebels as if between the two claws of a pair of pincers. Accordingly, John Barton got £120 for "his fraucht in the Isles, and passit to Banf and thare remanit on the Erle of Huntlie quhill tha accordit."<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately we do not know whether they did "accord" or not, or whether John Barton reached the Isles. There are the usual notices of supply to the southern force, Robert Herwort passing guns and powder through Dumbarton, and then himself going to the Isles. It is generally stated that the King in person led the southern force, but this cannot be proved from the Accounts, though it is probable that the King was in Arran when, for some unknown reason, it became necessary "to sege Watte Stewart in Lord Hamiltounis house" in June, 1505.<sup>20</sup> The heavy work was over, and most of the chiefs had submitted, in 1505, and if we may judge by the housing of guns in Dumbarton in July, the main sea force may have been withdrawn by then. But Torquil Macleod held

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19. T.A., III. p. 138. On p. 141, a John Barton is named "the younger," and the employment of both Johns would account for a John Barton waiting for Huntly and being at Dumbarton almost at the same time.

20. T.A., III. p. 145. If we may deduce the king's presence from his master cook's getting bread and ale across to Arran "in the Kingis schip the Collumb."

out in Stornoway till 1506, and on the 24th of June of that year, John Smolet received £50 in Linlithgow "to pas in the Isles with the schip and to meet William Brounhillis schip," while William Broun got £133.6.8 "to pas with his schip to fure the Erle of Huntley in the Isles."<sup>21</sup>

This last force was successful, for Huntly and Iye Roy Mackay captured Torquil in his castle at Stornoway, and old Donald Dubh was warded in Edinburgh. This ended the rebellion, and with the fall of Stornoway the Isles were quiet. Ships went for wood and on peaceful errands, and now and then carried the King's officials there, but no occasion arose for their use as war ships.

The quelling of the rebellion, it is true, had proved a lengthy affair. Miss Cunningham lays the blame on Huntly and Argyle, and while giving the credit of the pacification to the aid of the ships and the King, adds that "the Scottish Navy was designed for other purposes than the settlement of the Isles and the King had no wish to spend his life in arduous journeys of pacification or of vengeance."<sup>22</sup> The loyalty of the Islesmen to James is surely a proof of the wisdom of his policy. To gain his ends, his ships had been of vital importance, since only by them

21. T.A., III. p. 200.

22. Audrey Cunningham, "The Loyal Clans", p. 66. Bellenden, I. xlix.

could the King's small bodies of soldiers be carried quickly from place to place as they were needed. At this date, of course, castles could not be bombarded by ships, but used as transports of men and material they were decisive, and it seems probable that their presence in the Isles under James IV was even more continuous than surviving records suggest.<sup>23</sup>

James V was to adopt his father's policy with like success, for James IV had proved that naval force was the best police for the Isles.

## 2. Naval Aid to Denmark.

The Scottish naval assistance to Denmark consisted of the small fleet under the Earl of Arran, sent in 1502, and aid given later through the licencing of Scots ships to serve King John of Denmark, James IV's uncle, and arrangements that the Bartons should do so. There were also many embassies sent to negotiate in the troubles of Denmark, Sweden, and Lubeck. In duration, this naval aid stretches from

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23. Arguing from Boece's story of "ane schip, namit the Crestofir," which "efter that scho had lyin III yeris at ane ankir in ane of thir Ilis, was brocht to Leith" a few years after 1491. As her timber was rotten she was broken down and geese appeared from the worm-eaten timbers. We can only ask, not answer, the questions, did she lie three years deserted, if not is "at ankir" an overstatement, and does it only mean afloat sailing etc? Leslie, I. 61 repeats "her anker being castin" and makes her "a gret and monstrous schip." The dating is vague but this cannot be the Christopher which went to Denmark in 1502.

slightly before the great ship-building period, till 1511, when Andrew Barton's last voyage to Denmark led him to his death, and gave James one of his bitterest grievances against the King of England.

The North's chronic state of war is depicted most vividly when Dunbar makes Wealth declaim -

"Swadrik, Denmark and Norraway,  
Nor in the Steiddis I dar nocht ga,  
Thair is nocht thair but tak and slae  
Cut throppillis and mak quyte."

In 1500, for the moment, Sweden was quiet, but in that year John, King of Denmark, and his brother, Frederick of Holstein, were badly defeated by the independent republican Freisians of Ditmarsch, even losing the "Danebrog," the ancient legendary banner of the Danes. Since the Union of Kalmar in 1397, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had been nominally under one king, but Norway and Sweden were both unquiet under what was in effect a Danish tyranny, and Stene Sture and two succeeding able "administrators," led the Swedes in intermittent revolts, aiming at independence, and gave their country what little government it had in the intervals of war. In 1500 there was peace, the Swedes of Stene Sture's party having been forced, in 1497, to recognise John as King, but on the Danish defeat the Swedes had immediately seized their chance, and their rising was so successful that John's Queen, Christina, found

herself besieged in the castle of Stockholm.

King John appealed for aid to several princes but the sole response came from his two relatives, the Elector of Brandenburg,<sup>1</sup> and King James, who got a grant from Parliament of a special tax to equip a fleet for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> With his usual energy the Scots King closely supervised its preparation, once dining on board the "Egill" when John Barton won a bet with him. Judging from the ships he inspected, there were prepared for the voyage the bark "Douglas," the "Egill," the "Towaich," the "Christopher," and a small ship the "Jacat," but the "Egill," at any rate, did not sail.<sup>3</sup> Probably therefore, only the "Douglas" the "Christopher," the "Towaich," and the "Jacat" sailed, accompanied, perhaps, by the "Trinity," which, on 22nd May, 1502, had returned with news from Denmark.<sup>4</sup> This fleet was under the command of Lord

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1. Dunbar, III. p. 391. Aneas Mackay's note on Scoto-Danish relations. With the exception of Huitfeldt I have used all the sources he quotes.
  2. Its arrears were still being collected in 1504. T.A., II. 191.
  3. T.A., II. pp. 144, 146, 148. Lord Setoun, the owner, forfeited money for not having the "Egill" ready in time to sail, p. 191 Cf. the Wood-Bower agreement. Mackay, Dunbar, III. p. 391 makes the force 2 ships with 2,000 men, but such a number would require more than two ships.
  4. T.A., II. p. 147.

Hamilton, later Earl of Arran, one of those who served with him being Sir David Sinclair, brother of Oliver Sinclair, James V's favourite, and it probably sailed some time in August 1502.<sup>5</sup> Meantime Queen Christina, after standing a long siege in Stockholm, had surrendered to the Swedes and been imprisoned in Wadstena Convent. Arran was just in time to aid the Danish ships and those of Brandenburg in releasing her, and returned home at once.<sup>6</sup> From an expression in a letter of James to Christina it has been supposed that Arran returned too soon, and that his conduct was unsatisfactory, but as he was made an Earl for his services, and continued in high favour with James, there is no reason to suppose that he had not carried out his instructions to the letter.<sup>7</sup> The Scottish

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5. For Sinclair, Dunbar, III. p. 391.

6. Dunbar, III. p. 391 where Mackay quotes Huitfeldt as authority that the Scots ships did arrive in time to help.

7. Ep. Reg. Scot., I. p. 69 no. XXXIV James replying to a message of thanks from the Danish queen, stresses his anxiety for her safety, praises her courage in the rigours of the siege, and politely minimises his own aid. The phrase alluding to the quick return of the fleet - "quod minime tulissemus, nec unquam ausi fuissent ..," comes in quite naturally, and would not have been singled out, had it not been for the accusations against Arran's conduct of the French expedition. A more likely inference is that James himself had an uneasy conscience, lest his orders as to returning had been too peremptory.

King, it may be presumed desired the return of his ships as soon as the need for their aid was over. Indeed considering the inducements John was offering to any seamen willing to enter his service, it may have been a wise decision of Arran's to return at once, if he were to take all the ships safely back.

While the Dane naturally aimed at a victory over rebels, and over his enemies of the Hanse League, the Scottish King had to consider his own country's interests in trade with the German cities.<sup>8</sup> Thus in 1504, in answer to another appeal for aid, he sent an ambassador to cajole and threaten the Hanse into ceasing to aid the Swedes. Indeed James had ambassadors in Denmark and the North almost yearly, and now succeeded, now failed, in bringing the parties together. To yet another appeal for aid in 1504, asking for one or two ships, James replied that he could send none: some of his were still building, others refitting, some trading in Flanders and Brittany, while those which would have been most suitable for the purpose were under arrest in Brittany, so that only with difficulty was a ship

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8. L. & P. Gairdner, vol. II. pp. 233 & 235.

found to take the Lyon King to Denmark.<sup>9</sup> At the moment this was quite true, but it is also evident that while James hoped for peace by negotiation, John was convinced that the one road to peace was by crushing the Hanse at sea, and although doing his best for John, James had to consider the Scottish trade with the Hanse, and especially with Dantzic.

Though not successful in ending the strife, James did his utmost to make peace between Denmark and the Hanse, and when this was accomplished in 1507, largely by the mediation of his envoys, after Lubeck had made a renewed attack on John, in his letter of congratulations to his uncle, James inserts a sugared hint, when he praises him for his wisdom in cutting off allies from the Swedish rebels by making peace with the Hanse, ( and thus rendering Scottish aid unnecessary.)<sup>10</sup>

With the exception of the Arran expedition of 1502, and diplomatic missions, James' aid to Denmark consisted in giving permission to Scots seamen to aid John. Such helpers had full licence from the Danish King "nostro nomine depredari, spoliare nostros

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9. L. & P. Gairdner, II. p. 187. The shortage of ships is confirmed by T.A., III. p. 199 when a ship has to be fetched round from Dumbarton to Leith to carry an embassy to Gueldres.

10. Dunbar, III. p. 392 & L. & P. Gairdner, p.232.

subditos suecos atque omnes et singulos ipsi civitati Lubicensi adherentium.....ac omnia et singula eorum bona et merces.....in suos usus libere convertere et commutare."<sup>11</sup> It was a wide commission, and such inducements were only too effective in attracting many sea rovers to his aid, among them being one "Andrew Bartwn, Skotsk Frybytter."

At the opening of the year 1508, John again appealed for aid against the Hanse city of Lubeck, asking for two fully equipped ships.<sup>12</sup> The Emperor Maximilian urged James not to send aid to Denmark, and James replied that, while he would do his best for peace, Lubeck was manifestly at fault, and had even interdicted Scots ships from its waters and killed Scots merchants.<sup>13</sup> Whether moved by this insult to his flag, or in response to renewed appeals, in 1508 Andrew Barton with his King's permission "passit in

11. Wegener, I. p. 7 no. 8. John's heralds advertised the tempting commissions discreetly, omitting all mention of any part to be reserved to the King.
12. Wegener, I. p. 18 no. 27. It is curious that the same appeal is sent to the French king minus the request for ships, p. 19, no. 28.
13. L. & P. Brodie, 547.

Denmark."<sup>14</sup> He had probably just returned from his famous exploit, recorded by Leslie, when he cleared the seas of Dutch pirates, sending their pickled heads as a present to King James.<sup>15</sup> Andrew made a name for himself even among the notable crew of sea-dogs who had flocked to John, drawn by the prospects of plunder. In his enumeration of their names the Danish chronicler includes "Andreas Barton, Scotus," and adds "omnes male perierunt."<sup>16</sup> The Danish king's move was successful, for the Baltic so swarmed with privateers that Lubeck was driven off the sea and had to make peace.<sup>17</sup>

The Lubeckers, in 1510, made another attempt to retrieve their position. Robert Barton was in Denmark early in 1510. Since the respite of all pleas against him during his absence was only for 40 days, it is to be presumed that he went carrying an embassy, or on a similar short journey.<sup>18</sup> However

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14. T.A., IV. 108, at the end of March £20 "to Andro Bertoun quhen he passit in Denmark." But on April 1st 4/- was given "to the madinnis in R. Bertounis hous quhair the King disjoint" and Andrew may have been present.
15. Leslie, II. p. 122 places the barrel of Dutch heads in the year of the launching of a great ship, in 1508.
16. Langebek, II. p. 563.
17. De Roches, 388.
18. Privy Seal Reg., I. 2071, licence dated 22nd May. Barton may have carried Norge Herald to Denmark. Wegener I., p. 39 no. 54.

that may be, in September 1510, he got a licence to spoil King John's enemies at sea.<sup>19</sup> As in the same month he was sent back to Scotland with another urgent appeal for naval aid, the licence must have been intended to cover the case of any trifles he might pick up on the way to Scotland.<sup>20</sup>

This time, in response to the appeal, only Andrew Barton was sent. He may have found it convenient to leave Scotland for the moment, as at least one case of alleged piracy was pending against him, when he "was to depart hastily to the partis beyond se." The plaintiff's orator "doutit Androis departing, and that perell was tharintill."<sup>21</sup> He had with him besides the "Lyon" of 120 tons, the "Jenny Pirwin" of 70 tons.<sup>22</sup> Andrew cannot have remained long in the Baltic. By the spring of 1511 Lubeck was "in extremis." It was unable to send forth its fleet and had to make shift with individual merchants sailing as pirates, and in such circumstances

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19. Wegener, I. p. 35 no. 47.

20. Wegener, I. p. 39 no. 54 dated 4th September.

21. A.D.C. 1501-54, p. lxxv.

22. L. & P. Brewer, 3718. King John regarded the "Jennet" as a present to him from James, and after Andrew's death claimed it from Henry. The original nationality of the little ship is unknown, most probably it was a Barton capture, perhaps from the Flemings.

there can have been little prospect of plunder to detain Barton long in the Baltic.<sup>23</sup> To James, if questioned, he could plead that as the Danish King had now clearly the upper hand, further Scottish help was unneeded. However much King John may have protested, Andrew Barton, "famosus ille pirata," left Danish waters on his last cruise.

With his departure, the tale of James' naval aid to Denmark ceases, and the remainder of the story of King John and his Scottish nephew is one of diplomatic negotiation on matters of European concern, secular and spiritual, and, at the very end of appeals by Scotland for help, unanswered, partly through the death of King John. The Kings of Scotland and Denmark play their part in the diplomatic fight leading to the actual war ending in Flodden. Had events moved more slowly, and had John not died, James might actually have received that Danish aid which he asked, and which contemporary rumour credited him with having received. As it was, all ended in promises.<sup>24</sup>

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23. De Roches, p. 401.

24. Becker, "De Rebus," deals with the final negotiations. They hinge on the question of a General Council mainly, and King John, who was conducting "reunion" conversations with Muscovy, was quite determined not to support Louis' Council. James, as "honest broker," did not succeed in bringing the French and Danes together.

An exact estimate of the importance of the whole episode is not yet possible. The first fleet under Arran, for instance, seems to have arrived when the real danger was almost over. The Bartons certainly impressed their forceful personalities on the Danes. Their fame persisted, and years later, in the wars between Christiern II, John's deposed son, and Frederick the usurper, both sides sought aid from Scotland, and especially that of the Bartons.<sup>25</sup> There is ample evidence, in the course of these negotiations and elsewhere, of the continued large Scottish trade to the Baltic. Even as late as 1542, amid all the troubles of the time in Scotland, the "Danish fleet" numbered 12 ships, evidently well worth plundering.<sup>26</sup>

During James IV's reign, the Scottish trade with Denmark and the Baltic was very large in naval stores alone, and the number of Scots in Denmark as merchants, clerics, and soldiers was already considerable. James' aid to his uncle strengthened this bond and must have thereby increased Scottish trade. The Hanse actually were the losing side in

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25. Wegener, III. 185 no. 48. Deputy Keeper's Reports, no. 46. App. II. p. 57. Robert Barton's "little ship" did carry some of the Scots soldiers sent to Denmark in 1519.

26. L. & P. XVII, 731.

the war with the Danes, and from the coldly material point of view it was well to be on the side of the winners. In actual fact, James' aid was dictated quite naturally by family and state relations, "if two close relations did not help each other who would." But even from the point of view of national interest, the Hanse power was a monopolistic one, while the Danes were unlikely to be able to monopolise trade in the North as the Hanse had done, and therefore its fall provided an opening for Scottish trade.

In so far as James' aid was against the Swedish national movement, that, also, was quite natural. John had law and right, as far as it could be generally known, on his side. Sten Sture, Svante Sture, and Stene the second, might well seem to James rather like claimants to the Isles at home, and in any case, John was fighting for a strong kingship against the nobles in his three realms. Even had there been no blood ties, James might well have sympathised with that fight.

The whole affair must not be exaggerated. James kept his help well within bounds, though he deserved praise for giving it. The fleet under Arran was sent when Queen Christina herself was in danger, when help could not be refused. Subsequently James did his best, while supporting his uncle, to gain a peace by negotiation. Aid, of a semi-private nature, like that of the Bartons, could hardly be refused,

especially if the Lubeck attacks on Scottish merchants were actual, and not an excuse. His part in the struggle gave James a place and a name in European diplomacy, but his conduct in the whole matter, though generous, was cautious and measured, and never beyond his powers.

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Cap. V. The Great Shipbuilding Period.1. The Ships.

It is immaterial whether we date the great shipbuilding period from the start of the century or from 1503. Any one of the first three years of the sixteenth century will furnish incidents suggestive of a concentration on increased sea power. 1503, the year of the King's marriage, saw Wood's completion of the re-building of Dunbar, and its transference to the governorship of Andrew Forman. It saw Parliament, besides ordaining that "the act anent buschis and schippis to be maid for fisching.....be put into scharp and dew execution," passing another, that "all townis and portis standand on the sey sid sik as leth, Inver:kethin, kinghorn, disert, Crale and otheris war ther commone gudis on the wallis of ther toune to the sey sid with portis of lyme and stane".<sup>1</sup> Above all, it saw the beginning of Newhaven, and the building of a big ship started there with the arrival of a keel from France. All this activity must have been decided and planned some time before, and its execution perhaps may have been delayed by events.

The motives governing James' creation of a fleet

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1. A. P. II. pp. 242 & 243.

fleet must have been as many as were its uses. Building would naturally increase in a period of peace, and the expeditions to the Isles and to Denmark all showed that more ships were needed. Neighbouring states were creating fleets, and in the Scots seamen James had a better basis than any of them. All these reasons urged him. Yet if the most definitely avowed object of his shipbuilding was, as he put it to Louis XII, "ad fines nostros tutandos,"<sup>2</sup> there is no doubt that the compelling motive, one of increasing intensity, was the idea of a crusade.

Of James' sincerity in the matter there can be no doubt. Archbishop Blackader of Glasgow, before his death on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1508, in May of that year, had, with due ceremony appeared before the Council at Venice to announce his King's intended crusade.<sup>3</sup> Mention of the King's "viage" crops up continually in odd quarters, as for example, in the Accounts of the Bishopric of Dunkeld.<sup>4</sup> James' foreign policy in his last decade was really dominated by the

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2. Ep. Reg. Scot., I. p.39.

3. Cal. Venet. Papers, I.905, 904, 909.

4. Rentale Dunkeldense, p.247. In 1507-08 James borrowed from some Edinburgh merchants for this purpose.

great project, though naturally with other threads intermixed, but the preparation for the Crusade must be insisted on, as James' undoubted and steady aim to the end. His uncle, John of Denmark, took his nephew so seriously that he urged the Archbishop of Glasgow to do his utmost to dissuade James, "ut a tam acerba peregrinacione abstineat,"<sup>5</sup> and the way in which Louis XII, Henry VIII, and other powers harp on the chord of aid for his crusade, shows that to his contemporaries, James seemed determined on the project.

Probably the driving force behind it all was remorse at his part in his father's death, but the crusading fever was in the air since Granada had fallen in 1492. Two years later, the Emperor Maximilian, most unaccountably, had defeated the Turks in a crushing victory, and driven them out of Styria, and through the dissensions of the Turks and the Persians, the time was ripe for a great attack, as the Grand Master of Rhodes urged.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent tremendous expansion of the Turkish power, at the very moment that Europe was split by the Reformation, reveals the project as a most statesmanlike one, and even from the point of view of the interests of the Scottish Crown, there was much to be said for it. The prestige that

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5. Wegener, 1. p.14 no. 22. 20th July, 1507.

6. cf. Dunbar's lines on the wars between "Sophie & Soudon strang".

Crown would have gained on the brow of a Crusader, and the employment of the dangerous surplus fighting energy of the nobles, might have enabled it to make itself supreme over those very feudal forces which had overthrown James III. It is very tempting to place James' final dedication of his energies to the idea of a crusade, and to the preparation of a fleet, in the first year of the new century, when we find that in 1502, Robert Barton offered a silver ship on behalf of his King in Compostella in Spain, at the shrine of the saint of the victorious Spanish crusaders, St. Iago,<sup>7</sup> James name saint.

The King's new ships were to be constructed in the east of Scotland, where the necessary large supplies of Baltic timber could be landed, and where the great Scots centres of trade and shipping were. For this a new shipbuilding place was necessary, and 1503 saw its start in the making of a new harbour and shipbuilding yard - the New Haven, Our Lady's Port of Grace, not far from Leith, where there was deep water near the shore. That year there is a notice of the "casting" of a dock at Newhaven.<sup>8</sup> A dock, then, would be best described as a ditch; a ship let down sharply on the

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7. T.A., IV. 40-41. The offering must have been for protection, or in thanks for protection, and as there is no indication of James having been in danger at sea before this, it must have been for intercession during some forthcoming voyage.

8. T.A., II. 347, etc.

mud would make one for herself, so that Gavin Douglas writes, "Lat every barge do prent hyrself a dok". The opening towards the sea was stopped by wooden piles and mud, and ships lay inside when not in use. During James IV's time we have only short references to the making of docks, or to men "casting about" one or other of the ships to "mak hir a dok," but later, in 1539, there is a reference to the "Salamander" being taken for use from the dock, where she had lain dis-mantled under a covering of wood, "to saif hir fra the weddir". The sails were usually dried and stored in the nearest church or chapel as at Newhaven and Dumbarton, a practice also found in England.<sup>9</sup>

For the building of the ships, aid had to be sought abroad. French wrights, such as Jennen Diew, John Lorens, and Jacat Terrell, were brought over by Robert Barton and others. Wrights were busy choosing suitable trees in all the woods of Scotland, even from the now treeless Caithness, southwards. The imports from the Baltic countries became heavier then ever, and timber was got from Normandy, where James got Louis to lift the ban on its export in his favour. We find Robert Barton paying "wod lief" for timber from the woods of Normandy, and when one keel was damaged there, he paid Jacat Terrell £5 to get another.<sup>10</sup>

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9. For the "Salamander", T.A., VII. p. 183. English cases "Accounts & Inventories", p. xxxv. On docks, Oppenheim, p. 29. Word derived from LL. diga, a ditch.

10. T.A., II. 284.

This keel needed extra men to ship it at Dieppe, and arrived in Scotland in 1503, in "James Makysonis schip".<sup>11</sup> Portuguese wrights were working in Dumbarton, which was still a busy centre, and James had at least one Dane among his workmen. We must not underestimate Scotland's own ship-building resources because foreign workmen were employed, or imagine James' effort as a complete innovation like that of Peter the Great in Russia. Scotland could not supply enough skilled workers for so large a programme, and they had to be got elsewhere, although she had an ancient shipbuilding tradition.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, it may be admitted that the French wrights were also employed for their skill. The English ships at this time, and long after, were built after French models, and the French built the best ships up to the end of the sailing ship epoch, when a certain Scot from Strathnaver built the famous clippers in America.<sup>13</sup>

In April of 1505, James wrote his often quoted letter to King John on his scarcity of ships.<sup>14</sup> In

11. T.A., II. 286, 373.

12. cf. St. Louis' Scots-built ship, the ship built at Inverness mentioned by Matthew Paris, etc., Laird Clowes, p. 315.

13. Oppenheim, p. 257.

14. Letters etc. Ric. III. & Henry VII, Gairdner, vol. II p. 188. His best ships still building, others being rebuilt, others arrested in Brittany (the Bartons). Others trading to Flanders and Normandy "ut quae navis te in Daciam transmitteret difficile haberi recordaris".

January of that year a ship was taken off the stocks with great ceremony, Jacat Terrell, master wright, supervising, while Robert Barton was in charge of the sailors; and trumpeters and four Italian minstrels furnished the music appropriate to the occasion. James was there with a young Danish relative, "Christopher the bairn", in his train.<sup>15</sup> This was probably the vessel on which John Lorens was engaged in 1503, for whose construction Master Leonard Logy was Master of Works, and almost certainly it was the ship named the "Margaret" in honour of the Queen.<sup>16</sup> James dined in state aboard it in February, using a service of silver plate. It had yet to be fitted out, of course, and the masts had yet to be stepped. It is significant of the peaceable relations prevailing, that it was from England that, in 1505, Leonard Logy got a mast for this ship.<sup>17</sup>

As an example of the luxury with which the ships were prepared on great occasions, there is the instance of James' cruise in 1506. It was the first state cruise of the "Margaret". On June 24th, it left Newhaven, with minstrels and a large company on board, and sailed to Leith. After a few days when guns had been tested on the sands and the finishing touches put

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15. T.A., II. pp. 476 - 477.

16. T.A., II. 281 Lorens; and T.A., III. 196 when a rose is painted on the "bolspit," probably the Tudor rose, the Queen's emblem.

17. T.A., II. p. 127, & T.A., III. p. 41.

to the ship, James went on board in July, and sailed to the May, where he offered at the chapel and had some work done by the smith. Then he sailed up the Forth to Blackness, an important naval depot, and there he was rowed on board the "Lion", the Bartons' ship - at the moment under Robert. For this voyage the King's cabin in the "Margaret" was fitted with tapestry embroidered with woodland scenes. His bed had a counterpane of English scarlet lined with grey skins, and a canopy of satin with silk fringes and green taffeta curtains. James wore yellow "sea-breeks" and a coat of satin, and round his neck hung his gold whistle on a black silk cord.<sup>18</sup> Leslie writes that a sudden storm prevented this trial voyage, and tells that Andrew Barton soon after sailed in this ship on his famous cruise against Flemish pirates.<sup>19</sup> This must refer to another occasion, and another ship, as it is most unlikely that such a large and valuable ship would be used, or could be, without some earlier notice surviving, and James trip in the "Margaret" certainly took place.

The "Margaret" was then sent up the Firth to the Pow, where she was caulked and completed and kept. The "Pows" of Airth, or "Polerth" were a series of pools in the river where the Pow burn runs into it, on the

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18. T.A., III. 196, 202-204 for the cruise; p.41 equipment.

19. Leslie, II. p. 122.

right bank, just opposite Kincardine, up in the narrow waters of the Forth.<sup>20</sup> There new ships were finished and kept, and old ones had their hulls scraped, smoked, and tallowed, their seams caulked, and other repairs carried out. Under James IV. it was a bustling place, and one note survives of some quarrel among the workers in 1507-8.<sup>21</sup> In 1511, when Sir Robert Callander, Constable of Stirling, was in charge of the Pow, new docks and stabling for many horses were constructed. According to the "Statistical Account", a harbour of sorts survived there until 1746, when the Hanoverian artillery destroyed its last remains. Until then it had been quite a flourishing little port, evidently greatly frequented to escape the dues exacted by the Royal Burghs.<sup>22</sup>

The number of ships bought and built, during the years from 1503 till 1511, is almost impossible to fix, as it cannot usually be determined whether a given payment refers to a new ship or to one already

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20. T.A., IV. pp. xlvi-xlviiii for a reconstruction of the ground. The "tide must (then) have come up to and beyond this point. The stream has now shifted and enters the Forth about half-a-mile farther east."
21. Reg. Privy Seal, I. 1706. Later, in 1513, William Brownhill's mariners were concerned in the slaughter of Jacat Terrel's son. T.A. IV. 531.
22. Act. Cur. Ad. Scot., p.177. In 1546 prizes sent to the "greit Pow". Reg. P.C., II p. 446, Complaint of loading "up in the narrow watter of the Firth", at various Pows "quhair na schippis usit to tak in thair full lading of befoir", 1577. In 1745 the Prince had Higgins Neuk at Airth fortified, to protect his artillery crossing the Forth there. Chambers "History of the Rebellion of 1745-6", Edin. 1869 p. 166.

named. For example, in July, 1504, the King pays £100 "to a merchant of Conquat (Le Conquet) called Michell Dennis" for a ship, and a little later Robert Barton is credited with money spent on victuals and wages to mariners in "the little bark called the Columb", from Dieppe, which possibly refers to the same purchase. At the same time, "Martin Le Nault Bretonar", was building a ship for the King in Brittany and at least £140 is paid to him, in two instalments of £70 each. This vessel would seem to have arrived in 1507, as Le Nault was in Scotland in the August of that year, and it has been identified as the "Treasurer", so named, probably after James Betoun, who then held that thankless office.<sup>23</sup> According to Leslie it was wrecked in 1509.<sup>24</sup> In September, 1505, there is a note of a ship bought in Flanders by John Merchamston, and the "Unicorn", for which payments amounting to £441 occur in the accounts for 1507, also seems to have been built in France.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, "ane gret boat callit James" was bought for £65:13:8 in 1511, and a ship called the "Lark" was docked in the Pow in June of the next year.<sup>26</sup> Of the "Lark" we

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23. T.A., III. pp. 335, 341.

24. Leslie, II. p. 129. October 1509.

25. T.A., III. 341. The payments to Le Nault and for the "Unicorn" are both made in francs.

26. T.A., IV. pp. 287 & 281.

knew nothing, and this "James" cannot have been the ship which was of much the same size as the "Margaret".

There was at least one ship building at Dumbar-  
:ton, besides the work in connection with the  
expeditions to the Isles. In 1507, Andrew Barton got  
£160 "to mak hering to send to France for Wyne, and to  
furnis the schip biggit in Dumbertane to Burdeous".  
This is, perhaps, the ship whose keel was brought from  
Stirling to Cardross in July, 1505.<sup>27</sup> At Leith, in  
1507, a barge was building, and another ship was being  
built at Newhaven, under Sir William Melville as  
master of works.<sup>28</sup> This can hardly be the "Great  
Michael," as, from the accounts for the iron work, it  
would seem to be some ship fairly well advanced, and  
the "Michael" can have been only laid down in 1507 or  
1508. It would also seem as if another ship were  
building at Dumbarton, besides the one fitting out  
there for Bordeaux under Andrew Barton.<sup>29</sup>

From 1508 till 1511 there is a gap in the  
Treasurer's Accounts. It has been conjectured that  
the gap may not be accidental, and that the strain on  
James' finances, and Andrew Stewart, Bishop of

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27. T.A., II. 279, & III. 150.

28. T.A., IV. 298, 299, etc.

29. T.A., IV. 298.

Caithness' unsatisfactory Treasurership, may have some bearing on the missing pages. We thus lose the Accounts just at the moment when the building is at its height. When we regain their indispensable aid in 1511, the year of Andrew Barton's death and of the launching of the "Great Michael", events are already moving towards war, and the building and equipment of the ships proceeds at a feverish pace. It is hardly too much to say that, from this date till the end at Flodden, Scottish history becomes naval history, for both long-laid schemes like the Crusade, and accidents such as the death of Andrew Barton, combined to lead James into war.

We cannot state how many ships were built for the King during the years succeeding 1500, although the names of the "Michael", the "Margaret", and the "James" make up a sufficiently inspiring list, even without those bought, and the various unidentifiable ships, boats, and galleys, mentioned in the Accounts. The "Unicorn", the "Treasurer", and Robert Barton's second "Lyon", were built in France. In Scotland, besides the three great ships, and the galleys and vessels built for the expeditions to the Isles, one ship was built at Dumbarton, and one or two others on the Forth, where, in July, 1513, the little "Rose galley" was building. Nor can we be sure of the size of these ships. Roughly speaking, any ship of 300 tons and higher was a "great ship," although the

building by the English, French, and Scots Kings of ships up to 1,000 tons, is rather apt to dwarf the others in our opinion. Unfortunately no Scottish reference to the tonnage of the ships survives, if any existed, so that we can only guess their size from indirect evidence, where French and English records do not give us figures. The captured "Jenny Pirwin," and the "Lyon," were of 70 and 120 tons, respectively, and the new "Lyon," built in France, was of 300 tons, while "John Bartonis Bark," forming one of the fleet sent to France, was of 80 tons.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to the "Michael", "Margaret," and "James", we have only comparison and some estimates by observers to go on. These three were far ahead of the others in size, but the "Margaret" and the "James" from the equal amount of victuals they received in 1513, as well as the way they were always coupled together, would seem to have been of much the same size, with the "Margaret" probably slightly bigger than the "James". They were certainly of 300 tons and perhaps may have been above that, up to an upper limit of 500 tons.<sup>31</sup> As to the size of the "Great

30. Spont pp. 80, 178, 125, n. 2.

31. West made her to be "nigh of the burden of the Christ of Lynne," which, (Spont p. 82), was of 300, but Lord Darcy though trying to minimise James' sea power, credits him with three ships above 300 t. L. & P. Brodie 1329.

Ship of Scotland" itself, there, again, we can only measure it against others. Any comparison can only be very conjectural, owing to the varying standards. For instance, while a ship of 300 tons had usually 100 mariners, a ship like the "Henry Imperial" of 1,000 tons, had only 300, so that the number required did not increase in proportion to the size of the ship. Again, we cannot be sure that the Scots would use the same proportion of men per ton as the English.<sup>32</sup>

Pitscottie writes of the "Michael" that she "had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six score of gunners to use her artillery; and she had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers and quartermasters".<sup>33</sup> Among the Accounts of the furnishing of the ships in 1513, there is a list of 295 persons, not counting cooks, on the "Michael", as well as seven gunners.<sup>34</sup> This, and other indications, support the figure of 300, or so, for the number of the mariners of the "Michael", and again on an analogy with the crew required in England, this would put her tonnage at 1,000 tons. There can be no doubt that the

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32. cf. Oppenheim, p. 74.

33. Pitscottie, I. p. 107.

34. T.A., IV. 502-504. The mariners, or some of them, may also have served as gunners, cf. Acta. Cur. Ad. p. 6 for case in 1556.

"Michael" was one of those monster ships like the "Henry Grace à Dieu," which Kings at the time competed against each other in building; the "Henry" being built in emulation of the "Michael." Moreover from the intense curiosity she aroused, she quite probably was the largest ship of her day. If she had been slightly smaller than the biggest English ships, the spies, who watched her so curiously in French harbours, would have reported so acceptable a piece of news to Henry VIII. The advance in size was too great for everyday use, and shortly after this, there was a return to the smaller ships in Scotland, France, and England.

The financial drain due to shipbuilding must have been heavy. The suspicious break in the "Treasurer's Accounts" has already been mentioned. Drummond tells how the King, in need of money, on the advice of evil counsellors put in force some disused exactions, and on seeing their injustice himself withdrew them.<sup>35</sup> The delivery in 1510 of Newhaven to Edinburgh, always on guard against a possible breaker of its trading monopoly, may also have been a result of this shortage.<sup>36</sup> This financial strain itself, along with the fact that

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35. Drummond, p. 135. "Recognitions," etc.

36. Reg. Mag. Sig. 3551. Dated 9 March, 1510, at Stirling.

some seamen had to be got from France to man the 1513 fleet, might give the impression that James' shipbuilding effort was carried to undue lengths. Such an impression is superficial. It is true that James' meagre finances had to support too many schemes, but then the Scottish Crown's revenue was far too small, indeed, by one account, James had had to pawn all his plate even as early as 1496.<sup>37</sup> The scarcity of mariners in 1513 was probably a thing of the moment. Every ship in Scotland was at sea and in incessant use. The army would draw away possible sailors, and the mariners got from France were mainly men skilled in navigating the seas round Ireland, and some to help man the three great ships. There is no sign that the actual work of building was beyond Scotland's powers, or even caused undue strain, and, with the exception of the "Great Michael", the ships built passed quite naturally into the sea economy of Scotland. The "Michael" was built for war, indeed for the Crusade, and if the French could find no use for it in peace time, the Scots and the English could have had even less.

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37. Bothwell's report, cf. ante. Cf. also, Major, pp. 347, 352, on need for the Scots king following the English example in the raising of revenue by taxation. Yet even the English king's revenue proved too small.

## 2. Organisation.

A more interesting problem is that of the organisation necessary for the shipbuilding, and for the care of the whips when built. It is as true of the 16th Century Scotland as of England to write that, "administration, however, with all it connotes to the modern reader, is perhaps too dignified a word to apply to the governmental mechanism used in the management of the navy".<sup>38</sup> Construction, upkeep, and use in warfare, were all under different directions. One master of work built ships at Dumbarton, another built the Palace at Holyrood and ships at Leith and Newhaven, and the Constable of Stirling was in charge of the Pow, each of these being quite independent of the other; one of the Bartons perhaps, or Balyard, was in charge of the sailors for each ship, and a Lord Hamilton might be put in command of the fleet. This is a vast simplification of the seeming chaos which actually reigned, with innumerable officials cutting into each other's departments, and apparently performing important duties unordered. This chaos, however, does not imply disorder. A rigid system could not be imposed on the semi-independent material of the mediaeval navies, least of all in Scotland.

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38. "Accounts & Inventories" p. xii.

The dominating personality of the King is nowhere more in evidence. During the last fevered period before Flodden, he was almost daily at the ships, but for years before that time he had supervised their construction. Nor was this interest merely that of the sportsman who enjoyed sailing on the Forth, or shooting wild fowl with a culverin from a boat off the Bass, or dining in state and receiving ambassadors on shipboard. The King was present on more prosaic occasions, going on board Robert Barton's ship to inspect new timber, or buying the "bark of Abeyfeld" for £300, in 1513, when the accountant notes, of "the quhilk £300 I ressavit £200 in ducattis fra the kingis grace in his stedye".<sup>39</sup> The King's hand is apparent throughout.

Under the King came a host of names, rendering choice of the more important difficult. Those of the leading seamen naturally stand out. Andrew, Robert, and later John Barton, perform many duties, fetching stores from abroad, timber from Normandy, French wrights and mariners; providing timber, ropes, tar and such like for the ships, and above all gathering mariners, paying them in the King's name, and commanding them on shipboard. They even accompanied the wrights to the woods to choose timber.<sup>40</sup> At an early

39. T.A., II. 422, & T.A., IV. 475.

40. T.A., II. p. 351, etc.

period a George Corntoun, another seaman, is often employed along with one of them or independently, performing similar duties.<sup>41</sup> Then come the Masters of Work with wider duties still. It was Master Leonard Logy, who built the "Margaret", and was in charge of Holyrood and Newhaven till his early death, who started the great shipbuilding period in 1506. Sir George Galbraith has been seen in charge of the shipbuilding at Dumbarton. In the period round 1507-1508, Sir William Melville receives upwards of £3,000 for the construction of the ships.<sup>42</sup> Later, and at the time of the French expedition, Sir Walter Ramsey is Master of Work, and, as a consequence of the growth of the navy and of the preparation of the fleet, his sphere of activities is wider than that of any of the others, though, he, too, directed other works, and, like the rest, did not have charge of the whole of the building. The Pow, for instance, was under Sir Robert Callendar, and Dumbarton, too, had its own Master of Works.

The shipbuilding Accounts for August 1512 to July 1513 are extant, and their existence implies that of a clerk to keep them.<sup>43</sup> We do not know anything about

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41. T.A., II. 286. Probably of the same family as Florence Corntoun, who was in charge of the King's ships under James V.

42. T.A., IV. pp. 44-48.

43. Separate accounts were kept and rendered by various people, but Galbraith's account for the Dumbarton work is compact, and obviously rendered by one person. In 1504, the Newhaven and ship accounts of Leonard Logy, (T.A. II, pp. 276-281), are also fairly compact, and may have been rendered by one hand, but these, though large, were for particular localities.

him, with the exception that he had a house either in Leith or Newhaven, or at least "a chawmer", perhaps in the "Kingis Wark" at Leith, and that he had to record the naval expenses in the West and East, for all Scotland.<sup>44</sup> The survival of the Accounts for this period alone may be accidental, but it is quite probable that the Clerk had not been long appointed. Had this office continued, it would have been equivalent to the English "Clerk of the Ships", and the mention of the auditing of the "schip compts" under Albany, may indicate a survival for a few years at least.<sup>45</sup>

Once more, however, it must be repeated that the organisation was very rudimentary. To the end the feeing of mariners, for instance, was performed by a variety of persons, by seamen like the Bartons and John Balyard, or by others like John Forman, a servitor of the King.<sup>46</sup> Again in 1512-13 this Forman's servitor, David Foret, victuals the three great ships while they lay at Queensferry and other places. Large sums passed through Forman's hands for the ships, and he was sent on a variety of errands for them, his last being in July, 1513, to Dumbarton, to see to the dispatch to the Forth of the wine sent from

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44. T.A., IV. p. 473 bearing "tollis" to "my chawmer". He refers to himself again on p. 480, and as Ramsey, Foret, Forman, etc. are mentioned by name the writer is not identifiable with them.

45. T.A., V. p. 68, etc.

46. The expression "marinaris enterand to the Kingis werk," (T.A. IV. p. 286) seems to have been used when they were not hired for a specific ship.

France.<sup>47</sup> We may probably take his activity, too, as a reflex of the King's, as performed at his direct orders, and thus as an example of the prominent part the latter played in the preparations. James was his own Admiralty Board.

However rudimentary James' naval organisation was, and could not escape being in that age, it was effective and worked well. The fleet was adequately provisioned, far better than the English fleets of the time, with their chronic lack of beer. It took some time to prepare, but not too long, especially considering the concurrent preparations for a war on land. There can be no doubt that the whole organisation hinged on the King, but in it he used seamen like the Bartons, Balyard, Makyson, and others, and such men are led, not driven. In this, James' achievements at sea are on a par with his whole management of Scotland.

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47. T.A., IV. p. 415.

Cap.VI. The Approach of Flodden 1508-1513.1. 1508 - 1511.

The period from 1508 to 1513 may be conveniently divided in two by the crucial year 1511. 1508 saw the death of Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, after he had put James' plans for a Crusade before the rulers of Venice. It also saw with the embassy of Bernard Stuart d'Aubigny, French overtures for a closer alliance. Till this date James, here following his father's example, had been on rather cool terms with France. The danger of isolation in Europe as a result of their success in the Italian wars caused the French to seek all possible allies, and D'Aubigny, a hero of these wars, could not but be well received by his kinsman the King, and so form the most acceptable envoy.<sup>1</sup> Moreover James was bound to favour the overtures, as aid from France would be essential to him in his Crusade, and could be no menace to England, unless indeed the English King projected an attack on France.

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1. D'Aubigny's ostensible mission was to ask James' advice as to whether the Austrian archduke, or the heir to the French throne, later Francois I, should receive the hand of the French princess who, in her own right, through her mother Queen Anne, would inherit Brittany. Anne "passionée pour l'indépendance de la Bretagne, poursuit une lutte ardente et opiniâtre en vue de marier sa fille Claude au fils de l'archiduc....." (D'Auton, vol. IV, notice on J. d'A, p. xiv.) James advised in favour of François, which would please Louis but not Anne, a circumstance which renders Pitscottie's letter and ring story all the more improbable.

Henry VII, it is true, had no intention of making any foreign ventures, but it must always be remembered that his throne was extremely open to attack, and thus taking alarm at the Franco-Scottish rapprochement he committed a cardinal blunder by detaining the Earl of Arran, returning from France through England, on the rather weak pretext that he had no safe-conduct. Such an action, against a close relative of the King, was an insult, and as James proudly refused to ask for Arran's release, Wolsey, the future Cardinal, was sent on an embassy to try to patch up matters. But in London there were fears and rumours of a Franco-Scottish invasion.<sup>2</sup>

There was a lesser cause of friction always present in the position of James' relative Charles d'Egmont, Duc de Gueldres. With French aid he had regained part of the lands lost by his father to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and James often had to intervene on his side, as he did in 1507, when he threatened Henry VII with war if he should aid Maximilian against Charles.<sup>3</sup> In 1508, the league

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2. Bernard Andre, *History of Henry VII*, ed. Gairdner, London, 1858, pp. 123 & 124.

3. *Ep. Reg. Scot.*, I. p. 40, no. XVIII.

of Cambrai was formed, an alliance of France, the Emperor, and the Pope, against Venice, and James had had an indirect part in creating it, since he had urged that French intervention on the side of Gueldres which had eventuated in the conference leading to the League. By 1510 Venice was on its knees, and the Pope, having gained his immediate objective, was moving towards a reorientation of the League, to include Venice, and this time to become the "Holy League" against France to drive the barbarians from Italy.

James was now playing a very active part in the tortuous diplomacy of the day, but his efforts, apart from those on behalf of Denmark and Gueldres, were wholly directed to the project of the Crusade. Early in 1510, he had received a letter from the Pope, suggesting that Venice might serve Christendom in a Crusade against the Infidel, and James seized the chance to sound Venice on the matter.<sup>4</sup> In May, 1510, the Venetian ambassador in London reports the Scottish King's desire to be made Captain-General of the Signory's forces against the Infidel, and the Venetians had it that he was going on Crusade with

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4. F.P., p. xvi where Dr. Wood points out that the Pope's letter probably inspired James' approach to Venice at this time. L. & P. Brodie, 1372.

150 vessels.<sup>5</sup> James had also written to the Marquis of Mantua on the same subject, and he tried to use the continental situation for this end, asking the isolated France for a definite promise of aid, on the grounds that if he held such, he could then make clear to all princes what harm Spain and the Pope were doing in attacking France and so hindering the Crusade.<sup>6</sup> He asked for definite answers as to the numbers of ships and men, and the amount of money that France would furnish. It was evidently James' intention to have it all in black and white, and in this he ultimately succeeded.

The relations between Scotland and England were steadily becoming worse. Henry VIII had come to the English throne in 1509, and under the guidance of Wolsey English foreign policy, according to Pollard, was to make it an aim to keep in line with that of the Pope. Towards Scotland, the stupid pin-pricking policy, started by Arran's detention, continued and increased. Already in 1509 the English agents in the Low Countries, in reporting that artillery was being cast there for James, recounted rumours that the Scots intended an attack on England, and the English

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5. Cal. Venet. Papers, II. 66.

6. L. & P. Brodie, 398, F.P., p. 7 n. 1., and p. 6 no. III.

chronicler Hall, makes the Scots purchase of munitions in the Low Countries for use against England a cause of the ultimate war.<sup>7</sup> In 1510 the English agent induced the Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Savoy, to arrest this artillery, and proposed to buy it for Henry.<sup>8</sup> Even if the English expected war their actions did everything possible to make it certain. On James' side the relations with O'Donall of Tirconall, dating from the Warbeck incident, continued close, but as the Tudors were not interested in Ireland, this does not seem to have caused any stir, and in general, there is no doubt that the provocation causing the war came from the English side.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. 1511-1513.

The year 1511 furnished James with a bitter series of injuries to revenge, and convinced him that Henry VIII intended war on France and Scotland. Moreover, the English action in northern France, in co-operation with Maximilian, would be partly against

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7. Hall. Chronicle, p. 558.

8. L. & P. Brodie, 83 and 325.

9. Wolsey, writing to Fox after Barton's death, condemns the way the English King is being urged against the Scots by Howard, "by whose wanton means his grace spendeth much money, and is more disposed to war than peace." L. & P. Brodie, 880.

Charles of Gueldres, James' relative and ally, who was already appealing to him for aid, and on whose behalf he had once threatened Henry VII with war. He could hardly be expected to treat a bumptious young brother-in-law more gently.

Of all the grievances leading James into war, the attack on Gueldres, the irritating personal matter of the Queen's withheld legacy, and the border troubles, the bitterest was the death of Andrew Barton.

Leaving Denmark with the "Lyon" and the "Jenny Pirwin," Andrew had sailed south on the usual Barton feud against the Portuguese, and, after his cruise, he seems to have left part of the proceeds in Dieppe, and to have sailed homeward.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the story is told by the English chroniclers, and by the later "Ballad of Sir Andrew Barton." It is best related in Holinshed's words, "in June the King, being at Leicester, heard tidings that one Andrew Barton, a Scotchman and pirate of the sea, saying that the King of Scots had war with the Portuguese, robbed every nation, and stopped the King's streams, that no merchant almost could pass; and when he took Englishmen's goods, he bare them in hand that they

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1. Letters of James IV in February 1512 certified that cloth, gold chains, jewels, etc. left by A.B. at Dieppe were lawful merchandise. L. & P. Brodie 1058. This however may refer to an earlier cruise of his.

were Portugal's goods, and thus he hunted and robbed at every haven's mouth. The King, displeased herewith, sent Sir Edward Howard, lord Admiral of England<sup>2</sup>, and lord Thomas Howard, son and heir to the Earl of Surrey, in all haste to the sea, which hastily made ready two ships, and taking sea, by chance of weather were severed.<sup>3</sup> The lord Howard lying in the Downs, perceived where Andrew was making towards Scotland and so fast the said lord chased him, that he overtook him and there was a sore battle between them. Andrew ever blew his whistle to encourage his men, but at length the lord Howard and the Englishmen did so valiantly that by clean strength they entered the main deck. The Scots fought sore on the hatches, but in conclusion Andrew was taken, and so sore wounded that he died there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship, called the Lion. All this while was the lord Admiral in chase of the bark of Scotland, called Jennie Pirwine, which was wont to sail with the Lion in company, and so much did he with other, that he laid him aboard, and though the Scots manfully defended themselves, yet the

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2. He was not lord Admiral at the time.

3. Spont, p. ix. "We cannot ascertain if Howard fitted out two or three ships." He names two probably used.

Englishmen entered the bark, slew many and took all the residue. Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Blackwall the 2nd August."<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the tragedy cannot be exaggerated. It impressed itself on the memory of the chroniclers and ballad-makers, and its fame was not confined to the North, where Andrew Barton was well-known in France, Denmark and Flanders. In Spain it grew into a tale of Thomas Howard capturing Andrew Barton, captain of the Scottish fleet.<sup>5</sup> The wide diffusion of the story of the fight is a tribute, not merely to its epic qualities as a tale, but to its importance as a turning point in the events leading to the imminent war. The blow to James' pride was severe, his ablest seaman killed, his ships

4. Holinshed, quoted by Spont, p. viii. In his "Chronicle of Scotland," vol. V, p. 471, Holinshed makes Barton's ships the "Unicorn" and the "Jenny Perwin" and Hardyny (The Chronicle of J. H. etc., London, 1812) p. 601 makes Andrew B. "Hob a Barton," i.e. Robert. The best edition of the Ballad of Sir Andrew Barton is in Naval Songs and Ballads," ed. C.F.Firth, Navy Rec. Soc. 1908. On its value as history, Firth p. xiv comments "the details embody popular tradition rather than facts." Since Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather" popular history has accepted as gospel the last two lines of the stanza ending

"Now hath our king Sir Andrus shipp,  
Bisett with pearles and precyous stones,  
Now hath England two shippis of warr,  
Two shippis of warr, before but one."

The "Lion" and the "Jenny Pirwin" were both added to the English navy.

5. Gomera. Annals of Charles V. pp. 30 and 129, where the event is classed with Flodden among Henry VIII's triumphs.

captured, and redress first contemptuously refused, and then held out as an inducement to do as the English King ordered.

In November 1511, when he could have heard the news of Barton's death, but not of its reaction on James, Louis XII wrote deploring the differences between the Scots and the English Kings which he would like to see settled.<sup>6</sup> Late in January 11-12, through Andrew Forman, he urged James to keep the peace, still blindly hoping that the English did not intend an attack on France, and fearful that a Scottish attack might induce such an incursion. To touch a chord which would awake a response, James was reminded that his Crusade would be impossible without peace with England, and Forman was sent home by way of England to do his best with Henry VIII.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps most important were the secret instructions for James' ear. Louis pled that in Italy he still desired peace but that the Pope was determined on war. Thus the time was not propitious for James' crusade, but Louis offered definite aid in men, munitions, and ships, and a tithe from his dominions, both in Italy and France, one year after peace was made. He therefore urged James to keep the peace with England, and to try to induce the Pope to make peace with France.<sup>8</sup> It was

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6. F.P., no. IV, p. 13.

7. F.P., no. V, p. 17.

8. F.P., no. VI, p. 21.

of this promise, shown to West, the English ambassador, "in a little book of four sheets of paper, sewed together, and signed at the end with the French King's hand, and sealed with his signet," that James said "Now you see wherefore I favour the French King and wherefore I am loath to lose him; for if I do I shall be never able to perform my journey."<sup>9</sup>

By the 4th of April Louis had changed his mind, and at last sure that Henry intended war, he asked James to aid him just as Henry the VIII was aiding his ally Ferdinand of Aragon.<sup>10</sup> By April 22nd we find James writing to King John of Denmark enquiring what aid he could expect in case of an attack by England, and ordering more masts for his ships.<sup>11</sup>

In Scotland, the completion of the ships now proceeded at a feverish pace, in spite of the fact that neither Louis nor Henry could yet decide how James intended to act, and that James was making desperate and undoubtedly sincere endeavours for peace. If he acted on the adage "*si pacem vis...*," sending to Denmark for aid, and making all preparations

9. L. & P. Brodie, 1713.

10. F.P., no. VII, p. 16.

11. Ep. Reg. Scot., p. 146.

for war himself, he was only doing what any wise prince would have done. If Louis XII was caught unprepared there was no reason why James should commit the same error, and in May, 1512, he wrote to King John that Henry had declared war on France "and seeks occasion to attack us."<sup>12</sup>

The blow of the loss of Andrew Barton and his ships was softened by the launching of the "Great Michael." The ceremony took place in October, and there are the usual payments to "trumpatis playand at the outputting of the Kingis gret schip," and among the drummers was the "baxtaris tabernar," whose presence arouses but does not satisfy our curiosity.<sup>13</sup> Jacat Terrell was busy on another "bark," and a galley - perhaps the "Rose Galley" - was also under way. At the Pow, new docks and stabling for horses were being made, and there is mention of several new names among the ships. "The Clofars" in 1511 was carrying wood and other materials from Dantzic. A "gret boit callit James," bought that year, got an anchor and cables. In November, the "Pansy," a ship not before mentioned, met with an accident, and Michael Avery

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12. Ibid p. 148.

13. T. A., IV., p. 314.

went "to seik the floit boit of the Pansy at past away with ane storm quhen the Pansy hevit her mast."<sup>14</sup> Other ships were going to Norway for timber, tar, and other material and John Balyard's ship was busily carrying embassies between France and Scotland, Balyard himself fetching and ordering naval stores in France, where John Barton and others were busily buying such for James.<sup>15</sup>

The King himself, was constantly overseeing the work on the ships, sailing in them on the Forth, or supervising their building, riding down to Newhaven or the Pow early in the morning, and remaining till late at night. In November, 1511, the English followed up the insult of Barton's death by spoiling a French ship on the sea beside Ayr. James went there and to Ailsa in April, 1512, and it has been conjectured that his visit was induced by this attack, but that is hardly probable.<sup>16</sup> By then, the Scots and French had it all their own way in that part of the sea.

April, 1512, saw the war at sea started. Louis had been taken by surprise, and his naval preparations

14. T.A., IV. pp. 289, 373. There was a "James" of 80 tons in 1473 which might be the same. Rot. Scot., II. 440, 317.

15. T.A., IV. p. 289.

16. T.A., IV. pp. 317, 343, & xxix.

were far behind. He had thought that the news of his victory at Ravenna, and the menace of war with Scotland, would deter Henry for a time. Instead, in April, Howard cruised in the Channel, chasing French fishing boats and plundering every trading ship he met, without any nice distinction between friend and foe.<sup>17</sup> In May, the English force under Dorset sailed for Guienne. It did nothing there. Fooled by Ferdinand, it returned home in mutiny, rendering Henry rather ridiculous and determined to retrieve his reputation. Its departure, and Howard's attack, had helped to secure the renewal of the League, between James and Louis, confirmed in July by James in Edinburgh, and already in June Lord Hamilton, who eventually commanded the fleet, was accompanying the King on his visits to the ships.<sup>18</sup>

The cross currents of the diplomatic situation are too many to consider, so we may ignore the matter of James' claim to the English crown, the question of the Council of the Church, and even the appeals for a Danish succour which, in effective strength, never arrived. There are parts, however, in the dispatches between James and Louis which must be noted, for they

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17. Spont. pp. xv & xvi.

18. T.A., IV. 350.

show us James determined on a war at sea and urging it on Louis. The Scottish King was doubtless anxious to seize the chance to use his fleet on a large scale, but the same advice from Scotland was given France years later in 1546, - that the best defence against England was mastery of the sea.<sup>19</sup>

In March, 1511-12, James, through De la Mothe and Unicorn pursuivant, had sent an offer of a League to Louis and accompanied it with some secret instructions. The Scots King evidently proposed sending France naval aid, and received the answer that it was better to make war on land, as a navy could not be quickly prepared, although a few ships might be sent to help the French fleet, which would be ready in July. If James made war by land, Louis would wage it at sea. The French King also made difficulties about sending any help in money or arms to James, as his own expenses were already so great.<sup>20</sup> By October, 1512, Louis had decided to send what assistance he could, but he still made it conditional on James' first attacking England. He had at last seen the importance of the sea, and hoped, with James' help, to be more powerful there than the English and Spaniards.<sup>21</sup>

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19. P.C. Reg., I. p. 54.

20. F.P., no. IX, p. 38.

21. F.P., no. XII, p. 53.

With this message De la Mothe made a dramatic appearance at Leith on St. Andrew's E'en in a great storm, "and came through the deep; which they trusted no man of England knew but David Falconar." He shot two guns as a signal, and then eight, with the result that the common bell of Edinburgh rang the alarm and the citizens stood to arms for three hours. Then, sailing to Blackness, where the "Michael" and the "Margaret" lay, he had an interview with James on board the "Michael." According to an English report he brought 30 tun of wine, 8 lasts of gunpowder, 300 "gunstones" of iron, and 8 brass serpentines, a substantial aid.<sup>22</sup>

By March, 1512-13, Louis was urging James to send him naval help. James had been advising him to attend to his navy, and in it "de mectre bons capitaines et des meilleurs combatans tout ainsi comme font les Angloys," and Louis, in reply, thanked him for the advice, which he had followed. Of James' ships, he asked in particular for the despatch of "la plus grande acompaignee des autres laquelle comme a entendu est si puissante qui ne s'en treuve une

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22. L. & P. Brodie, 1501 & 1504. The clause on Falconar is probably intended to convey the meaning that no one in England would know the proper channels in the Firth round Leith etc., except Falconar, a Scot, and then prisoner in London. But it is not relevant to De la Mothe, a Frenchman.

telle en chrestiente dont luy a parle ledit Sieur de la Mothe...."<sup>23</sup> James, in reply, besides asking for help in men, arms, and money, desired that the French navy, as the more powerful, should come to meet the Scots, as it would be safer that the larger navy should venture rather than the smaller. Louis's offer of a certain sum would suffice, if it were paid at once, and as Louis had spent 60,000 francs on his own ships, he would realise what James' expenses had been on his navy and on sending to Denmark for aid.<sup>24</sup> Clearly James was by no means being duped into a war for France, however much it might suit the Scots to use that plea later in the course of negotiations for French aid. If ever a prince had reason for going to war James had, and Henry VIII's subsequent policy towards Scotland was sufficient justification of the wisdom of James' decision.<sup>25</sup> He had decided to help

23. F.P., no. XV, p. 66. James' advice is notable in connection with the charge against himself, of putting Arran instead of Wood, or some seaman, in command of his fleet.
24. F.P., no. XVI, p. 72.
25. Dr. Wood, in the Introduction to the "Flodden Papers," seems to go on the assumption that James' decision was wrong, but the King was right in his reasoning that war was inevitable, and that it was better to act when aid could be got. His diplomacy, moreover, was quite skilful, Forman's efforts being outstanding, and before going to war James got the terms he wanted out of France. The "chivalric" idea, too, has been overstressed, for he allowed the English to cross to France before he attacked. I therefore have gone on the assumption that his declaration of war was the correct and only possible tactic.

France and thus reinsure himself against English attack, and his delay was due to his lack of money, and to the hope that negotiations might produce an honourable peace. It took some time to persuade Louis that this need was really urgent, but to send the fleet to France, and equip an army on land, was a sudden and large call on money, and with James' already heavy expenditure it could not be met.

Though James and Louis still exchanged letters, their sailors had already opened the war. De la Mothe, returning to Scotland in June, 1512, attacked some English vessels, and, after sinking three, carried seven captive to Leith, and at the time of his later visit on St. Andrew's Eve, a French ship had bought a Spanish prize there. Meanwhile the French privateers were upholding their fame; one of them, "Guillam Agretez" of the Bon Aventure of Dieppe, bringing prizes to Ayr.<sup>26</sup> Nor were the Scots behind hand, for, if the English lists of complaints is trustworthy, Robert Barton, John Barton, David Falconar, and others had swept up every English ship in their way in a raid down the east coast of England

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26. L. & P. Brodie, 1262.

in 1512.<sup>27</sup> In 1543, it was claimed that, according to custom between England and Scotland, ships or goods taken eight days before war was declared were good prize.<sup>28</sup> If this rule obtained in 1512, it is easy to understand why the seamen on both sides started hostilities first, and difficult to see how peace at sea could be kept under such a provocative rule.

Early in 1512, at the time when De le Mothe arrived with seven English prizes at Leith, Lord Dacre and Dr. Nicholas West were sent by Henry VIII to try and induce James to keep peace with England and desert France. They only succeeded in exasperating the Scots, by making redress of undeniable injuries conditional on acceptance of Henry's demands, and there was a strong suspicion that "thair myndis only war that Robert Bartane and the rest, quha war guvernouris of the scotis ships, suld ly stil in the Reide quhill the Inglis navie be sey war in ffrance."<sup>29</sup>

27. Ibid. It is rather difficult to date this exploit. 1513 would suit other references, (Leslie, II. 138, and the Scots pleas that the Bartons had been kept on leash to afford the English no pretext for war), but, from the date of the English complaint, 1512 must be the year, although that date, on the other hand, presents the difficulty that Barton and Falconar were attacked by the English, and Falconar captured, and Barton driven out of his course in July, 1512.

28. A.D.C. 1501-1554, p. 534.

29. Leslie, II. p. 137.

When the English opened hostilities against France in May, 1512, James sent Robert Barton, David Falconar, and William Brownhill to convoy De la Mothe to France on the 11th July of that year. English ships met them, and after the inevitable fight, as James details in his letter of complaint to Dacre, "David Falconar's schip is drounit," and Falconar taken to London and "schrewitly handillit."<sup>30</sup> De la Mothe was driven out of his course to Denmark before he arrived in France, and Barton hovered off Veere, warning the Scots merchants there that Henry had a fleet at sea. He appears to have captured some English ships in Flanders, and Henry's agents unsuccessfully moved the Regent of the Netherlands to arrest him. Later we hear that Barton and Brownhill, back in Scotland, "appeals either other for fleeing when Fawkynnere was taken."<sup>31</sup> On the West Coast, a Phillipe Roussel of St. Malo captured 11 or 12 English ships off the coast of Ireland, and a Spanish one off Kirkcudbright, and brought them all to Scotland in August, 1512.<sup>32</sup> Afterwards, perhaps

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30. L. & P. Brodie, 1297 & 1298.

31. Ibid, 1311, 1322, 1380.

32. Spont, p. 42 no. 26.

recommended thus fortuitously, he reappears as the pilot of the "Great Michael." Amidst all this noise of war, it gives us a curious glimpse of the complexity of the situation to read James' letter of 18th July, 1512, to Henry VIII, requesting a safe-conduct for a ship belonging to a merchant of Edinburgh to trade in fish and other goods.<sup>33</sup>

Another amusing side of the imbroglio appears in Henry's letter of complaint that, when the Scots wish to capture his ships they pose as French subjects, while, should the English capture a Scots ship, the Scots claim they must have redress, as they are still at peace with the English. At the moment, Robert Barton conveniently claimed that he was in the French King's service, and had his new "Lyon" fitted out and victualled at Harfleur, leaving for Scotland in May, 1513.<sup>34</sup>

James, from his advice to Louis to man his ships with good captains as the English did theirs, was well informed as to the personnel of the English fleet, and through Barton, De la Mothe, and others, was kept

33. L. & P., 1295.

34. The English king was disgruntled at the moment, as he had yielded to Dacre's dissuasions, and respited Falconar, whom he had wished to hang. L. & P., 1315. For Barton, Spont p. 93 n. 1.

well posted as to the course of the war in France. Howard had made a landing near Brest in June, 1512, and in August, in the course of another English raid on Brest, the French "Cordelière" and the English "Regent" had blown up locked together by grappling irons.<sup>35</sup> James also heard of Louis' naval preparations, and of the approach from the Mediterranean of Prégent de Bidoux, l'Amiral du Levant, with his six galleys. Prégent, or "Prior John," as the English called him, was the best French seaman of the age, and already had a great name. In April, 1513, Dr. West, during his second and last mission to James, threatened him with the Pope's interdict, and, on James' remark that he would appeal from the Pope, pointed out that there was no appeal possible. "Appelabo ad Priorem Johannem" said James.<sup>36</sup> On the 22nd of April, 1513, Prégent smashed his way through the English fleet at Brest to the shallow water in shore, and Howard was killed in attempting to attack the galleys from boats. The English ships returned home in confusion, the sailors in mortal fear of the French galleys, and, though Sir Thomas Howard was appointed Admiral and brought

35. Spont, p. 4 & cf. on p. 58 an English comment on the captain of the "Cordelière" - "quondam Gallus qui maluit haereticus quam Christianus mori."

36. Spont, no. 67 p. 124.

things back to order, the war now waited on the arrival of the Scots fleet. Howard himself thought that the French would not fight until the Danes and Scots arrived. He sent Henry news that "Hob a Barton" had men mustered for his new ship, the "Lion"; later adding that he was already off, with 12 small ships, and ending piously, "I pray God he meet not with the Iceland fleet."<sup>37</sup>

Besides Howard, Dacre, Darcy, and others from the Borders were busy sending reports of the Scottish fleet, especially of the "Michael." On the 8th of May, 1513, Louis gave letters to James Ogilvy for James IV. In these he begged that the navy should be sent at once, and on its arrival it would be equipped with provisions, powder, and guns, as the French ships were. James, in a letter of April, 1513, to Christiern II, the new king of Denmark, urging him to keep his father's treaty and send help to Louis, already mentions that he has built some ships and is sending them to France, and in July the Scottish fleet sailed.<sup>38</sup>

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37. Spont, pp. xxi - xxviii, and L. & P., 1971. See State Papers Henry VIII vol. IV p. 280 for identification of "Hob" as Robert Barton.

38. F.P., No. XVI p. 79, and L. & P., 1729.

Cap. VII. The French Expedition.1. The Forth.

In comparison with the confused diplomacy of the years 1512-13, the significance of the acts of the three powers is clear even if details are scanty. By April, 1512, Henry VIII had his fleet in the Channel, and France was caught unprepared at sea. On August 1st, 1512, the Earl of Surrey received standards "for our army soon to be sent northwards," and by the 7th of August Lord Darcy, from Berwick, replies to his King, who had evidently been making inquiries as to the size of James' fleet. Darcy reports that the King of Scots cannot have 20 ships of his own, and not so many, unless Brownhill and Barton come home. Four of these Scottish ships are above 300 tons - the great new ship called the "Mitchell," the "Margaret," the "James," and a new barque - two or three are of 100 tons, the rest not 80 tons each.<sup>1</sup> By a curious coincidence the surviving ship accounts start on this same day, the 7th of August, 1512, so that the Scottish King had started to prepare his ships soon after De la Mothe's

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1. L. & P. Brodie, 1317, and 1329. Darcy, it should be noted, is trying to minimize James' sea power.

visit of June, 1512, and before a reply from the French King had arrived to the dispatch which the same ambassador carried in July.

Early in August, the "Michael" was at Queensferry, where it either may have lain since March, or may have newly come from "Polerth."<sup>2</sup> On the third of August, the Queen had supper on board to music supplied by "Gilleam tabernare and his marrowis." Wrights and others were busy, and it was being fitted with sails and supplied with sandglasses, sail rings, and other necessaries.<sup>3</sup> The "Margaret," on the 29th of August, or near it, came down the Forth, and remained before Newhaven for three days. She must have lain at Blackness on St. Andrew's Day, when De la Mothe, whom the storm had driven there, saw the King on board the "Michael," while the "Margaret" lay by, and for twenty days in November the mariners of the "Michael" got extra pay "quhen the Franchmen passit to vesy the schippis."<sup>4</sup>

In December, the "Margaret" was at the Pow of Airth, where lay the "James", a ship seemingly later

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2. T.A., IV. 351, and 336 when fish is sent to it at the Ferry, and, immediately after, "Johnesone of Ferre" goes "to seik the depis and passage to the Pollertht."
  3. T.A., IV. 356 and 454.
  4. L. & P. Brodie, 1504, and T.A., IV. 459.

built, and therefore less prepared than the "Michael" or the "Margaret." By Christmas workmen were making ready for her coming to Newhaven, "berand stais quhare the Margaret suld lay."<sup>5</sup> At Yule too, 6 more gunners and 8 new mariners were on board the "Michael," which may indicate a visit from the King. On the 29th of December, "James Makeson passit to the Pow of Airth to bring doun the James and Margaret," getting the Constable of Stirling to furnish men for 12 days to rig them, till the 11th of January, 1513. Already John Barton, brother of Robert and Andrew, seems to have been appointed master of the "Margaret," and John Balyard of the "James."<sup>6</sup> On the 6th of January, the "James" was taken out of the Pow, with 36 persons on board, and on the 19th of January, John Barton went to the Pow to bring forth the "Margaret", manned by 44 men, taking charge of her from Sir Robert Callendar, and having her down at Blackness by the 23rd of January. On the 19th, Balyard, with the "James," was at Queensferry, where lay the "Michael," which, through some mishap, had broken her boat, and on the 20th, the "James" arrived at Newhaven. Thereupon a man was sent to Queensferry, "to caus John Bartoun cum doune with the Margaret to the new havin," and by the

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5. T.A., IV. 461.

6. Ibid, p. 462.

25th the "Margaret" lay in the "raid of Leith," where she probably was when she had to be victualled twice in a storm.<sup>7</sup> At Newhaven docks were being "cast" for both the "James" and the "Margaret," where their hulls could be cleaned, smoked, and tallowed. The "Michael" probably underwent the same treatment in the "Dublarland" at Queensferry.

Other ships were being prepared at Blackness, Newhaven, and Leith. A little galley was building at Newhaven, which, however, as it was still uncompleted by April, when West viewed it, can scarcely have been used in the expedition. It is difficult to disentangle the many references to "barks." The "littill bark" was the "Gabriel," which carried De la Mothe to France and back in July, 1513, and its repair is referred to several times.<sup>8</sup> There was also a bark which had tops fixed on it in August, 1512.<sup>9</sup> There are frequent references to it later, but as the "James" also, seems to be called a bark on occasion, it is not easy to distinguish the two. This, however, must have been the "new barque" referred to by Lord Darcy, and may perhaps have been

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7. Ibid, pp. 463 - 466.

8. see T.A., IV. p. 377 when on 16th September, 1512, an offering is made " at the first mes singing in the Kingis litill bark callit Gabriell." I cannot find any other reference to mass said on shipboard in that age.

9. T.A., IV. p. 452. On p. 454, tops to the James.

the "Bark Mytounne."<sup>10</sup> The frequently mentioned "Inglis prize," or "caich," manned by a captain, four men, and a boy, and "the gret boit and the lytill boit," were probably used to victual the three great ships.

Other ships crop up in various ways, all employed, or about to be employed, in the work of preparing the fleet. In October, 1512, John Balyard's ship returned from France with a cargo of "gret cabillis." William Duncan, another seaman, was sent to "the North land for the schip callit Cloffers."<sup>11</sup> In November, "Gilzeam Franchman" got £180, "for the Spanze schip that was gevin to Skipper Andreis." The ship was plenished and victualled, and Skipper Andreis, in December, was sent off to Denmark on some errand, owing £3.7.8 for victuals to Robert Barton's wife, for which he left some clothes in pledge.<sup>12</sup> Next month, in January, 1513, ale and bread were given to "Monsieur de Malzie's men in the bark of Traport quhen scho lay in the new havin thai deand for fault of wittalis." On the 23rd of February, "the littill schip of Traport" got ale, bread, and herring, and may have then sailed

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10. By the victualling accounts, the "Bark Mytounne" seems to have ranked next in size to the three great ships.

11. T.A., IV. p. 456. On p. 473, Balyard's ship is called "the litill berk of Balyardis."

12. Ibid, p. 462. Magnus the Dane may have accompanied him, p. 463.

away, probably on a privateering course.<sup>13</sup> In February, £50 was paid to "Johne Bannatyn in full payment of his haill schip," and William Duncan's ship was also in use at the time, while in March, "the Inglis schip that Delamont send haym" was under repair, and the "bark of Aberfeld" (Abayfield) was "boycht at the kingis command fra Andro Dawson and David Logan" for £300.<sup>14</sup>

Next month, we have an eye-witness account of the state of affairs at Leith and Newhaven, in Dr. West's report to Henry VIII of the 13th of March. "On Monday, because I had no business, for a pastime I went down to Leith, to the intent to see what ships were prepared there: and when I came thither I found none but nine or ten small topmen, amongst which the ship of Lynn was the biggest, and other small balangers and crayers and never one of all these was rigged to the war, but one little topman of the burden of three score tons. And from thence I went to the New Haven; and there lieth the Margaret, a ship nigh of the burden of the Christ of Lynne, and many men working upon her, some setting on her maintop, and some calking her above water, for under water she was

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13. Ibid, pp. 462 & 471. She was captured by the English, in the Channel, in 1514. Spont, p. 204.

14. T.A., IV. 472, 473 and 475. Note 1, p. xlv says of the Bark of Abayfield "perhaps built at Abbeville on the Seine." It is impossible to identify other ships referred to vaguely, as on p. 463, "the blak houk" and Johne Lawson's ship etc.

new tallowed. There was also upon the stocks a little galley in making, about fifty feet long as I suppose, which they said the King made to row up and down upon the water to and from Stirling; there is never a board yet upon her, nor never a man wrought upon her when I was there."<sup>15</sup>

As the three great ships had had "pavesis" fitted early in April, they must have been near completion.<sup>16</sup> The "Margaret" still needed many workmen. At the end of March, she had had an accident to her keel which necessitated work all day and by candle light at night to remedy it.<sup>17</sup> On the 13th of April she was got under way and taken up to Queensferry, where she lay with the "Michael" and the "James" in the "Dublarland." There, in May, the three great ships were tallowed, the method of the day for protecting the hull. They were hauled into docks and the hulls scraped, then smoked by "heddir" (peat) fires, and after that tallow was applied with "moppatis."<sup>18</sup> Thus, adding the activities of the

15. L. & P. Brodie, 1645.

16. T.A., IV. 476, shields, usually painted with coats of arms.

17. Ibid, p. 473. There is no record of any mishap to the "Michael," although an English report in September, 1512, had it that she ran aground when under sail in the Firth. L. & P. 1380. Here the "Michael" may have been confused with the "Margaret."

18. T.A., IV. pp. 479 & 478.

"Ferry," Blackness, and the Pow, to West's description of Leith and Newhaven, we have a formidable picture of the Scottish naval preparations.

Meanwhile, all James' efforts were needed to complete his fleet. How he succeeded, in face of the diffusion of his efforts, is rather a mystery. He was still making despairing efforts for peace, in letters to the Pope, Ferdinand of Aragon and others, and through Andrew Forman, and he was also preparing an army, an undertaking in itself requiring immense exertions. To have the fleet outfitted, finished, fully victualled, and armed, James had to send to the Baltic, France, and the Netherlands, for victuals, munitions, and men, and consequently the number of ships importing such stores becomes large. Thus in June the Kingis Wark received tin and iron from a French ship the "Swallow,"<sup>19</sup> and John Barton and John Balyard both brought ropes and other stores from France, after which, along with other agents, they fetched thence gunners and seamen. Barton's ship returned in March, and almost at once carried Andrew Forman overseas, while Balyard went to France with De la Mothe. Besides what they themselves brought home,

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19. Ibid, p. 481. The master of the ship, at least, was French. As he was allowed to retain eight pieces of tin, his cargo must have belonged to the King.

they sent stores by French ships.<sup>20</sup> From Denmark, "Mawnis," who had been sent home after his stay at the Scottish Court, despatched at least one gunner, and presumably other men and necessaries besides.<sup>21</sup>

James had appealed to Christiern, at that time viceroy of Norway, Voltaire's "monstre formé de vices sans aucune vertue," and William Duncan in an English ship, the "Merybuttokis," was dispatched to Norway, in April, for masts and other timber.<sup>22</sup> Gun stores, gunpowder, timber, naval stores, and victuals, were bought in the Baltic and in France, and dispatched to Scotland as quickly as James' agents could send them.

In Denmark, old King John had died on the 20th of February, 1513. His son Christiern II, according to the traditional story, wished to respond to his cousin James' appeal for help, but was advised by his Chancellor, Ove Bilde, who had once been James' guest, that he would need all the force he could muster at home. The advice was certainly sound, if slightly ungrateful, and it seems that no official help from Denmark reached James. The expectation of such aid

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20. Ibid, pp. 480, 473, 476.

21. Ibid, p. 480.

22. Ibid, p. 478.

was not kept secret, and the English Admiral, as we have seen, awaited the arrival of the Danes and the Scots. So general was this expectation, that on John's death he was rumoured to have left a huge sum to James. The wide circulation of the story of the expected aid must be responsible for the number of writers who mention it as actually received, though possibly this may be understood as aid in provisions and perhaps men. Skelton's jibe,

"Ye rowe ranke scottes and dronken danes  
Of our englysshe lowes ye have sette your banes"

at Flodden, seems at least to take the alliance for granted.<sup>23</sup> More definite is Leslie's record of "a propyne of ships laden with armour from Denmark," in May, 1513, which receives partial confirmation by the note in the "Accounts" of 12 cart loads "of the harnes (armour) that come furth of Denmark" taken "fra the Newhavin to the Castell of Edinburgh" in July.<sup>24</sup> The supplies of naval stores, armour, and munitions from Denmark were markedly large, and even in the list of the ships, one at least looks suspiciously Danish, — the "Crone" under Thomas Ober. At the least, James found that Christiern's neutrality was markedly benevolent.

Of greatest importance was the direct aid from the

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23. John Skelton. "A Ballad of the Scottysse Kyng," ed. J. Ashton. Lond. 1882 p. 95.

24. T.A., IV. p. 417.

French King. De la Mothe, it has been noted, came laden with munitions and wine in November, though as the latter seems to have been paid for by James, we may be in danger of exaggerating the amount of the gratuitous French aid.<sup>25</sup> De la Mothe's arrival in May at Dumbarton was perhaps the most important for the preparation of the fleet, for it must have been then that he brought, among other things, the large quantity of wine required to complete the victualling of the ships. Along with De la Mothe in the "Petite Louyse" came French mariners, among them Philippes Rouxel, who had brought captured English ships into Kirkcudbright in 1512, and who now returned to become pilot of the "Michael."<sup>26</sup> In May, James Ogilvy, Abbot of Dryburgh, had returned from France with the message urging the departure of the Scottish fleet, and that same month Robert Barton in the new "Lyon," manned by 300 men, came from Harfleur to Leith, bringing, for the fleet, skilled men, munitions, and naval stores, and on the 20th of June, John Balyard arrived at the West with French seamen and gunners in the "Gabriel."<sup>27</sup> One of them, "Perynot, maister," early in July, was sent to bring the "Gabriel" and "Lowis" (Petite Louise)

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25. Ibid, p. xxxvi.

26. Spont note 2 p. 169.

27. Ibid.

round from the West to the Forth.<sup>28</sup> The wine itself, however, seems to have been sent overland to Stirling, and thence by water down the Forth to Blackness, which supplied the ships with it.<sup>29</sup>

This arrival of De la Mothe in May was the signal for the assembly of the ships, and while John Balyard and John Barton took charge of the "James" and the "Margaret" at their "furth taking," 100 men were on the Michael, "fra hir furth taking" on the first of June from the Queensferry, "to the aucht day of the sammyn, quhill scho come to the raid of Leith."<sup>30</sup> The wrights were still busy on the ships, and the loading of victuals and munitions was accompanied by the sawing and hammering of carpenters. Still, as the three ships had been under the hands of a painter in April, and as the "Michael" had received her standards at the same time, they must have been almost ready for sea before such final decorative touches were added. In June of 1513, Henry VIII had landed at Calais; but at sea both the French and the English awaited the

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28. T.A., IV. p. 483. Robeyn Caus, Robert Tennand, and Paty Campbell went with him as pilots.

29. Otherwise, if it came by sea, it is difficult to see why the wine was not landed at Leith, or somewhere near the mouth of the Firth. "The Gabriel" touched at Dundee, where she took on board salmon for the ships in the Forth. T.A., IV. p. 489.

30. T.A., IV. 483.

arrival of the Scottish fleet.

The roll of the ships given in the Treasurer's Accounts starts with the "Michael," naming Alexander Routh skipper,<sup>31</sup> the "Margaret," under John Barton, and the "James" under John Balyard. The "Bark of Aþayfeild" was under Richart Madar, "John Bartonis Bark" under William Douglas, "The Spanze Bark" under William Mure, "Brownehillis schip" under William Brownehill, and "Chalmeris Bark" under Peter Foulartoun. There were also the "Bark Mytoun" under James of Douglas, the "Mary" under George Lyle, and the "Crone," under Thomas Ober, a total of 11 ships.<sup>32</sup>

Then come the difficult names. Ale, wine, and bread were "deliverit to Monsure Pyssone for the furnessing of my Lord of Sanctandrois men." This entry comes between the account for "Chalmeris Bark" and that of the "Bark Mytoun," with no indication on which ship these men were, and with only the use of the phrase "to hir," in enumerating quantities of ale and bread, to indicate that they were on some ship. If so, it is difficult to see why there should be a

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31. But Rouxel was pilot, and "Pernot the Frenchman" got £1.2.0 more than Routh. The list preserved may not refer to the personnel at the time of the expedition, but certainly neither Wood nor Robert Barton had anything to do with the "Michael." T.A., IV. p. 502. Routh "brocht his awin gunnis furth of Franche in his awin schip" p. 487.

32. T.A., IV. pp. 490, 493, 495, 497, 501.

separate account if they were on any of the ships already named, unless we are to suppose that the soldiers were provided with victuals separately from the ship's company.<sup>33</sup>

The next doubtful entry is the account of ale, bread, beef, salmon, and candle supplied to "Moriset Francheman," and coming before the accounts for the "Mary" and the "Crone." In this case, there is again the use of the words "to hir" to indicate a ship, and the similarity of the name to that of the "Morisat" of James V is so strong as to tempt us to identify the two.<sup>34</sup> This, however, is more than doubtful, and a more probable identification is with the "Petite Louise" brought round from Dumbarton, of which the pilot was one "Jean de Cantepye, dit Mercerot," whose conversion from "Mercerot" to "Moriset" is at least possible.<sup>35</sup> The consort of the "Petite Louise," the "Gabriel," possibly returned to France before the departure of the fleet, in the company of Barton's new "Lyon."<sup>36</sup>

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33. Ibid, p. 499.

34. See T.A., VI. 381 etc. "Kingis schip callit "The Moryset" in 1537.

35. Spont, no. 50 p. 74. De Cantepye in 1514 became captain of the ship, on the death of the former captain, Legendre. (Spont p. 208 note 3.) The omission of any supply of wine to "Moriset F." would support the identification, as the "P. Louise," having carried wine from France, would keep the supply necessary for her own victualling.

36. T.A., IV. 529. Hides were "deliverit to Roben of Bartoun and put in the kingis Gabriell."

The accounts conclude with victuals supplied to "Sotobattell," Peir Porteir, Lyone Harrot, and "the littell schip that passit to May with the Kingis Grace." The Lord Lyon was preparing to sail with James' defiance of Henry VIII, and "Sotobattell" and Peir Porteir, coming as they do immediately before his account, may also have nothing to do with the French expedition, and it is difficult to make anything of them. "Peir" seems a Dane, and if so, is another instance of Danish aid, but what is a Spaniard doing in Scotland at that moment? The fact that the Accounts, though almost complete, seem to break off suddenly will, perhaps, account for our difficulties.<sup>37</sup>

This sudden break may partially account for the manner in which the victualling of the ships, also, bristles with puzzling problems. In the cases where the time the victuals are to last is mentioned, it is for 40 days, and the men were allowed, "ilk man on the day 1 breid" and one quart of ale."<sup>38</sup> The following table shows the men on the ships as, and where, given by the accounts, and their numbers calculated from the amount of ale shipped, assuming it had to last only the 40 days. In actual fact it had to last many more. -

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37. For instance, there is no record of the payment of freight for any of the ships though several of them must have been hired.

38. T.A., IV. p. 499 etc. Cf. daily allowance of food for Vasco da Gama's crews in 1497 -  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. biscuit, 1 lb. beef or  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. pork,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pints wine,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pints water etc. "The Portuguese Pioneers" Edgar Prestege. London. 1933. p. 334.

|                    | Men    | Marts      | Ale     | Bread | Men (byale) |
|--------------------|--------|------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| Michael            | 300(?) | 200s. 44f. | 2088b.) | 5700  | 554         |
|                    |        |            | 3456    |       |             |
| Margaret           | 100    | 89s. 22f.  | 1080b.) | 9900  | 376         |
|                    |        |            | 2682    |       |             |
| James              | 100    | 80s. 22f.  | 1080b.) | 9494  | 356         |
|                    |        |            | 2484    |       |             |
| Bark of Abeyfield  | 60     | 20s. 7f.   | 1548    | -     | 154         |
| John Bartonis Bark | 60     | 15s. 6f.   | 504     | 1500  | 50          |
| The Spanze Bark    | 60     | 20s. 7f.   | 612     | 1500  | 61          |
| Brownehillis schip | 40     | 20s. 1½f.  | -       | 800   | -           |
| Chalmeris Bark     | 60     | 15s. 6f.   | 504     | 1500  | 50          |
| Bark Mytoun        | 130    | 20s. 2f.   | -       | -     | -           |
| Mary               | -      | 13s. 1½f.  | 432     | 1000  | 43          |
| Moreset            | -      | -          | 3f. 144 | 300   | 14          |
| Crone              | -      | -          | 3f. 144 | 300   | 14          |
| Total              | 910    | -          | -       | -     | 1612        |

39.

In the case of the "Bark Mytoun," James of Douglas gets £140 to furnish 130 men with bread and ale, and no ale is credited to "Brownehillis Schip." The amount of bread is an exasperating item. For instance, "Peter Foulartoun" had "to furness 3 score men for 40 dais, ilk man on the day 1 breid," and this is entered at 1500 instead of 2400!<sup>40</sup> As the ships were at sea for more than 40 days there must have been an ample reserve. The ration of "the kingis wyne quhilk come fra the west seye" seems ample,

39. S - Salt; f - fish; b - beer, only supplied to the three great ships. The ale is in gallons. The Michael had large quantities of "brisket," wheat, flour etc., supplied besides the "bred" mentioned. "The Spanze Bark," in one place, has only 40 men. The distribution of wine is not fully recorded, 18½ ton going to the Margaret, and only 4 to the James e.g.

40. T.A., IV. p. 499.

as does the fish supplied, a large part of this latter being marked as "resavit fra ane Franche man of weir at the command of Delamoit."<sup>41</sup> Besides these staples, the three great ships all got, and the others got some items of, wheat, salt, salmon, honey, candle, butter, coal, cheese, port and mutton, besides kettles, and a variety of pots, pans, platters and what not.

For the three great ships, and especially for the "Michael," the Accounts are very full, but it seems as if they are not complete. In the case of the others, it is obvious that we have not got the full details. "John Bartonis Bark" and "Brownehillis schip," for example, only receive part of the necessary victuals. As it is, even with the few barrels of water, the drink supplied is only sufficient for 1,800 odds men, and leaves no margin for the soldiers the ships carried, if we are to assess them on Pitscottie's scale, or even on that implied by Sir David Lindesay. As we know that the Scottish fleet, on arrival in France, was reinforced by the addition of 400 mariners, it is improbable that an undermanned fleet could carry many soldiers. Moreover, since the English fleet of April, 1512, consisting of 17 ships had only 3,000 odd men all told, it is fairly safe to number the men of the Scottish fleet at between 1800 and 2,000, and to consider that,

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41. Ibid, 494 etc.

by analogy, a goodly complement.<sup>42</sup> The ships, we may number certainly at 11, almost certainly at 12, with the possibility of there being one or two more.<sup>43</sup>

In July, while the fleet was preparing, an important but mysterious negotiation proceeded. That month, O'Donnell of Tirconnail visited James IV, as he had done often ever since both had supported Perkin Warbeck. He is generally supposed to have come to concert a scheme for a diversion in Ireland, to help in the effort to drive Henry VIII from France. He left Edinburgh in July, and there was sent after him to Glasgow a gun, taking 36 horses and nine carts to carry it, two carts with 8 barrels of gunpowder, two with gunstones (shot), and so forth, besides a French wright and two others in charge of the gun. There went, also, a "culvering moyene," and most significant of all, "8 quareouris ilk with a month's wages in hand," sent with "Howdonnell for undirmynding of wallis."<sup>44</sup> By August the 14th, "Andro Dokane" sent his carts to Glasgow to fetch the guns back. In the "Annals of Ulster," O'Donnell is said to have visited Scotland on James' invitation, "and on his

42. Spont, p. 12 note 1.

43. A contemporary Italian poem (tr. W.M. Mackenzie, "Secret of Flodden," p. 97) makes it "twenty and more ships."

44. T.A., IV. p. 527. The Michael's guns required six carts to carry each one from the Castle to Leith in 1512. Ibid. p. 451.

being a quarter with the king and having changed the king of Scotland's intention as to going to Ireland, O'Donnell comes safe to his home, after encountering great peril on sea."<sup>45</sup> This, however, leaves us quite in the dark as to what the "intention of the King of Scotland" had been, why the guns and siege material were sent with O'Donnell, and why they were taken back so suddenly.

Whatever was intended in Ireland, and whatever James' orders to the fleet were, it was now ready. The Earl of Arran was in command, probably on the "Michael," where the pilot was that Philippe Rouxel who had arrived with De la Mothe, and who may have come round the North of Scotland to the Forth with Perynot in the "Gabriel" or "Petite Louise," to accustom himself to the route.<sup>46</sup> Lord Fleming was on the "Margaret," where John Barton was master. Robert Barton was in France with the "Lyon," waiting the arrival of the Fleet. In the Forth, men worked day and night to get the food and guns shipped, and

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45. Annals of Ulster, vol. II., p. 507. Leslie, p. 139, notes the visit "to do homage." O'Donnell, and Ulster as a whole, was almost independent at the time, as Major notes.
46. Leslie, II. p. 131 says, "The Erle of Huntleis sone James Gordoun, governor of this navie he maid, quha is yit levand." Presumably, then, Leslie knew him, yet the statement is wrong, though the family did produce noted seamen. T.A., IV. p. 487 reveals Arran supervising some of the preparations for departure.

four "great craars" victualled the great ship, the "Michael." She left Leith on Sunday, 24th July, and "passit fra the raid (of Leith) to the bak of the Insh" (Inchkeith), where further provisions were put aboard "in haste," including pepper, porpoises, 200 of the King's salt marts, and 40 fresh marts, and nineteen daces of hides were "put in the gret schip quhen scho salit, to keip hir fra fireing."<sup>47</sup> The other ships, too, seem to have received their last supplies on the day they sailed. That day would probably be the 25th, and the King accompanied his fleet in a little ship as far as the Isle of May.<sup>48</sup> The English ships lay "tarying in the Downes for the Scottish flete," then part reconnoitred northwards but encountered nothing, while part returned to Southampton.<sup>49</sup>

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47. T.A., IV. 529. Balfour Paul, p. lii, argues that "this implies that the muzzles of the guns did not project beyond the outer line of the port holes," and that if the sides were not ten feet thick, as Pitscottie has it, they were at least very thick. The hides, he adds, would line the port-holes, and so obviate the danger of singeing.
48. T.A., IV. 501. Their sailing by the May indicates that they were taking the north about route, otherwise they would have gone by the Bass, as did the ship fetching Mary of Guise in 1538. T.A., VI. p. 395. Leslie, p. 139 makes the date the 26th.
49. Spont p. 120 and p. 176 note 1.

On the 26th, the Lyon Herald sailed to carry James' defiance to Henry and to take news to France of the Scots fleet's departure, and on August the 12th, Louis XII gave orders to have his ships in readiness.<sup>50</sup> The Breton and Norman ships were collected in Honfleur, where Robert Barton lay, and all waited on the arrival of James' fleet, but August passed without a sign. At length, sometime before the 17th of September, the fleet arrived in Brest, having taken over seven weeks on the voyage. Flodden had been lost on the 9th.

## 2. Carrickfergus.

The story of the voyage of the fleet is usually taken from Pitscottie. He tells that Arran "keepit no directioun of the king his maister but passit to the wast sie upon the coist of Ireland and thair landit and brunt Carag-fergus witht uther willagis, and than come foranent the toune of Air and thair landit and playit thame the space of 40 dayis." James got word of this, and in a rage sent Sir Andrew Wood and others with heralds to discharge Arran of his office, but the Earl, being warned of their approach

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50. T.A., IV. p. 417; Spont, 175 no. 87.

"pullit wpe saillis" and went to France.<sup>1</sup> Here, it must be noted that Pitscottie does not expressly say that Wood himself was to take charge of the fleet, or of any part of it. His office is confined to discharging Arran. On the other hand, Sir David Lindsay, in the "Historie of squyer Meldrum," omits all mention of a return to Ayr. He has a graphic description of the Sack of Carrickfergus; but after that -

"They weyit thair ankeris and maid saill,  
This Navie, with the Admerell  
And landit in bauld Brytane....." <sup>2</sup>

Lindsay's testimony, being that of a contemporary in a position to know the facts, is weightiest of all.

Buchanan coincides with Pitscottie in the nonsensical details of the letter from Anne of Brittany, and another from Forman, telling of the non-arrival of the fleet, and in making this the cause of James' determination to invade England to retrieve his honour. The only divergence is that he is more virulently anti-Hamilton, and to the tale of Arran's dismissal after the return to Ayr, adds, that the King sent the Earl of Angus as Arran's successor, accompanied by Wood.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible not to

1. Pitscottie, I. p. 255.

2. "Historie of ane nobel and wailzeand squyer William Meldrum." Early English Text Soc. 35, 36 p. 211.

3. Buchanan, "Historia" p. 373.

suspect that both Pitscottie and Buchanan are founding on the tales raised against the Hamiltons after the condemnation of Finnart under James V., and later revived and magnified for political use at the time of the Reformation.

The Irish Annals afford us no help, with the exception of the sentence already quoted on O'Donnell changing James' intention as to going to Ireland. There seems to be no Irish reference to the sack of Carrickfergus, although McSkimin accepts it, on the authority of Pitscottie and Sir David Lindsay, but though this silence is certainly unusual, there is little doubt as to that part of the tale.<sup>4</sup> An entry in the Bute Accounts for July 1513 - August 1514 claims the delivery of 46 marts to Arran, "tempore quo jacuit ante insulam de Bute in navibus transeundo ad regem Francie per preceptum domini regine."<sup>5</sup>

4. McSkimin, S., "The History, etc. of Carrickfergus" new ed. Belfast. 1909. p. 19., makes Arran take, and burn, it and several villages on the Irish Coast, "in revenge for some depredations committed by the Irish on the people of the Isle of Arran," but as the only references given are to Lindsay's "Squyer Meldrum," and to Pinkerton, this last phrase must be conjecture. McSkimin's "History" is well documented and authoratative. The only relevant article in the Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. III p. 290, dates the expedition 1512 and sends it against England! The Italian poem, "The Rout of the Scots," "Secret of Flodden" p. 97, refers to the fleet plundering the shores of Ireland.

5. Ex. R., XV. p. 20.

This can only refer to the voyage to France, and the entry, which must belong to some time in August 1513, would support the view that Arran and the fleet did touch at the West Coast of Scotland, on the journey to France, whether after or before the sack of Carrickfergus. Here, again, a curious point crops up, for if the ships lay before Bute, they must have sailed round the Mull of Kintyre and then proceeded up the Firth of Clyde. Two entries in the Privy Seal Register, undated, but from their position there, dating from after the day the Scottish army had crossed the Border, might be read as supporting Pitscottie's tale as amplified by Buchanan. One is "Office. Admyral generell kingis flot. Erle of Angus," and the other is a protection to Wood suggestive of his going on a journey.<sup>6</sup> This could be taken to support the story that James, in anger at Arran, sent Angus as Admiral, with Wood to take charge of the navigation. Against this, there is the grave objection that Angus was too old, and quite untrained for such a post, whereas Arran had been in command of the Danish fleet. As far as Wood is concerned the protection need not

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6. Reg. Sec. Sig. I., nos. 2550 and 2544. Arran before this (2524) has respite of all actions, etc. in the usual form. Of the portion of the Register containing the Angus and Wood entries, only the minute survives, if, indeed, there was ever anything more.

refer to anything more than an absence with the army, and as his mission to the fleet rests on the very bad authority of Buchanan, we need not pay much attention to it. But the one entry unfortunately supports the other, and it is difficult either to accept them as supporting the Pitscottie-Buchanan story, or to explain them satisfactorily otherwise. The objections to that tale, we have seen, are grave, and there is the final one that the charge was never made against Arran during his life, even by his enemies, as similar charges were made against Lord Home, although Arran, too, got into trouble under the regency of Albany.<sup>7</sup>

These are the only surviving facts. It will be noted that the decision to recall the guns sent to O'Donnell was reached after the fleet had sailed. If then, Arran had orders to execute some enterprise in Ireland, those orders could only have been countermanded when Arran touched at the West Coast,

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7. See Appendix, "Admiralty," for a very speculative solution of the Angus entry. It may be noted here that Fraser, (the Douglas Book vol. II Edin. 1885) p. 105, gives the story of Angus' quarrel with James IV. before Flodden, but omits all mention of the Ayr episode, as does Hume of Godscroft. Both tales cannot be true. Drummond, "Five James" p. 138, here follows Buchanan, sending Arran to Ireland, either driven by the weather, or corrupted by Henry VIII.

either before or after sacking Carrickfergus. That Arran had orders to execute some manoeuvre in Ireland is certain. Had a noble like Argyle, who had intimate dealings with the Irish chiefs, been in charge, an unordered attack on an Irish town would be quite understandable, but the Hamiltons had no known connection with the affairs of Ireland at this time. Many explanations of the affair could be hazarded, each no doubt as good or as bad as the other. Perhaps the most possible is that James ordered the fleet to attack Carrickfergus and capture it, then to proceed up the Firth of Clyde to fetch guns and munitions from Scotland, and hand the town and this aid over to O'Donnell, and that after news came of the successful attack, either James or O'Donnell changed his mind, and considered that enough had been done. If, for example, the fleet was longer on the voyage than had been expected, and news of its arrival from Carrickfergus only came after James had entered England, it is understandable that he should order it to France, and stop, for the moment, all aid to O'Donnell.

The fleet therefore, or part of it, probably returned to the west coast, if not to Ayr, though forty days were certainly not spent "playing about on the sands of Ayr." The lengthy duration of the

voyage is not so formidable as it at first seems. The long and dangerous passage round the North of Scotland, with three great ships on their first voyage, would be a difficult task, and by the time the West of Scotland was reached, a halt would certainly have to be made to collect the stragglers. The attack on Carrickfergus in itself involves another delay. When the fleet reached France its leaders pleaded bad weather as detaining them. That the weather was very bad all that autumn, there can be no doubt. It delayed Howard, the Admiral, going North against Scotland; later storms nullified the plans of the united fleets; at Flodden itself the English complained that the weather was in favour of the Scots, with a "grete wynde and a sodeyne rayne," and all that autumn and winter seems to have been stormy.<sup>8</sup> Two members of the royal line, itself, found the voyage round the Western Coast as tedious, for Prince Charles in the "Du Teillay," took three weeks to come from the Ile de Rhé to Moldart, though there we must allow for the Atlantic route round Ireland, and the need to avoid the patrolling English vessels. Again, earlier, when James I's daughter sailed from Scotland to become the wife of the

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8. See the letters, etc. in Skelton's "Ballad" p. 76.

Dauphin,<sup>9</sup> the voyage, although performed in fine weather, took three weeks to complete, but this, also, was certainly unusual, and when all allowances are made for the weather, the difficulties of managing the fleet and keeping it together, and the mishaps, such as the death of John Barton off Kirkcudbright, the seven weeks' voyage requires all the explanation possible.

With it all, however, it is unlikely that Arran disobeyed his orders in any way, and unlikely, too, that he did not rule the fleet as well as anyone could have done, allowing for the very slight semblance of order any medieval admiral could possibly keep. Indeed, it is amazing that Arran has not got the praise he merits for bringing the fleet safely through such a long and dangerous voyage. The French galleys, rounding Scotland from Leith to Dumbarton to carry Mary Queen of Scots to France, considered their voyage a remarkable feat. These were galleys, partly independent of wind, and sailing with the aid of Alexander Lindsay's charts.<sup>10</sup> The Scottish fleet's

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9. Barbé, p. 83. Many other cases could be quoted. The Covenanters going to Ireland in 1641 lay at "Irvine, Aire and Kilmarnock more than a fortnight, waiting for a faire wind..." Terry, Life etc. of Leslie, p. 161.

10. Beaugue, Jean de, "Hist. de la Guerre d'Escosse," Bordeaux, 1862. p. 57.

voyage was a fine achievement, unrivalled, certainly, by the English or French for many years to come.

### 3. The End of the Naval War.

The Scots cast anchor in Brest some time before the 17th of September, for on that day Louis XII. issued an order appointing Louis de Rouville Admiral of the two fleets, and on the 23rd of September, another edict ordered the victualling of the Scots fleet for two months and its payment for three, as well as a levy of 400 mariners in Normandy, to supplement the crews of the Scots ships. There is nothing to support the rumours then current in Spanish and other quarters, that some of the Scottish ships were lost by storm or otherwise before reaching Brest. The French ships were gathered at Honfleur and there the Scots ships were sent, Rouxel still piloting the Michael, and for his services being "grandement loué dudit admyril d'Escosse."<sup>1</sup>

By the 16th of September, Henry VIII, in France, knew of the issue of Flodden, and the French must have heard the news as soon as the English could pass it on, though its truth and the certainty of the king's death

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1. Spont, p. 176 and n. 1.

was long doubted. Yet the naval preparations in France went forward, the aim being that the Franco-Scottish fleet should prevent Henry VIII's return from Picardy to England. It all came to nothing, for "quant ilz furent prestz, survint si grosse tempeste que l'enterprinse fut rompue et y eut aucuns navires periz."<sup>2</sup> The Scots ships, however, were safe, and there was still hope of some worthy enterprise, the ships waiting ready to sail at a moment's notice, while the French privateers scoured the Channel.<sup>3</sup>

From Scotland appeals for aid had been sent, and on the 4th of October Louis wrote letters to the Scots Council, to be carried by De la Bastie, the "Chevalier Blanc," who, along with Arran and Lord Fleming in the Scottish ships, arrived at Dumbarton on the 3rd of November.<sup>4</sup> The three great ships were left in France to assist in the still projected attack on England. The "Michael," in March 1514, lay at Dieppe, where an English agent deponed to having seen "ung grant navire de guerre, appelle' la grant nef d'Escosse.....la plus

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2. Spont, p. 189 n. 1.

3. Spont, p. xliv.

4. For the arrival on the third, Aeneas Mackay, "Death of Sir Antony d'Arces de la Bastie," in "Blackwood's Magazine," July 1893, p. 132.

grande et la plus forte qui soit en France, comme l'on a dit, et ne la peult vaincre que par feu, selon le bruit et commune renommée est audit Diepe."<sup>5</sup> The Scots ships did not see much service, in spite of Thomas Lovell's report in July, that the English ships from Calais are being chased by ships which, "the merryners say, so far as they can perceyve by them, they be bothe French saills and Scotts saills together and now of late hathe gone and do goo often along the seas," though this would seem to show that the smaller ships did some privateering. The weather was still bad, for Robert Barton, coming from Scotland in March, was driven off his course to Corunna in Spain.<sup>6</sup> In the same month France and England signed a truce, and although this did not prevent Prégent in his galleys burning Brighton in April, and a desultory "guerre de course" by the privateers, no general action was now intended, and in August, 1514, when Prégent left for the Mediterranean once more, the naval war was definitely over.

In September, Louis gave orders to send back to Scotland the three great ships lying at St. Malo, but in December, this order was countermanded.<sup>7</sup> As a

5. Spont, p. 196.

6. L. & P. Brewer, I. 4824.

7. Spont, p. 208 n. 4.

result, the "Margaret" and the "James" remained in France till they returned with John, Duke of Albany, when he arrived at Ayr on the 16th of May, 1515. There they were taken charge of by James Stewart, "brother to the Laird of Ardgowan and Keeper of the Ships."<sup>8</sup> The "Michael," alone of the Scottish ships, did not return. Otherwise every ship seems to have arrived safely, if at different times, some with Arran in 1513, the "Margaret" and "James" with Albany in 1515, and the rest no doubt at various times in between, as it suited their masters, who would return laden with goods to trade. The "Bark of Abayfield," for example, and the "Spanze Bark" are met with by name later, and there is no reason to suppose that one of James fleet was lost.<sup>9</sup>

The "Michael" was sold in 1514. In June of that year, along with other assistance to Scotland, Louis had proposed sending back "la grant nef d'Escosse" properly munitioned,<sup>10</sup> but on 2nd April, 1514, Albany in France had sold the Michael to Louis for 40,000 francs tournois, payable in 4 years.<sup>11</sup>

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8. T.A., V. p. 16.

9. T.A., V. pp. 45, 70, 163, and Ex. R. XV. p. 158.

10. F. P., p. 99.

11. Ep. Reg. Scot., I. p. 214. and F. P., p. 113.

The discrepancy in these two dates is curious, but at any rate the Scottish Council on 28th January, 1515, ratified the sale, and there is no doubt that Albany made a good bargain, in spite of Gavin Douglas' jaundiced complaints that "he hes sauld and analiit the Kingis thre grete schippis, witht costlie and precious jowellis wourth thre hundreth thousand frankis, and cost I dar say with thair artilyery and ordinance twyis that soume, besyde uthir smalle barkis analiit by him also, and the money thereof spendit by him and to his use alanerly, and never one peny of the money returnyt to the Kingis proffeit nor the realmes."<sup>12</sup> If the French could find no use for the "Michael," the Scots could have found even less. It may be most melancholy to think of James' great ship rotting unused, in Brest, but that very disuse justifies the wisdom of the sale. Nor is it inappropriate that the end of the great ship should be as misty and doubtful as that of its builder.

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12. Quoted in "Works of Gavin Douglas," ed. Small, Edin., 1874, vol. 1. CIX. There is no mention elsewhere of the sale of any ship except the "Michael."

Cap. VIII. The Results of the Reign.

James' reign ended in a tragic failure, and this end tends to colour the assessment of all his activities leading thereto. In the naval sphere this is especially true, for while the French expedition in large measure achieved its object, the method of that achievement cannot but appear a fiasco after the bustle of the great preparations. In reality it was a considerable success. The fleet had made the long journey successfully, had operated unavenged in Ireland, had tipped the balance in France sufficiently to compel an English withdrawal and later a truce, and finally had lost none of its ships in the process. Yet we cannot but compare this with what James might have achieved had he lived; the Crusade certainly, perhaps even a venture into Ireland to take up the mantle of Edward Bruce. It is thus right that James' untimely death should be stressed, for it came at the moment when his interest in the sea was at its height, and from the nature of that interest, it is unlikely that he would have allowed Scotland to relapse into that long lull in naval activity which in England and France followed his death. Had he lived, the seeds he had already sown would have had the opportunity to grow into something resembling that rudimentary naval organisation which in England Henry VIII handed on to

to Elizabeth; as it was, the ships he had built, and the seamen he had fostered, had to settle down to a long and wearing fight during the minority, and their success therein is a tribute to James' efforts.

The effects of his naval dealings with the Isles and with Denmark were by nature evanescent, but the example had its results. If the Isles flamed up again on his death, Albany, James V., and later, Mary of Guise, used ships to deal with the troublesome Islanders, and James V., especially, found them an effective weapon. The Scots aid to Denmark made such an impression on the Danes that there were repeated calls for its renewal both in the minority and during the reign of James V. Indeed, it is not pressing the affair too far, to see in James IV's aid to Denmark the germ of what became in time those Scots mercenary soldiers in the Baltic lands, whose existence had in the end such an effect in turning the course of Scots history. As to the French expedition itself, if its definite results were few, among them we may number the first suggestion of Albany's Governorship and some credit for the close, if not always harmonious, Franco-Scottish relations for many years after, a curious result, considering James' rather cool relations with France.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Dr. Wood has shown that Arran, Fleming, and the rest, while in France, must have suggested Albany's governorship on the news of James' death, without orders from Scotland.

The result of such actions is always rather imponderable. It is easier to assess the effect of his expansion of Scotland's sea power. Here, there could not be but a relapse after the King's death. Of his ships, the "Michael" was sold. The other two "great ships", the "James" and the "Margaret", after a few years, vanish as completely. They had formed part of the fleet carrying John, Duke of Albany to Scotland in May, 1515, to take up his duties as Governor. From then, until 1516, they were under the charge of James Stewart, Keeper of the Ships, but after that date, whether they carried Albany to France in 1517, or whether they lay unused at Dumbarton, they disappear from record.<sup>2</sup> It is hardly probable that they were sold to the French, since there is no mention of the transaction, and the French were in no need of ships, so it seems most likely that they were too big for everyday use and simply lay idle. Being built for the Crusade, the "great ships" may not have been "economic propositions" in actual use for a nation in such straits as was Scotland during the minority. This might appear to necessitate an adverse view of James' efforts, at least in as far as the construction of these three ships were concerned. It must be remembered, however, that ships disappear and reappear most irritatingly at this period of Scottish history,

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2. T.A., V. p. 94.

naturally enough, when we have such scanty and doubtful records. The "Unicorn", for instance, is heard of under James IV. and then disappears to reappear in 1539<sup>3</sup>, and an even more amazing instance of the casualness of our knowledge is that of the "Mary Willoby", an English ship of 700 tons, which was captured by Hector Maclean of Duart in 1533 without any surviving record of English protests or demands for her return.<sup>4</sup> The disuse of one ship, and the disappearance of two others, is no ground for a condemnation of James' construction. Inevitably, his own death deprived his ships of the uses for which he had designed them, but most of them did yeoman service. Indeed, had James foreseen his early death, his shipbuilding activity would have been the best insurance he could have taken out for his country's safety. Naturally, during the minority all building for the King ceased, although his remaining ships were cared for, and in the difficult times private building cannot have been large. In the naval sphere, Scotland had to live on the capital provided by James.

The greatness of this "capital" is made manifest during the period of Albany's governorship. Internally,

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3. T.A., VII. 190 etc. There was also a "little Unicorn" at the time, and I assume that one of them was the old ship of James IV's day.

4. T.A., VI. pp. 134, 136, etc.

we have the continued use of ships in the Isles, as when MacIain of Ardnamurchan, in 1516, was aided by the "Gabriel" and the "Christopher" under the command of Dugal Campbell, who had been "contremaitre" of the "Michael" in France.<sup>5</sup> There was the continual employment of other seamen also, such as David Falconer, for instance, victualling Dunbar, Tantallon, and other castles in 1515, or bringing the "Spanze Bark" about the Pentland Firth to Leith in 1518. Moreover, throughout the minority, the Scots' sea power was strong.<sup>6</sup> There was never any difficulty in getting to or from countries overseas, and, in spite of good intentions, the English never managed to capture Albany or any other leader at sea.

It is, indeed, remarkable how well the Scots kept the seas. The only serious attempt on Scottish waters was in 1522, the year when Gavin Douglas wrote his indictment of Albany to Wolsey, when the Duke and Queen Margaret were in close alliance, and when Henry VIII., after unsuccessfully trying to brow-beat the Scottish Estates, sent Shrewsbury to ravage the Borders and burn Kelso. Accompanying the army, there came seven "great weir schippis and spulzeit and reft al

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5. Spont, p. 208. T.A., V. pp. 70 and 45. Hall, p. 630 records the capture at sea of a Duncan Camell in 1522.

6. They could not be so strong as the English. Cf. Major's parenthesis, written in 1521, "in vessels of war the English are superior to the Scots". Major, p.244. But their naval strength was sufficient for their needs.

that parte of the Sey," but at the first sign of resistance they sailed away, after what had been a rather ineffective raid.<sup>7</sup> The Scots had a profitable revenge when, in 1524, they raided the English Ice-landic fleet. Thus, at sea, there is every evidence that they more than held their own, so much so, that from this period onwards the Scots "pirates" became a menace.<sup>8</sup> Yet these efforts were necessarily those of privateers, and as such must have had an unfortunate effect on Scots trade. Privateering, though profitable, induced retaliation and, as it was impossible to confine that to any one nation, a seizure of an English ship might start a sea war with Flanders or with other states whose merchants had goods on board. It has been shown that the exploits of Robert Barton and other Leith seamen during the Albany regime were in opposition to the interests of the Edinburgh merchants and other peaceful traders, and that Gavin Douglas had some reason for calling Robert Barton a "verie pirat and sie reiver".<sup>9</sup> Thus, the privateering activities of Barton, Fogo, and others, must have contributed in no small degree to the reduction of Scots trade towards the end of the minority. Yet, here too,

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7. Leslie, I. p. 182.

8. Oppenheim, p. 95. By 1532 the Narrow Seas are said to be full of Scottish privateers. He adds that cases of bloodshed, however, were still rare. cf. Welwood's, to us, strange remark "oftentimes pirats takis nothing". "Sea law of Scotland" Misc. S.T.S. 1933 p. 69. tit. 10.

9. Hannay, "Shipping and the Staple 1515-1531," Old Edin. Club, Vol. IX. p. 56 et seq.

the evidence is conflicting, for, if in 1529, a year after its close, Wigtown and Whithorn made no return for customs, because no ships came there owing to the wars upon the seas,<sup>10</sup> there must have been a great contrast on the East Coast, where 69 English ships traded to Scotland in 1528.<sup>11</sup>

It is probable, indeed, that the worst period at sea was at the end of the minority, when the Angus faction ruled, and, being in alliance with England, had no need of sea power, even if the leading seamen had not been so closely identified with the preceding Albany regime. Apart from all that, there can be no doubt as to the tremendous part played by the seamen in the years following Flodden. It is not too much to say that they were the mainstay of Albany's rule. Robert Barton, the greatest of them all, became Comptroller and later Treasurer, and as such was a main prop of the government. As "Hob a Barton" he was the terror of the English, and his aid and that of his comrades was sought by both the warring dynasties in Denmark. It was James IV. who fostered the growth of these seafarers and used them in his naval policy, and in return they continued in the service of the Crown and played a predominant part in maintaining Scotland's independence during the dangers of the minority.

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10. Ex. R. XIV. p. LVII.

11. Oppenheim, p. 89.

This establishment of a strong force of independent seamen and their attachment to the Crown was James' main achievement, although admittedly it may only have been a secondary aim of his policy. Otherwise, it is difficult to determine what survived of his "navy". What did survive of the very rudimentary "establishment" which was all that the times needed or knew? In the years immediately succeeding Flodden, something, however meagre, did linger on. We can hardly attach much more significance to the phrase, "Keeper of the King's Ships", applied to James Stewart, than that he did, at the moment, keep the ships, that is, pay their mariners, provide victual, and see them docked and watched.<sup>12</sup> Yet the large sums paid him show the scope and importance of his work, and must have included the upkeep of some of the staff James IV. had used.

We receive the same impression of something surviving from the trouble concerning the "schip compts" in 1516.<sup>13</sup> Whatever the trouble was, the existence of "schip compts" is evidence of the existence of a rudimentary establishment, although the entry leaves a suspicion of dilapidation. As there was no ship-building for the Crown, the accounts can only have been concerned with the maintenance of the King's ships, or with their victualling and repair when in use. The Kingis Wark, of course, continued

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12. T.A., VI. p. 41.

13. T.A., V. pp. 65, 67 and 68.

in the augmented form it must have assumed under the needs of James' naval expansion, and that an "establishment" of sorts survived is certain.<sup>14</sup>

It seems, too, that the decline was gradual, and became more ruinous with the period of Douglas rule. Albany's rule depended on the security of his sea communications with France. Even apart from that, he had first come into touch with Scottish affairs in France, at a moment when all around him were speculating interestedly on the Scottish fleet, and when Scotland must have mainly signified to him so much sea power available to aid France. It was natural that he should have tried to conserve the naval forces created by James. He fortified Inchgarvie, thereby completing James' long projected intention to do so, "to protect his ships which he intends to lie above the ferry".<sup>15</sup> Dunbar, too, the Duke retained till his death in 1536, and made it the strongest castle in Scotland, with its stores of artillery. The trouble over the "schip compts" too, suggests an intention to overhaul all the naval machinery such as it was. This applies to his first sojourn in Scotland, and it is probable that the other troubles of his regency soon forced him to turn his attention elsewhere, and leave the seamen to keep the seas. While this decline in

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14. Under James V., guns, munitions, etc., were stored in the King's Wark when not needed on the ships.

15. L. & P. Brodie, 1645.

power during the minority is undeniable, the quick recovery under James V.'s personal rule is no less manifest, and is a tribute to the enduring quality of his father's work. James V's reign is full of events in the naval sphere and it is notable with what ease the expedition to and from France, and the state voyage to the Isles, are accomplished.

Scotland's naval resources were so large that in 1531, the Master of Glencairn saw fit to promise to bring a force of six ships to Denmark, and though he was refused permission, the promise, itself, shows his estimate of what Scotland could spare in ships.<sup>16</sup> The King's ships still traded, or were let for trade, but they had now other primary uses. That mastery of the Scottish waters which James IV. had gained, was vigorously upheld by his son, the King's ships being sent to capture pirates in the southern waters, and to guard the fisheries in the Orkneys and the Shetlands. In fact, James V's whole reign was singularly successful at sea, so much so that, during the wars at its close, the old Duke of Norfolk gave it as his opinion that James put "a shote ancre in his ships" if his army should be defeated.<sup>17</sup>

The instruments of this success were mostly the same men, or of the same families, as had served his

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16. Wegener, III. p. 185.

17. L. & P., Vol. XVII. 779.

father. Robert Barton,<sup>172.</sup> the younger John and Alexander Barton, Falconer, Fogo, and the rest, belonged to the race who had served James IV.<sup>18</sup> On the "administrative" side, such as it was, the same is true. Florence Corntoun, whose name appears among those at work on the French expedition, became the leading figure here, and had £40 a year for "the ordering of the King's wark concerning the ships and keeping of their gear". At Newhaven, which he repaired and extended, James built ships as his father had done. By now the shipping centre of Scotland had definitely shifted to the Fife coast of the Firth, and there, at Burntisland, the King's ships were kept and built, but the methods and the men were both inherited.<sup>19</sup>

Without minimising James V's personal efforts and those of his time, there can be little doubt that the success of his reign at sea was due to the impetus given to Scottish naval development by his father. The magnitude of that development may be gauged by the fact that it enabled the Scots to keep their place at sea after Flodden, and that although worn down during the minority by loss and lack of replacement, it so easily recovered, and so quickly supplied James V. with the ships necessary for his voyages, and allowed him to clear his seas of pirates. The contrast with the state of affairs when James IV. came to the throne is

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18. Wegener, III. p. 114 misprints Alex. as "Albert", an unknown name in Scotland then. Alex. was the son of Andrew Barton.

19. T.A., VII. p. 474, 480, etc.

striking. Under a minority like that of James V. in 1513-1529, the Scots, in 1488, certainly could not have kept their seas, and probably not even their independence. Again, the contrast with the state of affairs after James V's death is also tremendous. The Scots were great seamen and kept the seas well up till the time of the death of the Cardinal, and past it, perhaps even to the Union of 1606, but they needed French naval aid for what they did do, and it is apparent that the lead given by James IV weakened under his son, and died altogether during the minority of Mary, as far as James' creation of a Scottish fleet was concerned.

Even then, James' effort had its effect. The race of seamen he had fostered did not lose the place they had taken under him. James' death, and the equally early death of his son killed all hope of a permanent fleet. Whether the King had any such idea may be doubted, but we may perhaps take Douglas' complaint at Albany's selling of the "Michael" as an indication that the maintenance of the fleet as such was indeed expected and intended. If the end of his effort was failure, it was not because the effort was untimely or in any way forced. The only verdict must be the irritating one - "dis aliter visum".

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NOTES.A. The Admiralty.

The only modern writer on the Scottish Admiralty is R. G. McMillan, in "The Scottish Court of Admiralty: A Retrospect," Juridical Review, Vol. XXXIV, 1912, and "The Admiral of Scotland", S.H.R. Vol. XX. There is also an article on "The Vice-Admiral and the Quest of the Golden Pennie", (S.H.R. Vol. XX) by Sir Bruce Setoun, and, for the legal side, an important "Report upon the Scottish Jurisdiction Bill.....containing objections to the Bill.....by a committee of the Faculty of procurators before the High Court of Admiralty," Edinburgh 1824, written at the time of its suppression. A satisfactory account of the powers of the Admiral before the mid 15th century is, however, still lacking. On the scope of his office McMillan writes that "in war, contrary to the practice in England, where the Admiral when available generally commanded the fleet at sea, the Scottish Admiral seldom exercised his office afloat. For this, the reason, no doubt, was that the Scottish Navy was never maintained as a permanent establishment of any strength". This would still imply that he might have done so. Balfour ("Practicks", etc., Edin. 1754 p. 629) makes the High Admiral "general Lieutenant to the King's grace, of all

armies or companies of men of weir that shall be collectit or reikit to the sea". He puts ships to guard fishers, (p. 631) receives powder, arms, etc., from ships returning from a voyage, and in fact is an administrator for the navy. Bisset ("Rolments of Courtis", S.T.S. Vol. II. pp. 218-229), supports this, though Welwood, on the other hand, does not deal with the subject. This view may hold of the end of the 16th century but not of the beginning. Balfour in short, is simply incorporating the English, and especially the French sea laws and ordinances, (p.614 "the sea lawis collected furth of the actis of parliament, the practiques and the lawis of Oleron, and the lawis of Wisbie, and the constitutionis of François, King of France annis 1543, 1547"). It is notable that Chambre only gives the Admiral judicial attributes ("Histoire Abregée de tous les Roys, etc" David Chambre, Paris, 1579 p. 201.) Had the Admiral had administrative functions in 1513, there would have been some trace of them left.

A frequent mistake arises from the different meanings of the word. It might mean simply the leader or leaders of the fleet. When, in 1599, the Scottish wine fleet in Bordeaux wished to stop an attempt to force it to pay higher imports, the better to resist this they chose two skippers "to be admirals to the fleet" (P.C. Reg. V. p. 537). Arran in the Danish and French expeditions was admiral in this sense. As there

is no record of his receiving any writ under the Privy Seal for this, there is the less reason to suppose that the note giving the office of "Admyrell generell kingis flot" to Angus, refers to this command of the French expedition. McMillan gives the term as a title of the High Admiral, but as he gives no reference he may found on this passage.

This, however, gives us a possible clue. Angus had married a daughter of Patrick, first Hepburn Earl of Bothwell. Patrick was succeeded by his son Adam, who is said to have died at Flodden leaving a minor Patrick to succeed to the earldom. (History of the House of Douglas Hume of Godscroft. Edinburgh, 1646, p. 238, and Life of Bothwell. F. Schiern tr. Berry, Edinburgh, 1880, p.3.). Could Angus have tried to take over the office of High Admiral during the minority of his young relative? A more sinister possibility is that he may have tried to do so solely for his own benefit. The young earl and his tutors, on the first of June, 1514, were requested by deliverance of the Lords at Stirling to produce his infestment in the office of Admiral. This may have been a result of the Angus attempt, and may mark its failure, for he was able to secure his right, by showing a charter from James IV. to his father Adam, annexing the office to the earldom and lordship of Bothwell. (A.D.C. 1501-54 p. 17). It is curious that no charter or

grant of the office should exist, but it seems certain that the High Admiral, as such, under James IV. was only a judicial officer, with a position not very well established even there.

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Sir Andrew Wood.

The fullest account of Sir Andrew Wood is that of James Grant in "The Constable of France and other military historiettes," (London 1866), expanded from an article of his in "Tait's Magazine" (Edinburgh, May 1852 p. 208 et seq.). On this magazine article is founded Mrs Montague's "Memorials of the Family of Wood of Largo," (printed for private circulation in 1863) and most of the other extant articles on Wood, eked out by details from the same author's "Yellow Frigate". Though a thorough piece of work at the time there are naturally a few errors. Grant cites verses of an "Old Ballad of Sir Andrew Wood," not only in the novel, but also in the historical article, and puts them forward as genuine. The "Ballad" is not in Child or in any of the collections I have searched, and as Grant, who always gives his source, in this case quotes none, I can only conclude that the Ballad is spurious.

The others are genuine slips. Grant took from Kennedy, ("Annals of Aberdeen" Vol. I. London 1815 p. 60) the false identification of an Andrew Wood who claimed the Socket Hill in Aberdeen in 1489. This was a Wood of Aberdeen, not Sir Andrew. A difficult point in Wood's life is the date of the exploit signalled by the phrase that James IV's charter of 21st. Aug., 1513, erecting some of Wood's Largo land

into a free burgh of barony is granted ..... "signanter pro custodia castri de Dunbar tempore quo classis ingens inimicorum regis Anglicorum eidem obsidionem dedit." (Reg. Mag, Sig., II. 3880, and in the earlier charter of 1504 no. 3775). The difficulty has been further extended by misreading Dumbarton for Dunbar (Grant "Constable of France etc" p. 194). The most probable explanation of this passage would be to read it as referring to the English incursion of 1496, but in that case, either the charter exaggerates, or the affair was much more serious than surviving traces indicate. Perhaps this is explicable on the theory that the force was formidable, as Oppenheim points out, but that it accomplished nothing and left quickly. There does not seem to be any other probable date, but it must be admitted that the phrase in the 1504 charter "tempore quo exercitus et classis Anglie per mar~~e~~ pro insidione et captione castri antedicti venit"....., indicating a definite attempt on Dunbar, rather points to the earlier sieges under James III. The later date is, however, preferable.



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