

King James IV, Continental Diplomacy and the Guelders' War

In Western Europe the years 1506-1515 were marked by confrontations between Denmark and the Baltic city of Lübeck, between Lübeck and Holland, and between Holland and the Duke of Guelders.¹ The background to these struggles includes (very briefly) the resistance offered to successive kings of Denmark by their rebellious subjects in Sweden, who in their bid for independence were aided and abetted by Lübeck;² Lübeck's opposition to the incursions into the Baltic Sea area of merchants and shipping interests from the Low Countries (mainly from Amsterdam) who were sympathetic to Denmark;³ and the duke of Guelders' attempts to recover the duchy which had effectively been lost a generation earlier by his father and grandfather to Burgundian-Habsburg domination.⁴

Each of the contending parties had powerful allies. Overriding all their quarrels was the dynastic struggle between the imperial house of Habsburg and the kings of France. On the basis of a treaty which had been made with Charles the Bold (1433-1477), last Valois Duke of Burgundy, King John of Denmark (1481-1513) called on the Habsburg authorities in the Low Countries for help against Sweden (see below). Lübeck allied with the Swedes tried to mobilize help from the other Wendic and Baltic cities which were joined in the Hanseatic League.

¹ This is a revised part of the author's doctoral thesis 'The Cities and States of Holland (1506-1515). A participative system of government under strain' (University of Leiden, 2001), based on sources in Holland concerning the regency of Margaret of Austria between the death of her brother Philip the Fair (1506) and the accession of her nephew, later Emperor Charles V, to Philip's titles (1515). In this article Charles V is referred to only as Charles of Habsburg. Sources examined were accounts of the Treasurers for North-Holland at The Hague for incomes and expenditures in the ducal *aides* and the domain, and the treasurers' accounts of principal cities of Holland, Haarlem and Leiden chiefly, but also Dordrecht and Gouda. The abbreviations used below are ARA: *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (National Archives), The Hague; Rek.Rek.: *Rekeningen Rekenkamer* (Accounts of the Chamber of Accounts); GA: *Gemeente Archief* (City Archives); Tres.rek. (Treasurers' Accounts); SA (Secretaries Archives).

² L. V. G. Gorter-Van Royen, 'Denmark and Habsburg: The Netherlands between dynastic and European policies in the beginning of the 16th century' in J. P. S. Lemmink and J. S. A. M. van Koningsbrugge (eds.), *Baltic affairs: Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800* (Nijmegen, 1990), 75-96.

³ J. D. Tracy, 'Herring wars: The Habsburg Netherlands and the Struggle for Control of the North Sea, c. 1520-1560', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxiv (1993) 249-272; M. van Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel, 1470-1570. Koren op de Amsterdamse molen* (The Hague, 1995); W. G. Heeres, L. M. J. B. Hesp, L. Noordegraaf and R. C. W. van der Voort, *From Dunkirk to Danzig. Shipping and trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850* (Hilversum, 1988).

⁴ J. D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg rule, 1506-1566. The formation of a body politic* (Berkeley, 1990), 64-74; P. J. Meij, 'Gelderland van 1492-1543' in P. J. Meij *et al.* (eds.) *Geschiedenis van Gelderland 1492-1795* (2 Vols. Zutphen, 1975), ii, 13-78 and notes 481-491. On the question of Charles of Guelders' legal right to the duchy, see P. van Peteghem, '"El ducado de Güeldres, que le (Carlos I) pertenecia". Inleidende beschouwingen bij de rechtsvraag' in F. Keverling Buisman *et al.* (eds.) *Verdrag en tractaat van Venlo. Herdenkingsbundel 1543-1993* (Hilversum, 1993), 41-57. The issue is resolved here by calling him Charles of Guelders, and by pointing out that even Habsburg officials sometimes referred to Charles of Guelders as duke (*hartoch, hertog*); J. P. Ward, 'A selection of letters (1507-1516) from the Guelders' war, *Lias: Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, xxix (2002) 125-151.

Successive kings of France, interested in curbing the power of the Habsburgs, helped Charles of Guelders to conduct a guerrilla-like war in the Low Countries by providing him with money and men over a period of several decades.

Among these relationships one person, King James IV of Scotland (1473-1513), was uniquely placed through familial ties to mediate between King John of Denmark and his opponents in Sweden and Lübeck, and between Charles of Guelders (1467-1538) and the guardian of Charles of Habsburg, his grandfather Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519). For the paternal grandmother of James IV was Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders (1423-1473) who had been Charles of Guelders' grandfather. James's mother was Margaret of Denmark, sister of King John. That put James IV in a position to intervene when they requested him to do so in the affairs of his relatives, the pro-French Charles of Guelders and the pro-Habsburg John of Denmark. Primary sources for this period of Scottish history are scarce.⁵ What follows therefore draws attention to sources in Holland which, despite their limitations, shed new light on James IV's foreign relations and diplomatic activities, while reaffirming the potential significance of Continental archives for Scottish historians.

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On land the war between the Habsburg rulers of the Low Countries and Charles of Guelders for possession of the dukedom of Guelders had been waging on and off for decades. At sea attacks on merchant ships in the Zuyderzee and in the narrow seas surrounding Holland were frequent.⁶ Attacks in the Zuyderzee were often carried out from ports on the Guelders shore by enterprising soldiers and pirates, but sometimes also by privateers acting for and by the authority of Charles of Guelders or the king of France. One of those privateers achieved legendary fame in the early naval history of France. His name was Jean Chaperon and his exploits were discussed at several of the diets of the States of Holland between 1507 and 1511.

‘CHAPERON ou CHAPPERON (Jean). On a bâti tout un petit roman sur la vie de ce personnage, dont l'identité est loin d'être établie. ... En fait, Jean Chaperon est un inconnu; aucun document, aucune pièce comptable ne le signale.’, wrote M. Prevost and R. D'Amat, editors of

⁵ D. Dunlop, ‘The politics of peace keeping: Anglo-Scottish relations from 1503 to 1511’, *Renaissance Studies*, viii (1994) 138-161, footnotes 6 and 61 there. Main sources for the period are the correspondence of the principal rulers: R. L. Mackie and A. Spilman (eds.), *The letters of James the Fourth, 1505-1513; Calendars by Robert Kerr Hannay, LL.D.* (Edinburgh, 1953); J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (2 Vols., London, 1863; Kraus Reprint 1965); E. A. J. Le Glay (ed.), *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche de 1507-1519* (2 Vols., Paris, 1839); E. A. J. Le Glay (ed.), *Negociations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche durant les trente premières années du XVIe siècle* (2 Vols., Paris, 1845); Anon. (ed.), *Lettres du roy Louis XII et du cardinal George d'Amboise, avec autres lettres, memoires et instructions ecrites depuis 1504 jusque et comptis 1514* (4 Vols., Brussels, 1712); L. P. C. van den Bergh (ed.), *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, avec ses amis sur les affaires des Pays-Bas de 1506-1528* (2 Vols., Leiden, 1845, 1847); I. A. Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland door onuitgegeven oorkonden opgehelderd en bevestigd*, vi, Pt 1 (Arnhem, 1859).

⁶ Shortly after Charles of Guelders recaptured Arnhem in 1514 at a time of increased tension an item in the accounts of the government at The Hague included a warning to the sheriff (*schout*) at Monster, a small place on the coast between Rotterdam and The Hague, to keep watch for fireships (*vierboeten*) and enemy warships which at that time were ‘seen daily in the waters off the coast of Holland’; ARA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 348, f. 131, undated.

the standard French biographical dictionary.⁷ Whether Chaperon was an unknown quantity or not, some of his exploits are related in their biographical article, and others here.

The first mention of Chaperon found in sources in Holland was when in 1506 he captured a number of large cargo ships of the type called 'hulks'. They are variously described as being four or five in number, four of which were from Holland. Accounts at Gouda and elsewhere in Holland call Chaperon expressly a pirate in the service of Charles of Guelders, who had captured four vessels from Holland.⁸ Jean Chaperon or Caproen as he is called in these and various other spellings of his name is referred to elsewhere as a Guelders' freebooter, reflecting the historical perception that he was in the service of Charles of Guelders. Kooperberg called Chaperon a French freebooter either in the service of or tolerated by France.⁹ The capture of the cargo ships was also referred to by the anonymous contemporary author who described the journey of Philip I to Spain in 1506.

Oudict temps les François, sur la couste de Normandie et de Bretaigne, avoient esquippez deux bonnes navires de guerre soubz la conduite d'ung nommé Capperon, qu'ilz appelloient ainsi pour leur plaisir, et se disoit icelluy Capperon gheldrois; et desjà avoit prins cinq navires de marchands appartenans à aucuns Hollandois et Flamengs, les avoit mis à rançon, leur avoit baillé saufconduit pour aller en Gheldres devers le duc.¹⁰

The fifth ship taken by Chaperon ('Capperon') was called the St Anna. She was sailing from Zeeland to Portugal, and was carrying goods and monies belonging to a company of merchants in Augsburg, among whom were members of the Fugger and the Welser banking families. They petitioned the French king, Louis XII, for redress and compensation through the French courts. Meanwhile, Chaperon attempted to justify his actions by arguing that Augsburg was inimical towards his master Charles of Guelders and that the ship was, therefore, a legitimate prize.¹¹

De La Roncière described how Chaperon had two sailing vessels, one of 400 tons and the other of sixty tons, which he used to carry troops to Charles of Guelders in 1506, and that his exploits included the capture of the five hulks. De La Roncière implied that Chaperon's exploits at this time were unwelcome to the French king.¹² There are no details known of how Chaperon's

⁷ M. Prevost and R. D'Amat (eds), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris, 1959), viii, cols. 420-421.

⁸ '... omme die scepen van oerloge in zee te brengen tegens een piraet genaempt Jan Saproen, dewelcke seyde uutgemaect te wesen van den heer van Gelre, dewelcker up zee vier Hollantsche scepen genomen hadde ...', GA Gouda, Old Archive inv. no. 1168, f. 10v, for the book year 2 Feb. 1506 to 1 Feb. 1507, but undated.

⁹ L. M. G. Kooperberg, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk; Landvoogdes der Nederlanden (tot den vrede van Kamerijk)* (Amsterdam, 1908), 221-2.

¹⁰ Anon., printed in L. P. Gachard (ed.), *Collection de Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1876), i, 477-8.

¹¹ Augsburg was home to the jurist, imperial Privy Councillor and humanist Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547) and to Jacob ('the Rich') Fugger (1459-1525) and other bankers. The draft of the petition to Louis XII, which Peutinger drew up on behalf of them and the burgomasters and council of Augsburg, and its political implications, are discussed in H. Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger. Beiträge zu einer politischen Biografie* (Augsburg, 1958), 62-4 and notes 364-5. The outcome of the legal action, which went to appeal, is unknown.

¹² C. De La Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française* (Paris, 1906), iii, 75-81.

ships were fitted out, but to compel several other vessels captured within a short time to sail to harbours of his choosing he must have had a considerable number of men under his command in order to provide prize crews. Besides the fact that Chaperon at times commanded two vessels, a detail in the Dutch sources indicates that one of his ships sailed out of La Rochelle. In a letter to the regent Margaret of Austria from government officials at The Hague she was informed 'that a warship fitted out at La Rochelle for the service of the lord of Guelders, so he says, has captured five merchant vessels and ransomed them for 1000 old crowns to be paid to the lord of Guelders'.¹³ The association with La Rochelle may be significant for the further identification of Jean Chaperon.

The piracy was to have a long drawn out sequel in the diets of the States of Holland. The first action of the Habsburg authorities was to put a halt to Chaperon's activities by commissioning six warships to sail against him, and in the first instance agreement appears to have been reached by Holland and Zeeland on the costs of this enterprise. Similar entries appear in the accounts of Haarlem and Leiden. The date was August 1507, and the ships were to be under the command of admiral Philip of Burgundy. However, only two ships were commissioned of the six proposed.¹⁴

Gouda paid 245 Rhine guilders towards the costs of the ships which were fitted out to fight against Chaperon. For comparison the wages of master carpenters and coopers at this period were eight groats per day, so that the sum contributed was equivalent to 1225 man-days.¹⁵ But although Gouda contributed this money in 1506 or early in 1507, soon after the piracy, two years later the costs of the ships were still under discussion in the local council (*vroedschap*).¹⁶ The magistrates at Leiden, as on more than one occasion when the protection of ships at sea was at issue, were content to approve the action against Chaperon if the costs were to be met by the seafaring community and not by the States of Holland. The means for doing this was by the *lastgeld*, the tax levied on the number of 'loads' (*lasten*) which cargo ships or fishing vessels could carry, and on this point the (inland) cities of Holland were reassured. The *lastgeld* which was collected in Amsterdam and the northern part of Holland at that time was expressly in order to 'protect the herring boats and merchant vessels at sea from pirates like Captain Jan Chaproen and others'.¹⁷

¹³ '... dat een scip van oirloege uuytgemaect te Rosselle van wegen den heere van Gelre, als hij seyt, genomen heeft vijff coepvaerders van deser landen ende die gerenconneert up duysent ouden cronen te leveren den heere van Gelre voirs. ...', ARA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 3404, f. 110v, 6 Aug. 1507.

¹⁴ De La Roncière, *Marine Française*, 77-9; '... ende was een raminge begrepen omme mit die van Zeelant eenige scepen uut te maicken tegens eenen genaemt Jan Chaproen, zeeroover, die zekere scepen bescadicht hadde etc.', GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1506-1507, f. 33, 8 Aug. 1507; GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 586, f. 24v, 9 Aug. 1507. The date of the order by Maximilian and Charles of Habsburg was 8 Aug. 1507 according to Kooperberg, *Margaretha*, 222, note 1.

¹⁵ One Rhine guilder was equivalent to 40 groats. For workmen's wages see e.g. GA Leiden, inv. no. 587, fo. 78 and f. 79, for the year 1507-8; L. Noordegraaf and J. T. Schoenmakers, *Daglonen in Holland 1450-1600* (Amsterdam, 1983), 25, Table 1 there; Ward, 'Cities and States of Holland', 350.

¹⁶ GA Gouda, Old Archive inv. no. 42, f. 22, 14 June 1509; printed in L. M. Rollin Couquerque and A. Meerkamp-Van Embden (eds.), 'Goudse Vroedschapsresoluties 1501-1524', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, xxxvi (1916) 61-181, esp. 70-1.

¹⁷ 'Angaende die saicke van Caproen etc. is gesijdt dat, gelijk voirtijts geseyt is, men ommeslach doen sel

Because the government was limited by lack of funds from continuing its defence work in the winter of 1511-1512 some of the debts incurred in defending the seas from Chaperon and others like him remained unpaid. For in December 1511 the government presented to the States of Holland an account and a request for money, part of which was described as a *'supplicum'*, a request for extra money intended to meet a deficit arising from the naval action against Jean Chaperon. Leiden, predictably, refused to sanction this post.¹⁸

The next major disturbances at sea affecting Holland resulted from the continuing strained relationships between England and France. England was allied with the Habsburgs, and France with Scotland. This was the period of the so-called 'Holy League' in which Pope Julius II, the Republic of Venice, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Henry VIII of England were allied against Louis XII of France. Emperor Maximilian I joined the league in April 1513 after an interim period of political friendship with Louis XII which had been dictated by their interests in Italy.¹⁹

Although the allies Maximilian and Henry met with some success on land,²⁰ England in the naval war fought with France in 1512-1513 met only with misfortune. It was during the French recapture of Brest from the English in May 1513 that Jean Chaperon appeared once more. He is described in a letter dated 15 May from the English admiral Thomas Howard to the chancellor Thomas Wolsey: 'Also, Sir, I am sewerly informed by Sabian that at the [same] tyme Brest castell was won by M. de Rohan and M. de Shamperous, the French king's lieutenant ...'.²¹ 'Shamperous' in the printed edition of the correspondence is presumed here to be an editor's misreading of 'Shamperons' in the manuscript letter from the English admiral.

Despite differences in the spelling of his name - Jean Chaperon or Chapperon, Jan Saproen, Jan Chaproen or Caproen or Chapproen, Shamperous or Shamperons - there can be no doubt that this was one and the same man. It is proposed here that despite differences in the spelling of the name in a printed edition of the accounts of the royal court of Scotland, he was the same Frenchman described as a friend of King James IV who was called variously (Sir) John (de) Cowpanis, Cawpanis, Caupanis, Cowpance and Coupance. In the printed edition of the Scottish royal accounts these spellings most notably lack the 'r' which would otherwise have reinforced the argument. Apart from numerous items in the Scottish accounts recording presents to him from James IV there is evidence that Cowpanis or Coupance crossed several times between Scotland and France in the first decade of the sixteenth century (in 1503 and again in

upt lastgelt, ende dat men die stede niet meer dairom moyen en wil.', GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 383, f. 91-91v, 3 April 1511; *'... omme den harinckbuyssen ende coepvaerders, die in de zee waeren, niet genomen noch bescadicht en souden worden van Jan Chaproen, cappiteyn, ende andere zeeroevers, die hem in den zee onthoudende waeren etc.'*, printed in P. A. Meilink, 'Rekeningen van het lastgeld in Amsterdam, Waterland en het Noorderkwartier van Holland in 1507', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, xliv (1923) 187-230, esp. 204.

¹⁸ *'... ende van messire Jan Chapproen is gestemmet ... aengande dat derde suplicum negatijff'*, GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 383, f. 106, 15 Dec. 1511.

¹⁹ F. W. N. Hugenholtz, *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1952), iv, 47.

²⁰ For news brought by a courier of the victory of Maximilian I and Henry VIII over the French at Guinegate in 1513 and the capture of Terwaan (Théroutanne) see ARA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 2195, f. 36-36v. That same year Pope Julius II died and the League fell apart.

²¹ A. Spont (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the War with France 1512-1513* (London, 1897), 164-5.

1505) and that he commanded a ship which was repaired or provisioned ('helpit') at Leith in March 1503.²²

A second line of evidence is that Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie (fl. 1532-1578) in his *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* described the arrival in Scotland of 'ane Dutche knyght' who fought a famous duel there. In fact the knight was identified as John Coupance, and the joust which he fought with Sir Patrick Hamilton was on 30 July 1501. Coupance was also described variously as 'armiger regis Francie' and 'John Coupants Gallicus'.²³ 'Armiger' or shield bearer may now seem an archaic title for the French king's lieutenant but it fits Jean Chaperon's role at Brest. Although Lindesay was wrong about the knight's nationality his misunderstanding becomes comprehensible if it is taken as a reference to Guelders and to Chaperon's service with Charles of Guelders as outlined above.²⁴

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The treaty of Cambrai (1508) by which Margaret of Austria, regent in the Netherlands, achieved a temporary peace with France and so managed briefly to deprive Charles of Guelders of French help has been described as her greatest political success at that time.²⁵ Provisions were made for the treaty to be supervised by referees under the aegis of Henry VII of England acting for the Habsburgs, and James IV of Scotland acting on behalf of Charles of Guelders.²⁶ Charles of Guelders wrote to James IV in a letter dated 9 March 1509 that he was 'not devoid of hope, and by the demands of justice' that James's arbitration and that of the king of France would help him to recover the dukedom.²⁷ That same year negotiations which were long drawn out but fruitless were held at Liege.²⁸ The parties included the English and Scottish referees.

²² J. Balfour Paul (ed.), *Accounts of the Lord Treasurer of Scotland A.D. 1473-1559* (Edinburgh, 1877-1916), ii, pp. xxxvi, 363, 397, 398; *ibid.*, iii, pp. xli and 163.

²³ A. J. G. Mackay (ed.), *The historie and cronicles of Scotland, etc., written and collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie* (Edinburgh and London, 1899-1911), i, 233-5, and ii, 373. [NOTE ADDED 6 JAN. 2007: Coppens and Koppens are modern spellings of the same name in the Low Countries].

²⁴ The fact that 'Dutch' in the 16th century also meant 'German' is irrelevant. Historically the province of Guelders (Dutch: Gelderland; German: Geldern) lies on both sides of the Netherlands-German border. J. Stinner and K. H. Tekath (eds.), *Gelre, Geldern, Gelderland. Geschichte und Kultur des Herzogtums Geldern* (Geldern, 2001). There is a companion volume in Dutch.

²⁵ Kooperberg, *Margaretha*; J. De Iongh, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk, Regentesse der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1941; Eng. transl. 1953); U. Tamassino, *Margarete van Österreich, Diplomatin der Renaissance* (Graz, 1995).

²⁶ A text of the treaty of Cambrai (1508) is printed in Le Glay, *Negociations diplomatiques*, i, 225-236 (for the appointment of referees, see p. 227).

²⁷ '... nec spe destituti quin ipsam [patriam] iusticia dictante recuperabimus. Nam arbitri sunt hinc inde electi et deputati, videlicet ... Francorum et Schotorum reges pro nostra parte.', printed in I. A. Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden*, vi, Part 1, 412-3, document 644; Le Glay (ed.), *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, i, 308; ii, 133 and 140, letters no. 486 and 491; G. Kalsbeek, *De betrekkingen tussen Frankrijk en Gelre tijdens Karel van Egmond* (Wageningen, 1932), 77.

²⁸ Le Glay, *Negociations diplomatiques*, i, 225-236; 273, note 1; 307 and 322; Kaalsbeek, *Betrekkingen*,

In the accounts at Gouda for the year 1510 there is a little known item referring to a dinner for a Scottish embassy.²⁹ The presence of the Scottish ambassador in Holland at that moment confirms in part the mysterious story told by Andrea Badoer, Venetian ambassador at the English court, in his official reports to Venice early in 1510, about which there has been criticism, doubt and disbelief among historians of Scotland.³⁰ Those particular letters of Badoer have an important, perhaps central place in character studies of James IV of Scotland.

Writing to the Signoria in April 1510, Badoer said that he had been visited by James IV's ambassador to the court at London. Badoer did not name him but the Scottish ambassador at that time was Andrew Forman (died 1522), bishop of Moray. He is not to be confused with Robert Forman who was described as Dean of Glasgow and Chancellor of Moray. Both of these men carried out diplomatic missions for James IV, and Robert had been in the Low Countries and Guelders as recently as 1507.³¹

Badoer's letter, which is reported in the diaries of Marino Sanuto,³² was dated 20 April 1510. In it Badoer (according to Sanuto's record) described *verbatim* his meeting and conversation with the ambassador which took place on 13 April. Badoer wrote that the ambassador had told him that the Scottish king was seeking to be appointed head of the Venetian army and fleet in order to lead a crusade against the Turks. The post was vacant at that moment following the death of the incumbent, Count Pitigliano. Badoer was sceptical. He pointed out that Scotland was allied to France,³³ and by implication therefore not a friend of Venice. Badoer finished his letter by writing that the Scottish ambassador had left London and was on his way to Flanders, and that he would return soon.³⁴

Mackie in his biography of James IV commented on this story of the Venetian captaincy general and the intended crusade against the Turks, as it was related in Badoer's letters, in the

76-81; Ward, 'Cities and States of Holland', 305.

²⁹ '*Gesconcken ten huysse van Pieter Aertsz. tot behouff van een ambazaet uwt Scotlant an maeltijt ende wijn fac. 4 s. 8 d. gr.*', GA Gouda, Old Archive inv. no. 1171, f. 15, undated. The costs of the dinner were equivalent to 7 days' wages for a tradesman artisan paid at 8 groats per day.

³⁰ See the remark: 'if the reports of Badoer ... are to be believed' in Mackie and Spilman, *The letters of James the Fourth*, pp. xlvii and 170. Badoer's letters are numbered 306, 307 and 308.

³¹ For a biography of Andrew Forman see L. Stephenen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1889), xix, 436-7. For Robert Forman see Mackie and Spilman, *Letters of James IV*, pp. xxxix-xl and 51, letter 73, 8 Jan. 1507; Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden*, document no. 595.

³² Marino Sanuto or Sanudo (1466-1536) was a Venetian official, diplomat and author of a diary or register covering the years 1496-1533 in which he included long *verbatim* extracts from the incoming post which he received and recorded on behalf of the Venetian government.

³³ '*... ch' el suo re è amico di la Signoria, e l'orator li ha dito l'è amico di Franza.*' ('... that his king was a friend of Venice, and the orator [Venetian ambassador Badoer] said to him [Forman] that he [James IV] was a friend of France'.) printed in G. Berchet (ed.), *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto* (Venice, 1883, photoreprod. Bologna, 1969), x, col. 313.

³⁴ '*... el dito prete è andà in Fiandra, tornerà presto ...*', Berchet, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, x, col. 313. A second long letter from Badoer to Venice was dated 30 April-1 May 1510, *ibid.*, cols. 458-9. A third letter from Badoer announcing Forman's return to London is dated 8 June 1510, *ibid.*, col. 786.

sense that it revealed an essential weakness in the character of James whom Mackie described as 'a moonstruck romantic'. Other historians have accepted this opinion; 'Meanwhile rulers ... such as ... James IV of Scotland continued to come forward with sincere, though fanciful, proposals for a crusade'.³⁵ More recently, however, Macdougall who was interested in showing James IV in a better light has cast doubt on Badoer's veracity ('It must be said that Badoer and his unidentified Scots priest are hardly unimpeachable sources') and his probity ('little more than tavern gossip - probably literally so in this case, with Badoer and his Scots friend dreaming impossible, alcohol-induced dreams').³⁶

On the identity of the 'unidentified Scots priest', however, two remarks can be made. First, Badoer recognised his visitor whom (so Sanuto wrote in his transcript) he 'knew when he was the ambassador of the king of Scotland to the king of England'.³⁷ Andrew Forman had been James IV's foreign ambassador earlier, as well as in 1510 and later. Badoer no doubt recognised Forman because he was one of the ambassadors who had negotiated the marriage contract of James IV with Henry VII's daughter Margaret Tudor only a few years before. Secondly, Badoer called him 'il parente dil re di Scozzia', and also 'amico' of the king. The word 'parente' used by Badoer need not be taken literally in the sense of 'family relation' but it does indicate that the man who discussed with Badoer his journey to Venice in April 1510 was someone close to the Scottish king and not one of Badoer's everyday tavern companions.

Most of the items in the Gouda accounts are undated. The exceptions are expenditures falling on church feast days. The dinner for the Scottish ambassador is the tenth item listed under the rubric 'Scencken' ('Gifts'), coming after the seventh dated Palm Sunday (24 March 1510) and before the thirty fourth item dated St John's day (24 June). Andrew Forman left London before 20 April. The dinner at Gouda, therefore, was perhaps in late April or in May 1510. About the same time (in an adjacent undated entry in the accounts) Gouda gave a dinner for Floris Oem van Wijngaerden, an important government officer³⁸, together with several members of the governing Council from The Hague, which cost 11 s. 8 d. gr., or exactly two and a half times the costs of the dinner for the Scottish ambassador. This proportion suggests that the ambassador was travelling with a minimum retinue of one or two persons, secretaries, or the like.

³⁵ R. L. Mackie, *King James IV of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1958, repr. 1964), 203f; N. Housley, *The later crusades, 1274-1580; from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), 124-5.

³⁶ N. Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989, repr. 1999), especially 201 and 204-5.

³⁷ '... qual lo cognose quando el fo ambassador dil re di Scozia al re d'Ingaltera ...', letter of 20 April 1510, Berchet, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, x, col. 313. It is curious, therefore, that Forman was not named explicitly. The reason for this may lie in the way that Sanuto transcribed Badoer's letters. Macdougall showed that Badoer's position as ambassador in London (costly and unnecessary according to opinion at Venice) was in jeopardy; Macdougall, *James IV*, 205. So an explanation might lie in the personal sphere. If Badoer did name Forman and if Sanuto suppressed the ambassador's name, the question becomes, why?

³⁸ J. van Kuyk, 'Floris Oem van Wijngaerden', *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1914), iii, cols. 926-8. NOTE ADDED 6 JAN. 2007: The Gouda accounts for 1510 also contain the following items: 200 Philips guilders paid to the privy councillor Floris Oem van Wijngaerden, as Gouda's contribution for a delegation with which he was sent to Emperor Maximilian on behalf of the cities and States of Holland; GA Gouda, Old Archive inv. no. 1171, f. 8v, undated; .payment for a journey which the pensionary of Gouda, Jacob Mouwerisz., and the military commander (*castelijn*), Jacob van Borselen, made to Brussels and Mechelen 'roerende de tractaten slants van Gelre' ('concerning the treaties with Guelders'); *ibid.* f. 12, undated. Diets of the States General took place at Mechelen in early May and Dec. 1510; GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, f. 27-27v, 3 May 1510; *ibid.* f. 31, 6 Dec. 1510.

How serious was the suggestion that Forman's mission concerned a crusade against the Turks? On the advantage to James IV of the crusade idea Dunlop remarked that 'it is likely that he used this as an excuse to mediate and interfere in the ever more complex turns in continental diplomacy'.³⁹ If the crusade story is to be taken at face value what Forman and Badoer appear not to have known when Forman left England for the Continent was that Venice had already chosen or had determined on a new military commander as early as March 1510.⁴⁰ It is possible that Forman on his arrival on the Continent modified his plans. What he did then is still unknown, but several explanations can be proposed.

The most probable reason for Forman's presence in Holland is that a bilateral or preliminary meeting was held at Gouda with Burgundian-Habsburg officials to discuss the treaty of Cambrai and its observance, similar to the larger meeting at Liege which had been held only half a year previously and at which all the parties were represented. After the fruitless talks at Liege in 1509 it was proposed to revive them, but Louis XII blocked resumption of the discussions by delaying the appointment of his representatives. The Burgundian-Habsburg envoys complained at his delaying tactics until finally in March 1510 Louis appointed referees for the French side. Kalsbeek implied, however, that no progress was made in resuming the matter, and that other events about that time took precedence.⁴¹

But why at Gouda? Gouda where Forman stopped was an important junction in the network of internal waterways in Holland,⁴² and Gouda is also not far from Utrecht. In 1510 more trouble was brewing between Holland and Guelders, in which Utrecht became embroiled. In May 1510 Holland and the pro-Habsburg bishop of Utrecht made a treaty directed against Charles of Guelders.⁴³ It is conceivable, therefore, that Forman, a churchman, visited the bishop of Utrecht or met his representatives at Gouda in order to mediate on behalf of Charles of Guelders.

An even wider perspective is opened by events in Denmark. In his quarrels with his subjects and their allies in the Baltic King John of Denmark, James IV's uncle, had been writing to the cities of Holland at least since 1508. Later in 1510 John reminded the Hollanders explicitly of a treaty of alliance which Denmark had had with the late Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The treaty was still valid in John's opinion and he wished to maintain it. So he asked Holland for help in his war against Sweden and Lübeck.⁴⁴

³⁹ Dunlop, 'The politics of peace-keeping', 155-156; *ibid.*, 144 and footnote 37 there.

⁴⁰ M. E. Mallet and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984), 284-9; R. Finlay, 'Fabius Maximus in Venice. Doge Andrea Gritti, the war of Cambrai, and the rise of Habsburg hegemony, 1509-1513', *Renaissance Quarterly*, liii (2000) 988-1031.

⁴¹ '... maar van voortgang in de behandeling der zaak verneemt men niets. Deze onderhandelingen werden trouwens doorkruist door andere ...!', Kalsbeek, *Betrekkingen*, 82-3.

⁴² For the importance of Gouda in the network of inland waterways in Holland see J. G. Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan, Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late Middeleeuwen* (Louvain, 1995), 437-476 and map on page 440.

⁴³ Le Glay, *Correspondance*, i, 268, letter no. 206, 21 May 1510.

⁴⁴ '... zekere oude aliancie tusschen hem ende wijlen hertoge Kaerle van Bourgoengen, die noch onverbroken is ende hij nog ooick gaerne onderhouden wille ...!', GA Haarlem, Resolutions of the Vroedschap, 1501-1516, f. 65-65v, 22 Nov. 1510. King John of Denmark's correspondence with the cities of Holland in this

James IV's role as mediator between Denmark and Lübeck is amply attested to in their correspondence.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Denmark controlled the entrance to the Baltic Sea. So it was important for Holland to maintain good relations with Denmark's rulers, especially since Amsterdam's merchants imported their largest amounts of grain into the Low Countries from Danzig which was becoming another serious rival to Lübeck.⁴⁶ In negotiations with the Burgundian-Habsburg authorities concerning the treaty of Cambrai James IV could have tried to use his relationship to King John to the advantage of his other kinsman, Charles of Guelders.

Finally, there is Dunlop's observation that 'various Scots received safe conducts from Henry VIII in April [1510], and [the English agent] Thomas Spinelly's correspondence in January indicates that the Scots and English were competing to purchase good quality artillery in the Low Countries'. Andrew Forman may have been in contact with those Scottish emissaries, and the magistrates at Gouda who entertained him to dinner certainly had experience of buying bronze cannon and other weapons at that time.⁴⁷ A bishop dealing in arms' supplies seems no more out of place than a pope (Julius II) fighting in armour at the head of his army. Any of the points listed here might have been reasons for Forman to carry out diplomatic and secret work in Holland by contacting Scottish agents and others before his return to England.

In a report to Venice dated 8 June 1510 Badoer wrote that Forman was back in London; 'the relation of the king of Scotland, who wishes to be captain of Venice, has returned'.⁴⁸ But doubts about Badoer's letters and Forman's alleged mission to Venice remain. The direct route to Venice lay via Calais through France, not through Flanders. Andrew Forman was gone about seven weeks at most. In view of the length and purport of the proposed journey how could Badoer assert in April that Forman had gone to Flanders and would return 'presto', if Venice was his destination and obtaining the captaincy general for James IV the object of the mission? Such a mission would have required a longer absence, and one difficult to forecast.⁴⁹ Since the treaty of Cambrai in 1508 was directed in part against Venice, James IV might have wished to mislead the Venetians, and Forman's alleged reason for the journey, the crusade, might have been a subterfuge from the very beginning, devised for some other diplomatic or military aims of the kind indicated above. That would also explain Badoer's scepticism in pointing out during his conversation with Andrew Forman that Scotland was allied with France.

matter was of longer standing; cf. '... op sekere brieven bij denselven coninck an den steden van desen landen gescreven ...', GA Haarlem, Tres. acc. 1507-1508, fo. 36, 4 Feb. 1508.

⁴⁵ Gairdner, *Letters and papers*, ii, 229, 232, 233, 235, 243, 247, and 263; Mackie and Spilman, *Letters of James the Fourth*, pp. xxxix-xliii.

⁴⁶ Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg rule*, 94-114.

⁴⁷ Dunlop, 'Politics of peace-keeping', 155. In the account book recording the dinner to the Scottish ambassador in 1510 there is an item on the purchase by Gouda of a large and a small bronze cannon, complete with accessories, from Master Simon at Malines; GA Gouda, inv. no. 1171, fo. 20v (undated). In the previous year Gouda had bought 4 bronze cannon; GA Gouda, inv. no. 1170, fo. 38. All the major cities of Holland were arming themselves at that time against attacks by Charles of Guelders; Ward, 'Cities and States of Holland', 315-350.

⁴⁸ 'Item è tornà il parente dil re di Scotia, qual voria pur esser capetano di la Signoria nostra etc.', letter of 8 June 1510, printed in Berchet, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, x, col. 786.

⁴⁹ A courier on horseback required 3 weeks or more for the journey from Venice to Antwerp; F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'Époque de Philippe II* (3rd edn. Paris, 1976), i, 333-6.

On the question of the captaincy general of Venice Badoer proposed holding a secret meeting with Scottish emissaries somewhere near the border with Scotland. Sanuto recorded that this long letter of Badoer's to Venice, dated from London on 30 April-1 May 1510, was in code so it doubtless contained sensitive information, but Sanuto's extracts provide no details nor confirmation of the meeting having taken place.⁵⁰

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In conclusion, therefore, the briefest of mentions in the archives at Gouda for 1510 may be the clue to James IV's diplomatic activities on the Continent at that time. Royal correspondence with Denmark, Guelders and Lübeck indicates that James IV's mediation in the affairs of his relatives was directed towards moderation and conciliation. The presence of James's ambassador in Gouda in early 1510 appears to indicate that he took the negotiations surrounding the treaty of Cambrai and his duty as referee very seriously. It is to be hoped, indeed expected, that finds in Continental archives will continue to provide new evidence of Scotland's late medieval and early modern history.⁵¹

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⁵⁰ '[Badoer] scrive di aver posto hordine di parlarli secrete a li confini di l'isola etc.', letter of 30 April-1 May 1510, Berchet (ed.), *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, x, cols. 458-9.

⁵¹ Published editions of source material for evidence of trade between Scotland and Holland include H. J. Smit (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland*, i, Part 1, 1150-1435; Part 2, 1435-1485; ii, Part 1, 1485-1558; Part 2, 1558-1585 (The Hague, 1928-50). For proceedings at diets of the States and cities of Holland before 1544, W. Prevenier and J. G. Smit (eds.), *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de Staten en steden van Holland vòòr 1544*, Introduction, lists and indexes (The Hague, 1987); Part 1, Texts, 1276-1433 (The Hague, 1987); Part 3, 1467-1477 (The Hague, 1998). These are volumes in the Historical Publications (RGP) series of the Institute for Netherlands History, The Hague. The series is to be continued.