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Cover Page Footnote

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The Auld Alliance between Scotland and France was ratified by treaty many times in history.¹ After 1603 with the union of the crowns of Scotland and England, it was never again a formal alliance. However the Auld Alliance did not die, the continuing links between the two countries shaped many aspects of their society. Trade, education, language, law, and philosophy were influenced by the cultural links and friendships between Scotland and France. In some instances, particularly law and language it is still possible to see the French influence on Scottish life. In this paper I will examine these cultural and social links using examples to outline how they were formed and maintained.

The mistrust of England and the love of France are both vestiges of Scottish life which can be traced back to The Auld Alliance. In 1603 King James I and VI ruled north and south of the border but the border was still a strong line between the independent countries of Scotland and England. The links between Scotland and France were still strong, Scottish lords looked to France for education and trade and it took many years for the Scottish people to become used to being linked to England, even after the Treaty of Union in 1707. The dislike for the English is very much alive today. A visit to any Scottish pub where a game of football, against England, still known as 'The Auld Enemy' is being played will leave no doubt to even the most casual observer that there are still strong feelings about the union. In 2010 for the world cup a popular T shirt emblazoned with A.B. E. (Anybody but England) was sold in high street stores and caused much comment north and south of the border.²

The alliance, from the first treaty signed in 1295, was initially most active within the ranks of the royal court and the military. Later cultural links are based on these two groups and the trickle down effect their influence had on lower ranks of society. Scottish military men who had been granted lands and titles at the height of the Auld Alliance settled in France and by the fifteenth hundreds a thriving, educated and powerful Scottish presence was well established. Scots who had fought in the Hundred years war were among the first to be granted lands and titles.³ The *Garde Ecossaise*, established by Charles VII in 1455 was an elite body guard for the King and consisted entirely of Scots for almost a hundred years. Another company of soldiers, the Scottish Company of the *gendarmes*, also played an important part in the continuation of the links between the countries.

Over the next three centuries, Scotsmen continued to serve in the French army. The union of the crowns of Scotland and England in 1603 meant that while there was not the same level of need for Scots to serve in France to fight against England, there were of course still supporters of the Stewart claim to the throne. These Jacobites were the Scots who made a life in France. Even with the union of the Scottish and English crowns, the presence of Scotsmen in the elite force of France was strong: in 1611 at least a quarter of the force were either native Scots or descended from Scots soldiers who had settled in France.⁴ These soldiers had special privileges. The *Gardes de la Manche* the new title of the *Garde Ecossaise* the first 24 of whom were Scottish had

¹ Treaty of Paris 1295, Treaty of Corbeil 1326, Treaty of Paris 1359, Treaty of Vincennes 1371, renewed 1391, Treaty of Perth 1428, Treaty of Edinburgh 1448-1449, 1484 Renewal, 1512 Renewal, Treaty of Rouen 1517, Treaty of Haddington 1548. in MacDougall, N. *An Antidote to the English East Lothian* (2001)

² Daily Mail reporter *HMV forced to take down 'Anyone But England' World Cup Display* Daily Mail 19th June 2010 accessed online <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1287905>

³ Wood, Stephen, *The Auld Alliance: Scotland and France, the Military Connection* Edinburgh, (1989) The Hundred Years War. (1337- 1453) Successive French Kings granted Scots lands and titles for their heroism in Battle and their service to the King.

⁴ Wood. S. p.52

particular duties and privileges recorded in 1751.⁵ Among them were the privilege of serving of the King at all events, mass included, Six accompanied the King on any State occasion and guarded his effigy. The *Gardes* kept charge of any boats used by the King, and held the keys to any city visited by the king. It is no exaggeration to say that no one got to the King unless through the *Gardes* and the King did nothing that was not known by these Scottish servicemen.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries any armed conflict undertaken by a French king included companies of Scottish soldiers. It was not only as personal body guards that Scottish soldiers served France. The rank and file often included companies of Scotsmen, many of whom also settled in France. The raising of *le regiment d'hebron*, around 2000 men in 1633 is one example.⁶ Their commanders also received honors from France. Lord James Douglas commander of the Royal Scots from 1637 to 1645 is buried in the church of *St Germaine des Prés* in Paris. His grave is marked by an impressive tomb, signaling his importance to the King⁷. Even into the eighteenth century, as late as 1737 the company of the bodyguard was still extant, although with many fewer Scottish names and still fewer Scottish born soldiers. Throughout its long career the French King's bodyguard and other Scottish regiments served to provide strong links between Scotland and France.

Powerful Scottish families like the Stewarts had strong family ties to France which served to keep the informal Auld Alliance active. Lord Buchan was made Constable of France in 1421 and Stewart of Darnley was granted lands in *Concressault* and later in *Aubigny-sur nere*.⁸ These families because of their historic grants of lands in France, had uncles and cousins already serving in french regiments or in the exclusive service of the King. Successive generations would come from Scotland to live with relatives who would then train and educate them, ensuring a ready supply of trusted soldiers for France and a prosperous lifestyle for young Scots. A good example is that in 1527 Matthew the fourth Earl of Lennox and his younger brother James both went to live with their great uncle Robert Stewart fourth seigneur of Albigny.⁹ James was appointed his uncle's heir and he succeeded to the title in 1543.¹⁰ Another notable example is the Earl of Arran who came to France in 1548 and had a distinguished military career. The earl was significant in negotiating the treaty which allowed the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Francois the heir to the French throne. He was awarded the duchy of Châtellerault. Henri II in his letter of naturalization for the earl was glowing in his praise for his service.

'the greatness of his services and the entire and sincere friendship and affection which he has for us and the welfare of our affairs, union and conservation of our ancient alliances and friendships between the kingdoms of France and Scotland',¹¹

⁵ *ibid* p.54

⁶ *ibid.* pp. 56-57

⁷ *ibid* .58

⁸ *ibid* p. 32

⁹ Bonner, Elizabeth. 'Continuing the Auld Alliance in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland' in G Simpson (ed) *The Scottish Soldier Abroad: 1247-1967* (Edinburgh, 1992), 31-46. p.32 Both men became important figures, Matthew was an Ambassador from France to Scotland in 1543. He defected to the English side which caused his brother James to lose his French titles and land.

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ Wood Stephen *The auld alliance scotland and france the military connection*. mainstream publications. Edinburgh (1989)

Arran was also given a large pension and the letter stated that all these rights were also accorded to his family and heirs. However because of the earl's part in the rebellion in Scotland against Mary and Francois in 1559 and 1560 he was stripped of his lands and pension. He was allowed to keep the title, but was expelled from France and imprisoned in Edinburgh till his death in 1560. Despite this disgrace to his family the links between his heirs and relatives in France and Scotland succeeded in having a pension reinstated by Louis the XIII in 1616 and Louis XIV in 1657. The Hamilton family, his descendants, continued to be influential in politics and later negotiated the return of lands and titles in France which had been sequestered after his imprisonment, in 1864 Napoleon III reinstated the title, if not the lands to the family.¹² This is another sign that the ties between the countries continued to be strong despite individual family members poor choices. There is an understanding that the links between the countries run deeper than just a service being rewarded or taken away because of the actions of one man.

The links between the countries were not all one sided. The Scottish presence in France was always stronger than the French presence in Scotland. However the informal alliance was strengthened because French soldiers would travel to Scotland to fight with their Scottish compatriots. Some of these men and their servants would settle in Scotland. There numbers were never as great as the Scottish soldiers who went to France but muster roles list companies of French. The Scots who had settled in France still had family ties in Scotland and were obviously very keen to aid these Scottish lords when aid was required. It is not surprising, given the stature of these Scots/French Lords, that many of their French friends would want to join them. The way to advancement was through battle and if a soldier could prove himself in battle, it was more likely that he could expect some reward. Since Scottish soldiers had such a reputation for battle experience what better way for a fighting man to get experience than by fighting alongside them? Scottish military men who had been settled in France for so many years must have had French friends. They married French girls and so had as many French blood ties as they did Scottish ones. It is easy to imagine a Scotsman regaling his friends with tales of his ancestral home with the usual soldierly embellishments and encouraging his French brothers in arms to accompany him to see them for themselves.

It is possible to see evidence that French companies fought on Scottish soil. The border conflict of 1545 between Henry VIII of England and the Queen Dowager of Scotland Mary of Guise show around two thousand three hundred french troops¹³. The French troops were not used to the different way Scottish and English battles were fought, or with the particularly difficult landscape of the border country. Although their military contribution is not as strong as the Scottish contribution to the French wars it is clear there were powerful nobles who fought in Scotland. Even after the Treaty of Edinburg in 1560, Castle Dunbar on the island of Inchkieth, called *Isle de chevaux* by France was still garrisoned by French troops. Marquis d'Elboeuf (Uncle to Mary Queen of Scots) was present, leading the *Bandes Francs* (free companies).¹⁴ His troops were stationed at Leith near Edinburgh.

The Auld Alliance was not only forged through the military but also through marriage. Scottish and French Monarchs looked to each other for their consorts and noble families

¹² Bonner, Elizabeth. 'French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'. *The Historical Journal*, vol 40 No4 (Dec 1997) pp.1085-1115 p1095. The Duke of Hamilton in 1684 was an envoy of Charles II of Great Britain and was sent to the court of LouisXIV where he started the legal wrangle to have his families french holdings reinstated.

¹³ Bonner Elizabeth Continuing the Auld Alliance in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland in G Simpson (ed) *The Scottish Soldier Abroad: 1247-1967* (Edinburgh, 1992), 31-46.

¹⁴ Fenwick, Hubert, *The Auld Alliance* (Kineton, 1971) p56

cemented their ties with the crown by following their lead in pursuing partners with their ally. In Scotland's history there were periods of time when because of the age of the monarch, regents were appointed to rule. Many of these regents came from the French side of Scottish families making the links between the two countries stronger.¹⁵ The last of the Scottish Queens, Mary Queen of Scots, also cemented ties with France with her marriage to Francois II. Mary is the personification of the Auld Alliance, because her mother, Mary of Guise was French.¹⁶ The marriage between Mary and Francois was brokered with aid of her French relatives while the two were still children.¹⁷ Mary spent most of her childhood in France, brought up in the court of Henri II. When she came to take her throne, she brought with her a love for all things French. Then, as now, the monarch's taste in all things cascaded down through the ranks of nobles and commoners. Mary had many French people attending her and they too influenced the life of the Scottish court.

The monarchs and nobles who came to Scotland and those who travelled back and forth to France greatly influenced Scottish art and architecture. French design in areas of architecture, shipbuilding and crafts were common. French experts in these areas added much to Scotland's cultural life. While no doubt Scottish military had the most influence on France as already outlined, French influence is most strongly felt in the arts. In my own county, the kingdom of Fife, an example of the French style of architecture can be seen in Falkland Palace. The improvements to the palace undertaken by James V from 1537-41 were designed and carried out by two French master masons, Moses Martin and Nicholas Roy.¹⁸ Examples listed in the Treasury lists, speak to the employment of French artisans. One of them, Andrew Mansioun who is described as a carver, wright and gunner rose to be the master wright for Mary Queen of Scots in 1562.¹⁹ The royal family set the trend for fashion and style which was followed by the others in the court. Cardinal Beaton, Bishop of St. Andrews also employed French craftsmen. Moses Martin and Nicholas Roy, the same masons who had worked on Falkland Palace worked on St Mary's college. "The Beaton Panels" commissioned by Beaton were crafted by Frenchmen, although their names have not been recorded.²⁰ French craftsman Jacques Tarette designed 'Great Michael', the largest ship afloat at the time. It was destined to take part in James IV crusade to Palestine but travelled only to Brest where she was sold to the Louis XII in 1514.²¹ Later craftsmen continued to work in Scotland, or sent their works there after being commissioned. In the seventeenth century French furniture was imported to the wealthy families of Scotland. Dalmeny House in Edinburgh furnished the drawing room exclusively with furniture made in France.²² In 1869 the fountain in West Princes Street gardens was installed, made by A. Durenne from Sommevoire, Haute Marne.²³ The continued love for French art, begun by the monarchy with their close family ties permeated through the *nouveau riche* and the wealthy merchants, lasted for centuries.

¹⁵ *ibid* p.24 regents to James V 1513 . John 4th Duke of Albany and Comte doAuvergne. 1554-60 Mary of Guise for Mary Queen of Scots

¹⁶ Bonner ,E Naturalisation Appendix No1p.1103 Mary of Gueldres, mother of James III, Mary of Guise ancestors of Mary Queen of Scots

¹⁷ *ibid* Union of the crowns of France and Scotland in 1560

¹⁸ Burnet, R. *French Connections; Scotland and the Arts of France*. HMSO Edinburgh (1985) p.31

¹⁹ *ibid* p.32

²⁰ *ibid* p.34 The panels are now in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh

²¹ Fenwick p.24 The building of the ship used all the timber in Fife, except for that around Falkland Palace.

²² HMSO p.101 Pieces by Jean Francois Oeben, Gilles Joubert, and Bernard van Risenburg

²³ HMSO p.108

France and Scotland were formally allied through the marriages of monarchs and the military achievements of their armies but it was the links between the less prestigious members of society which kept the informal alliance alive for so many years. The recognition that many people were settling in either France or Scotland, depending on their masters role in the rule of the country, was recognized in the granting of naturalization for Scottish people living in France, and for French people living in Scotland.²⁴ Monarchs, ambassadors and military men did not travel without their retinue. Trusted squires, ladies maids and servants would of course accompany them. Since their fortunes were attached to those of their employers many of them stayed with them when they settled in either France or Scotland. Today the remnants of these enclaves of foreigners can be traced in the surviving names of districts. In Edinburgh there is a part of town called Little France which is where many of Mary Queen of Scots ladies and servants lived. In Paris there is a restaurant in St Germain named Le Jacobin because many Scots lived in that area after the rebellions of the seventeen hundreds. After centuries of intermarriage and travel between the two countries it was common for people in all strata of society to have French family connections. These connections were the basis of later trade, easy exchange of goods and a level of trust which allowed the alliances forged by royal and military connections to permeate into everyday life in both countries. These close links between Scotland and France are very similar to today's Europe. In fact so similar that it is not too much of an exaggeration to say that Scotland and France were the historical example of how a European Union might function. Today's open borders and ease of trade between independent nations have a lot in common with France and Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In today's European Union citizens from any nation are allowed to work where they choose throughout Europe. Starting from the fifteenth century Scottish and French people had the unprecedented right of being regarded as a subject of the crown in either Scotland or France. Initially individual letters of naturalization were given probably as rewards for service. In the Archives Nationales in Paris there are records of notable Scotsmen being granted naturalization over a long period, from Robert Petillot in 1453, to Vastre Artus in 1547. Charles VII gave citizenship to many of his Scottish born military guards.²⁵ Charles in his reign from 1422 to 1461 wanted to ensure that his Scottish military men were well rewarded thus ensuring their continued support. Naturalization meant that if they did die in battle, as a French subject, their families would be entitled to any land or pension they had been granted. Successive French Kings from Charles VII to Louis XIV renewed individual grants of naturalization and of naturalization *en mass* for all Scottish people living in France. A part of the declaration of 1513 from Louis XII reads:

All subjects of the kingdom of Scotland who shall reside, or come to reside, and shall hereafter decrease in our said kingdoms, countries and seignories of what station soever they be; ... [and] they shall be capable of acquiring there in all estates, seigneuries and possession which they may lawfully acquire;...to testate and dispose by testament and order of latter-will, living donation,or otherwise at their will and pleasure;and that their wives and children or heirs... may by testament or otherwise, take and inherit their estates and successions if they were natives of said Kingdom.... The Church shall be open to all benefices and dignities secular or regular... and they in like manner,[are]able to dispose of

²⁴ Wood Stephen *The auld alliance scotland and france the military connection*. mainstream publications. Edinburgh (1989)

²⁵ Archives Nationales, Paris K 168 No 1; *ibid* No 9 (An JJ 221 No 70) *Guerre etat et societe* p.458 n.41 in Bonner Naturalisation

their said property, and that in all things those of the said nation be treated, favored, held, deemed, and reputed, forever as the true originals of our said kingdom... provided always that the said king of Scotland [JamesIV], and his successors, shall grant and allow such and like privileges to our subjects in their said kingdom.²⁶

The section on the ability to allow any soldiers family the right to inherit his goods and properties in France is important as this allowed Scots to pass their property on to their heirs. Fighting for glory is important to any military man, but a soldier, knowing the risks of battle, has to be assured that those they leave behind are cared for.²⁷ The grant was effective only if a similar grant from Scotland was in force. A surety placed no doubt to ensure that if the alliance between Scotland and France were to be dissolved the French King would not have to be responsible for every Scotsman fleeing from retribution from the new monarch. A safeguard which turned out to be very wise considering the Stewart claims to the Scottish throne failed. Henri II in 1599 granted letters of naturalization as did Louis XIII in 1612,²⁸ and Louis XIV in 1646.²⁹

The connections between the two countries were cemented not only by Scots and French choosing to marry and settle in either country but by the everyday commerce between ordinary traders. The sea trade provides examples of connections between France and Scotland. George Todd, Master of the *Thomas* of Kirkcaldy plied trade between Fife and France from 1677 to 1691, Alexander Simpson, master of *The Christian* of Kirkcaldy, sailing from 1682-1683 provides another example.³⁰ The trade between the ports of Nantes and Bruges was predominant. Goods traded between the countries covered everything from salt to Psalters. A ledger from 1612 lists French Barley, French Walnuts, French wool, French gloves clearly showing trade with France was still important.³¹ Writing in 1827 Robert Chambers discusses the trade in Glasgow between that port and France. Glasgow was well known as a supplier of Herring. The trade of fish from Scotland for wine from France had been recorded as early as 1420, making what must surely be one of the longest continual trading examples in the world.³²

The political and dynastic connections between Scotland and France lessened considerably with the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707. Scots loyal to the crown of James I and IV, could not support France if their King was now King of a united Kingdom which included the 'Auld Enemy', England. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 had not gained as much support from the French as the Stewarts had hoped for, and then in the War of American Independence in 1776-1783 the French had joined the American side. For almost one hundred years the former links between the two countries were pushed into the background as a history of times past. The colonization of the America's and the growth of Great Britain as a very powerful nation meant that the road to individual success for Scotsmen now lay in serving the crown.

Although for a period the former close relationship between France and Scotland had faded the French Revolution in 1787-1799 struck a chord with the people of Scotland. Thomas Paine's 'The Rights of Man', published in 1791 was translated into Gaelic and sold well

²⁶ Moncrieff, *Memoirs* p28 -30 in Bonner Naturalisation p1088

²⁷ Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland ed J.D. Mackie (Edinburgh,1969 pp67-74 in Bonner Naturalization

²⁸ Moncrieff Memoirs p.23-24 in Bonner Naturalisation p1089

²⁹ *ibid*

³⁰ Dobson,D 1992 St Andrews *The Mariners of Kirkcaldy and West Fife, 1600-1700* from Scottish records office pp. 38, 40

³¹ Ledger of Andrew Halyburton in Francisque, Michel. *Scottish Language 1882* p10

³² Chambers, Robert.*The Picture of Scotland* Edinburgh (1827) p169

throughout Scotland. The initial peaceful protests celebrating the fall of the Bastille became increasing more violent. In 1792 a riot in Edinburgh burned effigies of Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary and his house on George Street was attacked. Later that year in Dundee a ten day disturbance was only quelled with the intervention of armed military.³³ The growth of societies both for and against the French Revolution showed a desire of the common people of Scotland to gain the rights and liberties they felt they should be granted. The links between the countries seemed to again be gaining strength. There were some notable personalities who were strident in their support for France. The poet Robert Burns tried to send cannons to the revolutionary forces, which he had purchased from one of the ships he had held as part of his employment as a customs officer. They were not allowed to leave the country and surprisingly Burns was able to keep his job. Another young man, James Oswald, an Edinburgh born writer and soldier, moved to France in 1791 to join the revolutionary forces and died in their service. The societies which began as support for the revolution, such as the Association for the Friends of the People included members from traditionally apolitical groups such as weavers and shopkeepers, emboldened by the actions of the working people of France. Unsurprisingly the authorities saw this politicization as dangerous and when some societies started sending financial aid to France they were outlawed and harsh sentences were given to their leaders³⁴. Thomas Muir, an Edinburgh Lawyer, was sentenced to fourteen years transportation, Thomas Fisshe Palmer, a minister, was given seven years transportation. The imposition of such harsh sentences had the desired effect, and drove the associations underground, effectively ending their influence in Scotland. Despite the end of the militant societies the French revolution and the ideas it reflected was clearly felt in Scotland. The appeal of the rights being fought for in France were echoed in Scottish Parliamentary reform, the Scottish version of *Libertié, Égalatié, Fraternité*.

The history of cultural ties between eminent families in Scotland and France coupled with the mistrust of all things English had a long lasting influence in Scotland. It was common for Scottish families to send their sons to be educated in France rather than send them to the universities in England. Those men destined for a life in the church, before and after the Reformation, were educated in France. Returning home to Scotland after their training, they brought over the way of life they had experienced while being educated in France. In a rural society, common in much of Scotland, the minister was the leader of the community. It was the minister who set the standard for village life and the picturesque villages surrounded by cleared woodland owes much to their work in bringing a different order to the crofting tradition in Scotland.³⁵

One of the longest lasting effects of the close links between Scotland and France are the French words which have become part of the language in Scotland. Not only in the formal law courts of the Scottish legal system, almost inevitable as it is based on the system of France, but in the local parlance of everyday life. The titles of the key players in the Scottish Court are, the Procurator Fiscal, based on *procurator*, barristers are advocates from *avocat*.³⁶ A Scottish mayor is called a Provost from *prévôt*.³⁷ There are many words, used regularly throughout Scotland which have their roots in French. A playground taunt of 'san ferry ann', equivalent to

³³ Macleod, Emma V, 'The influence of the French Revolution in Scotland' in Laidlaw, James.(ed) *The Auld Alliance: France and Scotland over 700 years*. University of Edinburgh (1999) p.127

³⁴ *ibid* p.128 Glasgow Whigs sent 1200 to the National Assembly

³⁵ Michel, Francisque, *A critical Enquiry into the scottish language with a view to illustrating the rise and progress of civilisation in Scotland*. Edinburgh (1882) pp.7-8

³⁶ *ibid* p.161 The terms are used today.

³⁷ *ibid* p162

the Americanization ‘Whatever’ clearly comes from the French ‘*Ça ne fait rien*’ (that means nothing).³⁸ A gigot chop is cooked in an ashet and serviettes are set on the table when visitors come over.³⁹ A packed lunch is a piece, from the French *pièces*, the kitchen is the scullery from the French *escueillier*, a place for storing dishes. Scottish people call things bonnie meaning pretty or nice from the French *bon/bonne*. These are just a few examples of French words still used today. Scots are often not easily understood by our fellow Britons south of the border and although the French language is not used as regularly in times past, this anecdote found in “The Scots Language” by Francisque Michel would be familiar to many of us who have tried to communicate with the English:

In a conference between Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager and regent of Scotland, and an English envoy, the conversation was at first carried on in the Scottish tongue; but as the latter did not readily understand the language he was forced to speak French.⁴⁰

Today in Scottish schools French is still the most common foreign language studied. In 2009 54.4 % of the graduating class had studied French compared to 14.9% for German and 6.7% for Spanish.⁴¹ These figures reflect the popularity that the French language still has in Scotland and this, along with the common words still in use, is a fitting example of the endurance of the Auld Alliance.

The examples given show that France and Scotland have had close ties for centuries. The formal alliance ended in with the Union of the French and Scottish Crowns in 1560. However the continued support of France for the Stewart claims to the throne with the exiled Scottish court living in France, joined by the *émigrés* who fled there after the final defeat at Culloden in 1746 meant that continued trade with France was ensured. Throughout the centuries, the mingling of French and Scottish people through family ties, trade and education has cemented the Auld Alliance. It continues to be important. In 2012, Jonathan Mills, the director of the Edinburgh festival spoke at an event marking the contribution of French performers his speech could have been made almost anytime in the past nine centuries when he talked about ‘maintaining and strengthening the links between our two nations and rejoicing in our special relationship’.⁴² Scotland and France have been linked for so long that the people of each country seem to have a kindred feeling not known among any other nations in Europe.

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³⁸ Author’s translation

³⁹ A French cut of meat is a *gigôt*, a plate is *une assiette*, a napkin in Scotland is a serviette; *un serviette*

⁴⁰ Michel F, p2 Calendar of State Papers, foreign series, Feb 16 1560

⁴¹ SQU attainment and School leaver qualifications in Scotland 2008-09 Table 14 (1)
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/03/22111037/32>

⁴² Edinburgh International Festival website *Paris celebrates the Auld Alliance and French artists and culture at the Edinburgh International Festival 2012* <http://www.eif.co.uk/paris-event-celebrates-auld-alliance-and-french-artists-and-culture-edinburgh-international-festival> accessed March 4th 2013

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