

**Journal of the Sydney Society
for Scottish History**

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**The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings
of Mary Queen of Scots**

Elizabeth Bonner

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JOURNAL OF THE SYDNEY SOCIETY FOR SCOTTISH HISTORY

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The Sydney Society for Scottish History
Edmund Barton Chambers
Level 44, M.L.C. Building
Sydney N.S.W. 2000
AUSTRALIA
Tel. (02) 9220 6144 Fax. (02) 9232 3949

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed., J. Dasent (London, 1890-1907)
APS	<i>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707</i> , 12 vols., eds., T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-1875)
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome
<i>Balcarres Papers</i>	<i>Foreign Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers</i> , 2 vols., ed., Marguerite Wood (Edinburgh, 1923 and 1925)
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
CSP	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638</i> , ed., D.E.R. Watt, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1969).
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae...</i> , 20 vols., ed., T. Rymer (London, 1751)
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
L & P	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547</i> , 21 vols., eds., J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (London, 1862-1910)
<i>Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs concerning the Ancient Alliance between the French and Scots ... faithfully Translated from Original Records in the Kingdom of France</i> , ed., T. Moncrieff (Edinburgh, 1751)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
<i>Papiers d'État</i>	<i>Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédites ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Écosse au XVIe siècle</i> , 3 vols., ed., J.A.B. Teulet (Paris, 1851-60)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
<i>Relations Politiques</i>	<i>Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse au XVIe siècle</i> , 5 vols., ed., A. Teulet (Paris, 1862)
<i>Scottish Correspondence</i>	<i>Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 1543-1560</i> , ed., Annie Cameron, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1927)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
Sp	State Papers

INTRODUCTION

The Sydney Society for Scottish History arises from the passions of overseas born Scots for knowledge of the history of their ancestors, and the facts to flesh out the half-told tales of grandparents. While expanding our own knowledge we have sought to encourage students, undergraduate and postgraduate, to give papers on their research to stimulate the academic study of Scottish history beyond the disjointed tales of the people of 'North Britain', that has tended to be the character of the English view of Scottish history.

We had relatively little opportunity to encourage original research until Elizabeth Bonner was persuaded to take an active role in our Society. Elizabeth has been a member of the Society since her return from her long doctoral research to the European Archives and Libraries in June, 1986, at which time I co-opted her onto the committee as paper convenor for the Society's monthly meetings. After she had presented her first paper, 'Scotland between England and France, 1509-1558', to the Society in October 1986,¹ she introduced a number of her postgraduate colleagues, former tutors and lecturers at Sydney University. Ultimately, after her Ph.D. was conferred in 1993, she has persuaded world-renowned scholars and professors of history to come to our meetings and deliver a wide variety of papers on Scottish history. Their topics have ranged from the ancient Picts to Scots in Australia. Many of the former students and scholars whom we have encouraged have become members of the Society and in turn have introduced others.

As far as is possible we encourage our speakers, who always include a number of members who are not academics, to render their papers into a suitable publishable form for inclusion in the annual *Journal for the Sydney Society for Scottish History*. So it is, and has been, with Elizabeth's Ph.D.

¹ Papers given in the following years were:- 1987 (August) 'George Buchanan: Subject of the King of France and Priest of the Catholic Church. A Mid-Life Crisis?'; 1988 (May) 'The Auld Alliance: Fact and Fable'; 1988 (Nov) Parliament of N.S.W. for the International Gathering of the Clans: 'Mary Queen of Scots'; 1989 (Nov) 'George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly's Bond of Manrent to Marie de Guise to serve Henri II'; 1990 (Sept) 'The Genesis of Henry VIII's Rough Wooing' of the Scots'; 1991 (Nov) Speaker in 'The Great Debate' during Scottish week, 'Was the Reformation in Scotland a Grass Roots Movement, or the Work of a Few?'; 1992 (June) 'French Naturalization of the Scots in the Sixteenth Century'; 1993 (March) 'The Taking of St. Andrews Castle, July 1547'; 1993 (May) Speech to Sydney Society of Scottish History at the Testimonial Dinner given in my honour for the award of my Ph. D., 'Adventures in the European Archives'; 1994 (March) 'When was the Scottish New Year? Conundrums in Dating Scottish Documents in the Sixteenth Century'; 1996 (Feb) The Geoffrey Ferrow Memorial Lecture, '*De facto* French rule in the 'Auld Alliance' following the Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots on 7 July 1548'; 1997 (July) 'The Scottish Soldier in France after the Hundred Years War'; 1997, Oct, Convenor: Study-day at University of Sydney, '*Braveheart* and William Wallace: Myth and Reality'; 1997 (Nov) Speaker, Scottish Week Debate, 'The Union of 1707 was No Bad Thing'; 1998 (March) 'Charles VII's Dynastic Policy and the 'Auld Alliance': The marriage of James II and Marie de Gueldres Revisited'; 1999 (May) 'The First Trial of Mary Queen of Scots'.

thesis from which she has presented a research paper every year when not overseas since 1986; it has always been an integral part of our policy to encourage postgraduate students to present their findings to the Society. Elizabeth informs me that she has always presented all her research papers to the Society first before delivering them to local, national or international seminars or conferences. Thus, all of chapter 1 and parts of chapter 2 of her thesis have already been presented here, and elsewhere, and later published in learned journals. Therefore, for those of you who would care to read the background of *The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots*, the references are listed below.² These publications, together with her edited volume, *French Financial and Military Documents Concerning Scotland during the Reign of Henri II, 1547-1559*, commissioned in 1993 by the Scottish History Society, 5th Series (forthcoming), which will publish for the first time the more than 100 pages of fully transcribed documents in the appendices of her Ph.D. thesis, will mean her entire thesis will then be in print.

I hope our *Journal* has given enjoyment and interest to our readers, but an historical journal should do more. It should be a repository of scholarship for the use of students and scholars who would like to have the benefit of the work of earlier scholarship. When I became conscious that the remainder of Elizabeth's research might not be available beyond the shelves of the University of Sydney, I asked her to give this Society the privilege of publishing the remainder. Fortunately for the reputation of our Society, and the prestige and standing of our modest *Journal*, she agreed. Accordingly, this and the next issue will publish for the first time chapters 2 and 3 of Elizabeth's Ph.D. thesis: 'The First Phase of the *Politique* of Henri II in Scotland, its Genesis and the Nature of the 'Auld Alliance', 1547-1554' (Sydney University, 1993).

Later, when research funds become available, Elizabeth intends publishing a monograph encapsulating all the publications from her thesis and the completion of her research on Anglo-Franco-Scottish affairs up to December 1560. The proposed title is, *The Betrothal and Marriage of Mary*

² 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland', *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247-1967*, ed., Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 31-46; 'Some Aspects of the Origins of the Reformation in Scotland: Another View', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, vol. 1 (1993), pp. 55-62; 'The Recovery of St. Andrews Castle in 1547: French Naval Policy and Diplomacy in the British Isles', *English Historical Review*, CXI, 442 (1996), pp. 578-97; 'The 'Auld Alliance' and the Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots: Fact and Fable', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, vol. 4 (1996), pp. 3-22; 'French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal*, 40, 4 (1997), pp. 1085-1115; 'The Genesis of Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots', *Northern History*, XXXIII (1997), pp. 36-53; 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560', *History*, 84, 273 (1999), pp. 5-30; 'Un Regard sur 'L'Ancienne Alliance' et les Fiançailles de Marie, Reine D'Écosse', *Bulletin de l'Association Franco-Écossaise*, 29 (March, 1999) pp. 16-18.

Queen of Scots: Tudor and Valois Politique and Intrigue in Scotland, 1540-1560. Originally the period 1547-1560 was included in Elizabeth's doctoral proposal but as the research advanced, she says, she was overwhelmed with a vast mass of manuscript material not only in archives and libraries in Paris and the French provinces, Italy and the Vatican, but also in the depositories in Edinburgh and London which had never been previously published. Therefore, constraints of time and space meant that she could only examine the period from 1547 to 1554 for her thesis. Thus, the additional sections envisaged for this book are: 1) 'Mary Tudor's Foreign Policy with Scotland and France during the Regency of Marie de Guise, 1554-1558'; 2) 'The Politics of Religion: Repercussions for Scotland and England as a result of the Habsburg-Valois conflict in Italy during the 1550s'; 3) 'Henri II's Victory at Calais: the Costs of War and Peace'; 4) 'The End of an Era: Changes in the Nature of Politics and Religion in Scotland, England and France, 1558-1560'.

In the distant future, according to Elizabeth, and always relying on the availability of necessary research funding, a biography of Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel et de Villeparisis, Lieutenant-general and ambassador for Henri II in Scotland, 1547-1560, is proposed. Henri Cleutin,³ she tells me, is almost unknown but apparently he was one of the key political figures in French, Scottish and English history of the mid-sixteenth century. Apart from his services in Scotland he was also a captain in the French Army and an ambassador and/or envoy to Vienna, England, Spain and the Vatican from 1546 until his death in 1566, serving Henri II's father, François I^{er} (1515-47), and Henri's sons, François II (1559-60), and Charles IX (1560-74). According to Elizabeth, Cleutin's service to these four Valois monarchs, covers one of the least examined but crucial areas of French history and a study is intended of not only his role in Scotland, but also of his position as one of the first French Resident Ambassadors at the Vatican for Charles IX at Rome from 1562 to 1566, during the pontificates of Pius IV and Pius V. In general, the archival sources concerning Cleutin are primarily to be found in the archives and libraries of Edinburgh, London, Paris and the Vatican, particularly those at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the French Foreign Ministry Archives in Paris and the British Library, London. This is an important biography of one of the least known key political figures in French, Scottish and English sixteenth-century history which will help to shed further light on the ancient tripartite relationship of France, Scotland and England; engendered at Paris on 23 October 1295, when Scotland signed the first defensive/offensive alliance with France against England, in order to curtail the incursions and hegemonic ambitions of Edward I, who was to become known to history as the 'Hammer of the Scots'.

³ He was known as 'd'Oysel' to 19th-century English and Scottish editors of *Calendars of State Papers* and later British historians.

Like all serious works of historical scholarship which cover the detail of a specific topic rather than the broad sweep of history, this and the next issue of the *Journal* will not be easy bedtime reading. But without careful historical research the broad outline tends to develop into mythology and true history is distorted.

Part of my own enthusiasm for more detailed scholarship perhaps is that my ancestors tend to turn up in the footnotes — as one does in Elizabeth's thesis.⁴ May all our readers find that piece of detail which enlivens their enthusiasm or rekindles their interest in some aspect of Scottish history. I think at least some old long-held attitudes will need rethinking after reading these articles.

Our Society is honoured to have Elizabeth's permission to publish her original research.

Malcolm D. Broun
President

⁴ For George Broun of Coulston, a Border laird who, in 1548 served Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of England during his nephew, Edward VI's minority, as well as the French Lieutenant General in Scotland, André Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé in 1549, see *Infra*, p. 94, n. 97.

PREFACE

I realise that it is somewhat unorthodox to publish the bulk of one's Ph.D. thesis in two volumes of a history society journal, but for reasons of a purely geographical and financial nature it appeared to be the only option available to me. Without the support of a major Postdoctoral Research Fellowship it is simply too far and too expensive to stay abroad in order to complete the further research necessary to render my thesis into an acceptable commercial form of publication; for which I need to spend lengthy periods of time in the European archives and libraries. Even before I had completed my Ph.D. I had, and have, been given a great deal of academic approbation and support for my research. I have had many invitations to present papers at leading UK universities and later I have been given the opportunity to publish these papers in the most highly esteemed journals in the discipline of history. My research was further rewarded by prestigious Visiting Fellowships at the Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Edinburgh, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, during 1994 and 1995. These Non-Stipendiary Fellowships were supported by the Eleanor Sophia Woods Travelling Fellowship from Sydney University and a Bicentennial Fellowship from the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee, but I was awarded only one third of the former and one half of the latter which meant that my European research was reduced by two thirds, *viz*: by two years. Whilst I was in the UK, I applied for every and any Postdoctoral Fellowship or Research Grant for which I am qualified, but my problem is that my academic age does not accord with my chronological age and therefore I fall into an impossible gap where I was too old for the junior UK research fellowships for which I was well qualified and I had insufficient publications and experience at the time for senior research funding. I realise this age discrimination does not apply in Australia, nevertheless I have been frequently short-listed from hundreds of international applications for University-based postdoctoral fellowships and for Australian Research Council Grants, but thus far I have been unsuccessful in attracting substantial funding for my research. This has always been difficult to obtain and I would like to acknowledge, as I did in the preface of my Ph. D. thesis, the many debts I have incurred over the years. In 1992 I noted that,

this thesis has had a long gestation period due in no small regard to the difficulty of researching and writing it, separated from the archival sources by 12,000 miles. In all there have been four research trips, three of twelve to sixteen weeks duration and an extended one of sixteen months in 1985-86. The sheer logistics of moving trunks and boxes of books and papers, not to mention clothes for all seasons, from place to place during my long research would have been well nigh impossible without the kind and generous support of old friends. Therefore, in the process, and at times

laboured progress of my thesis, I have incurred many debts of both a personal and professional nature, at home as well as abroad.

Time and space does not allow for mention of all those to whom I am indebted but starting with my first port of call, London, I would particularly like to thank David Tearle who has, from the beginning of my research, always made me welcome in his home. I should also like to thank Dr David Potter for acting as my overseas supervisor, and Professor, Sir Geoffrey Elton who has, in his own words, 'kept an eye on me', during each of my research trips to the U.K. I would also like to thank the kindly and helpful staff at that unique institution: the Institute of Historical Research at London University. In Scotland, I am treated as one of the family by Mrs Mary McKirdy, mother of my old friend and colleague, Ethel McKirdy-Walker, with whom I spent a long cold summer in the libraries and archives of Scotland, whilst we were researching our respective theses. I am grateful that I had an opportunity to meet the late Professor Ian Cowan of Glasgow University who, together with Dr. John Durkan, greatly enlightened my view of Scottish history at a very early stage of my research. I would also like to thank Professor Geoffrey Barrow and Dr Michael Lynch at the Department of Scottish History at Edinburgh University for their advice, and for allowing me to use the Department's excellent library and for sending me photocopies of specialist articles not available in Australia. My longest sojourns, however, have always been reserved for Paris and I am extremely grateful to Monsieur Michel Fleury and Madame Auffray at the Institut Francophone de Paris for facilitating my research. I would also like to thank Philippe Vaz for accommodating me in his gorgeous apartment in the XVIe, and without whose assistance I would not have been able to spend such prolonged periods of time at the Archives and Bibliothèque Nationale. Last, but not least in Europe, I am sincerely indebted to Father Boyle O.P., Prefetto of the Vatican Library, for unravelling the mysteries of the catalogues at the Vatican Library and Archives, and for the gift of his book on the late medieval archival sources in the Vatican. I would also like to thank Monsignor Charles Burns at the archives and Monsigneur Duval-Arnaud at the Vatican Library for their assistance. When in Rome I always stay at the British School, which is like an Oxford College in the sun and is always filled with interesting people and kindly staff, making research in Rome an even greater pleasure.

Although I have spent much time abroad, the major part of my time and the really hard work has had to be done at home. At Sydney University, Ann Light, Humanities Librarian, and the librarians in the inter-library loans, circulation and audio-visual departments at

Fisher Library have been a tower of strength and assisted me in more ways than I can possibly recount here; I could not have managed without them. I am also grateful to Associate-Professor Dexter Hoyos who assisted me with Latin translations and Dr. Nerida Newbigin from the Department of Italian who very kindly corrected and largely translated a difficult Vatican document written in sixteenth-century Tuscan. As for sixteenth-century English, Scottish and French palaeography my supervisor, Associate-Professor Sybil M. Jack, taught me all the basics so I could read the manuscripts in the European archives and libraries. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude, not only for her professional assistance but also for her personal support and friendship throughout these many years since my undergraduate days. I am also grateful to my erstwhile lecturer and tutor in Tudor and Stuart History, Dr. Philip Edwards who, with his wife Milena, have encouraged and supported me through all the tough times and I know I shall never be able to thank them enough. I would also like to thank the members of the Sydney Society for Scottish History and their president, Malcolm Broun Q.C., who have allowed me to give numerous papers at Society meetings and so extend my ideas and thinking about Scottish history. Nearer to home, I would like to thank our family friend, Helen Leslie, for her forbearance and friendship and who kept the family at bay whilst I got on with my thesis, which I dedicate to the memory of my mother, who was the only member of my family who really understood what I was doing; she would have been very pleased with me.

In the meantime, and in regard to this present publication, I am extremely grateful to Malcolm Broun not only for his continuing encouragement and support of my research, but also for his suggestion and generous offer of publication of a substantial part of my Ph. D. thesis in the Society's *Journal*. I am also particularly grateful that he has allowed me, with the support and agreement of the *Journal's* literary editor, Dr Gwynne Jones, to reproduce chapters 2 and 3 in their original conception; from which only those parts already published have been excised, otherwise the text remains unchanged from the that presented to my examiners. In the 'Introduction' of my thesis I argued that I had made an attempt to present much of the thesis using, for the most part, original sixteenth-century languages and documents, observing that,

no spelling in direct quotations has been modernized, but proper nouns have been given modern identification in brackets alongside, and unusual Scottish words, especially with respect to Scottish law, have been defined. In many cases sections of documents have been used as narrative, especially in areas of historiographical dispute, and it is felt that the selective and judicious use of sixteenth-century

French, Scottish, English and Italian in the text gives a greater sense of verisimilitude of the period. There is also a sense in the expression of their contemporary languages that they were much closer to one another in culture, society and understanding [than we are in the twentieth century]. In transcribing the sixteenth-century French there are some problems with form. No accents appear in the original documents, although occasionally they have been added at a later date, and therefore they also appear in the transcription presented herein. Generally speaking, the published sixteenth-century material has been modernized by the editors to the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth-century standard of the day, and therefore these emendations have also been incorporated. Lastly, for the sake of clarity, capital letters have been generally used for proper nouns where lower case letters were present.

Currently, I am unable to endorse fully these sentiments and in the future I shall certainly follow the valuable advice from the editors of learned journals of my various published articles in which I have, for the most part, translated and modernized all foreign and medieval language; and which will be my practice when sufficient funds become available for me to complete my research and publish my first monograph. Notwithstanding its 'original' and very raw state of research, I hope that *The French Reactions of the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots* will provide an useful addition to the research of postgraduate students and scholars of the period, especially the rationale of some of the more lengthy footnotes detailing the evidence of my sources.

Elizabeth Bonner
Centre for Medieval Studies
University of Sydney

The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots

'I wade it sud gea furth, and haud well wyth the mariage, but I lyke not thys wooynge',¹ observed George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly, to his English captors following the Scottish rout at the battle of Pinkie by the army under the command of the Duke of Somerset on 10 September 1547. The sobriquet, however, did not gain currency until Sir Walter Scott coined the phrase: 'Even those who liked the proposal best, were, to use an expression of the time, disgusted with so rough a mode of wooing'.² The 'Rough Wooing' is the term commonly used to describe the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1543 to 1550 whereby Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset attempted to force the Scots to agree to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots, born 8 December 1542 six days before her father James V died, to Edward, Henry VIII's only legitimate son and heir, and nephew of the Protector.³

The failure of the English 'Rough Wooing' and the timely arrival of the French at the behest of the Scots under the terms of their 'Auld Alliance'⁴ is well-known and well-documented in English and Scottish historiography.⁵

1 *The Expedition into Scotlands of the most woorthely fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Somersset...by way of a diarie by W. Patten* (London, 1548), Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS. Syn. 8.54.38, reprinted (Amsterdam, 1972).

2 Sir Walter Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather: Being Stories from the History of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1828), vol., III, p. 85.

3 For Dr. Marcus Merriman's views on the 'Rough Wooing' see, M.H. Merriman, 'The struggle for the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots: English and French Intervention in Scotland, 1543-1550', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of London (1974); 'War and Propaganda during the 'Rough Wooing'', *Scottish Tradition*, IX-X (1979/80), p. 21; 'The Assured Scots', *Scottish Historical Review* [hereafter *SHR*], 47 (1968), p. 11; 'The Platte of Castlemilk', *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, 44 (1967), p. 175; 'The Rough Wooing', No. 54 in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c.400-c.1600*, eds., P. McNeill & R. Nicholson (St. Andrews, 1975), pp. 83-4, and maps 91,92 & 93; 'Italian military engineers in Britain in the 1540s', in S. Tyacke ed., *English Map Making 1500-1650* (London, 1983); and 'The Forts of Eyemouth: Anils of British Union'? *SHR*, LXVII (1988).

4 The 'Auld Alliance', as the Scots referred to their relationship with France, was established in 1295 when the Scots formed the first defensive/offensive alliance with France against England, in order to curtail the military incursions and hegemonic ambitions in Scotland of the English king, Edward I, and was signed by every Scottish and French monarch (with the exception of Louis XI) from 1295 to the mid-sixteenth century, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560 [hereafter, Bonner, 'Auld Alliance']', *History* 84 (1999), pp. 5-30; and for an extensive table of Franco-Scottish alliances, treaties and grants from 1295 to 1661, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'French Naturalization of the French in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries [hereafter, Bonner, 'Naturalization']', *Historical Journal*, xl (1997), pp. 1085-115.

5 Apart from the works of M.H. Merriman the best-known and most frequently cited work is G. Donaldson, *James V - James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965 repr. 1978), Chapter 5; also see J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community* (London, 1981); and W. Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603*, 3rd Edition revised by A.A.M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977), Chapter 29, is still fundamentally sound. From the English point of view the best and most succinct analysis under Henry VIII is A.J. Slavin, *Politics and Profit. A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (CUP, 1966), and under Edward VI, M.L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975), Chapter 2, 'The Policy towards Scotland', in which he

Less well-known and poorly elaborated by the French are 'les expéditions françaises en Écosse' of François I and his son Henri II,⁶ despite the fact that there was a good deal of contemporary interest about Scotland throughout Europe, especially after the battle of Pinkie and the arrival of French succour in June 1548; which stimulated a number of contemporary accounts of the battles as well as numerous mentions in the letters and dispatches sent to most of the courts of Europe, including the Vatican.⁷ Furthermore, there was

overthrows the views of A.F. Pollard, *England under the Protector Somerset* (London, 1900), and those of Pollard's adherents, W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI. The Young King* (London, 1968), Chapter 9; and R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: the Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (London, 1966), Chapters 12 & 13; also see, J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968), Chapter 14; and G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation* (London, 1977) Chapter 13; and for an excellent review of the historiography: A.G.R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State, 1529-1660* (London, 1960), Chapter 7.

6 R.J. Knecht, *Francis I* (CUP, 1984), Chapter 23, relies on Donaldson for Scottish affairs; J. Jacquart, *François I* (Paris, 1981), pp. 348-49, devotes one page to Scotland; L. Romier, *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion (1547-1559)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1913-14), covers the reign of Henri II, but confines himself only to commenting upon Scottish personalities in France. I. Clouas, *Henri II* (Paris, 1985), allows only 3-4 pages on Scotland (185-88) in a work of 691 pages; as does H. Lemonnier, *Henri II, la lutte contre la Maison d'Autriche 1519-1559* (Paris, 1911), repr. (Paris, 1983), pp. 154-6; and G. Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France: Henri II* (Paris, 1987), manages half of page 150. In the first work in English devoted to Henri II, F.J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France, 1547-1559* (Duke U.P., 1988), confines Scottish affairs to France à la Romier. The most productive work is M-N. Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Henri II et les expéditions françaises en Écosse', *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 145 (1987). This article contains a mine of information on the facts, but very little analysis is employed using these facts. Mme Matuszek, however, is an excellent archivist-paléographe and of particular value to historians of the period is the inclusion of a transcription of the lengthy and much-amended draft of the 'Instruction au sieur de Termes seneschal de Rouergue que le roy envoie presentement son lieutenant general en Escosse de ce qu'il aura a faire estant par dela et pour ledit voyage, Saint Germain-en-Laye, 23 avril 1549' (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 279), which she helped me to transcribe during my research in Paris in 1985, teaching me at the same time much about sixteenth-century French palaeography which I should like to acknowledge with gratitude.

7 Apart from Patten's *Diary* published in 1548, the battle of Pinkie was given a full description by a friend of Patten's, *Starcerius aulae Peckualrensis scholasticus Oxonii, tempore regis Henrici VIII*, entitled, *De expeditione in Scotiam Commentarius*, Bibliothèque Nationale [hereafter BN], Coll. Cinque Cents Colbert, 35; published in J.A.B. Teulet, *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents, inédits ou peu connus, relatifs à l'histoire de l'Écosse au XVI^e siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1851-60), vol., 1, pp. 143-180, and Alexandre Teulet, *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse au XVI^e siècle*, 5 vols (Paris, 1862) vol., 1, pp. 124-158. Also on Pinkie, *Recit de l'expédition en Écosse l'an M.D.XLVI [sic] et de la Bataille de Mulseburgh par le Sieur Berteville au Roy Edouard VI*, Bannatyne Club, 10 (Edinburgh, 1825). Following the French expeditions: Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la guerre d'Écosse: pendant les campagnes 1548 et 1549* (Paris, 1556), repr., Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1830); and *Mission de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron de Fourquevaux, en Écosse, 1549*, ed., G. Dickinson (Oxford, 1948). The conduit for news from Scotland at this time was Odet de Selve, French ambassador in England (1546-1549). On 10 September 1547 he informed Henri II that he was sending 'les dépêches ci-jointe de l'ambassadeur de France en Écosse [Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel] qui viennent de lui être apportées par un Français qui sert de messenger aux marchands de Londres', *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre* (1546-1549), ed., G. Lefèvre-Pontalis (Paris, 1888) p. 201. Thus the latest news from England and Scotland was distributed at the French court to sundry foreign envoys, ambassadors and to Michele della Torre, Bishop of Ceneda, the then Papal nuncio of Pope Paul III.

always the extra dimension of Anglo-French relations which affected Scotland that must be considered. At this time it was the wars of Henry VIII and François I, both of whose successors were left a legacy of ambiguities and unfinished business, including the terms of the comprehension of Scotland in the Anglo-French peace treaty of Ardres concluded on 7 June 1546.⁸ A peace which was not satisfactorily concluded until the Treaty of Boulogne was signed on the 24 March 1550,⁹ and which was to dictate the settlement of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty of Norham signed on 10 June 1551.¹⁰ Both Henry VIII and François I died early in 1547. Henry on 28 January and François on 31 March. Both their successors, the Protector Somerset in the minority of Edward VI and Henri II, had held positions of command in the armies of their predecessors and both continued to give high priority to military affairs and objectives in the immediate years after 1547. However, the emphasis and attitude towards foreign policy of the Protector Somerset and Henri II, not only towards Scotland but also towards each other differed markedly from that of Henry VIII and François I. Essentially, the 'Rough Wooing' and the French reaction to it was bisected and changed considerably by the deaths of Henry and François. This created, in a sense, two 'Rough Wooings' and two distinct French reactions to them: the first from 1543 to 1547 and the second from 1547 to 1550.

The primary focus in the years 1543 to 1547 for Henry VIII and François I was not Scotland but Anglo-French policies, relations and wars which were mainly dictated by the policies, aims and objectives of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V;¹¹ whereas, in the years 1547 to 1549, Scotland for the Protector Somerset 'was an overriding force which pervaded its [the English government's] whole policy',¹² the first major implementation of which resulted in the battle of Pinkie. Thus Scotland, which had already figured high on Henri II's agenda with the restoration of St. Andrew's Castle to the Scottish government in July 1547, again claimed the French king's attention in the aftermath of Pinkie when the Scots, once again, begged for

8 *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (hereafter, *APSJ*) (Edinburgh, 1814), vol., II, p. 473; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed., J. Hill Burton (Edinburgh, 1877), vol., I, pp. 44, 54-55; *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 57-59, 61, and 64-66.

9 For the most thorough and detailed examination of the treaty and its background in international politics see: D.L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: England and France, 1536-1550', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Cambridge, 1973); 'The Treaty of Boulogne and European Diplomacy, 1549-1550', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, LV (1982); and 'Documents concerning the negotiation of the Anglo-French Treaty of March 1550', *Camden Miscellany*, 4th Series, vol., 29 (1984).

10 Potter, 'Treaty of Boulogne', p. 63.

11 For the affects on French foreign policy of Charles V's wars with German Protestant Princes, see Potter, Ph. D. Thesis and 'Foreign policy in the age of the Reformation: French involvement in the Schmalkaldic war, 1544-7', *Historical Journal*, XX (1977), pp. 525-44. Also see J-D. Pariset, *Les Relations entre La France et L'Allemagne au milieu du XVIe siècle* (Strasbourg, 1981), and 'La France et les Princes Allemands (1545-1557)', *Sonderdruck aus Francia Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte: Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut*, Paris, Band 10, 1982 (München, 1983).

12 Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 1.

French aid. Moreover, Scotland even took precedence in the the first two years of Henri II's reign over his obsession to recover Boulogne and the need to come to terms with England, despite the compromise treaty of June 1546 and, according to Dr David Potter, 'so meet the threat posed by the Emperor Charles V's determination to bridle the military power of the German Protestants'.¹³

Furthermore, added to this complex mix of international politics and diplomacy in both periods of the 'Rough Wooing' was the intervention of the Papacy, with respect not only to ecclesiastical concerns but also to political ones as well. In 1543 and 1548 Pope Paul III sent nuncios to Scotland. Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, was dispatched in 1543¹⁴ and Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, in 1548.¹⁵ En route, both papal nuncios spent several months at the courts of François I and Henri II, where they received advice, instructions and money to assist the Scots against the 'Rough Wooing' of both Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset.

The French Reaction to the 1st 'Rough Wooing': François I and Henry VIII

The genesis of what was to become Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots originated in the Spring of 1541 when 'Henry decided to resume his military career; to assume the title of King of Ireland (the new style being declared by an Act of the Irish Parliament in June 1541)'; and to announce 'in April 1541 his intention of carrying out an unprecedented progress to the North of England'; where, apart from settling domestic issues of a recent conspiracy led by Sir John Neville, Henry's prime motive was to have been a meeting at York with his nephew, James V, King of Scots.¹⁶ This idea was not new but resurrected Thomas Cromwell's attempts to arrange a meeting between the two monarchs in 1536. The situation in 1541, however, had changed, for James was no longer an eligible bachelor but in the interim had twice married French women and thus had strongly re-aligned Scotland to France. The proposed meeting, therefore, seems to have been a deliberately provocative act by Henry which, paradoxically, was aimed not at Scotland but at France. As Professor Scarisbrick has so cogently argued: 'Scotland, far from springing from any long-term design for the British Isles, was a concomitant of a new upsurge of ancient belligerence and ancient dynastic ambition against the king of France'. This view overturned the previous

¹³ Potter, 'Treaty of Boulogne', p. 51.

¹⁴ R.K Hannay & J.H. Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543', *SHR*, XI (1913), see also L. von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 36 vols, transl. R.F. Kerr (London, 1950), vol., XII, p.472, and Appendix 21, *Ibid*, pp. 668-70 for Grimani's instructions from Paul III, 1 April 1543.

¹⁵ J.E. Law and J.M. Manion, 'The Nunciature to Scotland in 1548 of Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Verona', *Atti e Memorie della Accademia di Agricoltura Scienza e Lettere di Verona*, Serie VI, vol., XXII (1970-71).

¹⁶ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 424-27.

orthodoxy held by A.F. Pollard and subscribed to by R.B. Wernham, that Henry's sights were fixed above all on Scotland and that these years marked the culmination of efforts, going back to the mid-1530s, to solve the 'British Problem' by ensuring that all the constituent parts of the British Isles were under firm English control'.¹⁷ These views, however, seem to have more in common with the policies of Thomas Cromwell than those of Henry VIII.¹⁸

James V's failure to meet his uncle at York in September 1541 inevitably resulted in a bellicose reaction from Henry VIII which culminated in the devastating defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss in November 1542 which, it was said, precipitated James' own death on 14 December, 'through a serious illness of the mind', according to a contemporary commentator: '*ob pugnam a suis male initiam, per gravem animi aegritudinem extincto*',¹⁹ six days after the birth of his daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. The unexpected death of James V created yet another long Stewart minority, with yet another foreign Queen Dowager who, significantly, held that position untrammelled by another marriage, longer than any of her predecessors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁰ Moreover, the period from the death of Mary Queen of Scots' father to the death of her mother on 11 June 1560 was unique in Scottish history. Mary was the youngest monarch and the first sovereign queen of Scotland, she was also the only Scottish queen-consort of a foreign power (France); and her husband was not only the first and last king of both Scotland and France but also the first foreign king of Scotland.²¹

¹⁷ For the general background see, Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 424-57; G.J. Millar observes that, 'Scarbrick spends little time in substantiating his view, though the weight of the evidence is certainly in his favour', *Tudor Mercenaries and Auxiliaries 1485-1547* (Virginia UP, 1980), p. 55.

¹⁸ My theories and their conclusions on this proposition have been fully explored in Elizabeth Bonner, 'The Genesis of Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots' [hereafter, Bonner, 'Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing''], *History*, XXXIII (1997), pp. 36-53.

¹⁹ *Starcerius, aulae Peckualrensis scolasticus Oxonii, tempore regis Henrici VIII*, see Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 125. I am grateful to Associate-Professor Dexter Hoyos of the Department of Latin, University of Sydney, for checking and correcting the translation of this document.

²⁰ The first marriages of all Stewart monarchs from James I (1406-1437) to Queen Anne (1702-1714) were to foreigners. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the exception of James IV, all Stewart monarchs ascended the throne as minors; and of the foreign Queen Dowagers during these minorities, apart from Marie de Guise, only Mary of Gueldres, queen-consort of James II (1437-1460) did not remarry, surviving her spouse by three years; for this marriage see, Elizabeth Bonner, 'Charles VII's Dynastic Policy in the 'Auld Alliance: the Marriage of James II and Marie de Gueldres Revisited' (forthcoming) The others were: Joan Beaufort (James I) married Sir James Stewart 1439; Margaret of Denmark predeceased James III in 1468; and Margaret Tudor (James IV) married Archibald, 6th earl of Angus in 1514.

²¹ William III (of Orange) (1688-1702) was the only other foreign King of Scotland which was granted by 'Claim of Right', signed on 11 April 1689, J.D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland* (1964) repr. (Middlesex, 1966), pp. 244-45. William was a British dual-monarch (husband of Mary II, d. 1694) who also had a legitimate place in the Anglo-Scottish succession as the nephew of both Charles II and James VII & II, his father-in-law. This was a very

Furthermore, her mother, Marie de Guise-Lorraine, became the longest-serving and most influential of all the Queen Dowagers in Scotland, especially after 1550, and particularly from April 1554, when she was appointed by the Parliament of Scotland as Regent for her daughter.

James V's death also created a power vacuum in the government of Scotland from which three contenders emerged who were divided along religious lines and political alliances. The pro-French, pro-Catholic, yet distinct affinities of Cardinal Beaton and Marie de Guise were initially defeated by the temporarily pro-English, pro-Protestant²² affinity of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran, heir-presumptive to the Scottish crown. The English hostilities, which had continued after the devastating victory at Solway Moss on 24 November 1542, were halted by John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, who wrote to Henry VIII on 19 December that he had 'newes of the deith of the Skottishe kinge [when] I was devising with Sir Rauf Eure and Brian Layton for the conclusion of some notable enterprize to be attempted within the realme of Skotland', with the assistance of Sir George Douglas. But Dudley decided, having received a letter from Douglas, 'more playnly declaring the deith of the said King',²³ and 'seing nowe that God hath thus disposed his will of the said Kinge of Skottes, I thought yt shuld not be your majesties honor, that we your souldiers shuld make warre or ynvade upon a dedd bodye or uppon a wydowe, or on a yonge sueling his doughter'.²⁴

Dudley's honourable sentiments reflected the state of shock and disarray at the Scottish court for, unlike his father in 1513,²⁵ 'James V had made no formal arrangements for the government of the kingdom in the event of his

different situation legally and constitutionally, however, from that of the brief dual-monarchy of François II and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland from 1559 to 1560.

22 In reality a political rather than a religious designation frequently used rather loosely by mainly nineteenth-century historians. The Henrician Church in 1542 could hardly be described as Protestant. Dr Sanderson, however, observes that 'by now there was a growing ideological basis for Anglo-Scottish co-operation in the desire for Church reform as practised by Henry VIII and his agents in England. The Anglophiles were not simply the political and military leaders but a cross-section of laity and clergy, some of whom had spent time in England in exile for reasons of religious dissent', M.H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* [hereafter, *Cardinal of Scotland*] (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 158.

23 *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the Sixteenth Century* [hereafter, *Hamilton Papers*], ed., J. Bain, 2 vols., 1532-1590 (Edinburgh, 1890-92), vol., I, p. 341. Apparently, the *Hamilton Papers* formed part of the archives of the English Council of the North. It is not known when or how they were removed to Scotland and deposited at Hamilton Palace, but it may be presumed that it was not until the Council of the North was dissolved, which probably occurred in 1641; (for the decline of the Council see R.R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (1921 repr. 1975, Part IV). In 1883, together with many other MSS belonging to the Hamilton Collections, they were purchased by the German government but were subsequently re-acquired and are now held in the British Library and entitled: 'Official correspondence and state papers relating to transactions between England and Scotland during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII', Additional MSS 32,646-32,657.

24 *Hamilton Papers*, p. 342.

25 For James IV and Flodden see, Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', p. 23.

own death in the campaign of 1542'.²⁶ On 21 December 1542 Dudley *et al* reported to the English Council that the news from 'sundre espielles all agreyng in oon' that before he died James had willed 'that the governaunce of the realme during the nonage of his childe shuld be in the handes of the Lorde Hameldon, erle of Arren, therle of Murray, therle of Argill, therle of Huntley, and the Cardynall to be of counsaill with theym'.²⁷ On Christmas eve he informed Henry VIII that he had received 'sondrye intelligences by espiall out of Scotland', and this information confirmed that these Lords, by the 'proclamacion made at Edynborro' the previous Tuesday (19 December), were 'to obey and serve in all thinges as the only governers of the realme under the Princes Elisabeth [sic] during her none age'; and also that 'therle of Anguishe and his brother ar looked fore dayly when they shalle come to enter uppone theyre landes'.²⁸ Unbeknown to Dudley, however, in the only piece of documentation relating to the king's wishes, James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, is not mentioned.²⁹ The notarial instrument, dated 14 December 1542 and written in the hand of Sir Henry Balfour,³⁰ which survives in the Hamilton archives, claims to have been taken in the king's presence before eleven witnesses,

esse possit fecit constituit creavit nominavit et solemniter ordinavit prout huius publici instrumenti serie presentisque sue vltime voluntatis tenore fecit constituit creat nominat et solemniter ordinat predictum suum consanguineum Davidem Betoun Sanctiandree cardinalem et archiepiscopum totius regni Scotie primatem, et charissimum eius fratrem Jacobum Moravie³¹ comitem, dilectos etiam consanguineos et consiliarios Georgium de Huntlie et Archbaldum de Argyle respective comites, tutores testamentarios charissime et legitime sue filie et heredis apparentis inter ipsam dominum regem et pre excellentem et splendidam principissam Mariam de Lotharingia, Scotie reginam suam coniugem modernam

²⁶ Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 153.

²⁷ *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 344-45.

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 345-46; see also, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, eds., J.J. Brewer, J. Gardner and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols (London, 1862-1910) [hereafter, *L & P*], vol., XVII, p. 678.

²⁹ Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 156. On 25 April 1543, however, the English were prepared to bring pressure to bear on Arran as Henry VIII's instructions to Sadler indicate. He is to ask Arran: 'can youe think that youe shal contynue a governour when thadverse partie that wold have made themselves by a forged will regentes with youe, or rather excluded youe, shal soo be governed and compelled to doo their willes, as finally youe shal, whither youe woll or no, work your oune confusion', *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 527.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 414. According to Sanderson, Balfour joined the Cardinal's household shortly afterwards, Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 156.

³¹ James Stewart, earl of Moray (1500-1544), was the illegitimate son of James IV and Janet Kennedy. He was created Earl of Moray in 1501, made warden of the East and Middle Marches from 1532 to 1536 and lieutenant-general in 1535. In 1543 he was a member of the Council of Regency and died the following year, leaving a daughter who married John Stewart, Master of Buchan.

genite minoritate annorum constitute ad eandem suam filiam eius durante minoritate et usque dum legitimum deuenit...³²

According to Lang, 'the document, without seal, or signatures of witnesses ... is endorsed, in a contemporary hand, "Schir Henry Balfour instrument that never was notar", apparently meaning that Balfour was not a notary'. If so, continues Lang, 'the document was void, but, as Mr. Morland Simpson has remarked (*English Historical Review*, Jan., 1906, p. 113), "had the witnesses not been present, as alleged in the document, what greater folly than to say they were"?' Lang concludes that 'certainly the Cardinal must have supposed that Balfour was a notary, and that the witnesses would bear favourable testimony otherwise he would not have "taken the instrument" as the phrase went'. In fact, 'the deed is not a will', asserts Lang, 'is not signed by the King, and is not a forgery'.³³ Donaldson notes that 'the suspicion was that the cardinal had extorted a disposition in his own favour from the dying king, or had even caused [according to Knox] "a dead man's hand" to "subscribe a blank"'.³⁴ It is probable that this document formed the central plank and a bargaining counter at the first meeting of the Scottish Privy Council following the King's death. The precise nature of the power struggle that ensued is not known; nor do the records survive of the meeting, held on 3 January 1543 'at which Arran was made sole governor, superseding the joint regency proclaimed just over two weeks before',³⁵ although by the end of December, Beaton and Arran had already openly quarrelled. Nevertheless, Arran's appointment as governor was ratified in the Parliament which opened on 12 March 1543.³⁶

32 'Presentibus ibidem nobilibus providis et discretis viris Jacobo Lermontht de Dersay magistro hospicii, Henrico Kemp de Thomastoun cubiculario, Magistro Michaelae Durham doctore medico, Johanne Tennent, Willelmo Kirkcaldy filio et herede apparente Jacobi Kirkcaldy de Grange thesaurarii, dominis Michaelae Disert preceptore loci Sancti Anthonii apud Leith, Johanne Jurdane rectore de Yethame, Francisco Aikman aromatario, Johanne Sincler, Georgio Bard et domino David Cristesone canonico Glasguensi cum diversis aliis etc. Et ego Henricus Balfour Dunkeldensis diocesis presbyter publicus apostolica autoritate notarius', *Historical Manuscripts Commission* [hereafter *HMC*]: 11th Report, Part IV; *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton* (London, 1887), p. 220.

33 A. Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', *SHR* III (1906), p. 414; in Dr Sanderson's opinion 'if the witnesses had quibbled about the veracity of the instrument it would have been their word against that of the Cardinal as to what the King had actually indicated', *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 156.

34 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 63, and n. 4, cf. John Knox, *History of the Reformation*, vol., I, p. 40.

35 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 155. The only reference is in a letter from Dudley to the English Council on 5 January 1543 informing them that he had 'receyved intelligence out of Skotland from Edinburghe, whiche saith that uppon Wensday last therle of Arran was proclaymed protectour and governor of Skotland during the mynoritie of the yong princes, [Mary Queen of Scots]', *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 360.

36 *APS*, vol., II, p. 411. A full and detailed account analysing the available evidence concerning the "Balfour Instrument"; the King's supposed dying wishes, including the rumour that he had pardoned the Douglases; the inevitable power struggle at the Scottish court; and a survey of the contemporary correspondence between Dudley and the English Council and Henry VIII, which fills in many of the significant gaps in the very few remaining Scottish

One piece of irrefutable evidence, however, does remain in the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland. On 10 January 1543 the registration of Cardinal Beaton as Chancellor of Scotland and Keeper of the Great Seal was recorded.³⁷ Lang notes that 'it is an extraordinary thing that Arran, so bitter against the Cardinal, and so favourable to the Archbishop of Glasgow, [Gavin Dunbar] just before the meeting of January [1543] by which he himself was made Governor ... took the Great Seal from the Archbishop of Glasgow, who had held it as lately as January 5, [and who was opposed to the Cardinal's policy and in favour of peace with England] and gave the Chancellorship to the detested Cardinal'.³⁸ Sanderson concludes 'that the Great Seal and the Balfour Instrument [which had excluded Arran] changed hands seems a plausible explanation of how the document came to survive in Arran's family papers'.³⁹ Furthermore, it is highly probable that Beaton, who was related to Arran,⁴⁰ reminded him, 'not only of the doubts cast on his legitimacy as the child of a second marriage which had followed on an annulment of doubtful validity but also he himself, as primate and head of the ecclesiastical law courts in Scotland, had power to review and pronounce on such matters'.⁴¹ The Beaton-Arran compromise, however, was short-lived when, on 12 January 1543, Sir George Douglas returned to Scotland ahead of the other Solway prisoners,⁴² and other exiles including his brother, Archibald, 6th earl of Angus, and Patrick Hepburn, 3rd earl of Bothwell⁴³ and some months

records, was undertaken by Andrew Lang at the turn of the century, and which has been supported, in general, on all the relevant points by Dr Margaret Sanderson some 80 years later.

³⁷ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum (Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland)*, vols., I-VII, 1488-1580 (Edinburgh, 1908-1965), vol., III, p. 21.

³⁸ Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 417.

³⁹ Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 157. The other Regents also benefited from the compromise: 'on 9 January 1543, Argyll got a nineteen year's lease of the lands and lordship of Breadalbane, with other *douceurs*; on 21 January, Huntly got five years' lease of the lands and lordship of the Braes of Mar, & etc.; and leases and escheats continued to fall into the laps of these potentates', Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 421, n. 5, *cf.*, *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol., III, p. 18 and 29 March, 27 April and 25 May 1543.

⁴⁰ Arran was the son of the Cardinal's cousin, Janet Beaton of Creich, who had been the second wife of his father, the 1st earl of Arran, Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 154.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154; see also Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 65, and Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times...*, p. 332, for concurring views.

⁴² Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 418; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 158, n. 53, *cf.* J. Herkless & R.K. Hannay, *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1915), vol., IV, pp. 85-88. Of the 1,200 Scots captured at Solway Moss, ransoms were demanded of the following nobles: the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn; the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant and Fleming; and other men of note: Oliver St. Clair, George Hume, Robert Erskine, Walter Seton, Patrick Hepburne, James Ringle, James St. Clair, John Maitland, Henry Maxwell, John Ross, William Mounteth and John Carmighell, *State Papers of Henry VIII*, 11 vols (London, 1830-1852) [hereafter *State Papers*], vol., V (IV), pp. 232-35.

⁴³ Bothwell, (whose son James married Mary Queen of Scots in 1567) had been 'banished by James V for corresponding with Henry VIII', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 62; turned up at the French court, according to Beaton, who wrote to James V on 14 September 1541, that Bothwell 'desirit ye Kingis grace [François I] to resave him in his service', A. Lang, 'Letters of Cardinal Beaton, 1537-1541', *SHR*, VI (1909), pp. 154-55.

later, George Wishart.⁴⁴ Ten of the captured nobles of the Solway Moss prisoners had promised Henry VIII, as a condition of their release, to secure the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Prince Edward, to arrange for her removal to England, and to send Cardinal Beaton south at the same time.⁴⁵

On 21 January, Dudley reported to Henry VIII 'that Syr George Douglas ys returned out of Skotland, and Henry Raye with him, and eche of theym brought me a letter from therle of Arren'.⁴⁶ Douglas says that 'tomorrowe his broder entreth with hym into Skotland' and that 'they wilhave the Cardynall by the back within this x or xij dayes'.⁴⁷ This was no idle boast. Dudley informed Suffolk on 28 January that 'the Cardinall was taken within the palais of the Governers chambre sytting at counsaill' ... and 'that therle of Anguise and his broder ruleth the rost aboute the governor'.⁴⁸ Meanwhile the Cardinal was confined at Dalkeith, the castle-fortress of James Douglas, 3rd earl of Morton.⁴⁹ No charges were ever made against the Cardinal, and in February he was removed to the relative freedom of his friend, Lord Seton's house,⁵⁰ and by 23 March 1543 he had returned to his own stronghold of the castle of St. Andrews.⁵¹ Sanderson says that by this stage 'the historically unnatural alliance of Hamilton and Douglas' had already begun to drift apart, and that 'at most the arrest had been a move to get Beaton out of the way while negotiations with England went ahead';⁵² negotiations which were to be

44 'Wishart returned to Scotland in the summer of 1543 in the company of those Scottish commissioners who had been to London to discuss the terms of the marriage and peace treaties', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 193.

45 *Acts of the Privy Council of England* [hereafter, *APC*], new series, ed., J.R. Dasent (London, 1890-1907), vol., I, p. 69. According to Holinshed, the prisoners, genuinely impressed by Henry's leniency and liberty, themselves suggested the marriage, *Chronicle*, pp. 829-30.

46 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 387.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 391.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 397.

49 The Earldom of Morton was created in 1456 for James Douglas, Lord Dalkeith who descended from the 'Black' Douglasses. The 3rd earl of Morton (d.1548) had three daughters, one of whom married James Douglas, son of Sir George Douglas (brother of 6th earl of Angus) who descended from the 'Red' Douglasses; thus Sir George's son James became 4th earl of Morton in right of his wife, and who later was to figure so prominently in the Scottish Reformation, during the personal reign of Mary Queen of Scots after 1561 and as Regent for her son, James VI, from 1572 to 1578.

50 George, 4th Lord Seton. The following year, Seton watched helplessly while Sir Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford (later duke of Somerset), and his troops 'set his owne house and his towne [of Seton] on fyere', Hertford to Henry VIII, 18 May 1544, *Hamilton Papers*, vol. II, p. 379.

51 Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 418; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, pp. 158 and 162. Maxwell told Sadler that the Scottish Council 'knewe not of his removing tyll after he was at St. Andrewes; nevertheless he was styll in ward, and therle of Anguise sayed he woold want of his wyll, but he wolde have hym to Temptallon', Sadler to Henry VIII, 6 April 1543, *Hamilton Papers* vol., I, p. 510. On 13 September 1543, however, it was reported that the Cardinal said 'that the Vth daie afre he was commytted to ward, he gave to George Duglasse foure hundred crownes, and afre that, with the consente of the said George, he was removed to the Lorde Setons place', Parr to Suffolk, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 38.

52 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, pp. 160 and 162.

finalized with Henry VIII's envoy, Sir Ralph Sadler, who arrived at Edinburgh on 18 March 1543.⁵³

During the next few days Sadler met with most of the Scottish nobles and, on 22 March, with Marie de Guise at Linlithgow where, for the previous three months, she had been recovering from her confinement, and where Sadler was shown the infant queen who, he reported to Henry VIII the next day, 'is a goodly a child as ever I have seen for her age'.⁵⁴ It was during this interview that the Queen Dowager agreed to the marriage of her daughter to Prince Edward. With the benefit of hindsight, Arthur Clifford, the nineteenth-century editor of the *Sadler Papers*, adds a footnote at this point that 'the subtle Frenchwoman dissembled to Sadler',⁵⁵ a comment which has been echoed by most historians and commentators ever since. Without the benefit of hindsight, however, it is difficult to imagine what other course Marie de Guise could have taken. Separated from kith and kin, recently widowed and debilitated from her third pregnancy and third confinement in as many years;⁵⁶ her only reliable protector, Cardinal Beaton, still in detention and the clergy in revolt: 'for no priest will say mass since his taking nor christen nor bury';⁵⁷ the Douglases, her late husband's mortal enemies, now seemingly in control of the fractious Scottish council; the return of the Solway prisoners and the obligations of their pledge to Henry VIII, coupled with the ominous overtones of English troops garrisoned in readiness on the Borders; undoubtedly caused her to choose her words very carefully indeed. At least she was able to negotiate with Sadler the proviso that 'they would have custody of the child till she should be of lawful age';⁵⁸ later it was agreed that this should be ten years.⁵⁹ Much could happen in ten years and in the meantime the Dowager had very successfully played for time.

Perhaps her actions may have been predicated not only on Henry VIII's, *Declaration ... of his Soveraynitie of Scotlande*, published in November 1542,⁶⁰ but also by details of 'the subsidy act passed by the English parliament which sat from 22 January to 11 May 1543' which, A. F. Pollard says, 'declared that the "late pretensed king of Scottes" was "but an usurper of the crowne and realme of Scotlande" and that Henry VIII "hathe nowe at this present (by the infinyte goodness of God) a tyme apt and propyse for the recoverye of this saide right and tytyle to the saide crowne and Realme of

⁵³ *The State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler* [hereafter *Sadler Papers*], ed., A. Clifford, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1809), vol., I, p. 65; for a detailed account of Sadler's mission to Scotland in 1543 see, Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, pp. 94-113.

⁵⁴ *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 88.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵⁶ Dudley reported to the English Council on 19 January 1543 that the Dowager 'was sore sick', *L & P*, vol., XVIII, (1), p. 36.

⁵⁷ Dudley to Suffolk, 1 Feb. 1543. *L & P*, vol., XVIII, (1), p. 70.

⁵⁸ *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 85.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶⁰ For further elaboration see, Bonner, 'Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing'', p. 51.

Scotlande".⁶¹ In censuring Henry's policy, Pollard concluded that 'he claimed not merely to be suzerain of the king of Scotland but to be rightful king of Scotland himself'. Furthermore, 'if James V was an "usurper" and "pretensed king", his infant daughter was in no better case'. Therefore, 'Henry was seeking for his son the hand of a queen whose title to be queen he denied. The inconsistency between these two lines of policy' argues Pollard, 'was the least part of the evil resulting from his overweening pride and vainglory. The enunciation of his own pretensions ruined the prospects of his son's marriage; that cause was hopelessly prejudiced in the eyes of patriotic Scots, and an opportunity was given the French of defeating it'.⁶²

The Scottish Council, however, was apparently aware of Henry's none too subtle manoeuvres as they included the provision, in the instructions to their ambassadors recorded in the parliament which met at Edinburgh on 12 March 1543, that 'gif it happinis the said contract of mariage to be complittit and our soverane lady deliverit In ingland notwithstanding all the strenthis of scotland sall remane In the handis of the nobill men of the realme as sall pleisis my lord gouernour'.⁶³ Henry's response was swift. On 30 March he instructed Sadler that 'ye shall tell them, that we marvel most of all at their proceedings in their parliament, wherein they seem to have provided by a special law that we shall not have our purpose in the government of that realm' and that 'we know somewhat of the manner of all the doings of Scotland; what combination was made by oath by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwel, and Murray, with diverse bishops, both for the delivery of the cardinal by force, if it could not otherwise have been compassed, and for the destruction of the governour, the earl of Angus, and some other, which they yet purpose'. As a final threat Henry added, 'and here you may remember them how much they owe, and be bound to us'.⁶⁴

Not surprisingly, Sadler was cautious in carrying out these belligerent instructions. On 12 April he casually asked Arran 'for what cause he [Cardinal Beaton] was aprehended, ... "Marry" quoth he, ... "we had by a letter from my lord warden, my lord Lyle, that the cardinal had procured the duke of Guise to come hither with an army to subdue this realm, and to take the government of the same"', of which Arran admitted to Sadler that they had no proof. Arran also stated that 'we have other matters to charge him with; for he did counterfeit the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead, he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank

61 A. F. Pollard, 'The Protector Somerset and Scotland', *EHR*, XIII (1898) p. 466, n. 5, *cf.* 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c.27, *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 938. In this article Pollard seeks to exonerate Somerset from the *débâcle* of the Protector's Scottish policy by placing the blame clearly at the feet of Henry VIII.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 466. Pollard concluded a few years later that Henry was 'the most remarkable man who ever sat on the English throne' but 'his besetting sin was egotism', *Henry VIII* (London, 1902), repr. (1970), p. 343.

63 *APS*, vol., II, p. 413.

64 *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, pp. 102-03.

paper'.⁶⁵ The only substantiation for these statements is Arran's word, the veracity of which Lang observes was highly suspect. He says that contemporaries, 'Glencairn and Maxwell told Sadler that they believed Arran had been lying to him on another matter'.⁶⁶ Lord Fleming told Sadler that Arran was the greatest dissembler in the world'.⁶⁷ Marie de Guise, when asked by Sadler 'what opinion she hath of the governor' replied that he "dissembleth altogether with the king's majesty".⁶⁸ Sanderson observes that 'Arran's story that he had caused the dying King to sign a 'blank' which he then filled up to his own satisfaction can probably be discounted'.⁶⁹ The reason that this fable has gained such wide currency since the sixteenth century can probably be attributed to the works of John Knox and George Buchanan. Lang says that 'Knox, (writing about twenty years after date) and Buchanan, whose works are of 1571 and 1582, ... vary from each other and they are both wrong. They confuse the mythical forged *will*, signed by "a dead man's hand", with the extant notarial document'.⁷⁰

The origin of the information of the imminent arrival of the Duke of Guise appears to have come from William Paget, then English ambassador in France, who reported to Henry VIII on 20 January 1543 (in cypher) that there is 'a gentleman lately arrived from Scotland, from the Cardinal', as well as a 'French courier out of England', after whose arrivals Paget invited 'the captain of the Scottish guard'⁷¹ to dine with him and whom he received 'as the French King's servant, although the Scots are Henry's enemies'. Over dinner they discussed the current military situation. Paget said he heard that 'Mons. d'Aumale was going over to comfort the Queen his sister. "Nay by my faith", quod he, "but his father should go thither for a time to comfort her, if you and they were at quietness"'.⁷² The papal nuncio at the French court,

65 *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 138.

66 Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 420, n.1, *cf.* *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 605-06.

67 Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 420, n. 2, *cf.* *State Papers*, vol., I, p. 134.

68 Sadler to the Council, 2 April 1543, *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 116.

69 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 157.

70 Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', p. 420, n. 4, *cf.* Knox, *History*, vol., I, pp. 91-93; Buchanan, *History* (1581) and *Admonition to the Trew Lordis* (1571). Buchanan claimed in his *History* that 'having bribed Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, he (the cardinal) with his assistance forged a false will for the King, in which he himself was nominated head of the government and three of the most powerful of the nobility joined with him as assessors', *HMC*, 11th Report, Part IV, p. 205. R. S. Rait says that 'Buchanan's historical reputation is not sufficiently high to lend much importance to his unattested word', R. S. Rait, 'The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns', *EHR*, LVIII (1900), p. 211.

71 Paget does not make clear whether this was 'Jacques de Montgommery, capitaine de la garde Écossaise', see the muster roll of January 1543, W. Forbiers-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France* [hereafter, *Scots Men-at-Arms*], 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1882), vol., II, p. 137; or a Scots captain currently serving in the Scottish Company of Gendarmes in the French army; for elaboration of these two distinct Scottish companies in France see, Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', pp. 17-19.

72 *L & P*, vol., XVIII, (I) p. 39. François de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale became duc de Guise on the death of his father, Claude, in 1550, at which time the title of duc d'Aumale was conferred on François' younger brother, Claude, Marquis de Mayenne.

Hieronimo Capodiferro, also thought that 'M. d'Aumale, frère de la reine, irait en Écosse',⁷³ and Dudley assured Suffolk on 1 February 1543 that 'Sir George Douglas ... said the duke of Guise would be suffered to land with only 24 men'.⁷⁴ This seems to have been part of a rumour and disinformation campaign aimed at the English. Besides, it is highly unlikely that François I would have sanctioned either the duke of Guise or his son to leave continental Europe whilst he was at war with the Emperor.

News of James V's death apparently did not reach the French court until January 1543, and once again the source appears to have been Paget. On 11 January, Capodiferro, informed Cardinal Farnese at the Vatican that 'l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre dit publiquement que les Anglais ont battu 5 ou 6,000 Écossais; le roi d'Écosse et sa femme seraient, selon lui, morts de maladie et leur petite fille serait en très mauvaise santé'. This he amended on 26 January: 'il est vrai que le roi d'Écosse est mort, mais non sa femme'. By 10 February he was able to expand his information to the Vatican that 'le roi d'Angleterre s'occupe activement des affaires d'Écosse. Le Cardinal Beaton et un comte écossais ont pris avec la reine le gouvernement de ce pays au nom de la petite fille laissée par le roi. Les Français les soutiendront en hommes et en argent, désirant se servir de ce royaume comme d'une base d'interventions dans le royaume d'Angleterre'.⁷⁵ Although this information was only marginally correct, it was precisely this type of rumour that fuelled long-held English fears of invasion by France along their northern border.

Several days later, on 19 February 1543, François I wrote a formal letter 'A Mon Cousin Le Conte de Arrane gouverneur d'Écosse', announcing his intention of sending the Earl of Lennox⁷⁶ to investigate and advise him on the current state of affairs in Scotland and, perhaps more importantly, pledging his support for the kingdom of Scotland and the young queen to the utmost of his power, under precisely the same terms and couched in the same language that his predecessors had affirmed during the previous two centuries in support of the 'Auld Alliance'. As this letter has only recently come to light and is succinct and pertinent to the text, it is worth citing in full:

⁷³ Hieronimo Capodiferro, Bishop of Nice, to Cardinal Farnese, 10-12 Feb. 1543, *Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae: Correspondance des Nonces en France, Capodiferro, Dandino et Guidiccione, 1541-1546* [hereafter, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*], ed., J. Lestocquoy (Paris and Rome, 1963), vol., III, p. 186.

⁷⁴ *L & P*, vol., XVIII, (I) p. 69

⁷⁵ *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, pp. 183 and 186.

⁷⁶ Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, (1516-71) was born in Scotland and succeeded his father, 3rd Earl in 1526, and was sent to France the following year. He was naturalised a French subject in 1537 and returned to Scotland in 1543 as François I's envoy but soon after defected to Henry VIII; his activities led to his forfeiture in Scotland (1545) and exile in England for nearly 20 years; in 1544 he became an English denizen and married Margaret Douglas (1515-78), daughter of Margaret Tudor by Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus.

Mon cousin, Pour le singulier desir que jay dentretenir et Inviolablement observer les traictz et anciennes alliances qui de tout temps ont este et sont entre les Roys d'Escosse et de France, noz successeurs, Royaumes, pais et subgetz, et secourir ayder et favoriser le dict Royaume d'Escosse. Et la petite Royne, ma seur, de tout mon pouvoir Jay depesche mon cousin le Conte de Lenaux pour aller pardela. Affin dentendre et scavoir en quel estat et disposition seront de present les affaires dicelluy Royaume et men advertir. Vous priant croyre ce que vous dira mon dict cousin de par moy tout ainsi que feriez ma propre personne. Priant dieu Mon cousin quil vous ayt en sa sante garde. Escript a Fontaynebleau [Fontainebleau] le xix^{me} jour de february M^{Vc} XLij [19 February 1543 n.s.]

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[also signed] Bochetel [both autograph signatures]⁷⁷

Thus, by the end of February, Arran had had confirmation that Lennox was being sent to Scotland as an envoy of François I. There is no evidence to show that Lennox was 'induced by Cardinal Beaton and the French party to return to Scotland to assist in the overthrow of Arran';⁷⁸ nor that François I, 'sent over at the Cardinal's request the young earl of Lennox'.⁷⁹ In fact, the English Council informed the Douglases on 10 February 1543 the substance of Paget's dispatch from Paris on 4 February which does not mention the Cardinal.⁸⁰ In this dispatch the English Council announced the imminent arrival in Scotland of 'therle of Linoux, who they say is rightfull enheritour to that realme, if the yong princesse shuld fayle, insomuche as the Frenchemen stykke not to saye openly that therle of Arren is illegitime ... There cummeth also with him 'Capitayn Lorges, a man expert in the warres' [and] 'Monsieur Cheman, a man of greate policie, and oon of the French kinges privey counsail',⁸¹ 'whom' the council says, 'they have appointed afre his entre into Scotland to be for the tyme as it were a director of the counsail till tharrayal of the sayd Monsieur de Guise'.... And for their better furniture in this

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⁷⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed., L. Stephen (Oxford, 1950), vol., XVIII, p. 1218.

⁷⁹ G. Ridpath, *The Border History of England and Scotland, deduced from the Earliest Times to the Union of the Two Crowns...* [hereafter, *Border History*] (London, 1776), repr. (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 375.

⁸⁰ *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 409-10; see also *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I), p. 77.

⁸¹ Jacques de Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, Captain of the *garde écossais* and François Errault, Seigneur de Chemans, homme de robe, conseiller du parlement de Paris et Garde des Sceaux, H. Michaud, *La Grande Chancellerie et les Écritures Royales au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1967), p. 55.

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81 Jacques de Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, Captain of the *garde écossais* and François Errault, Seigneur de Chemans, homme de robe, conseiller du parlement de Paris et Garde des Sceaux, H. Michaud, *La Grande Chancellerie et les Écritures Royales au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1967), p. 55.

entreprice, they bring with them good store of municion, as pikes, halbardes, powdre, shott, and such like, wich they woll alledge to be brought from the Frenche King for the defence of the countrey'.⁸² There seems little doubt that the Douglasses passed this information to Arran who had already convoked a parliament to have his regency ratified, now made all the more urgent, by the news of the arrival of his rival, Lennox. A few days later on 17 February, Arran wrote to Henry VIII to announce that 'it will pleis youre hienes to be advertist that was have causit ane parliament to be set to the tuelft day of the moneth of Marche nixtocum ... for the reduction of the processis and domes of forfaltoure led and gevin aganis oure cousing the Erle of Angus, George Douglas his brothir, and uthiris thair freindis ... and uthiris greit baronis, laillie youre personis in Inngland to return agane at Palmes sonday nixtocum'.⁸³ Furthermore, 'in response to Henry VIII's wishes, having complied with the recommendation to circulate the English scriptures',⁸⁴ Arran ordered a proclamation 'at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, ... for having the New Testament in English vulgar tongue, and to enter this command in the books of Parliament on 19 March 1543'.⁸⁵

In France, Capodiferro received a letter from Cardinal Farnese written on 22 March that 'le roi, après les événements récents et la capture du Cardinal Beaton, demande au pape son aide pour la conservation de ce royaume. Le pape y est prêt et a déjà concédé des décimes a cette intention'.⁸⁶ A few days later on 25 March, Pope Paul III wrote to the 'Governors of Scotland' granting 'six tenths of the Church within his realm', and also 'sends Marcus, Patriarch of Aquileia ... to be collector in place of the Cardinal, with instructions to put the money at their disposal for the defence of the Kingdom and release of the Cardinal'.⁸⁷ Meanwhile in Scotland Arran was about to undergo a religious reconversion. On 22 April Sadler reported to Henry VIII that 'Sir George Douglas, informed him that the governor had put away his "fryers preachers", and would undoubtedly join the Cardinal and the French party, notwithstanding all efforts by Douglas to prevent him'.⁸⁸ Arran went much further. On 14 May 1543 he informed Pope Paul III that he 'intended forwith to send ambassadors to the Pope, but has hitherto been prevented from doing so by troubles which threaten the liberty of the realm. Meanwhile, to show his devotion to the Holy See, commits the kingdom to the protection of his Holiness, whom he begs to undertake the defence of its liberties and

⁸² *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 409-10.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 428-29.

⁸⁴ Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 164, n. 1, cf. Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops*, vol., IV, pp. 101-02.

⁸⁵ *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I) p. 167; see also *APS*, vol., II, p. 425.

⁸⁶ *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, pp. 194-95.

⁸⁷ *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I) p. 181. Edmond Harvel wrote to Henry VIII the next day (26 March 1543) from Venice that the Patriarch 'departs in all haste at the French King's instance, who wrote hotly for this and for money to aid the Scots', *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁸⁸ *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 522-23.

privileges'.⁸⁹ Thus, within the space of six weeks, Arran appears to have abandoned his support for the 'English scriptures' and totally reversed his religious policy. What his religious convictions actually were is difficult to know, but it is hard not to view his changes in policy without a degree of cynicism as being both opportunistic and politically expedient; and a perfect example of what his contemporaries described as his inconstancy. This latest turn of events must have caused some consternation to the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas and the other 'Assured Scots': those Scottish Lords who had 'assured' themselves to Henry VIII, and who in 1543, took an oath to be 'full parte taykers with Englande'.⁹⁰ To contemporaries they were contemptuously referred to as a 'sworn Inglisman', a 'fals Scott', or a 'Scottis inglisman'; and included after 1543 lairds, burgesses and many of 'the smaller folk'.⁹¹

For Arran the greatest consternation was the return of Lennox. The young Earls of Arran and Lennox, who were both born in 1516, were descended from James III's sister, Mary and her second marriage to James, 1st Lord Hamilton.⁹² Arran was descended from their son, James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran and his second wife, Janet Beaton, and Lennox from their daughter, Elizabeth, who had married Matthew Stewart, 2nd earl of Lennox. Their son John, 3rd earl of Lennox, during the captivity of James V and the *de facto* rule of the Douglases (1526-1528), with 'Argyll, Cassillis and Glencairn [had] disappeared from the Council in August 1526'. Shortly after, Lennox 'was killed in an attempt to rescue James near Linlithgow on 4 September'⁹³ by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart.⁹⁴ The 3rd earl of Lennox's

⁸⁹ *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 317.

⁹⁰ Merriman, 'The Assured Scots', p. 14, n.4, *cf.* *State Papers*, vol., V, pp. 289 and 294. During the negotiations for the marriage of Mary to Edward, Sadler reported to Henry VIII on 6 April 1543, that 'Maxwell sware a great oath that they were so suspected to be English that they would do more hurt than good', *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 220.

⁹¹ Merriman, 'The Assured Scots', pp. 12-3, n. 9, *cf.* Lord Herries, *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots*, Abbotsford Club (1836) pp. 11-23; *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, pp. 74, 105, 108 and 135; John Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 2 vols (1596), transl. J. Dalrymple, eds., E.G. Cody and W. Murison, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1888-1895), pp. 187, 190, 196 and 223; Knox *History*, vol., I, pp. 58 and 101; *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the Country of Scotland since the death of King James the fourth till the year MDLXXV [1513-1575]* [hereafter, *Diurnal of Occurents*], ed., T. Thomson, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1833), pp. 36-38, 44 and 46. The collaboration barely survived the fall of the duke of Somerset and the Franco-Scottish victory over the English in 1549, and became almost non-existent after 1550, Merriman, 'Assured Scots', pp. 31-34.

⁹² Mary's first marriage had been to Thomas Boyd for whom the earldom of Arran was created in 1467, which lapsed on his forfeiture and was then created anew for James, Lord Hamilton in 1503.

⁹³ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 40.

⁹⁴ E. Cust, *Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France, 1422-1672* (London, 1891) p. 66. Finnart was the illegitimate son of James Hamilton, 1st earl of Arran who was in favour during the Angus administration but was executed in 1540 on a charge of plotting to kill James V, and with corresponding with the exiled Earl of Angus. Referring to Lesley's *History*, Ridpath says that 'Lennox, a young man eminently amiable and popular was defeated at Linlithgow, and slain in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton, a bastard son of the earl of Arran', Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 363.

death 'was deeply mourned by the young king, James V, and also by his uncle the [1st] earl of Arran, who, although commanding the army opposed to him, was found after the battle weeping over his dead body and saying, "the wisest man, the stoutest man, the hardest man that ever was born in Scotland is slain this day".'⁹⁵

The following year, (1527) his widow agreed to send the eleven-year-old Matthew, now 4th earl of Lennox and his youngest brother John (born about 1519) to France in the care of their great-uncle, Robert Stuart, 4th Seigneur d'Aubigny, Marshal of France and Captain of the King's *garde écossaise*.⁹⁶ Apparently, the aging Marshal brought up the young Stewarts as 'complete Frenchmen' enlisting them in the *garde écossaise* while they were still very young.⁹⁷ Both boys accompanied their great-uncle on the campaign in Provence in 1536 and the following year they attended the marriage of James V to Madeleine (François I's daughter) in Paris, at which time they were both naturalized as French subjects by the king in January 1537:

François & etc. ... Nous auons Receue l'humble supplicacion des noz chers et amez cousins Mathieu Stuart Conte de Lenaux et Jehan Stuart Sr de Darle natifs d'Escosse nepieuz de nostre cher et ame cousin le Sr Daubigny Chevalier de nostre ordre et Mareschal de France. ... Assauoir le dict Mathieu Stuart de la charge de capp^{ne} et conduite de cent lances de noz ordonnances. Et le dict Jehan Stuart de celle des Escossoys estant de la garde de nostre corps.⁹⁸

John Stewart was now adopted by the Marshal as his heir and about 1542 he was married to Anne de la Queulle, succeeding to the Seigneurie d'Aubigny in

⁹⁵ Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p. 66, cf. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, 1436-1575*, written and collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie [hereafter, Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles*], 2 vols., ed., J.G. Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1814), p. 215. James V 'sent a special messenger to secure the safety of the earl of Lennox, but when he arrived on the field he found Arran weeping over the body of the Earl, who had been slain in cold blood by Hamilton of Finnart', *H. M. C. 11th Report*, Part VI, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Robert was the brother of Matthew Stewart, 2nd earl of Lennox, and had inherited the Seigneurie d'Aubigny from his uncle, Bernard Stuart, in 1508; for a newly commissioned biography on Robert, see Elizabeth Bonner, *The New Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP [forthcoming].

⁹⁷ Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, pp. 67-68; see also Forbes-Leith, *Scots-Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, pp. 122-37, for the annual Muster Rolls of the *garde écossaise* from Jan. 1531 to 1543; also see an original Muster Roll for 1542 dated 17 April 1543 of the *garde écossaise* commanded by the Earl of Lennox, British Library, London [hereafter, BL], Additional Charters 14,042; also see *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 243.

⁹⁸ Archives Nationales, Paris, [hereafter AN], Registre de Chancellerie JJ 252, No., 3, fol. 1v; for a full transcription of this document see, Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp.1105-06; for John Stuart, 5th Seigneur d'Aubigny, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland', ed., Grant G. Simpson, *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247-1967* (Edinburgh, 1992), [hereafter, Bonner, *Scottish Soldier Abroad*], pp.31-46 and n.4.

1543,⁹⁹ whilst his brother Matthew, 4th earl of Lennox, was sent as an ambassador to Scotland by François I, arriving there on 30 March 1543.¹⁰⁰

On 6 April, Sadler reported to Henry VIII that ‘therle of Lynoux was arryved at Donbrytayne with twoo shipps and a small companye, in quyett and peasible maner, and that he was yesterdaye at Lithquo with the quene’ and that Sir George Douglas had told him that ‘the sayd Erle of Lenoux made his vaunte, that Fraunce woolde nowe fyll theyr Scottyshe purses with gold’.¹⁰¹ When writing to Suffolk and Tunstall¹⁰² on 18 April, however, Sadler said that he understood that ‘he [Lennox] brought not with him past fyve thousande crownes at most’.¹⁰³ Of what transpired at the meeting between Lennox and the Dowager on 5 April is unknown. Nor do François I’s instructions to Lennox seem to have survived, and the assertion that Cardinal Beaton ‘held out hopes to him of a marriage with Marie de Guise’, are unsubstantiated.¹⁰⁴ The only extant source of this rumour appears to come from the English Council in their letter to the Douglasses on 10 February 1543 when they speculate that ‘there is like to be a mariage at his cuming home between the sayd Linoux and the Dowagier of Scotland’;¹⁰⁵ there is no mention of Cardinal Beaton.

It is remarkable when attempting to trace the source of questionable facts in Scotland at this time, which have been (and are) frequently accepted as being the established authority, how often the source is found in the letters to and from the Douglasses (Archibald 6th earl of Angus and his brother Sir George, Master of Douglas) and the English Council, Lisle, Suffolk *et al*, and, perhaps more importantly, from Sadler who cites mainly Sir George Douglas as the source and authority for his information on Scottish affairs. Sadler’s failure in Scotland, observes A.J. Slavin, was not due to ‘his concept of policy [which] was undoubtedly correct, while his king’s blustering was disastrous for the success of his mission, it is an inescapable fact that Sadler never mastered the realities of Scottish factional politics’.¹⁰⁶ No doubt this was true. But Sadler was placed, and of necessity placed himself, in the hands of one of the most astute, clever and opportunistic politicians in Scotland, and it is no wonder that the views he expressed were frequently those of Sir George

99 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p. 68-69.

100 ‘Vpon the penult day of March the zeir of God MVcxliij zeris the erle of Lennox came out of France as ambassador, and landit at Dumbartane’, *Diurnal of Occurants*, p. 27.

101 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, pp. 510-11.

102 Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk and Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London.

103 *Ibid*, p. 519.

104 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p. 70. S.S. Sypher cites Knox (*History*, vol., I, p. 51) as the source of the assertion that, ‘Beaton had induced Lennox to return by tempting him with the governorship and with the hope of marrying the Dowager’, ‘Mary of Lorraine and the end of the Old Alliance’, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Cornell University, 1965) p. 24, n. 56.

105 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 410; also *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 85. From where the English council received this information is not known, but it does not appear to have been from Paget. At least not in his extant published dispatches before this date.

106 Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, pp. 111-12.

Douglas.¹⁰⁷ Thus the Anglo-Douglas view of affairs in Scotland at this time have come to dominate Scottish and English historiography, mainly because so much of the primary source material has survived, and because of the enormous interest in the period by English and Scottish historians. The converse is true in the paucity of both published French primary material and French historiography concerning Scotland in the mid sixteenth century.

In regard to the plausible speculation of a marriage between the Dowager and Lennox: a good case in favour of the marriage, supportive of French policy in the tradition of the 'Auld Alliance' can be made. Still a bachelor at the age of 26, apparently Lennox 'was one of the handsomest and most distinguished of the gallants who adorned the court of the gay and chivalrous François I'.¹⁰⁸ Marie de Guise, who was one year older, was reputed to be still beautiful and of an age to bear more children. Their marriage would have almost certainly confirmed Lennox as Regent during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots. A regent who was a naturalized subject of the king of France, and who was also a lieutenant in the élite *garde écossaise* and captain of 100 lances who had already seen active service in the French army. Obviously, if Lennox had proposed marriage then the Dowager had refused him,¹⁰⁹ which might explain Lennox's subsequent behaviour, his ultimate defection to England, and marriage in 1544 to Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor and Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus.¹¹⁰

The English were also anxious to know the outcome of Lennox's meeting with the Dowager. A few days later on 9 April 1543, Sadler reported to Henry VIII that Lord Fleming¹¹¹ had just come from the Dowager who told him that she had been visited by Arran who 'demanded of her whether

107 Sir George, it seems, was not averse to 'running with the fox and hunting with the hounds'. On 25 April 1543, Henry VIII angrily demanded that Sadler remind Douglas 'whither he professed himself our subject, [and] requyred us so to expresse him in our lettres, when he went into Fraunce to declare himself agaynst the Cardynal or no' and furthermore, 'he maye in this be most certainly convinced both by the lettres written for him to the French king, and by the record of the same', *Hamilton Papers*, vol. I, p. 524. Later Sadler was forced to flee in fear of his life from Edinburgh to Tantallon and the protection of the Douglasses; *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 92.

108 Cust, *Stuarts of Aubigny*, p. 71.

109 As both were French subjects and Catholic the sanction of François I and the Pope would have been necessary. The papal nuncio at the French court, however, makes no mention of a hint of such a marriage in his correspondence with the Vatican at this time; at least not in the published material. Perhaps it was only a suggestion made by François I? If the Dowager had refused the king can hardly have wished for a repeat of the recent (1541) Albret-Cleves enforced marriage when, against her will, the tearful 12-year-old Jeanne d'Albret 'had to be carried to the altar by Montmorency by order of the king', Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 301.

110 Their son, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, married Mary Queen of Scots in 1565. Lennox was allowed to return to Scotland in 1564 and regain his lands, but returned to England following his son's murder in 1567. In 1571 he was appointed Regent for his grandson, James VI, with English backing, but was shot in an affray at Stirling 4 September 1571.

111 Malcolm, 3rd Lord Fleming, married to Janet Stewart, (an illegitimate daughter of James IV). He had been one of the Solway prisoners pledged to Henry VIII and an 'Assured Scot' who was slain at the battle of Pinkie (1547) by the English.

your majesty did make any office of marriage'?¹¹² Sadler did not mention the Dowager's meeting with Lennox; a match that paled significantly when compared with the possibility of one with Henry VIII,¹¹³ the possibility of which may have caught Arran unawares. Arran had long since received warm assurances of support from the duke of Suffolk on 13 February 1543, who advised him 'remembre what partie yowe have agaynst youe, bothe by France and by the clergie of that realme', that they would seek to undermine him 'by the setting upp the Erle of Lynoux, whome they alledge to be the next heire to the crowne of the realme of Scotland after the yong Princesse nowe left by the late kyng' and that they 'wooll appoynte an other governor at their pleasure ... as ye have been well advised by my Lord Lisle, lorde warden of the Marches of England in that bihaulfe'. Finally, Suffolk assured Arran 'that youe shall fynde me readie at all times ... tadvaunce all your sutes and reasonable desiers unto the Kynges majeste my saide souveraigne'.¹¹⁴ No doubt Arran informed the Dowager of these assurances of English support long before the arrival of Lennox.

As events have shown, Marie de Guise did not re-marry, and this may well have been her intention from the beginning in order to safeguard her daughter's birthright as Scotland's first sovereign queen, and thus allow her greater freedom to act independently on behalf of her daughter and in the interests of France. She may have therefore decided that her interests would be better served at this time with Arran as Regent rather than being married to Lennox. At least Arran was a known quantity, and he was also married with a son and heir,¹¹⁵ even though, she confided to Sadler, she thought he was 'assuredly a simple and the most inconstant man in the world; for whatsoever he detirmineth today he changeth to-morrow'.¹¹⁶ According to Sanderson, Arran 'was clearly ideal as a figurehead, easily manipulated by a strong second-in-command who wanted his personal policies officially rubber-stamped, provided continuous pressure could be put upon him'.¹¹⁷ It may well have been these very unprepossessing characteristics of Arran's which suited the Dowager's plans for the time being.

112 *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, pp. 134-35. Chapuys (Imperial ambassador in England) had reported to Charles V on 15 Jan 1543, Henry VIII's interest was 'to advance his practice for Scotland and lull France to sleep [that] the king might propose marriage with the Queen, especially as before her re-marriage in Scotland he made suit to have her', *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 29.

113 Henry's 5th wife, Catherine Howard, was beheaded 13 Feb 1542, and he did not marry Catherine Parr until 12 July 1543.

114 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 419.

115 James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, who had succeeded his father in 1529, married Margaret Douglas, daughter of James Douglas, 3rd Earl of Morton in 1532. See, R.K. Hannay, 'Some Papal Bulls in the Hamilton Papers' [hereafter, Hannay, 'Papal Bulls'], *SHR*, XXII (1925), pp. 29-31, for correspondence with the papacy seeking to establish the validity of their marriage; the union having taken place before the impediments of consanguinity were absolved.

116 Sadler to the English Council, 2 April 1543, *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 115.

117 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 154.

TABLE No. 1

FRENCH PENSIONS FOR THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY, 1543

Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse (pp.30-35)

"French Mission...1543"

	MS. 17,890 (p.31)	MS. 17,330 (p.35)	(pp. 246-7)
Queen Dowager (<i>écus d'or</i>)	4,000	4,000	To manage all the money
Cardinal Beaton "	2,000	2,000	4,000
Earl of Lennox "	2,000	2,000	2,000
Earl of Arran "	(MS torn)	2,000	2,000
*Earl of Argyll "	--	1,000	1,000
*Earl of Huntly "	--	1,000	1,000
Earl of Moray "	--	1,000	1,000
*Earl of Bothwell "	--	1,000	1,000
Lord Hume "	500	500	500
*Lord Fleming "	--	300	300
*Lord Livingstone "		300	300
Lord Gray "	--	300	--
*Knight of Cawdor "	--	300	300
Earl of Glencairn "	--	300	--
Lord Buccleugh "	300	--	--
Laird of Cessford "	300	--	--
Mark Carr "	300	--	--
*Lord Erskine "		--	300
Lord Seaforth "	--	--	300
Sieur de Marcar "	--	--	300
Lord Wemyss "	--	--	300
Lord Tulibarnie "	--	--	300
Mr David Paniter "	--	100	
TOTALS	9,400	16,000	15,000
*to these nobles	6,000	15,400	
At Dumbarton Castle	20,000	43,000	16,000 <i>livres tournois</i> 400 double ducats
GRAND TOTALS	35,400	59,000	22,800 approx.

About the same time that Lennox returned to Scotland, Arran asked Sadler 'to write to the King's majesty, that it might please the same to send home the abbot of Paisley, [John Hamilton] being his bastard brother, who, he saith "might stand him in great stead here"; and some think he will make him bishop of St. Andrews'.¹¹⁸ John Hamilton, whom Professor Donaldson describes as 'the brains of the house',¹¹⁹ had been sent to France by James V in May 1541,¹²⁰ and following the king's death when Cardinal Beaton was made Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal on 10 January 1543, 'the Privy seal which Beaton had held since 1529'¹²¹ was given by Arran to his half-brother.¹²² By the 19 April 1543 Hamilton had evidently returned to Scotland, as Sadler reported to Henry VIII, that Arran was 'now ruled by his brother the Abbot of Paisley',¹²³ who 'is of the cast of France and the Cardinal's [Beaton] greatest friend'.¹²⁴ What news and/or instructions John Hamilton may have brought from France is not known. Nor does there appear to be any extant information in the printed sources regarding his almost two-year sojourn there. Perhaps he was sent by James V in anticipation of Cardinal Beaton's embassy which sailed for France two months later at the end of July 1541? Perhaps he stayed on in the Cardinal's entourage or remained to pursue his studies privately in France or elsewhere on the Continent?¹²⁵ Of Hamilton's return: Chapuys reported from London

118 Sadler to the English Council, 2 April 1543, *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 117. John Hamilton, born 1512, was an illegitimate son of the 1st Earl of Arran. On 11 Jan. 1525, James V asked the Pope for the barriers of his illegitimacy to be removed, and in May 1525 Hamilton was granted the Abbey of Paisley in *commendam* till his 25th year and hereafter in *titulum*. In 1544 he was nominated Bishop of Dunkeld, but he was not consecrated until 1546; and on 28 Nov. 1547 he was translated, but not consecrated until 1549, as Archbishop of St. Andrews, Herkless & Hannay, *Archbishops*, vol., V, pp. 1-5 and 42; see also, Hannay, 'Papal Bulls', *passim*, and, J. Dowden, 'The Bishops of Dunkeld prior to the Reformation', *SHR*, II (1905), pp. 65-67.

119 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 66.

120 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 76; see also, *L & P*, vol., XVI, p. 456.

121 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 176.

122 *APS*, vol., II, p. 542; see also Herkless & Hannay, *Archbishops*, vol., V, p. 9.

123 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 520.

124 *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 250.

125 There does not seem to be any mention of his movements or activities during these two years, nor any reference of him being at the French court, in the published correspondence of the foreign ambassadors or papal nuncios. E. Finnie, 'The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period', *Innes Review*, XXXVI (1985), pp. 8-9, includes a brief biographical sketch of the future Archbishop of St. Andrews and his place in the Hamilton patronage network, but does not link his diplomatic missions to France as playing any part in that patronage. D.B. MacDonald, accepts the nineteenth-century historian P.F. Tytler's hypothesis that James V was convinced his two sons 'had died as part of a Machiavellian plot, executed by the Hamiltons, to exact revenge for the death of Sir James, [Hamilton of Finnart] while placing the head of their clan, James, the second Earl of Arran, two steps closer to the throne of the realm', 'The Struggle to reform: John Hamilton and his Kirk, 1549-1560', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of West Virginia (1983) p. 38, (*cf.* P.F. Tytler, *History of Scotland, 1249-1603*, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-43), vol., IV, p. 254). This is the reason, MacDonald concludes, that 'John Hamilton, the Abbot of Paisley, and perhaps the one Hamilton capable of launching such an intrigue, was exiled in 1541', *Ibid.*, p.

to the Queen of Hungary on 9 April 1543 that 'the Scottish priest [not identified] was sent to France to spy the disposition of Rouen and the country round, and he has also got out of France the brother of the Governor of Scotland and certain other gentlemen, [not named] who have passed this way, being well received and feted by the king and not leaving without a present'.¹²⁶

The return of Lennox and John Hamilton from France in April 1543 appears to have created a watershed in Scottish affairs, and caused the Scots to re-evaluate their situation vis-à-vis England. On 26 April, Sadler reported to Henry VIII that Arran had sent him a message 'to say that Lennox's credence was that the French king required the Estates of the realm to observe their old leagues with France, as he [François] would do; and if Henry should invade them he would aid them with men, money and munition'.¹²⁷ According to Professor Slavin, 'April [1543] was the decisive month for the history of Anglo-Scottish relations for many years to come'. It was 'during that month', he says, that 'Beaton regained control over the diplomatic situation'; that 'Sadler lost his office of principal secretary of state'; and that 'the fight for the marriage [of Edward to Mary] was really lost,¹²⁸ although the treaty was pushed to a conclusion in an elaborate charade staged for England's benefit'.¹²⁹

The Anglo-Scottish Peace and Marriage Treaties were signed at Greenwich on 1 July 1543, and both treaties were required 'to be ratified within two months'.¹³⁰ The charade being enacted in Scotland was perhaps most accurately described by William, Lord Parr who had been appointed Warden of the Marches in April 1543.¹³¹ Parr reported to Suffolk on 6 July information from an impeccable source in Scotland,¹³² that 'whiche the Governour of Scotlande promyseth to the Kingis majeste is but craft, frawde, and falsitie, for the governoure never entendethe, nez is able, to performe his

38; citing as evidence Henry Ray's (English pursuivant at Berwick) report of June 1541 that 'shortely aftir the dethe of the said childrene, the Abbote of Pasley was sente into Fraunce from the king', *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 76; which seems fairly flimsy evidence upon which to place such weighty accusations and assertions.

126 *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 228.

127 *Ibid*, p. 273.

128 Henry's attempts to persuade Arran included the proposition of a marriage between the 'Lady Elizabeth' and Arran's eldest son, Henry VIII to Sadler, 4 April 1543, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 501; and financial *douceurs* were to be given to 'Cassils and Glencairn each 300 mks, to Maxwell ... 300 mks, .. Somervail ... 200 mks' and, Sadler thought, 'it not amiss to bestow 100 L. on the earl Marishal who if it come to force will take part with Angus'; Sadler to Henry VIII, 1 May 1543, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), p. 292.

129 Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, p. 115.

130 *L & P*, vol., XVIII (1), pp. 454-57; cf. *Foedera*, vol., XIV, pp. 786, and 792.

131 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 528.

132 An unidentified gentleman whom Parr described as 'a persone of that estymacion and wisdom, that litle or nothing is done in Scotlande and speciallie of the hiddre partes thereof, but either by hymself or by other meanes he hathe knowledge and is privie thereunto', *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 554.

promyses', and furthermore, 'there is none assur[ed] to the gouvernour in this treatie but the Erles of Anguis[he], Casselles, the Lorde Maxwell and their adherentes, and that all the rest of Scotlande, both spirituall and temporall, is againste the gouvernour', and finally, concluded Parr 'the gouvernour is verey poore, and hathe spent that whiche he had of the Kingis majeste'.¹³³ Undeterred, Henry wrote to Sadler on 4 August that he 'will by force of his "title and superiority", make the Governor King of Scotland beyond the Firth, provided that he go through with the marriage between his son and Lady Elizabeth, which is a "party" the like of which he could not "recover" in Christendom' and that he 'has appointed his lieutenant to put ready 5000 men, to be sent when the Governor and Sadler shall write for them'.¹³⁴ On 24 August, Henry reiterated his offer of an English bishopric for Cardinal Beaton who was to be persuaded 'with fayr behestes and promises of as gret profett, friendship, and fredome at our hand as ever he had at the French kinges or bishoppes of Rome'.¹³⁵ The following day, Arran ratified the treaties of Greenwich at the Abbey Church of Holyrood 'in the name of the Queen and the three estates, in the presence of the greatest part of the nobility, though the Cardinal and his party were absent'.¹³⁶ The same day Arran wrote to Henry VIII that 'baith the contractis of peax and mariage laitlie concludit conforme to the tennour and continentis of the samyn, was solemplie ratifiit apprevit and confermyt. ... And thairfore we send presentlie this berare Schir George Meldrum of Fyvie, Knycht, gentelman of oure hous, to require youre majestie for youre confirmatioun, approbatioun, and ratification of the said contractis'.¹³⁷ But Henry did not ratify the treaties of Greenwich. Although, because of a speech made on the succession by Sir Ralph Sadler at Westminster in the 1563 parliament (11 January - 10 April) that 'the mariage and the treatie was made and sealed by the commissioners on both sides and also afterwarde ratified both by the Kyng here and also by the governor in Scotland';¹³⁸ it has been generally accepted that Henry VIII ratified the Treaties of Greenwich. But Sadler was mistaken. On 11 December 1543 the parliament of Scotland cited this as one of the reasons for terminating the treaties of Greenwich: 'the king of England Ouha was requirit be the ambassatour send by my lord gouvernour to have deliuerit the saidis contractis In siclik maner ratifyit apprevit and sworn be him And he [Henry VIII]

133 *Ibid*, pp. 554-55.

134 *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 3.

135 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 653. Previously, on 1 May 1543, Henry had urged Sadler to tell Beaton that 'the King's kindness is such that ... he may count on getting a better bishopric in England'. Also in the same dispatch, Henry decreed that 'the Governor to have the revenues of the realm, reserving a convenient portion for the Queen', *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I), p. 289.

136 Sadler to Henry VIII, 25 Aug. 1543, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 655; see also, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), pp. 38-40, cf *Foedera*, vol., XV, pp. 4-5.

137 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 661; Sadler informed Henry VII on 25 August 1543 from Edinburgh that 'the Laird of Fyvie is accredited to Henry with the treaties, [and] to be present at his ratification', *Ibid*, p. 655; also see, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 39.

138 BL Additional MS 33593, fol., 3v; transcription published in T.E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I* (Leicester, 1981), p. 88. I am grateful to Dr. David Dean for drawing my attention to this document.

refusit to do the samyn'.¹³⁹ Later it was explained to the King of Denmark, Christian III, that 'the King of England, however, refused to give his ratification to the ambassadors, according to the obligation. In this way, as in the seizure of the ships,¹⁴⁰ he openly violated the peace'.¹⁴¹

'Little more than a week after Arran had ratified the agreements he capitulated to the cardinal and his party'.¹⁴² Earlier, Beaton had marshalled his supporters at Linlithgow where 'eight clergy, six earls, eight lords, the sons of two lords and 20 lairds'¹⁴³ signed a Bond on 24 July 1543 'promising mutual support; made because of the lack of policy and justice in the country since the death of James V'.¹⁴⁴ On 3 September, Arran left Edinburgh ostensibly to see his sick wife at Blackness, which he did, but it was also to meet Cardinal Beaton at Lord Livingston's house at Callander.¹⁴⁵ Arran capitulated privately to the Cardinal, who agreed to support John Hamilton for the Bishopric of Dunkeld when it fell vacant, and in order to keep Arran 'in the proper ecclesiastical pathway' Pope Paul III was induced, 'when making provision for Aberdeen, to authorise an application of what was styled later the "tulchan" principle¹⁴⁶ ... granting a pension of 1000 merks to the Governor's four-year-old son, John, upon his receiving the tonsure'.¹⁴⁷ The private and financial agreements having been completed, Arran recanted publicly taking a solemn oath in the Greyfriars' Kirk in Stirling on 8

139 *APS*, vol., II, p. 431. Whilst the commissioners' negotiations are published for the treaties of peace and marriage on 1 May 1543; the conclusion of these treaties (of Greenwich) on 1 July 1543 and signed by Henry R and James G, in the *Foedera*, (3rd edition, 1741) vol., VI, parts I and II, pp. 91-94 and 100-101; there is no reciprocal ratification by Henry VIII published in the *Foedera*. Also, no evidence of the Laird of Fyvie's embassy to Henry VIII with the treaties for ratification appears to have survived, although it should be noted that the *Acts of the Privy Council of England* are missing from 22 July 1543 to 10 May 1545.

140 Henry informed Sadler on 16 Aug. 1543 that 'Scottish ships pass daily into France with victuals' and that 'he has stayed five or six of them', *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 22. The same day, Arran wrote to Henry VIII that his 'subjects of the port of Ry have taken a Scottish ship called *Boneaventure* laden with goods of Edinburgh merchants', *Ibid*, p. 23.

141 'Mandate for Christian III, by John Hay in the name of Mary Queen of Scots and Governor Arran, April 1544', (Copy, Latin) *The Warrender Papers*, 2 vols., ed., Annie Cameron, Scottish History Society, 3rd series (Edinburgh, 1931-32), vol., I, p. 13.

142 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 69.

143 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 167; for the Cardinal's negotiations, *Ibid*, pp. 167-72.

144 J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), Appendix C, p. 404. Apart from the Cardinal the signatories were: 'the bishops of Moray, Whithorn, Dunblane, Orkney; the earls of Huntly, Argyll, Lennox, Bothwell, Sutherland, Menteith; Lords Fleming, Drummond, Hume, Ruthven, Erskine, Crichton, Saltoun; Master of Lovat, Forbes; Campbell of Cawdor, Scott of Buccleuch, Stirling of Keir, Grant of Freuchy, Kerr of Cesford and 22 others', *Ibid*, cf, BL Add. MS. 32,651, fols., 213^r-214^r.

145 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, pp. 14 and 18-19.

146 A 'tulchan' was a kind of dummy calf placed beside a cow to persuade her to give milk. 'Tulchan Bishops' were appointed at the instance of the crown from about 1540 onwards, under an arrangement whereby a large part of the revenues was diverted to lay hands in the shape of pensions.

147 Hannay, 'Papal Bulls', p. 39. In the 1540s 1,000 merks equalled approximately £666:3:4 Scottish.

September to 'support and defende the profession and habit of mounkes, freres, and suche other'.¹⁴⁸ As a result, in the future he was 'to be advised by a council of which Beaton and the Dowager were to be members'.¹⁴⁹

From France about this time, the Dowager received encouraging support from the Dauphin, the future Henri II, acknowledging the receipt of her letter and all the news the 'porteur m'a dict de vostre part'. Henri told her that he was 'tres aise d'entendre quelle resollution auront faict voz ambassadeurs avec le Roy d'Angleterre, dont je vous prie m'advertir' and he assured her 'ce faisant me ferez bien grant plaisir pour n'estimer moins la prosperite de voz affaires que les miens propres comme congnoistrez par effect, l'occasion si offrand et que j'en auray le moi'en'.¹⁵⁰ Also in 1543, she had received a letter from her uncle, Jean, Cardinal of Lorraine, who begged her 'regarder en quelle sorte l'on vous pourra servir et vous, et ce qui vous touche, et en advertissant voz parens et amys il n'y sera rien espargne car vous estes autant aymee et estimee que prince se que je vis james'.¹⁵¹ The Dowager's situation, however, had improved following Arran's capitulation which had allowed for her release, and that of the infant queen from Linlithgow, and their removal to the greater security of Stirling Castle where, as Sadler reported to Henry VIII on 11 September 1543; 'the yong Quene was crowned on Sondaye last at Stirling with such solempnitie as they doo use in this countrey, which is not very costelie'.¹⁵²

Arran's capitulation also occasioned the Earl of Lennox to review his situation. According to Pitscottie, Lennox and Patrick Hepburn, 3rd earl of Bothwell had both spent much time at the Dowager's court in competition for her hand in marriage.¹⁵³ 'Until 4th September 1543 Lennox was a good

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁹ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁰ *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the originals in the Balcarres Papers*, vol., I (1537-1548) vol., II (1548-1557), Marguerite Wood, ed., Scottish History Society, 3rd series (Edinburgh, 1923 and 1925), vol., I, pp. 88-9 [hereafter, *Balcarres Papers*]. The editor dates this undated letter to 1543 treating 'quelle resolution', etc. as 'probably referring to the adjusting of the Treaties of Greenwich', *Ibid*, p. 88, n.1. It was also at this time that Henri II's wife, Catherine de Medici, had just entered her second trimester of her first pregnancy after ten years of trying as well as the partaking of plenty of powders, potions and prayers. Their son, the future François II and first husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, was born Jan., 1544; which anticipated event, I would argue, would have had a considerable effect on Henri II's calculations at that time.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁵² *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 33.

¹⁵³ According to Bothwell, Marie de Guise had 'faithfullie, be hir hand writ, at twa sindre tymis, to tak the said Erle in mariage', cited in F. Schiern, *Life of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*, transl. from Danish by D. Berry (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 5, n. 1, cf. 'Letters of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell', in *Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1827-55) vol., III, pp. 273-312, 403-428; also see, R.K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977) pp. 134-36, cf. Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles*, vol., II, pp. 16-18. According to the *Scots Peerage*, 'it was doubtless in the hope of this alliance that he procured a divorce from Agnes Sinclair, his spouse, before October 1543', *The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine (1543-1560)*, ed., Annie Cameron, Scottish History Society, 3rd Series (Edinburgh, 1927),

patriot, or, in the language of the day, a good “Frenchman” ... who would not agree that pledges be laid in England’.¹⁵⁴ By the time of the arrival of the French ambassadors and Papal nuncio, however, at Dumbarton on 6 October 1543, ‘the said earl of Lennox was, in general, of the party of the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell and Somerville, the sheriff of Ayr and several others, at all times most zealous servants of the King of England’.¹⁵⁵ Lennox’s defection shocked and was viewed most seriously by the French ambassadors. They reminded him that by supporting the practices of the King of England ‘to keep the nobles of this realm divided and in a state of discord’, so that he [Henry VIII] might exploit these divisions and ‘usurp the said realm by force’, that he [Lennox] ‘ought to be punished as one guilty of *lèse majesté*, quite as much in view of his offence against the realm of Scotland of which he is a subject and vassal, as of his offence against the king our master, to whom he is under equal obligation, being bound to offer him his most humble service during his lifetime’.¹⁵⁶ Having confronted Lennox with these charges, the ambassadors ‘persuaded him to come with us to the Queen’, after he had assured them ‘that

[hereafter, *Scottish Correspondence*], p. 297, n. 2. On 13 Aug. 1543, Bothwell made a Bond of Manrent with Mary of Guise ‘for certain gratuities, in particular a yearly pension of £1,000 for life’, Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, App. A, p. 360, cf. National Archives of Scotland, State Papers [hereafter, NAS, Sp], 13/41.

154 W.M. Bryce, ‘A French mission to Scotland in 1543’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 42, (1908) p. 243, cf. BN, Fonds Français 17,330; 17,888; 17,890: documents relating to the embassy of Jacques de la Brosse and Jacques Mesnaige to Scotland in 1543. They comprise the ambassadors report 13 Nov., 1543 and copy 24 Nov., 1543; secret instructions of François I, 12 Feb., 1544; various receipts, warrants and minutes of the meeting at Stirling; guarantee by the Earl of Lennox in favour of the Queen Dowager and Cardinal Beaton, 13 Oct., 1543; two agreements between the same parties dated 24 and 25 Oct., 1543; and by François I to them dated 12 and 25 Feb., 1544. Bryce says that ‘at least four documents are wanting: the original instructions of the ambassadors 25 June 1543, and letters of appointment in favour of the Earl of Lennox; warrant to Jehan de Vymond, treasurer, for payment of 9,400 crowns to the Scottish Nobility, and a letter of the ambassadors to François I, 27 Jan., 1544’, *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44. Unfortunately, Bryce gives only a superficial and a very inadequate analysis of these documents.

155 ‘An account of the affairs of the realm of Scotland from the day that we Jacques de la Brosse, Seigneur of that said place, and cupbearer to the King, and Jacques Mesnaige, Doctor of Laws, Seigneur of Caigny, member of his majesty’s council, arrived at Dumbarton as ambassadors to the said realm, until this day [24 Nov., 1543]; transcribed, translated and edited by Gladys Dickinson, *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse* (1543 and 1560) Scottish History Society, 3rd Series (Edinburgh, 1942), p. 19. In this edition, Dickinson examines the same MSS. as Bryce but transcribes only the ambassadors’ report, using the remaining MSS. to supplement information concerning that report. Thus, it would seem that there may be additional information in these MSS. as indicated, but not elaborated, in Bryce’s article. Merriman and Syphers in their respective Ph. D. theses, both use these publications, but appear to go no further than Bryce and Dickinson have chosen to do in their works.

156 *Ibid.*, p. 25. Moreover, Lennox was bound by his ‘lettres de naturalité’, as well as his obligations as a lieutenant in François I’s *garde écossaise* and terms of the ‘Auld Alliance’: ‘Que si quelqu’un des subjects des deux confederez donne ayde ou secours secrettement ou publiquement, tant d’armes, de conseil, que de vivres à leurs ennemis, il fera tenu comme coupable de crime de leze Maïesté à toutes les deux parties’, A. Houston, *L’Ecosse Francoise...* (Paris, 1608), repr. in *Papers relative to the Royal Guards of Scottish Archers in France*, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1835), pp. 53-54.

he would rather be dead than fail in his service to the King [of France] and that he would die his servant'.¹⁵⁷

La Brosse and Mesnaige had received their instructions from François I at Marolles on 25 June 1543, to proceed to Scotland 'to treat and accord with our allies or their deputies concerning the surety and corroboration of our ancient friendship and alliance'.¹⁵⁸ Their commission had followed the arrival in Paris of James Stewart of Cardonald,¹⁵⁹ who, Grimani reported to Cardinal Farnese, has been 'sent by the Queen of Scotland and the Count of Linx to the French king ... to seek ships, artillery, munitions and money', and David Vonar or Bonar, sent 'by the Cardinal of St. Andrews'¹⁶⁰ who, his envoy claims, 'has suffered great persecutions from certain prelates of that realm, and desires, for the honour of God, the Holy See and himself, that they and their adherents may be punished'.¹⁶¹ The next day, Grimani reported that the Scottish captain, [James Stewart] 'being come lately from Scotland for aid from the French king, will return into Scotland with artillery, pikes halberts and 50,000 ducats in money'.¹⁶² In the event, the French ambassadors and the Papal Legate,¹⁶³ who had been in France since 13 April 1543 awaiting the King's pleasure,¹⁶⁴ did not depart with aid for Scotland until 27 September from Brest, arriving at Dumbarton on 6 October 'after an uneventful journey, despite Henry VIII's threats to capture the Legate';¹⁶⁵ from whose embassy the Venetians had disassociated themselves. On 4 May 1543, the Doge and

¹⁵⁷ *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Bryce, 'French mission ... 1543', p. 244; for the commission see, Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 123.

¹⁵⁹ James Stewart of Cardonald was an ensign in the *garde écossaise* of François I: see Muster Rolls, 1539 to Jan., 1543, where it is noted that he 'est en Ecosse et cassé Xbre [Dec.,] 1543', Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, pp. 132-37. Other mentions: Muster Roll, April 1543, BL Add. Charters 14,042; and *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I), p. 243. Stewart accompanied Lennox from France and had returned there at the end of May 1543, *Ibid*, p. 332. In Oct., 1543, he returned to Scotland with the French ambassadors and papal legate, *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 33-34. 'On the defection of Lennox the French king seized Stewart's estates and wages to the value of 3,000 francs, and this drove him into the arms of the English party', *Ibid*, p. 34, n. 5, cf. *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 695.

¹⁶⁰ *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I), pp. 379-80; see also, Grimani's letters of 20 and 21 June 1543, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, pp. 204-07.

¹⁶¹ *L & P*, vol., XVIII (I), p. 419.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 422.

¹⁶³ On 25 March 1543, in response to the French king's urgent appeal, Pope Paul III chose the nephew of Dominico Grimani, Cardinal of St. Mark, an erstwhile protector of Scotland at Rome, as Papal Legate to collect the subsidy he had granted from Scottish Church lands and to dispense it for the defence of Scotland, R.K. Hannay and J.H. Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543', *SHR*, XI (1913), pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁴ Grimani to Cardinal Farnese, Lyon, 13 April 1543; having arrived there at 8pm, 'il partira le lendemain pour Paris', *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, p. 200.

¹⁶⁵ *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, p. 9, n. 1, cf. BN, Fonds Français 17,890, fols., 18-23, for details of the voyage in the ships *La Française*, *La Madeleine*, *La Catherine* and *Le Jacques*; see also letter from Grimani to Farnese, 9 Oct., 1543, Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', pp. 14-16; Sadler to Suffolk, 6 Oct., 1543, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 149; *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 92; and James Stewart of Cardonald to Card. Beaton, Greenock, 4 Oct., 1543, *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 33-34.

Senate had written to the Venetian secretary in England (Hironimo Zuccato), instructing him to inform the English that 'they knew nothing of the Patriarch's coming ... but the Pope, to whom, and not our Signory, prelates render obedience, makes use of them to suit his purpose, as in the present instance, the Patriarch Grimani being at court with His Holiness'.¹⁶⁶ In accordance with their instructions, La Brosse and Mesnaige deposited an estimated 59,000 *écus d'or au soleil*¹⁶⁷ at Dumbarton Castle upon their arrival there on 6 October 1543. According to Bryce, 'on the 7th, or at least the 8th, (too late to save the treasure) messengers arrived from the Queen Dowager with directions that nothing should be disembarked within the territory of the Earl [of Lennox]. In the absence (unexplained) of the ambassadors, these orders were communicated to the captains, who therefore landed the stores and ammunition in the Argyll country'.¹⁶⁸

Although the ostensible reason for the papal nuncio, Marco Grimani's legation to Scotland was to liberate Cardinal Beaton and to collect the six-tenths of the ecclesiastical fruits which Paul III had previously granted to James V for two years;¹⁶⁹ 'he was, in reality, a tool of French policy'.¹⁷⁰

166 *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ed., Rawdon Brown (London, 1873), vol., V, p. 118.
 167 *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, pp. 30-35. The precise amount of the French king's bounty is not stated in La Brosse's and Mesnaige's report, but the sum of 59,000 *écus d'or* has been estimated from BN, Fonds Français 17,330 (*Ibid.*, pp.34-35), of the pensions to be paid to the Queen Dowager and Scottish Nobles, and the amount remaining at Dumbarton Castle in the hands of the Earl of Lennox by 24 Nov., 1543. BN, Fonds Français 17,330 appears to be a copy of the French ambassadors' report (BN, Fonds Français 17,890) but this MS. is torn, and therefore Dickinson has augmented it with information from BN, Fonds Français 17,330. Notwithstanding the tear, there are differences in the allocation and in the amounts of the lesser pensions. Sypher, using Dickinson's transcription, estimates the sum as '60,000 crowns of the sun', Ph. D. Thesis, p. 51, n.14; which seems reasonable given that Bryce ('French Mission ...1543', p. 244) says that 'the warrant to Jehan de Vymond, treasurer, for payment of 9,400 crowns to the Scottish Nobility', is wanting. Bryce says that he consulted the original MS. material (as did Dickinson 40 years later), but there are many discrepancies in their findings, including the proposed pensioners. Furthermore, Bryce confuses the issue by converting some amounts from 'crowns of the sun' into *livres*: presumably *livres tournois* which was the most frequently used French 'money of account' in the 16th century. Table No. 1 has been extrapolated from various sources and is at best an approximate calculation. In 1549-1550: 1,000 *écus d'or de soleil*, in French, English and Scottish 'money of account', = 2,500 *livres tournois*; £250 Sterling; and £1,000 Punds Scottish. Unfortunately, the *quittances* for these pensions seem not to have survived. Merriman cites Fonds Français 17,890 (Ph. D. Thesis, p. 85, n. 5) and Fonds Français 17,888 (Ph. D. Thesis, p. 84, n.1), but does not address the inconsistencies. Therefore, a complete review of the MS material will be undertaken in, *The Betrothal and Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots: Tudor and Valois Politique and Intrigue in Scotland, 1540-1560* (forthcoming when sufficient research funds become available).

168 Bryce, 'French Mission...1543', p. 244. The sources are not cited by Bryce.

169 Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', p. 2.

170 *Ibid.*, p. 5. Grimani explained to Cardinal Farnese that 'Our Lord the Pope despatched me from Bologna, as your Eminence knows, with the express commission that I should make haste to proceed to the Most Christian King of France, and to fulfil all the commands of His Majesty regarding Scottish affairs, and this I did', Stirling, 15 Oct.1543; *Ibid.*, p. 17; see also Grimani's Instructions from Paul III, 1 April 1543, *Ibid.*, pp.8-9, *cf.* Vatican MS. 1460, fol., 138; and Von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol., XII, pp. 668-70.

Having awaited François I's pleasure for five months, he set sail 'upon a voyage which the Patriarch describes with some gall. It was indeed irritating for a Venetian who in 1538 had been placed in charge of a fleet against the Turks to be carried at the arbitrary command of some unseamanlike French ambassadors'. Moreover, in the interim, Cardinal Beaton had regained his position of authority and 'that in the condition of affairs [in Scotland] the main object of his journey, the ecclesiastical tax, was out of the question'.¹⁷¹ Grimani, therefore, confined himself to conferring the papal blessing on any and all of those who desired it; to reporting to the Vatican the state of affairs in Scotland; and to promoting at all times the importance of the Scots maintaining their 'Auld Alliance' with France. Soon after their arrival at Dumbarton, Grimani and the ambassadors had a long interview with the Earl of Lennox from whom Grimani gained the initial impression that 'he would seem to wish to live and die in the service of the Most Christian King'.¹⁷² This must have been a fleeting impression which no doubt changed when a messenger from the Dowager informed him a few days later that Lennox 'was conducting an intrigue for the purpose of taking in marriage a daughter of the Earl of Angus, brother-in-law of the King of England'; causing the Legate great concern because the ambassadors had already deposited the French king's money with Lennox in the fortress.¹⁷³ On 11 October 1543, Grimani 'parted from the ambassadors at Dumbarton and went to Glasgow, waiting till the Earl of Lennox should come with the Earl of Argyll'.¹⁷⁴ But the unfortunate Legate was forced to flee in disguise before dawn the next day to Stirling, having received word that the Earl of Angus and other nobles of the English party were to arrive the following morning.¹⁷⁵

Grimani says that he arrived safely in Stirling 'by the grace of God'¹⁷⁶ having vowed to do 'what ever I can to exert myself in the preservation of this poor realm ... because the kingdom is so divided and in such confusion that if God does not stretch forth His hand, and inspire these lords to unite together, manifest ruin, both public and private lies before it'.¹⁷⁷ The evening of his arrival in Stirling, Grimani had long interviews with the Queen Dowager and

171 Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', pp. 5-6.

172 Grimani to Card. Farnese, Dumbarton, 9 Oct. 1543, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

173 Same to Same, Stirling, 15 Oct., 1543, *Ibid.*, p. 18.

174 Same letter, *Ibid.*, p. 18. Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll, Earl from 1529 to 1558, who 'with the earls of Moray and Huntly became one of the principal supporters of Cardinal Beaton in the struggle for the regency and the opposition to James, 2nd earl of Arran after he had become governor', Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, p. 108. According to Wormald, the 4th earl 'appears as a muddler' and his 'inefficiency and weakness' an exception in 'the spectacular and impressive rise to power of the Campbells of Argyll', *Ibid.*, p. 108.

175 Grimani to Farnese, Stirling, 15 Oct. 1543; Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', p. 19.

176 Same to same, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

177 Same to same, Dumbarton, 9 Oct. 1543, *Ibid.*, p. 15. The ambassadors expressed similar concerns in their report to François I that 'Scotland was under arms' and that 'one faction mistrust all those of the other faction' and 'not merely is the nobility in arms, but churchmen, friars and the country people only travel through the countryside in large companies all armed with pikes, swords and bucklers', *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse*, p. 23.

Cardinal Beaton. He reported to Cardinal Farnese on 15 October that the 'Queen¹⁷⁸ welcomed me graciously' and 'I assured her of the good-will which the Holy Father bears her, and that for her preservation and that of the whole kingdom he was ever ready to lend her assistance'. She lamented that Scotland was 'not only divided between her and some of the nobles, but also divided on account of the Lutherans, whose errors had become disseminated throughout almost the whole country since the death of the king her husband'. In addition, 'she declared that the King of England, by means of some Scottish nobles, did not cease to harass her more than her strength could bear. And that, had it not been for the Cardinal, who liberated her a few months before, she and her daughter would ere now have been in the hands of the King of England, with certain loss of the kingdom'.¹⁷⁹ Grimani also had a cordial meeting with Cardinal Beaton who 'expressed his gratitude to the Holy Father' and complained of the 'many adversities' he had suffered and the 'dissensions that festered among the Scottish Nobles' and that 'since the death of the King he found that he had spent 30,000 *scudi*, besides all his own income, and that he would pay 20,000 more to find himself with me in France'.¹⁸⁰

Several days later on 17 October, La Brosse and Mesnaige arrived at Stirling. Their discussions with the Queen Dowager and Cardinal Beaton included an 'explanation of the reconciliation with Arran',¹⁸¹ and after Lennox arrived on 24 October a 'paction' was agreed and signed 'for the purpose of obtaining her consent in respect to the future marriage of the Queen of Scotland, daughter of the said King [James V] and the said Madame, [Marie de Guise]' for 'promises made and sworn to the said Madame and Cardinal of St. Andrew' who would not have otherwise granted their consent. Lennox swore to 'preserve the Catholic faith constitutions and ceremonies of the Church'; ... to 'guard the alliances between France and Scotland' as confirmed by James V; that until the marriage 'the said *Madame Mère* shall retain her present ... guardianship and government of her daughter'; and finally, Lennox 'will imprison and punish all persons taking the part of the King of England, and opposing the will of the said *Madame Veufue*'.¹⁸² Of

178 In French and Italian correspondence at this time Marie de Guise-Lorraine was generally referred to as the 'Queen of Scotland'; only in formal and legal documents such as treaties was she given her correct designation of 'Queen Dowager'. Her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, was informally known by the French as 'la jeune reine d'Écosse', during her minority.

179 Grimani to Farnese, Stirling, 15 Oct. 1543, Hannay, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', p. 19.

180 Same to same, *Ibid.*, p. 19. Baumgartner has estimated that the *scudi* of the papal curia had roughly the same value the *écu d'or soleil* of France, *Henry II*, p. 263; Thus, if 30,000 *scudi* roughly equalled 30,000 *écu d'or* then, in the 1540s, this was approximately £30,000 Scottish Pounds.

181 *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, pp. 10 and 27, n. 1 *cf.* BN, Fonds Français 17,330. On 27 October 1543, Henry VIII berated Arran for 'forgetting your duetye to that Realme your honour and estimation to the world and your private and secret promises unto us have revolted unto your adverse partie submitted yourself to the governor of your ennemyes and surrendered the state', BL, Additional MS 32,091, fol. 136^r.

182 'Memorandum, signed and sealed by Mathieu Stuard conte de Lesnau', MS of Alfred Morrison Esq., *HMC*, 9th Report, part I, London (1883), pp. 414-15. Incorrectly dated,

greater concern was the remainder of the French king's bounty left in Lennox's charge at Dumbarton, and the distribution to the Scots nobility faithful to France; all of which 'sums of money have been given to those named above'.¹⁸³ Lennox, however, 'refused to do anything in the matter until after the meeting of Parliament called for December'.¹⁸⁴

In November, Grimani travelled to St. Andrews and thence to Edinburgh where he reported to Cardinal Farnese on the 30th that 'I learned that on Monday last an immense number of New Testaments and books calculated to promote heresy were burned in the public square'.¹⁸⁵ La Brosse and Mesnaige had also arrived in Edinburgh and spoken to the Earls of Argyll, Huntly and Bothwell, all of whom promised the ambassadors that they would 'confirm at the forthcoming Estates [of Parliament] the alliances between France and Scotland and to offer to the king [François I] their lives and most humble service'.¹⁸⁶ At the same time, the ambassadors also noted that Lennox 'now wishes to marry the Queen widow of the late king'. They did not discourage his suit, nor did Marie de Guise who diplomatically put herself 'entirely at the king's [François I] wishes'. Indeed, the ambassadors saw a solution to the problems created by Lennox's embassy which they judged 'has been prejudicial to the king and also to the realm of Scotland'. Therefore, if it were possible 'for the king to summon the said Lennox to go to France to talk over the said marriage with the relatives of the said lady, the absence of Lennox would bring about concord and harmony between all the nobles and subjects of this realm'.¹⁸⁷ Whilst awaiting the meeting of the Parliament, Grimani again received petitions from the Dowager, Governor and Cardinal, individually and collectively, 'to beg in their name our Lord the Pope to come to their aid' and 'to preserve this kingdom in its allegiance to the Apostolic See'. Cardinal Beaton in particular was anxious to impress upon Grimani his desire that 'His Holiness would graciously bestow upon him the legation of this realm'.¹⁸⁸

'August 1548'. Apart from the fact that Cardinal Beaton was murdered in 1546, there is no record that Lennox met the Dowager again after his defection to England in 1544. Thus, the probable date of the document is October 1543. See Article 10 of La Brosse's report for a similar account, *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, pp. 29-31. See also 'Traité, signé au chateau de Stirling le 24 octobre 1543 ... des trois régents, la reine douairière Marie de Guise, David Beaton, cardinal de Saint-Andrews, Mathew Stuart, lord Lennox et l'ambassadeur de France, Jacques de La Brosse', BN, Nouvelle Acquisitions du Fonds Français 23154 (Original, Sceau plaqué).

¹⁸³ *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, Article 11, p. 31. Table No. 1.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 11, 31-33; see also, Grimani to Dandino, Stirling, 24 Oct. 1543, *L & P*, vol. XVIII (II), p. 169.

¹⁸⁵ Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', p. 21.

¹⁸⁶ *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, Article 20, p. 39.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, Articles 21 and 22, p. 39.

¹⁸⁸ Grimani to Farnese, Edinburgh, 11 Nov., [*sic*] 1543, Hannay and Pollen, 'Letter of the Papal Legate', p. 22; who correct the date to 11 Dec., 1543, *Ibid*, p. 25, n.1. 'Bull of Pope Paul III appointing Cardinal Beaton to be Legate, a latere, in the Kingdom of Scotland', Rome, 30 Jan 1544, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, 1509-1587*, 2 vols., ed., M.J. Thorpe (London, 1858), vol., I, p. 46. News of his appointment reached Beaton 'in March

The Parliament, called by Arran in the name of Mary Queen of Scots, opened its sitting on 3 December 1543.¹⁸⁹ Notable among its deliberations on 8 December was 'ane summondes of tresounn may be rasit apone the lordes and vtheris personis that subscrivit the writing direct furth of Douglas with the lord Somervell to the king of Ingland'. Two days later came a declaration that 'My Lord Governor and thre estatis In Parliament forsaid has declarit and declaris the saidis contractis [the treaties of Greenwich] to be expirit' because 'the king of Ingland hes violated and brokin the said pece. And therfor and because the said contract of mariage was grantit for the said peice', and because Henry VIII refused to 'ratifyit and apprevit' the treaties 'sworn be him'. Sitting in the Parliament on the same day were La Brosse and Mesnaige who declared on behalf of François I: 'to desyre for the part of Scotland the auld ancient liges contractis and considerationis of amite and kyndnes past at all tymes before betuix the kingis of Scotland and of France ... and geif for the part of the said king of France ayd and supple to our souveraine lady the quenis grace and noblis of this realm for the defence of the samyn and liberte thairof Aganis the king of Ingland quha actualy Invadis the samyn'.¹⁹⁰ Apparently, Grimani also addressed the Parliament on the same day 'exhorting them to peace and harmony among themselves, and to the confirmation of the alliance with France'.¹⁹¹ On 13 December Cardinal Beaton officially accepted

1544, although the actual document itself fell into English hands'. This gave him 'a powerful weapon in operating ecclesiastical patronage and enforcing his spiritual authority over the church in Scotland and, to some extent over the lives of the laity', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 195.

189 *APS*, vol., II, p. 427; absent from the attendance list of nobles were the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell, Gray, and Sir George Douglas.

190 *Ibid.*, pp. 429-32; see also, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, pp. 220 and *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 259. In their report to François I, the ambassadors said that before the Parliament met they intended to 'search through the registers of the Parliaments of Scotland for something which can serve as an excuse, some slip in the observance of the formalities when the agreement was made to marry the said Queen of Scots to the son of the said King of England ... and by this means at the forthcoming Estates we shall cause the said consent previously given to be quashed and repealed, *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse*, Article 24, p. 43. It is difficult to conjecture a similar situation occurring in any other sovereign kingdom in sixteenth-century Europe, and it speaks volumes for the contemporary Franco-Scottish relationship and the strength of the 'Auld Alliance'. It is most remarkable (and unique I would argue) that, not only did the French ambassadors apparently have free access to the Scottish State Papers, but also they were welcomed to address the parliament and have their words recorded for posterity in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*.

191 Grimani to Farnese, Edinburgh, 11 Dec. 1543, Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters of the Papal Legate', p. 23; see also Grimani to Dandino, same place and day, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 260. Grimani remained in Edinburgh until April 1544, (see farewell letter to Marie de Guise, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 100) departing 'with the Scottish ambassadors for the continent', Hannay and Pollen, 'Letters fo the Papal Legate', p. 7, and 'Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lion King of Arms, sent on 30 April 1544, to carry back to the Emperor the order and book of statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece', which had been sent to James V in 1532, *L & P*, vol., XIX (I), pp. 272-3. Recently, a most interesting manuscript has come to light which has been edited and annotated by Monsignor Charles Burns, Conservator at the Secret Vatican Archives, in an article, 'Marco Grimani in Scotland, 1543-1544: a versified account of his legation', *Renaissance Studies*, vol., II (Oct.1988) pp. 299-311. The manuscript, entitled,

the office of Chancellor; and on the 15th, Arran confirmed his loyalty to the Catholic Church in an Act proposed by 'My lord governor, ... that heretikis mair and mair risis and spredis within this realme sawand dampnable opinionis Incontrar the fayth and lawis of halykirk actis and constitutionis of this realm Exhortand therfor all prelati and ordinaris Ilkane within therawnn diocy and Jurisdiction to inquir aponn all sic maner of personis and proceid Aganis thame according to the lawis of halykirk. And my said lord governor salbe rady at all tymes to do therin that accordis him of his office'.¹⁹² Finally, on 15 December 1543 a treaty between France and Scotland was drawn up and signed by Arran in the name of Mary Queen of Scots, and by La Brosse and Mesnaige on behalf of François I, whose commission given to the ambassadors at Marolles on 25 June 1543, was read out to the Parliament. In it François I appealed to the Scots:

'comme noz tres chers et bons amys et anciens alliez les gouverneurs et seigneurs du royaume d'Ecosse, nous ayent fait entendre que pour continuer, et de plus en plus estraindre et augmenter l'ancienne et perpetuelle amitié et alliance qui a tousjours esté entre eulx et nous, noz royaumes et subjectz, ilz desirerioent singullierement faire nouvelles cappitulations et accordz avecques nous, et adjouxter aux anciens traictz, que avons avecq eulx, nouveaulx pointz et articles servans a la corroboration de nostre dicte amitie et alliance.'¹⁹³

'Historia Quale: / tratta de la morte del Re Jacobo quinto / di Scotia con il lamento della Regina: / sua consorte, appresso il successo del viaggio/qual fece Monsignore R.mo il Patriarca: /d'Aquileia mandato per Nuncio, et Legato: / apostolico nel Regno de Scotia, 1543', was written by a priest, Bartolomeo Cataneo, 'poveretto' who, it would seem (although this is not made clear) accompanied Grimani to Scotland in 1543, and to whom, as his patron, he dedicated this work in 1544. Mgr. Burns says that 'it was Dr John Durkan who brought this manuscript to my attention many years ago', *Ibid*, p. 299, n.1, which Mrg. Burns finds exceptional 'that Cataneo should have attributed such importance to Marco Grimani's legation'. But, argues Mgr. Burns, 'that the destination of the papal nuncio in this instance was the Scotland of the infant Mary Queen of Scots makes this *carmen* something of extraordinary interest', *Ibid*, p. 300. The passages of the *Historia* which Mgr. Burns has chosen to annotate follow very closely, on all the important points, the 'Letters of the Papal Legate', edited by Hannay and Pollen; so closely in fact that it leads one to speculate whether Cataneo might not have been Grimani's secretary during the Legation, and that it was he who actually wrote the letters dictated by his master? Unfortunately, Mgr. Burns did not include in his annotations 'the lament of Mary of Guise for her deceased husband, James V (20-31)', *Ibid*, p. 300, which might possibly have shed some further light on the, thus far, poorly elaborated life of Marie de Guise, especially her relationship with James V and Franco-Scottish relations in general at this time; but Mgr. Burns informed me in Dec., 1990 that he is currently writing a book on Grimani which will include a full annotation of the *Historia*.

¹⁹² *APS*, vol., II, p. 443; see also *L & P*, vol. XVIII (II), p. 267.

¹⁹³ Archives Nationales Françaises, Paris [hereafter AN], *Tresor des Chartes* J. 679, No. 54, and A.E. III, 32; Copies: NLS, *Advocates MS.* 35.1.5, fols., 156^r-160^r; BL Harleian Collection 1244, fols., 189-194; *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 268, *cf.* BL, Add. MS. 30,666, fol. 207b; published in: Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol., I, pp. 137-42; and Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 119-23.

Thus, the 'Auld Alliance' was reconfirmed in much the same terms that their predecessors, Robert I, the Bruce (1274-1329) and Charles IV, le Bel (1294-1328) did on 26 April 1326 at Corbeil.

The Parliament was then prorogued to February 18th next, which was too late for Suffolk's letter to the English Council written on 14 December recommending payment to Henry VIII's 'frendes in Scotland' so that they 'maye employe it [the money] duringe the sittinge of the parliament in Scotlande, to the annoysaunce of there eneymes'.¹⁹⁴ It was also too late for the furious, fulminating tirade against the Scots which Henry VIII dispatched with the English Herald on 20 December to be read out in the Scottish Parliament. Henry had conveniently forgotten that he had refused to ratify the treaties of Greenwich, and that it was he who had already broken the peace. The English king accused the Scots of disloyalty which would not go 'unpunished and unrevenged'; that 'your conspiracye [with France] in so yvel a quarel cannot contynue long, and the Dyvel can never be author of unities, but discord'; therefore 'the Kinges majeste is at libertye, and in the former state of warre. ... For ye only have refused peax, forsaken it, trobled it, letted it, broken it' and 'unable to purchase it agayn'.¹⁹⁵ Arran replied with a brief note the same day acknowledging Henry's declaration, but informing him that 'the thre estatys of parliament, quihilk wes befor his cuming disolvit and thair departit lang of befor'.¹⁹⁶

Prior to the Parliament of December 1543, if there had been any doubt as to the Earl of Lennox's allegiance, then by early January he had made his defection to the English party quite clear when he joined the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis and Sir George Douglas at Leith on 10 January 1544. There they waited four days 'every day abyding batell in arraye, with our ordinance standing on the feildis, within half a myle of Edinburgh' but, as Sir George Douglas continued in his letter to Suffolk on 15 January, 'oure spetiall frendis' who 'promisit ws support, when we cam to a poynt, refused ws'.¹⁹⁷ He also made his own duplicitious rôle quite clear in the *post scripta* of this

194 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 230; 'Money to be distributed emonge the kinges majestes frendes in Scotlande, in maner and fourme following: To thErle of Anguisshe [Archibald Douglas 6th Earl of Angus] £200, To thErle of Glencarne [William Cunningham, 5th Earl of Glencairn] 200 markes (£132:2:8) To thErle of Casselles [Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd of Cassillis] 200 markes, To the Master Maxwell [Robert 5th Lord Maxwell] £100, To the sherive of Ayre [Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr] £100, To the Larde of Drumlangrig [James Douglas, Laird of Drumlangrig] £100, To the Erle Marshall [George Keith, 4th Earl Marishal], John Charters [John Charteris of Kinfauns] and the Lorde Grayes [Patrick, 4th Lord Gray] frendes in the north 350 markes (£231:4:8), To Sir George Douglas and his frendes in the Marshe and Lowdyane £200', *Ibid.*, p. 234; see also *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 267.

195 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, pp. 235-38. 'Draft with many corrections by Paget', *cf.* *State Papers*, vol. V (IV), pp. 350-52; this second draft is similar to the end of the second paragraph of the former, after which according to the editor, Joseph Bain, 'it is quite different, and the language insulting and arrogant', *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 238.

196 *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39; see also, *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 270.

197 *Hamilton Papers*, vol. II, p. 250.

letter: 'in case the governor or Cardinall caus me write unto your grace, I pray you geve it no credence without my letter have this tokin in sum part of it — that is to say one hart lyke this (V). And when this token cummis, trust it'.¹⁹⁸ Sir George Douglas possibly added the *post scripta* to this letter in order to explain his part in the agreement made at Greenside Chapel two days previously on 13 January between 'the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland, on the one side, and the Earls of Angus and Lennox on the other side, for mutual obedience to the Queen of Scotland, and for faithful, true, and manly resistance to their old enemies of England'.¹⁹⁹ On 5 March the Earl of Angus thought it necessary to assure Henry VIII 'of his faithful mind, notwithstanding that the contrary hath been vehemently showed against him'.²⁰⁰

Henry had no need for concern. The Douglas-Lennox faction had no intention of honouring their agreement with the legitimate government of Scotland. After failing to arouse the East, they moved their rebellious *modus operandi* to the West 'utilising the French supplies which Lennox had appropriated, and with the additional support of Lord Ruthven and his son'.²⁰¹ For his part, 'Lennox, after taking Glasgow and Paisley, stood a siege in Glasgow by the governor in April, but had to surrender'.²⁰² Impatient for results, Henry acted upon his letter of 9 September 1543 to the 'Town of Edinburgh' in which he had threatened 'th'extermination of you to the third and fourth generation',²⁰³ and had instructions drawn up on 10 April 1544 for his brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, for the invasion of Scotland.²⁰⁴ Henry exhorted Hertford to 'put all to fyre and swoorde, burne Edinborough towne, ... beat down and overthrowe the castle, sack Holyrod house, and as many townes and villaiges about Edinborough as ye may conveniently, sack Lythe [Leith] and subverte it and all the rest, putting man, woman, and childe to fyre and swoorde without exception; ... and turne upset downe the Cardinalles town of St. Andrews, ... sparing no

198 *Ibid.*, p. 251; see also *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 30.

199 *CSP, Scotland*, Thorpe, vol., I, p. 45; see also *L & P*, vol., XIX (I), p. 11. For full details of the signatories and commissioners from both sides, see *State Papers*, vol., V (IV), p. 355.

200 *CSP, Scotland*, Thorpe, vol., I, p. 46.

201 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 69. William, 2nd Lord Ruthven and his son, Patrick, 3rd Lord, (c.1520-66) who is probably best remembered in Scottish history for the part he played in the 'Riccio' murder on 9 March 1566. Lennox was later sanctioned for the appropriation and on 19 March 1545: 'the Lords give judgment against Matthew, Earl of Lennox, by whose command there were taken [4 Jan., 1543-44] from the sub-dean's lodging in Glasgow a large quantity of silks, satins, and cloths, articles of gold and silver, 2,200 crowns of gold and 40 Rose Nobles [as detailed in an inventory], deposited with the subdean for safe keeping by James Stewart of Cardonald', *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554*, ed., R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932), [hereafter, *Acts of the Lords of Council*] p. 539; (2,200 crowns = £8,800 Scottish Punds and in 1555, '1 Rose Noble = 54/- Scots', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 85, n. 5; thus 40 Rose nobles = £108, a total of approximately £8,908 Scottish Punds.

202 G. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 69.

203 *L & P*, vol., XVIII (II), p. 81 and *State Papers*, vol., V, p. 334.

204 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 325.

creature alyve within the same'. Hertford was 'also to take ordre with the wardens upon the Marches ... [to] invade by lands and burne and destroye to thuttermoost, not leaving behinde Jedworth [Jedburgh Friary, Observant Franciscan] if it may be conveniently destroyed'. Paget added further instructions that 'his majestes pleasure is ... that the borderers in Scotland may still be tourmented and occupied ... [so that] they may be kept and not suffered to sowe theyr growndes, they shall by next yere be brought to such a penurye, as they shall not be able to lyve nor abyde the cuntrey'.²⁰⁵ J. Balfour Paul gives a graphic description of Hertford's (accompanied by Lisle and Shrewsbury) success in carrying out Henry VIII's instructions after the English army had landed at Leith on 4 May 1544, faced 5-6,000 Scots horsemen, some infantry and artillery, who after one or two exchanges broke ranks and fled in disarray.²⁰⁶ However, Professor Lynch has argued that 'the instructions from the English privy council to burn and lay waste the town [Edinburgh] were not, however, carried out to the letter and accounts of the damage to the burgh have often been exaggerated'; and that 'claims of military commanders should always be treated with scepticism' and in the case of Edinburgh, 'military force only followed where economic sanctions against the town had failed'.²⁰⁷

By 18 May 1544, the English, having accomplished their mission, entered Berwick and embarked upon their waiting ships. The day before, an 'Indenture of agreement' was signed at Carlisle, 'between Lord Wharton and Sir Robert Bowes on the part of the king of England, and Hugh Cunningham and Thomas Bishop on the part of Lennox and Glencairn, by which the Earls agree to put the king in possession of several of the strongest fortresses in Scotland, and to promote the marriage of the young Queen with Prince Edward; Lennox to be appointed Governor of Scotland and marry Lady Margaret Douglas, the King's niece, and Glencairn to receive a pension of 1,000 crowns per annum'.²⁰⁸ Lennox sailed from Dumbarton on 28 May, landing at Chester on 6 June.²⁰⁹ He then proceeded to London where he signed a treaty on 26 June 1544 'to observe the covenant concluded at Carlisle, 17 May; to serve the king as his subject; ... to surrender the castle and territory of Dumbrityn [Dumbarton] in Scotland into the King's hands' and also 'the isle of Bute and castle of Rosse'. Lennox further agreed that 'when the king, having direction of that realm, shall have deputed him governor thereof he shall call no parliament nor do anything of moment without the

205 *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

206 J. Balfour Paul, 'Edinburgh in 1544 and Hertford's Invasion', *SHR*, VIII (1911); see also *The Late Expedition in Scotland...* (London, 1544) repr. in *An English Garner: Tudor Tracts, 1532-1588*, ed., A.F. Pollard (London, 1903), pp. 39-47; for a list of the Scottish towns which were burned, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

207 M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 68.

208 *CSP, Scotland*, Thorpe, vol., I, p. 46; and *L & P*, vol., XIX (1), p. 324, cf *Foedera*, vol., XV, 22; see also 'indentur of Covenant between Kinge Henry viij and Mathew Earle of Lenox', confirming the above indenture on 26 June 1544, BL, Add. MS 4149, fols., 22r-25v.

209 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, pp. 399 and 403.

king's consent'. The financial terms of the proposed marriage entailed Lennox endowing Margaret Douglas with Scottish estates to the value of '500 mks.st.' (£330:6:8 Sterling) per annum. Whilst Henry VIII 'in recompence of the loss he will sustain in France ... and of Dunbreton and Bute ... will give the Earl and her, in tail, lands to clear yearly value of 6,800 mks Scots, which amounts to 1,700mks stg'.²¹⁰ Additional articles required that 'the said Earl shall cause the Word of God to be taught and preached in his country', and finally, 'Lennox shall surrender to the King all title he pretends to the Crown of Scotland, and acknowledge the King as his supreme sovereign and governor of Scotland'.²¹¹ On 6 July 1544 Lennox received his letters patent of denization as an English subject,²¹² and on the 10th he and Margaret Douglas were married.²¹³

'Henry VIII, in the meantime', says Professor Knecht, 'sent a huge army to Calais under the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. After penetrating France, it divided into two parts: the first, under Norfolk, laid siege to Montreuil, while the second under Suffolk, besieged Boulogne. On 14 July [1544] Henry himself crossed the Channel and assumed command of the latter'.²¹⁴ According to Professor Elton, 'the army of over 40,000 men ... was impressive: the biggest expedition launched from England for over a century, well equipped and well organized'. The failure and 'humiliation before Montreuil' says Elton, 'in part nullified the apparent glory of Boulogne; and the capture of that city proved to be less a triumph than a burdensome complication since Henry clung to this supposed evidence of his martial greatness with a quite absurd tenacity, long after it was proved that the city had no value. Finally, Elton concludes, 'on the very day that Boulogne fell to the English, [on 18 September 1544] Charles V ... made peace with France at Crépy'.²¹⁵

With the forces of Charles V and Henry VIII in France occupying François I's attention, it is not known precisely when the French king was

210 *L & P*, vol., XIX (I), pp. 475-76, cf. *Foedera*, vol., XV, p. 29. As one mark = 13/4 in the pound: 6,800 mks Scots = £4,492:10:8 Scots or £1,123:2:8 Sterling; which confirms the ratio of £4 Scottish to £1 Sterling at this time. For the very long list of mainly attained lands granted to Lennox and Margaret Douglas on 12 July 1544 (*36 Henry VIII*), see *L & P*, vol., XIX (I), pp. 475-76 and Grant No. 96, pp. 627-28.

211 *Ibid*, pp. 476-77.

212 *Ibid*, p. 624, 'Matthew, earl of Lynox. Denization. Westminster, 6 July [1544] *Pat. 36 Henry VIII*, p. 20 m. 20. Rymer [*Foedera*] XV, 37'. Lennox's secretary, Thomas Bishop, received his denization at the same time, *Ibid*, p. 624.

213 *Ibid*, p. 547.

214 Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 368 *et seq*; see also Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 446-50; and Potter, 'England, France and the German Princes', Ch. 3, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 81-163, and Ch. 4, 'Foreign Policy in the age of Reformation ... 1544-1547', *passim*.

215 Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 307-08. For the Treaty of Crépy, see Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 370-71, cf. *L & P*, vol., XIX (II), pp. 198-99, 205, 213, 249 and 291.

told of Lennox's defection to England. A certain Mr John Campbell,²¹⁶ with whom Lennox had sent letters to François I, wrote to the Earl from Dieppe on 15 March [1544] that he had heard disturbing rumours from merchants and others that 'the quenis grace has nocht sa gryt ane innymye or onfrend as ye ar, and that ye haif waystyd and spe[ndyt ?] and daly spendys and waistis the kyng of Francys monye'. Cambell enlarges on these concerns and the consequences 'for and [it] be of veryte that is said of yowe heir ye haif done [all?] ye can tyll tyn your self your broder and mony otherris your [lordship] frendis and servandis'.²¹⁷ Apparently, François I was so angry when he discovered that Lennox had abandoned French interests in Scotland that he imprisoned Lennox's younger brother, John Stewart, now 5th Seigneur d'Aubigny, in the Bastille where he remained until the accession of Henri II in 1547,²¹⁸ despite Henri's appeal to Marie de Guise when he was still the Dauphin that 'vous ssavez le temps quil y a que le le Seigneur Daubigny fut prins et constitue prisonnier pour la faulte commise par le Conte de Lenox son frere'. Henri asks the Queen Dowager in this letter, to investigate in Scotland and ascertain whether Aubigny had been involved in his brother's defection, and if not, to 'advertir le Roy monseigneur et pere [François I] de ce quen aurez trouve affin que ce paouvre gentilhomme. A qui Je desire fere plaisir laiant tousiours congneu homme de bien et affectionne a me fere service soit delivre et mis en liberte si lon veoit quil soit ignocent'.²¹⁹ Aubigny wrote to Marie de Guise on 18 April 1547 that he had been released, and on 24 June, that the King [Henri II] had given him command of 100 Scottish lances, and thanks her for her letters to the King on his behalf.²²⁰

Reactions in Scotland to Lennox's defection to the English party, the fear and alarm caused by Hertford's invasion, and Arran's and Beaton's failure to combat or even deter it gave the Queen Dowager the opportunity to rally support for the deposition of Arran, on the grounds of incompetence, in order to replace him as Regent of Scotland during the minority of her daughter. To this end, she called a 'Convention' of the Estates²²¹ to meet at Linlithgow on 28 May 1544; about which Sir George Douglas personally

216 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 70, n. 3. The editor, Annie Cameron says, 'A John Campbell appears on record about this date as a "noble youth" whom the Prior of Ardoch designated as his successor', cf. *L & P*, vol., XIX (1), p. 232.

217 *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 68-69.

218 'M. D'Aubigny, brother to the Earl of Lynes [Lennox], a Scottish Lord, whom his brother has long kept in prison in the Bastilian in Paris, for his brother's offence, has been enlarged', Lord Cobham to the Protector, Calais, 18 April 1547, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI, 1547-1553*, ed., W.N. Turnbull (London, 1861), p. 331.

219 NLS, Adv. MSS. 29.2.1, fol., 72; published in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol., I, part II (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 214.

220 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 128, n. 2 and p. 143. The editor, Marguerite Wood, dates these two letters to 1546, but in view of Cobham's statement of 18 April 1547, they were clearly written in 1547.

221 A 'Convention' of the Estates was a meeting of the estates of the realm held with less formality than a Parliament, without judicial powers but with legislative and tax-imposing powers.

informed Hertford at Leith on 15 May. Hertford reported to Henry VIII the same day, that Douglas also had said that 'he wolde serve your majestie for his parte in such soorte as your highnes wolde appoynt, trustyng that his brother wold do the semblable ... and that the Governor, the Cardynall, thErls of Huntley and Argile, w[er]e moche perplexed with tharryvall here of your majestes power' and lastly, Douglas said that 'at Sant Androwes fyve shippis out of Fraunce [had arrived] which brought theym newes of some good ayde to be shortely with theym out of Fraunce'.²²² On 31 March 1544, Scottish ambassadors, Sir John Campbell of Lundy and Mr. David Paniter had been sent to François I,²²³ and letters and dispatches delivered by the French ships in mid-May,²²⁴ must have given the Queen Dowager added confidence for the forthcoming Convention. On 16 May, Alexander Gordon²²⁵ had a French secretary (probably from one of the ships) write to the Dowager that 'jay faict faire les proclamations quil vous avon pleu me commander' at Perth and Dundee;²²⁶ and Sir George Douglas assured her on 26 May that 'I am and ever salbe redy to do your grace service according to your honour and the common welth of this reaulme at the uttermaist of my power as knawis the eternal God'.²²⁷

Due to Hertford's invasion the Convention was transferred to Stirling and 'convented in the Grey Friars on the 3 June inst.' where a 'Great Council of 16 persons, viz., 12 temporal and 4 spiritual agreed with the advice of other nobles by 6 June, that the Governor and Queen Mother should be joined in equal authority'. As the Governor did not affirm this at that time or in the following days, the 'Lords gave their decree suspending him from office, and chose the Queen mother to use the said office of government' on 12 June 1544.²²⁸ A Convention, however, lacked the power to depose the Governor,

222 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 372; Hertford also informed Henry that 'we do entend to morrowe to burn this towne of Legh [Leith], and so to marche homewarδες by land,[to Berwick] and do all thannoyance we can to thenemyes bothe in the divastacion and spoyle of the cuntry in the waye of our retorne', *Ibid.*, p. 371.

223 *L & P*, vol., XIX (1), p. 141; Sir John Campbell of Lundy was the Queen Dowager's maître d'hotel, *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 70, n. 3, (not to be confused with Lennox's correspondent *Supra*, n. 216). David Paniter at this time was 1st Vicar of the Church of Carstairs, Glasgow, Prior of St. Mary's Isle of Galloway, Commendator of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and principal Secretary of State and Scottish envoy, having already been on an embassy to France in January 1542, R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops...* (Edinburgh, 1824), p. 192.

224 Unfortunately, letters to the Queen Dowager *et al* seem not to have survived, but there is a letter from Paniter to George Forrester from 'Codebek' (Caudebec-sur-Seine) 22 April 1544, *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 74-75.

225 Alexander Gordon (1516-75), brother of George, 4th earl of Huntly, was an unsuccessful candidate for the bishoprics of Caithness and the Isles and the archbishopric of Glasgow (for which he was consecrated); ultimately appointed as titular archbishop of Athens.

226 *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 82-83; the editor notes that only the signature is autograph; the proclamations were for the forthcoming 'Convention'.

227 *Ibid.*, p. 85; which is almost identical to that which he had promised Hertford he would do for Henry VIII and England eleven days previously!

228 *L & P*, vol., XIX (1) pp. 413-15; *State Papers*, vol., V, p. 391; *CSP, Scotland*, Thorpe, vol., I, p. 47; signatories were, the Bishops of Glasgow, Moray, Dunblane and Orkney' the

therefore the Dowager called for a Parliament to meet at Stirling on 12 November. Arran, who had gone to Edinburgh to rally support dismissed the Provost,²²⁹ Sir Adam Otterburn, (a client of Cardinal Beaton who had imposed him on the Town Council in 1543); anticipated the Dowager and summoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh on 6 November. Between June and November a reconciliation between the parties was effected so that on the second day of the Governor's parliament, on 7 November 1544, the one called by the Dowager for Stirling was declared to be of no effect, and the Earls of Angus and Bothwell and Sir George Douglas were pardoned for their treason.²³⁰

Evidence of how the reconciliation was reached between the Governor and the Dowager is not conclusive, although 'the terms of the settlement suggest that although Mary [of Guise] had to capitulate, she did so upon honourable conditions. Contradictory accounts ascribe the part of mediator both to Beaton and to [Sir George] Douglas'.²³¹ In the event, 'Mary of Guise herself, having made her political point, found herself chief of a council of sixteen who would from now on advise the Governor, a check on Arran's power which some of the prelates had long recommended'.²³² The Governor's parliament sat until December 1544, and meantime part of the settlement had been agreed at a meeting of the Scottish Privy Council on 18 November 1544 at Stirling,

the quhilk day becaus my lord governor and lordis of counsall
understandis that throw the divisioin that hes laitlie bene betwix his
grace and utheris noblis of the realme thair hes bene sundry that
hes bene his contrair part takaris put to our soveraine Lad[ysis]
horne and thair gudis disponit upponn as escheit and now becaus

Earls of Angus, Bothwell, Montrose, Huntly, Cassillis, Marischal, Menteith, Murrey, Argyll and Erroll, the Lords William Crichton of Sanquhar, Robert Maxwell, Hugh Somerville, John Erskine, William *[sic]* [Walter] Lindsay of St. John, Hugh Lovell, and Sir George Douglas and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor; the notable abstention: Cardinal Beaton, chancellor and archbishop of St. Andrews.

²²⁹ A Provost was originally an officer appointed to have charge of any Royal estate, but came to be applied especially of an officer in charge of a burgh, who in time was elected by the community (elsewhere a Mayor); during the 1540s and 1550s the Edinburgh Town Council 'had to suffer a series of nominees as Provost ... none of them a burgess', Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, p. 69.

²³⁰ *APS*, vol., II, pp. 445-47. On 1 Feb., 1552 the 'thre Estatis of Parliament' passed an act concerning the articles of the Convention held at Stirling on 18 November 1544, which declared that 'my Lord Governour with the aulse of the Quenis grace and counsall Hes declarit and declaris that the Nobill men and all vther persounis that was at the making of the saidis actis ordanancis and summoundis or hes bene with hir grace sensync in counsall or vtherways aganis my Lord Governour and his autorite hes committit na fault nor cryme and thairfor my Lord Governour and counsall foirsaid dischargeis thame thair of now and ever and that they neuer sall be callit nor accusit nor incur ony dampnage skaith or hurt in thair persounis landis beneficis and gudis', *Ibid.*, p. 489.

²³¹ *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 64-65; for the relevent letters, June to November 1544, *Ibid.*, pp. 89-120.

²³² Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 188.

thair is gude amitie and parfite concord betwix my lord governor and all partyis, Thair foir his grace with avyst of his lordis of coun[cil] dischargis all processes of hornyng.²³³ A second Act 'the samin day my lord governor the quenis grace and hail counsaile dischargit callit and annullit ... all actis and ordinances maid befoir at quhatsumevir conventionis at Striveling ... suspendand my lord gouvernour fra administratioun of his office of government and tutorie. And decernis the samin to haif bene fra the begynning and to be in all tymes cuming of nane avaiill force nor [effect] ... and declaris yat ye noble men and all uther personis that wes at the making of the saidis actis ordinances and summondis or hes bene with her grace sensyne in counsaile of uther wayis aganis my lord governor and his autorite hes comyttit na falt nor cryme ... And that thai salbe never callit nor accusit therfoir nor incur ony dampnage strait or hurt in ther landes personis benefices and gudes. And gif his grace hes consavit ony displeors or rancor aganis ony man ... he ramittes the samin hartfullie. And feryer condamis ane declaratioun theirof to be maid in parliament'.²³⁴

On the last day of the parliament, 12 December 1544, the Douglasses, (Angus and Sir George) and Bothwell were again pardoned for 'allegeit crimes of tressoun' and the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis and Hugh Campbell of

233 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, G.D. 406, M1/1/10. 'Letters of horning' (16th-century law): a warrant in the name of the sovereign charging the persons named to act as ordered, viz. to pay a debt; under penalty of being 'put to horn': proclaimed as an outlaw or rebel, *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, ed., Mairi Robinson (Aberdeen, 1985).

234 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, G.D. 406, M1/1/10. A separate copy of this 'Extractum de libro actorum secreti consilij per me Magistrum Thomas Maioribanks de Ratho clericum Rotulorum Registri...', also survives in the Hamilton Muniments, (G.D. 406, M1/1/9), which Arran presumably had had copied for his own records. These two documents appear to be the only surviving records of the Scottish Privy Council prior to 1545; and I am grateful to his Grace, the Duke of Hamilton, for his permission to photocopy these and other relevant documents from Lennoxlove. It is probably timely to note at this point that there are some very large gaps in the Scottish State Papers. Apart from natural disasters and domestic vicissitudes, the vast majority of the Scottish State Papers were removed and sent to London and lodged in the Tower following the successful campaign in Scotland by Oliver Cromwell's army in August 1651. After the Restoration, Charles II ordered that the State Papers should be returned to Scotland. 'Packed in hogsheads and chests, the records were loaded aboard the frigate *Eagle* which sailed from Gravesend for Leith in the second week of December [1660]. Because of stormy weather and serious overloading, she was forced to seek shelter in Yarmouth roads where, on 13 December the *Elizabeth*, a merchant ship of Burntisland, arrived and Major Fletcher of the *Eagle* ordered 85 hogsheads to be put aboard her, in spite of protests from the Clerk Register's deputy who was travelling with the records. The two ships were to sail in convoy but for some reason the *Elizabeth* set out on her own and the next day ran into heavy storms, sprang a leak, and on 18 December John Wemyss, the captain, had to abandon his ship which sank almost immediately. He and his crew were saved and the *Eagle* reached Leith with the remainder of the cargo on 20 December [1660]. Fletcher and Wemyss were exonerated from blame, and the loss, although serious enough, seems to have been confined to papers and parchments', Anon, 'History of the National Archives', (Leaflet No. 1) *National Archives of Scotland* (no date).

Loudon their kin, friends, tennants and adherents were given a remission for 'all crimes of treason' committed before this day.²³⁵

In the general spirit of reconciliation, Arran wrote once again in the name of Mary Queen of Scots to Pope Paul III on 5 December reminding him that 'the cathedral see of Dunkeld has been void nearly a year, for which she commended John abbot of Paisley, brother of the Governor', deferred, no doubt, Arran suggested, to 'the importunities of some to whom it is not enough that this realm is harassed by war without and faction within'. Therefore, 'it would make for quiet if this John, a man of singular wisdom, were soon given as bishop to the rude and wild people among whom this see is situate, and burdened with no other pension than £1,000 Scots assigned to a certain nobleman'.²³⁶ Also on 5 December, Wharton wrote to Shrewsbury²³⁷ including recent information which he had received from Lord Somerville 'that Mr. David Panter wrote to the Governor that the king of France wills the marriage of the Queen to the Dauphin's son,²³⁸ and if that were not granted no help would come from France; whereat the lords and Governor were ill content'.²³⁹ On 29 December, Shrewsbury reported to the English Council that 'the French Ambassador²⁴⁰ is now depeched out of Scotland to France for ayde of men, money and munycyon'.²⁴¹ On 1 January 1545 one of Lord Eure's spys reported the 'he sawe of Saint Abbes heid xx sale of shippes. I beleve it is the Scotese shippes bowne southwerd towerdes Fraunce' ... and another of Eure's spys reported that the 'Governor, the Cardinall and the other lordes that was assembled at their last counsaill haithe promised and

²³⁵ *APS*, vol., II, pp. 449-50.

²³⁶ *L & P*, vol., XIX (II), p. 431. Arran had written to the Pope on 17 June 1544, making the same request, *L & P*, vol., XIX (I), p. 445. On 5 December 1544 he also addressed a letter in the same vein to Cardinal Carpi, adding 'with special retention of Paisley monastery', *Ibid.*, vol., XIX (II) p. 431. Cardinal Carpi, (Rodolfo Pio) 'had special charge of Scottish affairs at Rome', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 67. The 'certain nobleman' appears to have been 'Alexander Campbell brother of the earl of Argyll', for whom, from 'the fruits of the see one thousand pounds Scots might be reserved', J. Dowden, 'The Bishops of Dunkeld', *SHR*, II (1905), p. 65, or perhaps it may have been the Governor's second son, John Hamilton?, Hannay, 'Papal Bulls', p. 39.

²³⁷ Francis Talbot, 5th earl of Shrewsbury, 'was a leading military commander on the Scottish Borders in 1544-5', G. Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility. A Study of the 4th and 5th Earls of Shrewsbury* (Sussex, 1985), p. 59.

²³⁸ François, later François II, son of Henri, Dauphin (later Henri II) and Catherine de Medici, born 19 Jan., 1544.

²³⁹ *L & P*, vol., XIX (II), p. 430.

²⁴⁰ Probably still Jacques de La Brosse, whom Shrewsbury had reported to the Queen [Catherine Parr] and Council on 29 July 1544, was the 'Frenche ambassadour resident with her' [Marie de Guise]; which information came from letters, intercepted by Rye fishermen off the Scarborough coast, carried by a French messenger, Seigneur de Bauldreul, 'sent expresslie towards the French king' with letters from the Governor, Cardinal, Dowager and Ambassador, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 434. On 6 August 1544, the Council of the North had notified the Council with the Queen that 'we send to the queen Sr de Bauldrell, Alexander the Italian and two other of the Scottish and French prisoners lately taken at Scardburgh Yorks ... the Sr de Bauldell, as we be informed by a surgeon, is diseased in the head with the Frenche poxe and also with another dishonest disease', *L & P*, vol., XIX (II), p. 18.

²⁴¹ *Hamilton Papers*, Vol., II, p. 535.

TABLE No. 2

MUSTER ROLLS — FRANÇOIS Ier — 1545

MS. No.	Date	Place	Hommes à Pied	Harque-buziers	Captain	Lieutenant	Enseign	Comm. Ex. des guerres
532	17 July 1545	Adington	300	200	S ^r de Montmerant	Claude Debost	Robert de Jermiquy	Jehan du Homme S ^r dela Rochelle
533	17 July 1545	Adington	339	239	S ^r de Saint Germain	S ^r de Villelune	Labraudere	Robert de Thunlle Sieur de Serys
534	17 July 1545	Adington	300	200	Capt. Pierre	Anthoine Dugne	Germain de la Faie	Loys de Montgommery S ^r de Lanthenay
535	17 July 1545	Nauberrine	320	220	S ^r de Fontenay	Gilbert de Bieure	Marc Tourneton	Amable Regnauld S ^r de la Roche
536	17 July 1545	Adington		Harque-buziers à Cheval	S ^r de Saint Ouen	La Carte	Le Villeroy	Robert de Thunlle S ^r de Seris
538	19 Août 1545	Adington	340	50 Omitted from	S ^r de Gauge	Anthoine de Manieulx	Le Semillon	Robert de Thunlle S ^r de Serys
539	19 Août 1545	Adington	300	my archival notes	S ^r de Graviers	Buanlt	La Vautre	Jehan de la Touche S ^r de Sillat*
540	19 Août 1545	Adington	295	sorry!	Capt. Pierre	Anthoine Duquay	Germain de la Faye	Jacques de la Brosse S ^r du dit lieu **
541	18 Août 1545	Adington	298		S ^r de Bromulle	Alexandre Delidel	Leonard de Ramivar	Jehan de Lannay S ^r du dit lieu
542	18 Août 1545	Adington	300		S ^r de Fontenay	Guillaume de Bieure	Marc Tourneton	Loys du Roux S ^r de Marsac
543	14 Sept 1545	Anguston	322		Capt. Pierre	Anthoine Dugue	Germain de la Faie	Loys du Roux S ^r de Marsac
544	14 Sept 1545	Anguston	314		S ^r de Fontenay	Gilbert de Bieure	Marc Tourneton	Loys de Bernezay S ^r du Boys
545	16 Sept 1545	Anguston		Harque-buziers à Cheval	S ^r de Byeures	Saint Clerc	Villers	Robert de Thunlle S ^r de Serys
553	31 Jan. 1545/6	Kinnorne	461	58	Capt. Brouville et			Loys de Bernezay S ^r du Boys
British Library, Add. Ch. 13,302, cf. L & P, vol., XX (II), pp. 514-15.					Capt. Beaulieu			
24 Dec. Qincorne					Capt. Brouville et			Loys de Bernezay
					Capt. Beaulieu			S ^r du Boys

maid band to the Frenche ambassador, that the Frenche Kinge shall have the yonge Quene, to marye where he list, — and uppon that have geven their writings and seales; and also that thei shall at the springe of the yere, send bothe the yonge Quene and the old into Fraunce'.²⁴²

The fragile reconciliation of November-December 1544 lasted but a few weeks. The Douglasses and Cassillis, pardoned for treason on 12 December were once again intriguing with Henry VIII early in 1545;²⁴³ and Lennox, whom Henry had proclaimed Lieutenant for the North of England and Southern Scotland on 8 August 1544,²⁴⁴ was instructed 'to practice with the Scots, either to get the Young Princess into our hands or to entre a jelou[sy]e] in the heades of the gouvernours and others, and to sow deivision amonge them'.²⁴⁵ On 15 February 1545, Sir George Douglas wrote to Henry VIII, having not dared to write before because he had heard that 'the King was sore displeased with him'. On being reassured by Sir Ralph Eure, Douglas reported that on 11 February two French ships arrived with letters for the Queen, Governor and Cardinal brought by 'a gentleman calld Lacrois²⁴⁶ who departed lately out of Scotland returns in a Scottish ship called the *Layon* (Lion) bringing the Order of France²⁴⁷ to the Governor and 40,000 cr[owns]'; furthermore, 'Captain Lorge Mongommere comes in March with 6,000 men, waged and victualled for six months, and 400,000 cr[owns]; and army of 40,000 under the Duke of Gweisse [Guise] shall land in England; the Emperor and French king are agreed in all things and the Emperor will be your enemy'; he also informed Henry that he had 'caused his brother the earl

²⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 537-38; see also *L & P*, vol., XX (I), p. 2. As noted previously, the deliberations of the Scottish Privy Council are wanting before June 1545. Also wanting between 29 March 1544 and 13 Feb. 1545, are the *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 358.

²⁴³ *L & P*, vol., XX (I), pp. 134 and 178-79. Although in the case of Cassillis there were extenuating circumstances in that 'the safety of Kennedy hostages in England depended on his support', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 199.

²⁴⁴ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 70. It should be noted that the *Acts of the Privy Council of England* are wanting between 22 July 1543 and 10 May 1545.

²⁴⁵ *L & P*, vol., XIX (II), pp. 433-34. On 3 Jan. 1545, James Douglas of Drumlanrig reported to the Queen Dowager that 'the erle of Lynnox is cumit to Carilele in the intent to lawbour and solist the bordoraris of this part and utheris gentill men of thir countreis that he may mak be his lawbour and the King of England monye to tak the faith of England'. He assured her however that 'I believ your grace sall heir that this cowntre [Nyddisdail], Galloway and Annardail] sall preif gude Scottis men', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 128.

²⁴⁶ Possibly, 'La Croix, Nicolas Bouju, envoyé français', J-D. Pariset, *Les Relations entre La France et L'Allemagne*, mentioned here only as an envoy to Germany. On 3 Feb. 1545, François I sent a commission to 'nostre très cher et très amé fils le Dauphin, duc de Bretagne, gouverneur et nostre lieutenant general en nostre pays et duché de Normandie', et les Seigneurs d'Annebault et de Matignon, primarily to impose a further levy on his subjects in Normandy, but also 'sa majesté envoye aussy des troupes en Escosse et fait passer bon nombre de galleres et de vaisseaux ronds de la mer du Levant a celle du Ponent pour sa dite armée', *Correspondance de Joachim de Matignon...*, ed., L-H. Labande (Paris, 1914), p. 114.

²⁴⁷ The Order of St Michael.

of Angus to deliver up his commission of lieutenantship on the ground that promises to him are not kept'.²⁴⁸

These ominous tidings were followed a few weeks later by news of the English defeat by the Scots at Ancrum Moor where, on 27 February 1545, Sir Ralph Euers and Sir Brian Layton, captain of Northam castle, were slain. They had led a force of some 4,000 English, 'Assured Scots' and Borderers on a raid into Teviotdale, sacked and burnt Melrose and Jedburgh Abbeys before encountering a much smaller Scottish contingent under 'the Governor, thErles of Angwishe [Angus], Bothewel [and] Glencairn'.²⁴⁹ According to an English eyewitness, 'the chief cause of this overthrowe proceded of the treason of the assured Scottes of Tyvydale; whose advise and chiefly the Lardes of Bonjedwourth,²⁵⁰ it is sayed that Sir Rafe Evres did onely folowe that day. And when the bataile was joyned, they pretending to be our frendes, did kyll and take mo Englissh men that day, then did any of thenemyes'. He also reported the astonishing sight of Arran's meeting with Angus after the affray when the Governor 'toke the saide Erle of Anguishe about the necke, and kyssed him xx times, saying — Wo wourth him that caused him to have any suspicion or mistrust in the said erle for Englonde's cause, for he had that day showed a trew partie and don a grete good dayes worke to Scotlande'.²⁵¹ This sudden rush of patriotism by Angus is attributed to the Earl's anger on hearing that the Douglas graves had been disturbed at Melrose Abbey.²⁵² Ridpath, however, suggests that it was also that 'the Earl of Angus was roused by them to exert himself in defence of his country; and, at the same time, of his private interest, for he had great possessions both in Merse and Teviotdale, which the English had seized or ravaged'.²⁵³ The need to close ranks occasioned Marie de Guise to make a Bond of Manrent with the governor that she be 'bondin and oblist ... to oure richt weil belouit cousin James erle of Arran gouernour of oure derrest dochteris realme of Scotland', at Stirling on 6 March 1545.²⁵⁴

248 *L & P*, vol., XX (I), pp. 88-89. The Queen Dowager had appointed Angus as Lieutenant-General of Scotland at the Convention at Stirling in June 1544. Ridpath observes, that at this time 'the court of England had great resentment against the Douglasses, who had been so long protected by Henry, and had come under such strong engagements to support his interest in Scotland: notwithstanding which, they had gone over to the party of the Cardinal and Governor', G. Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 380, n. 3.

249 *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 569.

250 Bonjedwourth, Douglas and Laird of: cousin of Sir George Douglas, assured to England and chief of George Douglas's council in Edinburgh, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, pp. 207, 503 and 581.

251 Shrewsbury & etc. to Henry VIII, Newcastle, 3 March 1545, *Ibid*, p. 565. For a detailed description of the battle see, G. Ridpath, *Border History*, pp. 380-81.

252 *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 38.

253 G. Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 380.

254 *HMC*, 11th Report, Appendix, Part VI, p. 36; see also J. Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, p. 385, *cf.* NAS, Hamilton Muniments, Box 102.

In early March, the unwelcome news of the Scottish victory at Ancrum Moor reached Paget,²⁵⁵ who had arrived in Brussels the week before to negotiate with the Emperor the comprehension of England in the Treaty of Crépy.²⁵⁶ Equally unwelcome to the English was the presence of David Paniter who had recently arrived in Brussels,²⁵⁷ having spent the previous ten or eleven months at the French court. Paniter had arrived there with the full support of François I, who had been arguing for several months with Charles V, the case for Scotland's retrospective inclusion in the same treaty. In December 1544, François had appointed the Seigneur de Morette²⁵⁸ and Jacques Mesnage,²⁵⁹ to investigate Scotland's case. Mesnage, who had spent much of 1543 in Scotland and, having had access to the Scottish State Papers, was ideally suited to argue Scotland's case for inclusion in the treaty. Mesnage argued on the basis that the 'Scots had been allies of France for 500 years'; that Scotland had been included in the 'treaties of Madrid (1526) and Cambrai (1529)'²⁶⁰, and as both treaties 'had been confirmed in the text' of the Treaty of Crépy, therefore Scotland should now be included. Moreover, as the treaty was for 'la generale pacification de la Republique chrestienne', and allowed for the inclusion of any prince; and 'Charles had comprehended all "qu'ilz soient obeysants a lempereur"; why could not François include his allies?'²⁶¹ The sticking point and problem for the Emperor was Henry VIII, who would not countenance the inclusion of Scotland unless they agreed to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Prince Edward. This impasse became an insurmountable barrier at this time and Scotland was not comprehended in the treaty. Scotland, however, did not depart empty-handed. Paniter was able to negotiate a useful trade agreement with the Emperor which, in purely pragmatic terms, was more valuable than a somewhat transitory peace treaty. On 28 April 1545 the 'Agreement of Antwerp' was concluded; the Emperor declared that he "entend en acune maniere envahir ledict Royaulme d'Escosse ou les subjectz d'iceulx", and henceforth the 'merchants of the Low Countries carrying safe-conducts under the Great Seal of Scotland could trade in

255 Petre to Paget, 5 March 1545, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., II, p. 569. Cardinal Farnese was informed that 'la défaite infligée par les Ecossois aux Anglois, nouvelle que le nonce avait transmise récemment, est exacte', *Correspondance de Nonces en France*, vol., III, p. 337. The French published a pamphlet entitled, *La defaict des Anglois par les Ecossois faicte Le Jour de Jeudit Sainct dernier*, cf. Merriman, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 110, n. 5.

256 For details see, Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 370-72.

257 Carne to Henry VIII, Bruxelles, 21 Feb., 1545, *L & P*, vol., XX (I), p. 102.

258 Charles Du Solier, Sieur de Morette, gentilhomme de la chambre, who was granted a 'don d'une pension viagère de 1,200 livres tournois par an, [16 Nov. 1547]', *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Collection des Ordonnances des Rois de France, Catalogue des Actes de Henri II* [hereafter, *Actes de Henri II*], vol. I, 1547 (Paris, 1979), p. 432, cf. BN, Fonds Français 5127, fol., 52^v.

259 'Jacques Ménage, Seigneur de Cagny (mort en 1551) ... conseiller au Parlement de Rouen, plus spécialement chargé du règlement juridique des conflits entre Valois et Habsbourg', J-D. Pariset, *Relations entre La France et L'Allemagne*, pp. 40, n. 5 and 44. See also, Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 86-88, for Mesnage's role in Franco-Imperial negotiations during 1545.

260 For details on both treaties see, Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 215-20

261 Merriman, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 148-49, cf. BN Fonds Français 17,888 fol., 403.

Flanders'.²⁶² On 19 December 1545, Paniter delivered to the Scottish Privy Council 'the trete maid betwix the Emperor ... and the realme of Scotland, tuiching the frequenting and hanting of merchandis to Flandris';²⁶³ this was a few days after he had notified Marie de Guise that he had been nominated as Bishop of Ross.²⁶⁴

Paniter's diplomatic activities in Brussels, the defeat at Ancrum Moor and the imminent departure of a French expeditionary force to Scotland, prompted the English to transfer mercenaries from Calais in such numbers as had not been seen in England since the reign of Henry VII. In March 1544, according to G.J. Millar, 1,300 Spanish arquebusiers under 'Pedro de Gamboa, were collected at Dover and conveyed by sea to Newcastle'. These were followed by bands, mainly of cavalry, numbering almost 2,000: 'German men-at-arms; hacquebutiers on horseback; and Albanian stradiots'.²⁶⁵ 'François I, having moved Henry to commit the larger portion of his mercenary strength to the defence of England', argues Millar, 'had resolved to isolate Boulogne'. This was to be achieved by amassing 'a fleet powerful enough to command the Channel, blockade the southern ports, and detain Henry's troops in England'.²⁶⁶ At the same time, a French expeditionary force was to be sent to Scotland to ensure that the English maintained their Border garrisons and to fulfill the Scottish pleas for aid at the same time, thus facilitating the overall objective, according to Professor Knecht, of 'the recapture [of Boulogne] by the Dauphin's army in Picardy'.²⁶⁷

Thus Henry, abandoned by the Emperor and confronted by England's ancient enemies, France and Scotland, 'awaited invasion from three or four quarters', argues Professor Scarisbrick, 'by two powers whom she [England] had drawn against herself and whose common cause she had herself largely re-fashioned'.²⁶⁸ Three armies of over 30,000 men were drawn-up in the South: one in Kent under Suffolk; one in Essex under Norfolk; one in the West under Arundel; on the Borders another under Hertford; whilst at sea, the Lord Admiral waited with 12,000 men to attack the invasion fleet; and another

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 152, n. 4, cf. Rijksarchief in Middleburg, Copulaet, IX, fols. 378-80.

²⁶³ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., 1, p. 18; see also, *L & P*, vol., XX (II), p. 501.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 487; although his provision by Paul III was not made until 28 Nov 1547, and 'he was not consecrated till after seven years abroad', J. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 227.

²⁶⁵ Millar, *Tudor Mercenaries*, p. 133, n. 1, cf. PRO, Sp 1/198/48, and *L & P*, vol., XX (I), pp. 194 and 246; Millar adds that 'Henry also contemplated sending 4,000 landsknechts into the north of England, but he was unable to get them out of Germany', *Ibid.*, p. 133, n. 2; for a more detailed elaboration on this point see, Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 453.

²⁶⁶ Millar, *Tudor Mercenaries*, p. 136.

²⁶⁷ Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 372. On 2 March 1545, Charles de Riart wrote to the Deputy of Calais of the rumour that 'the Dauphin is going to Scotland, but until the King of France wins Boulogne I have heard that he will not depart thence — or until he gives battle to the king [of England]', *L & P*, vol., XX (I), p. 133.

²⁶⁸ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 454.

army was drawn-up at Boulogne.²⁶⁹ 'François, in the meantime', according to Professor Knecht, 'assembled an army of 30,000 men in Normandy and seven *compagnies d'ordonnances* in Picardy. He also gathered at Le Havre a fleet of more than 200 ships, including galleys of the Mediterranean fleet'. In early July, 'the English admiral, Lord Lisle, planned to attack the French fleet in its anchorage but was frustrated by bad weather'. The only substantial damage to the French fleet was self-inflicted. Admiral d'Annebault's flagship *Le Philippe*, was destroyed by fire on 12 July, and the next day his new flagship, *Grande Maistresse*, ran aground. Despite these mishaps the fleet sailed out of Le Havre on 16 July, and entered the Solent a few days later, an engagement ensued during which the *Mary Rose* sank with the loss of 500 men, not as a result of French action, but after a breeze had sprung up and water had poured through her open gun-ports. On 21 July, 'the French landed on the Isle of Wight and burnt a few villages before they were driven back to their ships'. Another landing took place at Seaford, and in August, a brief skirmish near Beachy Head concluded this ignominious encounter for both sides.²⁷⁰ 'England had run herself into an impasse: she could not continue this crippling war', says Scarisbrick; Henry's 'enemies stood about him, he had no friends, his mercenaries had swindled him, his packed ships were soon stricken with plague which carried off hundreds of men'.²⁷¹

Soon after the victory at Ancrum Moor, John Hay²⁷² was sent to France in March 1545, and about the same time 'six vessels arrived from Scotland to aid the French'.²⁷³ On 15 May, Hay informed the Queen Dowager from Brest of the 'preparatione mayd heir till speid haim the kyngis help and support, the quhilk now is reddey in Brest in Monsieur de Lorges handis'²⁷⁴ which included 'ane grit quantatie of poulderis artailzery bollett hakbuttis

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 349, cf. *L. & P.*, vol., XX (1), pp. 467-68.

²⁷⁰ Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 372-73.

²⁷¹ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 455-56.

²⁷² 'John Hay, the Cardinal's nephew was often employed in diplomatic business', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 138, n. 2. He had been sent to the court of Christian III of Denmark in 1544 and subsequently to France the same year, *Ibid.*, p. 103. On 1 Dec., 1547, Hay told Odet de Selve that the lettres de *naturalité* accorded to him by François I to hold an ecclesiastical benefice in France, had been granted by Henri II, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, 1546-1549*, ed., G. Lefèvre Pontalis (Paris, 1888), p. 246.

²⁷³ *L & P*, vol., XX (1), p. 203; St. Mauris, Imperial ambassador in France, also reported on 31 March 1545 from Amboise that 'three weeks ago a Scottish ambassador brought word that without prompt aid the Scots must come to terms with the English', *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁷⁴ Jacques de Montgommery, Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, et son Conseiller et Chambellan de Montgommery, Seigneur de Lorges, capitaine de la garde Écossaise', Muster Roll, Jan. 1543, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, p. 137. Not his son Gabriel as cited in *L & P*, vol., XX (II), Index; the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 3, n. 1; and *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 140, n. 2. Gabriel de Montgommery replaced Jean Stuart (l'ainé) as lieutenant in the *garde écossaise* in May 1551, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, p. 148; and it was he who by accident mortally wounded Henri II with his lance, during a tournament on 30 June 1559. Later, he became one of the leaders of the Protestant Party in France for which he was executed 27 May 1574, during the French 'Wars of Religion'.

pykis vymis flour irne with twa thowsand V^c [2,500] futmen, of the quhilkis ther salbe iij^c [300] hakbuttairis on hors, the Scottis men of arms weill monttit and in ordour with XL [40] archeiris of the gaird'. Furthermore, in addition to 'the last X thousand frankins [10,000] sent your grace be the *Newhavin*, that ther suld be send you instantly viij thousand [8,000] frankis'.²⁷⁵ A few days later on 18 May the Seigneur de Lorges wrote to the Dowager to inform her that 'j'envoye le Sieur de Moullins²⁷⁶ mon lieutenant vers vous ... pour ce que je m'asseure avec le secours estre par dela quasi aussi tost que luy et vous dire'. Also, he had heard that she is 'mal servye de vins'; so he will 'envoie une bonne provision et de bien bons'.²⁷⁷

On 31 May 1545 the French force arrived at Dumbarton, and on 4 June 'thaj wer ressavit be the quenis grace and governour with greit dignitie'.²⁷⁸ A few days later on the 7th the Privy Council sitting at Glasgow decided 'foresamekle as Capitane Lorge Montgomery, Lieutenant to the Franche Army, devisit be the King of France to cum to the Realme of Scotland, for Defenss thairof, aganis our ald Inymyis of England, ... tharefor orderis Letteris and Writtingis to be written to all Prelatis, Erlis, Lordis and grete Baronis of the Realme, praying thame to convene in Edinburgh the xxiii Day of Junij instant, for thair Advise and counsell ... as concernis helie the Commoun-Wele of this Realme, Defenss and Libertie thairof'.²⁷⁹ On 28 June 1545 the Council deliberated an Act for

raising an Army for the Defence of the Kingdom [against the] commoun Inmy of England ... that sen the said maist Cristine King of France hes schawin him sa grete and tender Friend and loving Fadir to the Quenis Grace, our Souerane Lady, and Defender to this Realme, that baith thai and all the remanent Noblis and Baronis of this Realme ... suld be reddy ... baith to defend aganis the commoun Inmy of England, and to invaid the Realme of England ... understanding the gret Harmes, Skaithis, Dampnages, Herschippis, Byrnyngis and Slauchteris done upoun this Realme be our saidis auld Inymis of England ... tharefore hes ordanit ane gret and universale Army to be rasit of the hale Realm, ... als wele Regalite as Ryalte and uther sensible Men, that thai wele bodin in

²⁷⁵ *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 137. According to M. Wolfe, by the early 15th century 'the franc d'or was not struck any longer, and had become a sort of money of account equivalent to the livre tournois', *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (Yale UP, 1972) p. 26, n. 3.

²⁷⁶ There is a Monsieur de Mwllynys and/or Mollyns writing to Cardinal Beaton at this time who is styled as 'Moullins' by the editor of *L & P*, vol., XX (1) pp. 243-4. It is doubtful that this man is French, probably Scottish or Irish judging by his use of the Scottish language in his letters. Perhaps his name was Mullins?

²⁷⁷ *Balcarras Papers*, vol., I, p. 111.

²⁷⁸ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 38-39. Hertford reported from Newcastle on 4 June 1545 that he had 'letters presently arrived from the Borders confirming the news of the Frenchmen's arrival on the West of Scotland', *L & P*, vol., XX (1), p. 486.

²⁷⁹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 3.

Fere of Were in best and maist substantious Maner of Armour and Wappynis, eftir the form of the Actis of Parliament, cum fowart to Rosling Muir the xxviii day of the moneth of July nixt, and wela furnest with vitalis for the space of ane moneth.²⁸⁰

Neither the fine words nor the French artillery and combat experience could match the grim reality and necessity for *guerrilla* tactics traditionally employed in Anglo-Scottish Border warfare. From the French ships were unloaded 'two large culverin with quantities of bullets, powder, pikes and hagbuts, 108 cartloads', which were 'taken overland making a fearful journey with torrential rain swelling the streams and making the roads impassable. It took thirteen horses to drag the two guns up the steep slope to Edinburgh Castle and 180 sledges were need to carry the munitions'.²⁸¹ Following the Muster at Roslin Muir the French troops and, according to G. Ridpath, 'about 15,000 Scots marched towards the Borders at the end of July. The army encamped on the side of the Tweed, opposite Wark castle, and sent parties over the river, which ravaged the neighbouring villages and fields in England'. When 'Montgomery, seconded by Lord Home, made pressing instances that the whole army should advance into England ... the governor and his council would not agree, founding their refusal on their want of artillery'.²⁸² 'On 15 September Hertford crossed the Border at Coldingham with a large force, including a great number of mercenaries, marched through the counties of Merse and Teviotdale, and burnt and ravaged the towns and country on the way including the abbeys of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose and Jedburgh';²⁸³ encountering little resistance from the French or Scots. By the 18 September he had returned to his camp at Warkeshaughe from where he wrote to the Council demanding that the army be 'dissolved within 5 or 6 days, for which they have no money'.²⁸⁴

During the summer campaigning season the French troops appear to have been quartered, or at least they were mustered at Haddington on 17 July and 18 August 1545. On 14 and 16 September musters took place at

280 *Epistolae Jacobi quarti, Jacobi quinti, et Mariae, Regum Scotorum, Eorumque tutorum et Regni Gubernatorum; Ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Civitates et alios, ab Anno 1505 ad Annum 1545*, 2 vols., ed., T. Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1722), vol., II, pp. 329-32. Reprinted in *APS*, vol., II, pp. 595-96. For another order for the Muster at Roslin Muir on 8 July 1545 see, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 541. On 2 July 1545 George, Lord Hume, received 100 crowns from Messire Jacques Veau 'paid by order of Monseigneur de Lorges, chevalier of the King's order and his Lieutenant General in this realm of Scotland towards expences in the recipient's castle', *L & P*, vol., XX (1), p. 537.

281 G. Dickinson, 'Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the first half of the Sixteenth Century', *SHR*, XXVIII (1949) p. 141, cf. *Compta Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum: Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* [hereafter, *Treasurers Accounts*], ed., J. Balfour Paul, vol., VIII (1541-46), vol., IX (1546-51), vol., X (1551-59) (Edinburgh, 1908, 1911 and 1913), vol., VIII, pp. 377-80, 389-92.

282 Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 381.

283 *Ibid*, p. 382. Ridpath says that '287 places were destroyed: 7 monasteries, 16 castles and towers, 5 market towns, 243 villages, 13 mills and 3 hospitals', *Ibid*, p. 382, n. 2.

284 *L & P*, vol., XX (II), p. 175.

Anguston, and finally on 24 December and 31 January 1546 at Kinghorn according to a few extant muster rolls of 'les expéditions françaises en Écosse de François 1^{er}',²⁸⁵ The five muster rolls taken at Haddington on 17 July 1545 seem to be reasonably complete,²⁸⁶ and therefore it is possible to account for 2,214 personnel of the 2,500 troops and other personnel who arrived at Dumbarton on 31 May 1545.²⁸⁷ Each 'bande'²⁸⁸ had their own captain, lieutenant, ensign and 'commissionaire extraordinaire des guerres'. All of these bandes were under the command of their colonel Gabriel Foucault, Seigneur de Saint-Germain-Beaupré, who was also captain of his own bande, and the Lieutenant-General du Roy, Jacques de Montgommery, Monseigneur de Lorges and Messire Jacques Veau, conseiller du Roy et trésorier de l'extraordinaire de la guerre. In addition, there were '23 hommes', according to a muster roll taken on 18 September 1545 (no place,? Anguston) who were 'appointemens particuliers payez et baillez par le tresorier de l'extraordinaire de la guerre Messire Jacques Veau a aucuns gentilzhommes souldars et autres gens de guerre appointez et entretenuz durant ce present moys pour le service du Roy a la suite pres et lentour de la personne de Monseigneur de Lorges Lieutenant General du dict Seigneur en larmee quil a envoye au Royaulme d'Escosse pour le secours dicelluy les quilz ne sont empruns Messire Passen en Roolles des Monstres'.²⁸⁹ Thus, the calculation of personnel on 17 July 1545 at Haddington comprises: Monseigneur de Lorges, le Seigneur de Saint Germain and Messire Jacques Veau = 3; Gentilhommes = 23; five bandes each with a captain, lieutenant, ensiegne and commissioner = 20; hommes de guerre a pied adventuriers francoys = 1,259; harquebuziers = 859; and harquebuziers à cheval = 50; Total = 2,214.²⁹⁰

285 Rôles des Montres de François 1^{er}: BN, Fonds Français 25793, No. 532-536, 538-45 and 553. Unfortunately, time did not allow for a full transcription of these Muster Rolls recorded during the reign of François I, as was achieved for those of the reign of Henri II, see Elizabeth Bonner, ed., *French Military and Financial Documents concerning Scotland during the Reign of Henri II* [hereafter, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents*], Scottish History Society, 5th Series (forthcoming). The information in Table No. 2, however, allows for some superficial analysis.

286 Muster Roll No. 535, 'Nauberrine', possibly Newbyre: lands within the 'schirefdome of Edinburgh and constabularie of Hadingtoun', *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol., IV, No. 981, p. 163; it may be noted that Sr de Fontenay's bande (No. 542) is given as being at Haddington on 18 August 1545.

287 'Vpoun the last day of Maij the zeir of God Jm Vc xlv zeiris the King of France send ij m gunnaris, iijc bairdit horss, and ijc archearis of the guard, [2,500] and landit at Dumbartane with greit provisoun, and thair wageis payit for sax monethis to cum, and silver to fie ijm Scottis [2,000 Scottish soldiers] for the said sex monethis space', *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 39-40.

288 *Bande* or *Bende* (Old Fr.) from Med. Latin *Banda* - *Bandum* (Banner); in regular use from late XV to early XVII centuries: an organized company; a troop, *Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1973).

289 BN, Fonds Français 25793, No. 546.

290 On 6 September 1545 'Jacques, Conte de Mongoumery (Sr de Lorges), Chevalier of the Order of the King of France "et son Lieutenant g'nal de l'armee quil a fait passer au Royaulme d'Escosse pour le secours dicelluy", [received] the sum of 380 livres as payment for a quarter of a year in respect of his place "de Cappitaine des soixantes Lances Escossoises des

On 5 October 1545, Hertford wrote to Henry VIII, and the same day Cardinal Beaton wrote to François I, to explain the defeat of the Franco-Scottish forces. Hertford concluded that the Scots were no longer a threat at this time 'considering the disobedience of noblemen, gentlemen and commons to their Governor, and that Anguise and the Governor are at variance'; and as for the French they 'find such misery and scarcity that they are weary of the country and the Scots weary of them'. Besides 'the plague reigneth extremely in sundry parts of Scotland as it does in many parts of Northumberland, and at Berwick most of the townsmen are dead of it'.²⁹¹ The Cardinal, on the other hand, told François I that 'the Governor assembled men with Monseigneur de Lorges to resist the enemies' but the powerful English army 'staid only about eight days, [and] it was impossible to assemble soon enough to fight them'.²⁹² Soon after, in November 1545, François I started negotiations for a peace. He wrote to Jean Sturm who 'a pris copie des conditions françaises de la trêve "en la quelle seront compris les Royne douairyere d'Escoce et petite Royne, leurs Estats, royaulmes, lieux et loyaux subjectz"'.²⁹³ On 25 November, François I informed Admiral d'Annebaut that the 'Roy d'Angleterre et son conseil estre de n'entrer à la comprehension des Ecossois, vous leur aviez nommement et absolument dict qu'il n'en allait plus donc parler des Angloys'.²⁹⁴

The Scots had called a Parliament to meet at Linlithgow on 1 October 1545 to discuss the defence of the realm, but their first piece of business was to charge with treason, and to forfeit, the Earl of Lennox. He was accused of 'passing in the partis of England; ... tretand with the King of England' and for 'tressonable Invasioun ... within the partis of Bute and Arrane thair waistand all be frye and suerd And thairfor hes incurrit the crimes and panis of tresoun and lese maieste and hes forfaltit All his movable gudis and unmovable and his landis; ... And the samyn confiscat to remane with oure souverane lady perpetualie'.²⁹⁵ The following day it was 'providit that now in tyme of weir na scotisman sall sitt vnder assurance of the Inglisman', and 'for support and help of the bordouris that thair be ane thowsand horse men furneist' and 'the sovm of sex thowsand pvnnd for furnessing of thame'.²⁹⁶

ordonnances dudict Sr Roy" which was signed "De Mongoumery" on 8 December 1545', *Manuscripts of Alfred Morrison Esq.*, HMC, 9th Report, Part I (1883), p. 414.

²⁹¹ *L & P*, vol., XX (II), p. 242.

²⁹² *Ibid*, p. 242.

²⁹³ Pariset, 'La France et les Princes Allemands: documents et commentaires (1545-1557)', No. 2, p. 235 *cf.* Archives Privées, Archives Nationale, Paris.

²⁹⁴ Minute, Arch. Privées, Arch. Nat., Paris. I am grateful to Dr. Pariset for photocopies of these two references which are fully transcribed in Appendix No. 2 and No. 3 of his Ph. D thesis, and which now are published in edited form in *Ibid*, pp. 235-36.

²⁹⁵ *APS*, vol., II, p. 458. The same day Lennox's secretary, 'Thomas Bischope of vchiltre' was accused and sentenced for the same crimes as his master, *Ibid*, p. 459.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 460.

By December 1545 the French were making plans to return to France and on the 24th a muster was held at Quincorne [Kinghorn] for '479 men of war on foot, French adventurers under the charge of captains Brouville and Beaulieu'.²⁹⁷ It seems that they were delayed by inclement weather as another muster of 461 'hommes de guerre' took place at Kinghorn, under the same captains, on 31 January 1546.²⁹⁸ It is not certain exactly when the French troops departed but John Hay wrote to the Dowager that 'this xiiij of Februar [1546] we landit at Deip quhar monsieur de Lorges despeschit monsieur Douzy toart the Kyng beand for the presentat at Sanct Germainis'.²⁹⁹ The papal nuncio also reported to Cardinal Farnese on 17 February 1546 that 'M. de Lorges, revenu d'Écosse, est paru à la cour il y a trois jours: il craint que, faute de secours, les Anglais ne gagnent la partie en Écosse'.³⁰⁰ Apparently, M. de la Brosse also returned to France with M. de Lorges as he wrote to the Dowager from St. Germain-en-Laye on 3 March that 'le Roy, M. le Dauphin et le conseil son bien avertis des affaires d'Escosse'; and that 'il envoy presentement M. d'Ouzat³⁰¹ ambassadeur d'elle et bientost M. de Mandosse,³⁰² premier maistre d'hotel, avecques argent pour emploier comme il sera avise par vous secretement vers Messieurs le gouverneur et cardinal pour contenter tout et sy on promis de vous envoyer le reste de votre pension et argent de present pour M. le gouverneur, Angous, Gorge, Arguil, Baudaiel, Humes et le capitaigne de Dombertrant'.³⁰³ The Dauphin also wrote to the Dowager from

²⁹⁷ BL, Add. Ch. 13,302; also see mention in, *L & P*, vol., XX (II), pp. 514-15.

²⁹⁸ BN, Fonds Français 25793, No. 553; also see Table No. 2. The French experienced difficulties on their return journey: some were blown off course to Denmark, others to the Low Countries, Merriman, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 112, n. 2, *cf* BN, Fonds Français Nouv. Acq. 7306, fol., 33 and *L & P*, vol., XX (II), p. 487.

²⁹⁹ *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 158; M. Douzy: 'M. d'Ausay, varlet de chambre' of François I, *Ibid*, p. 158.

³⁰⁰ *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, p. 426; Alessandro Guidiccione, Bishop of Ajaccio, Papal Nuncio in France, 6 April 1544 - July 1546.

³⁰¹ Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, de Villeparisis et de Saint-Aignan; né à Paris en 1510; présenté à la chapelle Sainte-Marguerite d'Ecajeul 11 jan. 1525; abbé commendataire de l'Abbaye de Troarn dès 1527; prieur commendataire de Notre-Dame de Gournay dès 1534; protonotaire en 1535; dans une rixe nocturne à Paris le 8 mai 1535, tua Charles de Gappaines. Grâce en 1538. En 1539 resigner le droit de l'abbaye de Troan. Gentilhomme de la Chambre 17 fév. 1546; Ambassadeur en Écosse de François Ier, Henri II et de François II, 1546-1560; Lieutenant-Général en Écosse de Henri II et de François II, 1550-1560; Chevalier d'honneur de la Reine (Mary Queen of Scotland and France) 11 août 1560; Capitaine de Gendarmerie 1562; Chevalier de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel, 14 jul. 1562 (Charles IX); Envoyé en Angleterre, 1561; en Allemagne, 1561; en Espagne, 1563; Ambassadeur à Rome de Charles IX, 1564-66, où il mourut en 1566; for further elaboration see, Elizabeth Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Cleutin: an historical document,' (forthcoming).

³⁰² 'Mandosse, Mendosse, Mandoce, Mandoise, Mendoza, first master of household, François I', *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 703. 'Diego de Mendoza, de la maison espagnole de ce nom, engagé au service de la France, naguère ambassadeur de France à Cleves. (Dépêche de Nicolas Wotton, ambassadeur d'Angleterre en Allemagne, à Henry VIII, du 6 sept. 1543, *State Papers*, vol., IX, p. 498, *cf*, Extraits des anciens mémoires de la Chambre des comptes, 1550-1551); d'après le présent passage, il paraîtrait avoir été chargé d'une mission en Écosse en 1546', *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 6, n. 1.

³⁰³ *Balcarras Papers*, vol., I, pp. 124-5. The pensions were to be paid to Marie de Guise, the Earl of Arran, Cardinal Beaton, the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, the Earls of Argyll and

St. Germain-en-Laye the following day, 4 March 1546, acknowledging that he had 'receu voz lettres par le sieur Dozy vallet de chambre du Roy monseigneur et pere'.³⁰⁴ Et entendu par luy de toutes choses de par della suivant la charge que luy en aviez donnee dont Jay este tresaise'. Furthermore, continues the Dauphin, 'le Seigneur de Lorges ma amplement informe du faicte de son voiaige du bon traictement que luy avez faict durant Icelle. Et mesmement de la diligence et bonne affection dont vous avez vse comme faictes chacun jour es choses qui touchent les affaires du Roy mondict seigneur et pere dont bien fort vous remercie'; and finally, if there were 'aucune chose Jay moien de vous fere plaisir et service et men advertissant Je my emploieray daussi bon cuer'.³⁰⁵

Following the Franco-Scottish defeat, Cardinal Beaton moved to establish some authority and government control during the autumn and winter of 1545-46, especially on the Borders. Additionally, the general unrest in society was given an extra dimension by the increased preaching of George Wishart who had returned with the Scottish ambassadors following the signing of the treaties of Greenwich in July 1543. According to Dr Sanderson, the 'increased heretical activity during 1543 had been dealt with in inquisitions and prosecutions in the winter of 1543-44',³⁰⁶ but 'the Cardinal's pre-

Bothwell, Lord Hume, and the Captain of Dumbarton Castle: George Stirling of Glorat, *cf. Scottish Correspondence*, p. 315, n.1.

304 Pierre de la Tannerie, Seigneur d'Anzis, valet de chambre ordinaire du roi; 3 déc. 1548: provision de l'office de l'ordre de Saint-Michel, *Actes de Henri II*, vol. II, p. 447, *cf.* BN, Coll. Clairambault 1242, pp. 1768-69. Much historiographical confusion exists between this man, and Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, especially during 1546. Both were envoys to Scotland for François I during 1546 and the contemporary spelling of their names is, at times, indistinguishable. The editor of *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), Index, makes no distinction between the two men, *viz.* 'Ausy: (Ausi, Aussy, Auzis, Doysy, Dosye, Douzay, Dozy, Oysi, Oysif, Oysy, Oisy)', notwithstanding a letter in which the two men are clearly distinguished. On 26 Jan., 1547, Selve acknowledges to M. D'Oysy receipt of his despatches long ago by M.M. de Combas and d'Auzis, *Ibid.*, p. 384; Lefevre-Pontalis, in *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, distinguishes between d'Oysel and d'Anzis, but confuses the latter with Louis II de Salazar Seigneur d'Asnois gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi de France, p. 513. In fact, they were three distinct French envoys to Scotland and England during 1546 and 1547 all of whom were gentilhommes de la chambre du roi, although R. Doucet makes a distinction between 'les chambellans ou gentilhommes de la chambre' and 'les valets de chambre', *Les Institutions de la France au XVI^esiècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1948), vol., I, p.126. Even though it is almost impossible, given the available evidence, to distinguish which envoy, D'Anzis or d'Oysel, was undertaking some of the embassies, there is one occasion on 4 July 1546 when the Dauphin wrote to the Dowager that 'je vous escriptviz derrenement par Ansi varlet de chambre du Roy', NLS, Ad. MSS. 29.2.1, fol., 43, at a time when d'Oysel was in Scotland. On 8 July 1546, de Selve wrote to François I that 'Oysi arriva en Escosse vers la royne il y ha ce jour d'huy huict jours', *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 9. One last point: d'Anzis is first mentioned on 15 June 1540 when Marie de Guise is informed that 'Monsieur vostre filz escript par Monsieur d'Ausy', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 43; whilst d'Oysel is not mentioned in the correspondence before 1546.

305 NLS, Ad. MSS 29. 2. 1, fol., 40; published in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol., I, part II, pp. 212-13.

306 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 206; see a detailed 'list of of persons accused of heresy or believed to have had protestant sympathies or associations, 1528-1546', in Scotland, *Ibid.*, pp. 270-84; a total of 174 (168 identified and 6 anonymous).

occupation with war and political dislocation since then had prevented him from dealing effectively with the activities of George Wishart who during 1544 and the early part of 1545 gained a sympathetic hearing in Angus and his home country of the Mearns'. During the autumn of 1545, Wishart had been served with an order from the Cardinal to cease preaching in Dundee. However, he defied this order returning to the Burgh, says Sanderson, 'to encourage the people during the plague' even though 'he was aware of the possibility of violence, and one of his companions, ultimately John Knox, carried a sword for his protection'.³⁰⁷ Thus, Wishart withdrew to the west of Scotland where the Archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, (David Beaton's long-time rival) did little to curtail his movements in Ayrshire. But when he started 'making an impact in the archdiocese St Andrews and in the diocese of Brechin' by early 1545, the Cardinal, says Sanderson, 'decided to make an end of Wishart in order to show his authority'.³⁰⁸ Wishart was arrested on the Cardinal's orders by the Earl of Bothwell in January 1546 and ultimately imprisoned in St. Andrews Castle. Following his trial which took place in St. Andrews Cathedral on 1 March 1546, having been found guilty of heresy, he was burnt at the stake the same day.³⁰⁹

Prior to Hertford's invasion the previous year 'between April 1544 and July 1545' says Professor Donaldson, 'there were plots against the Cardinal, with Henry VIII's approval, involving Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, (who had been superseded as treasurer by John Hamilton) Norman Leslie (son of [George, 4th] Earl of Rothes), Crichton of Brunstane, the Earl Marishal and the Earl of Cassillis'. However, continues Donaldson, 'there is no evidence that the murder of the Cardinal eight weeks later [after Wishart's execution] was directly connected with the earlier plots against him, though the band who broke into St Andrews castle early in the morning of 29 May 1546 included Norman Leslie, his uncle, John [Leslie of Parkhill,] and William, son of Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange'.³¹⁰ Others included James Melville of Cambee³¹¹ and Peter Carmichael of Balmaddie, who with John Leslie were the actual perpetrators of the deed, and Henry Balnaves, though he was not present at the assassination, acted as the conspirators' procurator and in later negotiations with Henry VIII on their behalf, for which he was rewarded by

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 206; Knox was employed at this time as 'tutor of Douglas's sons', *Ibid*, p. 210.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 207-09; for Beaton's and Dunbar's contentious relationship from the 1520s to 1546, *Ibid*, pp. 114-17, 156, 187, 200, 207 and 218.

³⁰⁹ For a summary of Wishart's trial, *Ibid*, pp. 214-18, *cf.* Knox, *History*, vol., II; also see J. Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 21 (1982), pp. 143-44 and 149-50. According to Spottiswoode, 'Wishart was prepared for the stake dressed in a buckram coat into the pockets and sleeves of which the executioners pushed pokes of gunpowder, as was customary, in order to shorten his agony in the fire', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 219.

³¹⁰ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 74.

³¹¹ Knox claimed that it was Melville 'who urged Beaton, at the point of the sword, to repent of the shedding of Wishart's blood, and then dispatched him', Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 74, *cf.* Knox, *History*, vol., I, p. 77; it may be noted that Knox was not reported as being in St Andrews castle at the time of the Cardinal's murder.

the English as were Norman Leslie, William Kirkcaldy and Alexander Crichton of Brunston.³¹² 'The conspirators', argues Sanderson, 'were no artificial group merely thrown together by their grievances. They were a closely-related and allied circle who had frequent contact with David Beaton over the years'.³¹³ 'The desire to avenge Wishart', concludes Donaldson, 'was no doubt one motive, and the ecclesiastical and political implications of the removal were manifest'. At the highest, the conspirators 'may have been anticipating action which the Cardinal, knowing of their plots, planned against them'.³¹⁴ Within days the vacuum created by the Cardinal's death was speedily filled. As Sanderson graphically describes it, 'the vultures were gathering. John Hamilton, the Governor's brother, was granted the temporalities of the archbishopric of St Andrews two days after the Cardinal's

312 For a full list of those accused at the Parliament held at Edinburgh on 30 July 1546, see *APS*, vol., II, p. 466. On 20 July 1546, '£50 gyven in rewarde to the Lorde Bromston', *APC of England*, vol., I, p. 487; on 3 Sept. 1546, 'his Majestes reward to the yong Lord Grange, the somme of £50', *Ibid*, p. 527; on 7 Dec. 1546, 'Warrant to Sir John Williams for £100 in rewarde to Mr. Beneves and Mr. Leslie, gentlemen of Scotlond', *Ibid*, p. 556; on 9 Dec. 1546, 'Nicholas (sic) Balnewes and (blank) Leslie, reward £100', *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 449. On 10 Dec. 1546, the English Council granted support to the 'Castilians'; (the instructions in Hertford's hand) 'for to be geven in pension £1,000. For the repayr Henri Beneys and Lysle', *Ibid*, vol., XX (II), p. 268. The editor notes that these memoranda are not noted in the *State Papers*, and that 'Henry Balnavis and John [sic,? Norman] Leslie left St. Andrews in an English ship on 20 Nov., and arrived in London on the 29th, and this paper, being partly in Balnavis' hand and partly in that of Hertford's secretary, doubtless contains their representations to the English Council. On 7 Feb. 1547, the Privy Council, in pursuance of a resolution taken by Henry VIII [who died 28 Jan. 1547] voted pensions to the holders of St Andrews castle amounting to £1,050[sic]', *Ibid*, p. 268. In fact, it was on 'Sunday, vj Februarij, [1547] at the Toure of London' that the Privy Council agreed 'that shalbe warrauntes made to Sir Edmund Peckham, knight, Coferer of the Kinges Majestes Howsehold, for the payment of m lcxiiixxi li xvj s iij d [sic] to thandes of Willaim Honyng, to be by him againe paide over to Mr. Henry Balnavys for thaffayres of Skotlande'; viz:

'Wages of iijjxx [80] men	cccxxxvjli	[£336: 0:0]
Wages of xlte [40] horsemen	ccxxiiijli	[£2240:0]
The annuite of the Master of Rothos [Norman Leslie] for oone half yeare [6 mths]	cxvli	[£125: 0:0]
For the like to the Lord of Graunge [Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange]	cli	[£100: 0:0]
For the like to David Monypenny of Pitmuly*	lli	[£ 50: 0:0]
For the like to Mr. Henry Balnavys of Halhil	lxijli xs	[£ 62: 10:0]
For the like to Mr. John Lisle [Leslie] of Parkes Hill	lxijli xs	[£ 62: 10:0]
For the like to James Lisle [Leslie] persone of Abdor	li	[£ 50: 0:0]
and for the like William Kyrkawdry young Lord of Graunge	lli	[£ 50: 0:0]
	TOTAL=	[£1,060:0:0]

which summes make in the hole as they be deliverd to them oone thowsande threkore li [£1,060:0:0] and the charge of thexchange do amounte to mciijxxxli xvj s iij d [sic] afforesaide.' *APC*, vol., II, pp.12-13.

* David Beaton's mother was Isobel Monypenny. Sanderson says that the Cardinal had few associations with his maternal relatives but 'towards the end of his life the Monypennys associated with his enemies and the laird of Pitmilly was involved in the plot to assassinate him', Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 10.

313 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 224.

314 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 74.

death' and, five days later on 5 June 1546, 'the Earl of Huntly was made Chancellor of the realm and accepted custody of the Great Seal'.³¹⁵

The assassination of Cardinal Beaton and the seizing of St Andrews Castle by his murderers may have been a solution to settle purely personal and domestic Scottish issues, but the ramifications caused much wider ripples in the European community; not least because it occurred during the last days of the delicate and contentious negotiations of the Treaty of Ardres, the articles of which were signed by the French commissioners on 7 June 1546.³¹⁶ The next day Paget wrote to Henry VIII from Dover that 'the peace is signed and sealed and he has it with him ... and trusts to be with the king tomorrow'.³¹⁷ The Scots had to wait until the end of the month. On 24 June the English Council directed that a letter be sent to 'the President of the North and Wardens of the Borders to show friendship to Mons. Doisy, gentleman of the French King's Privy Chamber, now despatched by his master into Scotland touching the peace; also placard for posthorses for Doisy'.³¹⁸ D'Oysel arrived in Scotland on 1 July 1546,³¹⁹ and four or five weeks later the Scottish Council agreed that comprehension of the Scots in the peace treaty 'suld be acceptit',³²⁰ and on 14 August, the Parliament sitting at Edinburgh declared that 'it is thought expedient be oure souverane lady the quenis grace my lord gouvernour and thre estatis of this Realm That ye comprehensioun maid for this realm and liegis of the samyn in the contract of pece laittie takin betuix ye maist Cristine King of France and the king of Ingland suld be exceptit without preiudice of hir grace hir realm and liberties'.³²¹

The negotiations for the peace which had commenced simultaneously in November 1545, in Bruges under the Emperor's guidance and in Guines presided over by the German Protestants, has been given a detailed and extensive examination by Dr David Potter.³²² The initial negotiations broke down says Scarisbrick 'after six weeks of bitter wrangling over the future of

315 Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, pp. 229-30; cf. *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), p. 503; also see, *APS*, vol. II, p. 597, and *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 23-24.

316 *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), pp. 507-09, cf. *Foedera*, vol., XV, 93; known to the English as the Treaty of Camp: a town in the confines of Ardres and Guines.

317 *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), p. 512.

318 *Ibid*, p. 552; cf. *APC*, vol., I, p. 465. From the available evidence this appears to be Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel's first embassy to Scotland. It may be noted that the *Hamilton Papers*, are wanting from 6 Sept. 1545 to 30 May 1547.

319 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 9; also see *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), p. 613.

320 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 35.

321 *APS*, vol., II, p. 473; for a re-affirmation of the comprehension by the Scottish Council on 21 August 1546, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 38-39. D'Oysel returned to London on 4 August to await a passport which he received on 31 August to return to France, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 22; and *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), pp. 709 and 758.

322 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 116-163; see also his article, 'Foreign Policy in the Age of Reformation', *passim*; for summaries of the negotiations: Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 461-64; and Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 373-75.

Boulogne and the Scots'.³²³ On 17 January 1546, Henry appointed the Earl of Hertford as his Lieutenant in France to organize a new offensive in Spring. He was to have an army, says Scarisbrick, of '16,000 English, 4,000 Italians and Spaniards, 6,000 Germans and 4,000 horse, while the admiral put to sea with a fleet of 45 sail. ... Hertford landed at Calais on 23 March and immediately set about fortifying the port of Ambleteuse'. Inexplicably, 'within a few weeks Henry had decided to put an end to the struggle' even though 'his large force lay in wait', notes Scarisbrick, 'under the most accomplished English commander; and all the indications were that war with France would blaze up once more when Spring matured'.³²⁴ Instead, on 24 April 1546 negotiations for the peace recommenced near Guines.

Apart from the arguments over the sums of money demanded by the English for the reparations of Boulogne and the extent and position of the borders therein, the other major sticking-point was the comprehension of the Scots in the treaty. 'Henry had not forgiven the Scots for their repudiation of the treaties of Greenwich', says Professor Knecht, 'and now that Cardinal Beaton, the main obstacle to the English cause, had been murdered', he continues, Henry 'welcomed the peace with France as an opportunity to aid the pro-English faction that was holding St Andrews castle against the Scottish government'.³²⁵ As well as Henry's reluctance to comprehend the Scots, the Treaty of Camp/Ardres concludes Potter, 'was a compromise which the French in particular could not tolerate in the long run', but 'both Courts needed peace and for the rest of 1546 they were content to gloss over difficulties'.³²⁶ 'The peace was proclaimed simultaneously in London and Paris on 13 June [1546]';³²⁷ and Henry ratified the treaty within a few days of becoming godfather to the Dauphin's daughter, Elizabeth³²⁸ 'appellée Isabelle à cause de la mère du roi d'Angleterre, parrain', on 4 July 1546;³²⁹ and on the 1 August, François ratified the treaty at Fontainebleau. Henry and François maintained an uneasy and somewhat less than satisfactory peace between France and England in the remaining six to eight months of their reigns, but Scotland, as one of the chief concerns for both monarchs in the recent peace negotiations, continued to occupy an important place in the

323 Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 462. Several months before the peace negotiations commenced it was thought that 'il Re Christianissimo [François I] non è mai per fare la pace senon ha Bologna, et che non lasciarà mai la protettione de Scotia', Alvarotti to Ercole II [Duke of Ferrara], Amiens, 15 Sept. 1545, Modena, Francia, B21 fasc. 2, pp. 51-52 (passage in cipher), Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 123, n. 1.

324 Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 462; see also Millar, *Tudor Mercenaries*, pp. 160-66, for greater details of this aborted campaign.

325 Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 174.

326 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 161-62.

327 Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 174.

328 Scarisbrick says that 'Henry stood as godfather (by proxy) to François's grandson', *Henry VIII*, p. 464; Elizabeth, however, was François I's first grand-daughter, and it was she who later married Philip II in 1559.

329 Guidiccione to Cardinal Farnese, 7 July 1546, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., III, p. 441.

foreign policy of both kingdoms. The focus for these concerns were the repercussions initiated by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton and the continued occupation of St Andrews castle by his murderers. St. Mauris, writing to Prince Philip from Melun on the day of Elizabeth's baptism, reported that 'the French are certain that the King of England caused the murder, [of the Cardinal] as he hated [him] for opposing the marriage of the Princess of Scotland with the Prince of England'. Furthermore, 'the murderers are in a very strong fortress and may be aided by England, thus arousing a fresh conflict before the time for the restitution of Boulogne'.³³⁰

It also seems doubtful, to judge by the Scottish reaction, that Henry intended to keep to the clause in the recently signed treaty which stated that 'the Scots to be comprehended against whom England shall not move without new occasion'.³³¹ In the Parliament which sat at Edinburgh on 14 August to deliberate and accept the comprehension of Scotland in the peace, the Scots added a lengthy list of qualifications, complaints and concerns vis-à-vis England in the 'Articulis to be send to the king of France and to his ambassatouris being in Inland'.³³² The not unreasonable Scottish complaints clearly demonstrate Henry's lack of serious intent. The Scots wanted to know 'howbeit that the wardinis of Inland being advertist of the said comprehensiounn lang befor the advertisament maid therof to this realm Maid na proclamationis of pece'; that after the proclamation of peace in London 'thair wes diuerse Incursionis maid be Inglismenn within this realm'; and that the 'wardinis of Inland aluterlie refusit to mak ony metingis' for the 'Reformation yairof'; that 'ane tour callit Langhope [Langholm] ... takin be ane Scottis tratour quihilk with his craft drew in Inglismen for profit And put in yair handes the lord Maxwell'. They also wanted all Scottish prisoners to 'be fred vpoun Ressonable Ransonis according to the lawis of armes'; that 'ye pece be observit and keipit onn euery syde indurand the tyme of this pece and comprehensiounn', and finally, 'Na tratores nor Rebellis of the realm of Scotland be ressaut nor mantenynt within the the realm of Inland'; especially the 'odious tratouris [who] committit ... the crewell and odious slauchter of vmquale David archibishop of sanctandrois ... to be ressaut manteinynt helpit nor Suppleit within his realme Efferand to his princelie curage And honour'.³³³

A few weeks later on 18 September, the English Council ordered 'for the relief of his friends and servants who remained beseiged in St Andrews castle, the King presently sends to the seas the *Pauncey*, *Mynyon*, *Hart*, *Jennet*, *Dragon* and *Lyon*'.³³⁴ It was probably one of these ships which conveyed

330 *L & P*, vol., XXI (1), p. 603.

331 *Ibid*, p. 508.

332 *APS*, vol., II, p. 473. There is a blank space after 'the gentilman furt of France callit.....', but presumably this was Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel.

333 *APS*, vol., II, pp. 473-74.

334 *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 49.

Norman Leslie and Henry Balnaves to London at the end of November.³³⁵ Earlier in the same month David Paniter, Bishop of Ross, and Sir Adam Otterburn had been sent by the Queen Dowager and Governor 'vers ce roy [Henry VIII] pour le fait de la compréhension', accompanied by a French envoy [not identified] who was then to carry de Selve's report of this meeting to François I.³³⁶ On 18 November de Selve wrote to Paget that the 'the Scotch ambassadors lately come hither inform him that the king has prepared men of war on his ships for a descent in Scotland to aid the castle of St Andrews; which would be open war and a contravention of the treaty, wherein at his master's request the Scots are comprehended'.³³⁷ Paniter and Otterburn took this letter to Paget when they were finally granted an audience with Henry VIII on 21 November. On 25th, de Selve reported to François I that the Scottish ambassadors had visited him the previous day and told him that when they had 'said [to Henry VIII] that their mission was to present the acceptation of the comprehension clause the king angrily told them that the comprehension was granted with conditions which the Scots had contravened, and they were false people and he would be revenged'. Henry refused to discuss anything with the Scottish ambassadors and referred them to his Council, to which meeting they requested the presence of de Selve. Paniter said that he 'thinks this King determined to make war on the Scots' and suggested that 'the King of France could do more damage to this realm through Scotland for 200,000 crowns than any other place for a million'. Paniter also 'confirmed the report here of an insurrection in Ireland ... and said that if the Governor of Scotland would only let the Scots of the Isles help the Irish, who were daily soliciting it, their enterprise would be easy; and then if this King began war in Scotland he would be much hampered on the side of Ireland'.³³⁸ Five days after the Scottish ambassadors' meeting with Henry VIII on 26 November the Scottish Council sitting at St Andrews formulated 'the articlis to be desyrit at the King of France for the help and supple to be gevin to this realme againis the King of England'. The Scots desired François I to oblige Henry VIII to keep the peace as agreed in the treaty, and if he refused, the Scots, invoking the 'Auld Alliance', required the 'maist cristine King declair him innymy to the said King of England, and mak weir upoun him with all his power' and 'to keip baith the realmes of France and Scotland fra the invasioun of the said King of England'. Also, 'for support of the Quenis Grace and my Lord Governour' and for 'defense of his [sic] realme' the Scots require of the 'maist cristine king' 200,000 écus d'or, men-of-war, artillery, munitions and engineers to build or renew fortifications and that 'the said provision and support may be in Scotland, ... XV day of Februar nixt to cum [1547]'.³³⁹

335 Odet de Selve à l'Amiral, (d'Annebaut) Londres, 29 nov., 1546, 'ils sont tous deux sortis [de chasteau Saint-André] à la faveur de l'artillerie de dix navires angloys', *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 67.

336 De Selve au Roy, Londres, 10 nov., 1546, *Ibid*, p. 54.

337 *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 197.

338 *Ibid*, p. 209; see also *Correspondance de Odet de Selve*, pp. 60-61.

339 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 54-55.

François I's response to the Scots, unlike that of Henry VIII's, was diplomatic rather than bellicose, although there remains a Muster Roll taken at 'Saint Jehanston [Perth] en Escosse' on 17 January 1546 [1547] of 187 'hommes de guerre' under the charge of 'Cappitaines Jehan Guybeson et Jehan Momitho [?]' and 'Lois Bude, escuyir, Seigneur de Maugeron' who were all paid by 'Messire Raoul Moreau'.³⁴⁰ Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any supporting evidence, which is accessible at this time, to ascertain when these 'hommes de guerre' and their French officers arrived in Scotland or how long they stayed nor where, when or whether they were engaged in combat? Also, there do not seem to be any links to the previously cited Muster Rolls of 'les expéditions françaises en Écosse de François 1^{er}', taken during 1545 and 1546.³⁴¹ There is also the curious case of a Frenchman who said 'his name was St. Ligiers, born at St. Ligiers in France', who approached Lord Cobham at Calais on 12 February 1547 to offer his services to Edward VI. According to Cobham's report to the Lord Protector the following day, St. Ligiers 'had been one of the French King's Guards, and at the request of M. de Lorge had accompanied him to Scotland, where by appointment of the Governor and de Lorge he had been made captain of Hume castle, which he kept at the time when the Protector invaded Scotland, and he recovered, as he says, the castle of Lanton and Isbec at the same time. But, contrary to promise, having received no reward for his long service, and having spent all his own money, amounting to 300 crowns, he left Scotland last June [1546]'. St. Ligiers claimed that 'knowing all the holds and strengths in Scotland and how to win them, he thinks he can do better service to his Majesty than to any other. He further says, that having with him eight gunners, four of these being cannoniers and the other four harquebusiers ... he dares undertake to win Hume castle for his Majesty, and will ask no reward until the enterprise is achieved'.³⁴² The Lord Protector's response to St. Ligiers' proposal is not

340 BN, Fonds Français 25793, No. 593.

341 On 15 March 1547 Patrick, Lord Gray, sheriff of Angus, requested Edward VI and the Lord Protector 'to assist me in recovering the town of St Johnston [Perth] and put forth my enemies [not identified]', *CSP, Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots*, ed., J. Bain, vol., I, 1547-1563 (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 2. The only familiar name on this Muster Roll is that of Raoul Moreau who was appointed 'trésorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres en Picardie, Artois, Champagne, Normandie, Bretagne et Écosse, 31 déc., 1547', *Actes de Henri II*, vol., I, p. 518, cf. BN, Fonds Français 3115, fol., 61; see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents*, for a similar muster roll taken at Perth, also on 17 Jan., but for the year 1547-48n.s. As Raoul Moreau was not appointed until 31 Dec., 1547 by Henri II's administration, it would seem that this muster roll, catalogued with those of François I at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, actually belongs with those of Henri II.

342 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 301. The name St. Ligiers does not appear on the Muster Rolls of the *garde écossaise* taken from July 1543 to Jan., 1546, Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, pp. 138-43. There is, however, an 'Anne de Lestuf, Seigneur de St. Leigier prevost de la dite justice' in charge of 'huict archers ordonnez par l'administracon de la justice des camp et armee que le Roy [Henri II] a des longtems [pa-?] son serment en ce royaume et pais d'Escosse', Muster Roll, Edinburgh, 11 Nov., 1548, Fonds Français 25794, No. 39; who might be the same St. Ligiers, although Anne de Lestuf also does not appear on Forbes-Leith's Muster Rolls between 1543 and 1549.

known, but St Ligiers' deposition that he was in Scotland, presumably with a detachment of troops, until June 1546, asks the question of how many French soldiers remained in Scotland after the general departure in January and February 1546? Very few would seem to be the logical answer, given the pleas of the Scottish Council for French succour during the second half of 1546. It is also hard to imagine, given Henry VIII's espionage network and intelligence, albeit waning by 1546, from the 'Assured Scots', that no word of French troops in Scotland reached the English wardens, although it is worth re-iterating that the *Hamilton Papers* (which include State Papers for the Council of the North) are wanting from 6 September 1545 to 30 May 1547.

François I's diplomatic response to the Scots included resurrecting a suggestion made by the Protestant ambassadors during their negotiation for the Anglo-French peace during November 1545 of 'the marriage of Mary Stuart to the Prince of Denmark'.³⁴³ Thus, according to Dr Pariset, 'renforçant l'influence française dans le nord' and Christophe Richer, a French agent in Copenhagen, 'fut chargé de négocier à une alliance des trois rois, d'octobre 1546 à mars 1547'. Pariset argues that 'l'Angleterre n'y était pas hostile, car ainsi Marie Stuart n'épouserait pas un Français et le Danemark serait en quelque sorte le garant de la neutralité écossaise'.³⁴⁴ But England may not have been as easily accommodated as Pariset claims. Shortly before news of the signing of the Anglo-French peace treaty had reached Denmark, Richer reported to François I that 'England sent an ambassador requesting alliance and proposing marriage of one or both of his [Henry VIII's] daughters with the King of Denmark's brothers, dukes of Holstein, or with his eldest son, elect king of Denmark'. On 6 November 1546, François sent instructions to Richer informing him that because Henry VIII 'daily gives evidence that he does not mean to observe the treaty', François 'therefore desires the King of Denmark, his good brother, not to treat any league, alliance or intercourse with the King of England'; but 'if the King of Denmark speak of the marriage of the little Queen of Scotland for his son, Richer shall say that the King will assist therein in every way' and also 'he shall endeavour to induce the king of Denmark to enter league defensive with France and the Scots and get the towns of the Easterlings to join, in order that league may be of more detriment to the King of England by shutting him out of the Eastern sea from which he draws all his commodities'.³⁴⁵ On 10 December, de Selve wrote to François I that he had seen the King's instructions 'touching the King of Denmark's desire (*voulunté*) which he is therein commanded to keep secret was common bruit in this town [London] ten days ago'.³⁴⁶ Towards the end of December or in January 1547, François wrote to Richer that 'ayant este

343 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 122.

344 Pariset, *Les Relations entre la France et L'Allemagne*, p. 66, n. 71 *cf*, Discours sur la négociation: AMAE, Paris, Corr. Danemark, Sup., I, fol., 66.

345 *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), pp. 176-78, *cf*, Camusat, 'Legation de Suède', *Meslanges Historiques* (1644), pp. 12-15.

346 *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 266; see also, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 73-74.

adverty par mon Ambassador qui est en Escosse,³⁴⁷ que la Reyne Mere et Gouverneur d'Escosse auroient à plaisir que l'on traïstast du Mariage de la jeune Reyne d'Escosse avec le fils du Roy de Dannemark à cette cause pour la singuliere affection que je porte audit Roy de Dannemark je vous en ay bien voulu écrire pour l'en advertir, estimant que cela pouroit estre avantageux à luy et à ses successeurs'.³⁴⁸ Even though these proposals did not eventuate, François I's diplomacy and support for the Scots had successfully excluded Henry and England from the fruits of a useful alliance, prospects of dynastic marriage/s and profitable trade agreements.

François I also used diplomatic measures when he was petitioned by the Scots in early 1547 to use his influence with Pope Paul III to grant a decree of absolution to the murderers of Cardinal Beaton who were still holding St Andrews castle. In a lengthy letter to Cardinal Farnese on 20 January 1547, the Papal nuncio, Hieronimo Dandino, Bishop of Caserta, cogently argued the political necessity of the absolution to which the nuncio knew the Pope was vehemently opposed.³⁴⁹ But the wishes of François I supervened. Dandino explained that 'S. M. [Sua Maiestà] haveva novamente havute lettere di Scotia per le quali intendeva, come in effetto dal canto d'Inghilterra ogni di più si comprendeva il malanimo di quel tiranno contra quel povero regno, et che era cosa assai chiara, che faceva quelle preparationi che poteva più gagliarde per assalirlo, et molestarlo, come prima il tempo s'aprissè'; that the Queen Dowager, Governor and Council of Scotland 'non havevano da un pezzo in qua giudicato di poter far cosa più profittevole' (as the absolution) 'che procurare d'assicurarsi della fortezza del castello di santo Andrea occupata, anchora fino d'oggi, ... da quelli che ammazzorono quel buon cardinale'. Dandino stressed in a separate note to Cardinal Farnese 'che essendo noto a N. S. [Nostro Signore, Paul III] de che importanzia sia al regno di Scotia la fortezza di castello di S.^{to} Andrea, et quanto sarebbe dannoso al detto regno se capitasse in mano delli inimici suoi'. Also important was the 'conservatione di quel regno, al quale ella ha portato sempre et porta tuttavia paterna et singulare affettione, mossa anche dalli instantissimi preghi non solo della reina, et governatore, ma anche di qualche altro principe, al quale, come

347 Henri Cleutin, Sieur d'Oysel, who arrived in London and requested a passport on 7 Dec. 1546 to travel to Scotland, *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), pp. 261, 263, and 265. Apparently M. d'Ausy [Pierre de la Tanniere] also returned to Scotland in Dec., 1546 carrying letters, among others, from M. de Lorges and M. de la Brousse to the Queen Dowager written at Compeigne on 14 and 16 Dec., *Balcarres Papers*, vol. I, pp. 116-17, wrongly dated by the editor as 1545: both men were still in Scotland with the French troops in December 1545. M. de Lorges' letter has been correctly dated in *L & P*, vol., XXI (II), p. 279.

348 *Lettres de Mémoires d'Etat... François Ier* ed., G. Ribier, Blois (1666), vol., I, p. 606. The letter is undated but d'Oysel was in Scotland between 14 Dec., 1546 and 17 Jan., 1547, *L & P*, vol. XXI (II), pp. 277 and 374.

349 *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, pp. 134-38. Lestoquoy says that the 'bref [d'absolution] si insolite que le pape l'accordera sans oser en parler en consistoire', *Ibid*, p. 9. He also adds that 'le texte ne se trouve pas dans le registre de Brefs de Paul III: le pape n'ayant pas voulu en parler en consistoire, il n'a pas été enregistré', *Ibid*, p. 167, n. 3.

obediente, et benemerito della sede apostolica'.³⁵⁰ On 19 February, Dandino reported to Rome that the letter of absolution had arrived and 'mostrò S. M. [François I] satisfatione grande di S. B.^{ne} [Pope Paul III] et gliene rese molte gratie, et soggiunse, che lo voleva mandare ad ogni modo, et presto ... non solo per conservazione di quel regno, ma anche per minor travaglio di quei popoli, che fusse possibile'.³⁵¹ Professor Donaldson says that the 'Castilians' agreed to surrender on receipt of an indemnity and an absolution from Rome, but when the absolution came ... it contained the phrase *remittimus irremissibile* and was therefore rejected'.³⁵²

At the same time that the absolution was being negotiated the Pope endeavoured to recover from François I the ecclesiastical dues following Cardinal Beaton's death. On 13 December 1546, Dandino was instructed to 'exhortera le roi à la restitution de l'argent laissé par le cardinal Beaton'. Dandino replied to Cardinal Farnese on 18 December that he had spoken to François I 'delli danari lasciati dal cardinale di Santo Andrea in quest regno. Mi ha detto che non ce pretende niente ma che essendo stato il detto cardinale natural di Francia per le lettere di Naturalità et Privilegii che haveva,³⁵³ manco S. S. le può pretendere cosa alcuna, essendo che tutto e delli heredi suoi et che per quelli li farà guardare et conservare molto volentieri, et non è stato loco ad altra replica, nè con S. M. nè con li Ministri'. To which Cardinal Farnese angrily responded on 24 December that 'S. S. fera le possible pour l'Écosse. Il faudra tenter de retrouver l'argent laissé par le cardinal Beaton, pour que le prélat désigné par S. S. puisse le porter'.³⁵⁴ The recovery of the money, however, remained unresolved at the time of François I's death; (31 March 1547) and whether Beaton's heirs and successors ever benefited from his French possessions is not known, although his nephew, James Beaton, was granted a French ecclesiastical benefice by Henri II as were David Paniter and George Buchanan for services rendered to the French crown.

350 *Ibid*, pp. 134-38.

351 *Ibid*, p. 152.

352 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 75. Merriman, makes the same point, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 194, n. 4 cf, Knox, *History*, I, 94. However, on 20 March 1547, Cardinal Farnese explained the Pope's position to Dandino: 'quando possiate trattener che S. M. Chr. [François I] ma non usi il presente breve della assolutione senza però mostrar' che S. S. [Sua Santità, Paul III] si retragga dalla gratia concessa al intercessione di S. M. Chr.ma, sarà grato a S. S. almeno che fintanto che arriui il Nuntio o che s'habbia altro avviso delle cose di Scotia per esser tale et così enorme il delitto che non par quasi conveniente che se ne trovi in alcun tempo memoria della assolutione, non essendo bastato l'animo a S. S. di parlarne in consistorio che pur il caso il richiedeva; però tutto si rimette alla prudenza et giudicio vestro', *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, pp. 167-68.

353 For a full exploration of Beaton's French naturalization (1537) and the difficulties he had in registering his letters patent in the *chambre des comptes* in Paris, see Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp. 1092-94; and for full transcriptions of the documents, *Ibid*, App., 4, pp. 1106-09. Beaton's naturalization was granted by François I preparatory to his appointment as bishop of Mirepoix, which was his reward from the French king for the successful negotiations he had conducted for the marriage of James V to Marie de Guise.

354 *Ibid*, p. 111-16.

Scottish affairs, however, were relegated to a minor position at the French court following the death of Henry VIII on 28 January 1547 when relations with England, and even more importantly, those with the Schmalkaldic princes and the threat from Charles V, fully occupied the French during the last eight weeks of François I's reign.³⁵⁵ The death of Henry VIII was not announced publically until 31 January, although Odet de Selve and the Baron de la Garde³⁵⁶ seem to have been well-informed. They wrote to François I on 31 January before the proclamation, the same day, of Edward VI; that 'nous ne sçavons sy c'est de peur que la mort du roy d'Angleterre ne soyt divulguée, de laquelle, Sire, nous venons présentement d'estre assureés, tant de l'Italien que de cinq ou six autres endroys, combien que la chose soyt encores tenue sy secrette³⁵⁷ qu'il n'y a homme qui ose quasi ouvrir la bouche pour en parler, et ne sçait l'on bonnement encores quand advint ladicte mort', but they had had a message from the Venetian secretary in London (Giacomo Zambon) that,

'la dicte mort feust dès jedy dernier [27 January] au soyr et que ledict seigneur roy d'Angleterre avoyt laissé et nommé vingt commissayres et gouverneurs de son fils et de ce royaume desquelz le conte d'Arfolch [earl of Hertford] est le principal et des aultres ne se sçavient encores les noms, ce qui vient d'estre confirmé à moy de la Garde par ung médecin angloys qui aultresfois esté à moy et qui maintenant estoyt audict seigneur roy d'Angleterre. ... [Et] vous advisant outre, Sire, que le prince [Edward] doibt ce jourd'huy estre in ceste ville avec le conte d'Arfolch qui l'alla quérir dez vendredy [28 January] et va loger comme l'on dict en la grosse Tour [Tower of London] pour estre plus assureé contre quelque émotion sy elle advenoyt'.³⁵⁸

The advent of Edward VI was well-planned and, according to Professor Elton, 'betrays the mind and hand of Paget'.³⁵⁹ 'Precedents for royal minorities', argues Elton, meant that 'first one had to secure the person of the boy King, preferably before his predecessor's death was known. Hertford at once collected Edward and brought him to London where on 31 January he presented him at the Tower to the Council of executors nominated in Henry's

355 Potter, Ph. D Thesis, p. 162, with lengthy explanatory footnotes, No. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

356 Antoine Escalin des Aimars, Baron de la Garde, ambassadeur de France à Constantinople (1541-1544); général des galères de France (1544-47;1551-57;1566-78); chargé de mission particulière en Angleterre (1546;1546-47;1547), *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 499.

357 *Ibid*, p. 95; Scarisbrick says that 'the news that Henry had come to his end was kept secret for three days, primarily, it seems, because the King's death had halted the execution of the duke of Norfolk, who had been due to suffer that very morning, and threw his enemies into a bitter dilemma', *Henry VIII*, p. 496.

358 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 95-96; in a second dispatch on the same day to François I, de Selve and de la Garde announced the death of Henry and the proclamation of Edward VI, *Ibid*, p. 96.

359 Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 333

will. At the same meeting he also got his fellow councillors to name him Protector of the realm'.³⁶⁰ Hertford was also appointed 'Governor of his [Edward VI] moste royal persone', despite the claim made by his brother, Thomas Seymour, for this office.³⁶¹ Several days later, on 6 February, the Privy Council put Scotland high of their agenda, and their first consideration was to honour Henry VIII's promise 'to geve certaine pentiones to divers noble men and others which kepe and defende the Castle of Sainte Androwes for his Majestes service', and 'to enterteigne at his Graces coste and charges cxx^{te} [120] men for the more sure defence of the saide Castle againste the Kinges Majestes ennemyes in Skotelande'.³⁶² On the same day Paget read out a deposition as to the late King's intentions; the lavish scale of which, says Elton, 'does not in the least correspond with Henry's usual practice'.³⁶³ The greatest beneficiary, as might be expected, was 'my Lord of Hertford to be Treasourour and Earle Marshall of England and Duke of Somerset, Exceter or Hertford', as well as a pension of 'a thowsand [1,000] markes a yere'.³⁶⁴ The newly created Duke of Somerset, however, was still not satisfied. Professor Elton says that he was 'determined to set up a free personal rule', and, 'on the 12 March he obtained letters patent (in the new King's name) which empowered him to appoint the King's Council, and from that moment his autocratic system was complete'.³⁶⁵

Dr Potter says that the Baron de la Garde, 'who had been in England since early December trying to settle the matter of the Boulogne boundaries, ...[had] negotiated two treaties, one of confirmation and the more important for clarification of frontier disputes. ... [and] though the Treaty was signed and sealed in England, François I died before the ratification and Henri II never agreed to ratify it'.³⁶⁶ Odet de Selve wrote to François I on 13

360 *Ibid*, p. 333; naming the King's uncle as Protector, says Elton, was 'another conventional measure in minorities, taken for instance in 1422 and 1483. Although it is usually alleged that Henry had meant to prevent just this elevation of a single person, the terms of his will in fact left this obvious possibility open', *Ibid*, p. 333. For the full proceedings of the Privy Council meeting on 31 January 1547 see, *APC*, vol., II, pp. 3-7.

361 *Ibid*, p. 5; Elton says that Thomas was 'admitted to the Privy Council on 23 January, but Henry was later reported to have refused to keep him on the Council of executors. In the will he appears among the 'assistants' only. His treatment proves that the will was still being revised in the last week of Henry's life', Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 333.

362 *APC*, vol., II, p. 12.

363 Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 333; Elton says that 'the fact that Paget himself went empty-handed may support the truth of his statement'; see also *APC*, vol. II, pp. 15-22.

364 *Ibid*, p. 18; on 15 Feb., 1547 the following titles were determined: the 'Earle of Hertford to have the name and title of Duke of Somerset; therle of Essex to be Marques of Northampton; the Vizcounte Lisle to be Erle of Warwyke; the Lorde Wriothesley to be Earle of Sowthampton; Sir Thomas Seymour to be Lord Seymour of Sudley; Sir Richard Ryche to be Lord Ryche; Sir William Willoughby to be Lorde Willoughby of Param and Sir Edmund Sheffeld to be Lorde Sheffild', the letters patent were to be made out the following day. 'And it was further ordered that a patent shuld be made owte to therle of Hertforde afforesaide for a confirmacion to him of the Barony of Seymour', *Ibid*, p. 35.

365 Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 334.

366 Potter, P.h. D. Thesis, p. 163, n. 1.

February that they had 'exprimé au protecteur et aux autres seigneurs du conseil les condoléances du roi au sujet de la mort du roi d'Angleterre'.³⁶⁷ Later, they discussed with the Protector and Paget 'propoz de continuer et poursuivre les moyens mictz en avant avec le feu roy de perpétuer la dicte amytié', and they suggested that the new amity be sealed with marriages of Elizabeth de Valois to Edward VI, and Mary Tudor to Antoine de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme, roi de Navarre.³⁶⁸ On 15 February, François I sent a commission to the French ambassadors to negotiate a 'ligue deffensive pour nous nos dicts Royaulmes pays terres seigneuries et subiectz';³⁶⁹ these proposals were then discussed with the Privy Council on 4 March.³⁷⁰

In the meantime, the Scottish ambassadors, David Paniter, bishop of Ross and Sir Adam Otterburn, who had been in London since November met with the Protector and Paget on 3 February. The next day the French ambassadors reported the meeting to François I that 'le congé que l'évêque de Ross demandait pour passer auprès du roi de France comme il en avait la charge lui a été refusé jusqu'à l'arrivée de cette nouvelle commission'.³⁷¹ On 21 February they reported that 'les ambassadeurs d'Écosse ont reçu du gouverneur d'Écosse leur nouvelle commission semblable à la première et portant charge à l'évêque de Ross de passer seul en France'.³⁷² According to Otterburn, who wrote to Marie de Guise on 8 March, Paniter departed for France on the 5th. In the same letter, he also reflected on the generally improved Anglo-French relations since the death of Henry VIII. 'I wait nocht quhow', observed Otterburn, 'it sall succede betuix France and Yngland bot the ambassatouris of France ar wele tretit and as freyndis and we as inmyis', and on 14 March, he further noted that 'I assure your grace that I persais sik kyndnes betuix France and Yngland that France will nocht displeis thame'.³⁷³

³⁶⁷ *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 102; also see PRO Sp 68/1/53; in the same letter, François I also agreed to the re-appointment of Dr. Wotton as English ambassador in France.

³⁶⁸ Wotton to the Privy Council, 6 April 1547, PRO, Sp 68/1/241; *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve* pp. 102-03.

³⁶⁹ PRO, Sp. 68/1/55. There is no mention of the comprehension of Scotland in this dispatch. There was discussion at this time at the French Court that 'England will commence war against the Scots this year', and it was reported that François I 'says he will assist the latter'. It was thought that 12 galleys would be sent and that the Seigneurs de Vêndome and Lorges were in Brittany raising men 'to aid the Scots', St Mauris to King of the Romans, 15 Feb., 1547, *CSP, Spanish, Ed. VI*, vol., IX, p. 35. Nothing seems to have come of these proposals, and St Mauris, who always seemed to have sent extremely detailed dispatches, does not mention it again during the last weeks of François I's reign.

³⁷⁰ *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 113-5.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 105; Paniter was still waiting on 28 February for 'le congé et sauf-conduit de l'évesque de Rosse pour passer devers vostre Majeste'; M.M. de Selve et de la Garde au roi, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁷³ *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 175-6; and added that 'your grace sall surelie understand that the pece betuix France and Yngland was contractit for the Kingis and thair succouris, and now the samyn is renewit within thir thre dayis and, as the ambassatour [de Selve] sayis, we are comprehendit as of befor; bot we ar nocht off counsaile thairto', *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

In Edinburgh on 18 March, Lord Ruthven³⁷⁴ informed Marie de Guise that Paniter had written from France 'desirand to wit quhat he suld do gif the King of Franch wald nothir caus Inglond to comprehend us nor yit ansueir us of support conformand to our desyre bot undir the fair wordis of Inglond without ony uthir securite: and we have biddin hyme do conformand to the first articulis and remane still thair quhill he adverteis us agane of the King of Franchis utir mynde quhat we may lippyn to tak sic support as he will gif'.³⁷⁵ François I, however, died before Paniter was able to present his commission. But, he informed Otterburn, 'he hes spokin with this young Kyng [Henri II] of France'.³⁷⁶ He hes writen this mater be syfferis, quhobeit it nedit nocht for the protector hes the commission, and it is na mater of secreitnes to schaw that he spak with the Kyng of France'.³⁷⁷ Not only had the French attitude warmed towards Scotland, and *ipso facto* cooled towards England, but Paniter's messenger also informed Otterburn of sweeping changes at the French court. A new era in Franco-Scottish relations had begun.

In Scotland, the 'Castilians' received financial and spiritual support from the new, and avowedly Protestant, regime of the Protector Somerset;³⁷⁸ it was probably the main reason which had given them the confidence to reject the absolution from Rome; and John Knox decided it was now opportune to enter the Castle.³⁷⁹ Dandino wrote to Cardinal Farnese of 26 March 1547 that 'les assassins du cardinal Beaton sont toujours dans la même forteresse, occupent la ville et y ont introduit des prédicants anglais'.³⁸⁰ The Scottish government was now in a much weaker situation than it had been during the previous three years. Professor Donaldson says that 'had it been possible for

374 William, 2nd Lord Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1546, *Ibid.*, p. 179, n. 3.

375 *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 177-78.

376 François I died on Henri's 28th birthday. 'C'est à Saint-Germain-en-Laye que naît, le 31 mars 1519, le second fils du couple royal ... Le roi, pour faire plaisir à son 'cousin' d'Angleterre Henri VIII, ... le choisit comme parrain de son fils', I. Cloulas, *Henri II*, p. 24.

377 Otterburn to the Queen Dowager, London, April 1547, *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 179-180; see also *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 3.

378 Early in the new reign, Paget renewed a draft of 'Articles touching the castle of St. Andrews, &c', inserting Edward VI 'with the advice of the Lord Protector and others of his privy council' in place of Henry VIII, in response to the supplications of those 'who have taken the castle of St Andrews in Scotland and possess the same against the Governor', English help will be forthcoming if the Castilians agree 'to do all they can to promote his marriage with their Queen, that they shall not deliver the castle to the hands of 'thold Queen', governor' *et al.* In return men, money and munitions will be forthcoming, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 1; a second draft by Paget of 'Certain Articles of speciall trust and confidens to be covenanted and observed by the Master of Rothes, the Lord of Graunge and Master Henry Banaveis', identifies those to be held responsible for the implementation of the first articles, *Ibid.*, p. 2; and finally, Patrick, Lord Gray, sheriff of Angus, asked for English help to recover 'St Johnston [Perth] and put forth my enemies', and 'in return I bind myself kin and friends to do our uttermost to accomplish the marriage of his majesty to my sovereign lady', *Ibid.*, p. 2.

379 Donaldson says that, at Easter [1547] John Knox entered the castle, *James V - James VII*, p. 76.

380 *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 171.

the government either to come to terms with the 'Castilians' or to recover the castle of St Andrews, as it recovered Dumbarton,³⁸¹ by prompt action, the episode might have had no effect on the situation'. But the governor's half-brother, John Hamilton, 'bishop-elect of Dunkeld, could hardly condone the murder of the primate; and the Hamilton dynastic interest forbade capitulation to a faction which proposed to marry Mary to Edward'.³⁸² Besides, the governor's son and heir, who had been in the castle at the time of Beaton's assassination, was still being held hostage by the murderers.³⁸³ In the new era, the tougher attitude by England which weakened the Scottish position, was to produce more than a mere diplomatic response from France in the reign of Henri II.

Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots had failed utterly; and even though Francis I's reaction and response to Scottish pleas for help under the terms of the 'Auld Alliance' had not been entirely successful, at least the Scots were in a much stronger position *vis-à-vis* England than they had been following the devastating defeat at Solway Moss and the death of James V in 1542. Implicit in Henry's failure is Thomas Cromwell's Scottish policy which leads to the irresistible conclusion that Scarisbrick is correct in asserting that Henry was not interested in Scotland but only in France; thus overturning Pollard's thesis that Henry VIII sought to become *Rex et Imperator* of the British Isles. At the same time, Pollard is also correct to perceive an overall policy in the 1530s to unite all the constituent parts of the British Isles under the English crown. This was not the policy of Henry VIII, however, but that of Thomas Cromwell. A policy which, as noted previously, was fraught with difficulties because (unlike Wales and Ireland) of the Scottish 'Auld Alliance', with France. It would seem that in 1541 Henry decided to resurrect some of Cromwell's policies employing force instead of diplomacy. This was crucial, for Henry seemed not to have had any real understanding of the nature of the 'Auld Alliance' as Thomas Cromwell and Thomas More seemed to have had; but by 1541 Henry no longer had their advice and counsel having executed both of them.

381 Donaldson, James V - James VII, p. 75. Dumbarton castle was seized by the Earl of Lennox and his youngest brother Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, almost simultaneously as the castle of St Andrews was taken. Robert Stewart had defected with Lennox to England in 1544, and during the seizure of Dumbarton, Stewart discussed with Arran the possibility of returning to Scotland. On 14 July 1546, the day before the capitulation of the castle to the Governor, Stewart appeared before the Scottish Council to ask for remission for his crime in return for a pension equal to his previous living. On 16 July he was granted a full pardon and ultimately became once again bishop-elect of Caithness, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, pp. 553, 574, 576-77.

382 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 75.

383 Young James Hamilton had been taken into St. Andrews castle by Cardinal Beaton as a pledge for his father's loyalty following the Governor's capitulation to the Cardinal in Sept., 1543, *Ibid*, p. 68.

French Reaction to the 2nd 'Rough Wooing': Henri II and Protector Somerset

The advent of Henri II on 31 March 1547 was accompanied, in the words of Professor Knecht, 'by a palace revolution',¹ which the recently reinstated English ambassador, Dr Nicholas Wotton, elaborated in a lengthy dispatch to the Privy Council on 6 April; and in which he also wondered how effectively he could function when, 'I am as unacquayntidde and as farre to seek yn this courst now, by meanes of this sudayne and great change'.² The cause of Wotton's anxiety, according to Dr David Potter, was that 'virtually the whole of the pro-English reform-sympathising faction at court had disappeared overnight with the death of the old King'. In particular, 'Longueval and La Planche, two of the most important contacts of the English ambassadors since the beginning of the decade', had gone.³

On the other hand, the Scottish ambassador, David Paniter, was granted an interview by Henri II during the first days of his reign. Paniter wrote to Sir Adam Otterburn, who had remained in London, to inform him of this meeting and to include dispatches in cypher of this matter (which, unfortunately, seem not to have survived) for Marie de Guise, to whom Otterburn reported soon after that Paniter's messenger 'says that your freyndis ar gret consaloris and reularis. Lord Dernly is at curt and the auld reularis baith men and women ar passit'.⁴ Reference to one of Paniter's dispatches in cypher, however, is made by William Keith, 4th earl Marischal, in his letter to Marie de Guise on 2 May 1547. Marischal says that 'I haif this advertisment that your gracis fader and freyndis standis in guyd fawwor with

1 Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 422; also see L. Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 34-57; F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency, connétable et pair de France sous les rois Henri II, François II et Charles IX*, 2 vols (Paris, 1889), vol., II, pp. 1-20; and Germaine Ganier, *La politique du Connétable Anne de Montmorency, 1547-59* (Le Havre, 1957), who, according to Dr David Potter, 'adds little to what was said by Decrue for the period 1547-50', Ph. D. Thesis, p. 171, n. 3.

2 PRO, Sp 68/1/241; an edited transcription of this dispatch appears in P.F. Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary with the Contemporary History of Europe, Illustrated in a Series of Original Letters Never Before Printed*, 2 vols (London, 1839), vol., I, pp. 35-42. Jean de Saint-Mauris, Imperial ambassador at the French court also wrote an even longer dispatch to Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries, on 20 April 1547 informing her (as Paillard notes in his commentary of Saint-Mauris' dispatch) that 'Il n'y eut peut-être jamais de révolution de cour aussi complète que celle qui se produisit à l'avènement de Henri II', C. Paillard, 'La mort de François Ier et les premiers temps du Règne de Henri II: d'après Jean de Saint-Mauris...' *Revue Historique*, V (1877) p. 91, cf. Archives du Royaume de Belgique à Bruxelles, Papiers d'État, Négociations de France, tome II, fols., 77 à 84.

3 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 168.

4 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 180. Her 'freynidis' were her family, the Guises, whose ascendancy 'in the Councils of France became assured on the accession of Henry II', *Ibid.*, p. 180, n. 1; 'Dernly' was John Stewart/Stuart, 5th Seigneur d'Aubigny, whom the French mistakenly called Lord Darnley, and who had been recently released from imprisonment in the Bastille soon after the accession of Henri II; see Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the sixteenth century,' pp. 31-33, and 'Naturalization', pp. 1091-92 and 1104-06, for further information on the Lennox-Stuarts of Aubigny.

this Kyng of France; ... forder I traist the sacryter [Paniter] hes menynt in hys syfeyris writin to the beschop of Dunkell [John Hamilton] that this Frenche man that is to cum presentlye heyr will dyssr in his maistrys [Henri II] nayme the mariaig of owr maistres [Mary Queen of Scots]'.⁵ Wotton, in his dispatch of 6 April, had also observed that at the French court with 'thauthorite of these three brethern [the Guises] it is to be thoughte that the Scottes shall lacke neither helpe nor favor'.⁶

It is significant, although not surprising, that Henri II elected to see the Scottish ambassador so soon after his accession. Henri's interest in Scotland and affection for James V, his erstwhile brother-in-law, had commenced in October 1536 not long after the young King of Scots had arrived in France in search of a bride. According to Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, they first met at the 'Chapel of St. Sophorin, near Tarray, in the Lyonnois',⁷ ... and 'as soon as the Dauphin saw King James he ran to him and took him in his arms and welcomed him, says Pitscottie, "heartfully, and showed him that his father would be blyth of his coming" ... explaining that the King of France was still very sad for the tragic fate of his eldest son'.⁸ Henri took James to meet François I who gave 'thanks for sending the Noble Prince unto him to be his son, accepting him in love and favour so fervently as he had been his own natural son gotten of his Body ... and commanded the Dolphin, his son, to wait upon him and entertain him as his own brother'.⁹ During the following months James stayed at the French court and 'à la fin de novembre 1536, à Blois, François lui accorde la main de sa fille Madeleine' and on 'le 1^{er}

⁵ *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 182-83.

⁶ PRO, Sp 68/1/240.

⁷ A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the regal succession of Great Britain*, 8 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1852-54), vol., I, p. 293; 'Tarray': probably Tarare which is near Lyon in the Department of Rhône. Strickland cites Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The History of Scotland from 21 February 1436 to March 1565*..., ed., R. Freebairn (Edinburgh, 1728) p. 156, which does not mention the name of the Chapel. Nor is it mentioned in subsequent editions: *The Cronicles of Scotland*, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, 2 vols., ed., J.G. Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1814), vol., II, p. 366; nor in *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland (1436-1575)*, written and collected by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, 2 vols., ed., A.J.G. MacKay (Edinburgh and London, 1899), vol., I, p. 361.

⁸ That James V came to Lyon to meet François I was reported by Rodolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza and Papal Nuncio in France from 1535 to 1536, in his letters written from Lyon on the 4 and 14 October 1536, BL Add. MS 8715, fols., 288v-290r and 291r&v; for further elaboration on Pio's correspondence see Elizabeth Bonner, 'Vatican Secrets: Some Unpublished Correspondence of Sixteenth-Century Papal Nuncios at the French Court', *Innes Review* (forthcoming). The Dauphin François (Henri's elder brother) had died suddenly on 10 August 1536, Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 284.

⁹ *Pitscottie*, ed., Freebairn, p. 156; ed., Dalyell, vol., II, pp. 366-67; ed., MacKay, vol., I, pp. 361-62. Strickland (citing Pitscottie) says that the French court 'marvelled at his [James V's] boldness in undertaking so perilous a voyage in stormy weather, considering the roughness of the seas and the dangers of the coast; that he should have ventured on such an expedition without asking for a safe-conduct from either the King of England or the King of France ... attended by so few servants', Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, vol., I, p. 294; see also *Pitscottie*, ed., MacKay, vol., I, p. 361.

janvier 1537, les noces ont lieu à Notre-Dame de Paris'.¹⁰ According to Pitscottie, 'thair was never so great solemnitie and triumphe sen in France in ane day as was then sen the tyme of King Chairllis the Maine',¹¹ in which Henri and his wife, Catherine de Médicis, took, 'dans toutes les manifestations officielles, [including the wedding procession] la première place après le roi et la reine'.¹²

Henri and James did not meet again following the latter's return to Scotland in May 1537. Their only contact, other than the Dauphin's letters which James says he received "par votre secretaire", appears to have been the letter written to Henri on 7 July 1537 to inform him of Madeleine's untimely death;¹³ although there are several mentions of the Dauphin in Beaton's letters to James from the French court in September 1537 and 1541.¹⁴ On 13 September [1541] Beaton assured James 'I can not weill schaw zour grace be writ ye grete fauour and luf that the king your gracis fader [François I] schewis to haue to your grace and siclik monsieur Doulphin quhayis cummyne ane wyse vertuose prince and beris grete fauour and luf to your grace'.¹⁵ There are, however, a few surviving letters written by Henri to the Scottish court before his accession,¹⁶ which are addressed to 'Madame ma seur la Roynne Descosse', [Marie de Guise-Lorraine] in the period after the birth of Mary Queen of Scots and the death of James V. It is during this period, even though the evidence is scanty and these letters are but brief mandates for the 'present porteur vous rende bonne compte et amplement de mes nouvelles',¹⁷ or other similar instructions which are always closed with affectionate greetings of support; that it seems that Henri began to devise a plan for the future union of Scotland and France by taking advantage of Marie de Guise's position as Queen Dowager of Scotland. If this were the case then it might possibly explain her attitude and behaviour, as outlined previously, following the signing of the treaties of Greenwich in July 1543; her dissembling and ultimate rejection of possible marriage proposals from Bothwell, Lennox and Henry VIII; and her campaign to undermine and overthrow both the treaties of Greenwich and replace James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran's position as Regent for her daughter and Governor of Scotland.

In an undated letter which the editor, Marguerite Wood, estimates was written in 1543, Henri informs Marie de Guise that he is 'tres aise d'entendre quelle resollution auront fait voz ambassadeurs avec le Roy d'Angleterre,

¹⁰ Cloulas, *Henri II*, p. 93.

¹¹ *Pitscottie*, ed., MacKay, vol., I, p. 365.

¹² Cloulas, *Henri II*, p. 93.

¹³ *The Letters of James V*, collected and calendared by R.K.Hannay and edited by D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 334; the other letters mentioned by James seem not to have survived.

¹⁴ A. Lang, 'Letters of Cardinal Beaton 1537-1541', *SHR*, VI (1909), pp. 153-56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁶ NLS, Adv. MSS. 29.2.1, fols., 40, 43 and 72; published in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol., I, part II, pp. 212-14; and others in *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, pp. 88, 141 and 152.

¹⁷ 'Lestre du Daulphin du xvjme jung 1546', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 141.

dont je vous prie m'advertir. Ce faisant me ferez bien grant plaisir pour n'estimer moins la prosperite de voz affaires que les miens propres comme congnoistrez par effect, l'occasion si offrant et que j'en auray le moien'.¹⁸ 'Le moien' and 'l'occasion' seem to have offered themselves in 1544 with the birth of Henri's first son, François, on 19 January which was the cause for much celebration after ten childless years of marriage. On 5 December 1544 the English received intelligence from the French court 'that Mr. David Panter wrote to the Governor that the king of France wills the marriage of the Queen [of Scots] to the Dauphin's son'.¹⁹ It is not improbable that this proposal came from Henri. As the heir apparent he certainly would have been consulted on future marriage treaties for his son and heir. In the event, François I did not act upon this proposal preferring later to offer the young Queen of Scots' hand to the King of Denmark's son. As Dauphin, Henri could only suggest policy, and any negotiations he may have made with Marie de Guise would have been kept absolutely secret and passed by word of mouth by trusted servants. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Henri held the Queen Dowager in high regard. In this period before his accession, Henri informed Marie de Guise 'sil vous plaist aucune chose mordonner vous pouuez estre certaine que me trouerez tousiours prest a me y employer daussi bon cueur que Je desire estre humblement recommande a votre bonne grace'.²⁰ Notwithstanding the fact that there are so few surviving letters sent to the Scottish court from Henri as Dauphin, the volume increases considerably after his accession, indicating his interest and concern for Scottish affairs. During the first few months of his reign, however, Henri's prime concern was to re-organize the court and to make a number of administrative changes which, given the sweeping nature and speed with which they were implemented, gives the impression that they had been carefully planned for some time. There is every reason to believe that his plans for Scotland had also received the same meticulous attention well in advance of his accession.

The most significant feature of the palace revolution of 1547, says Professor Knecht, 'was the return to power of the constable, Anne de Montmorency',²¹ who had been banished from court by François I in 1541. During his disgrace, Henri had kept in close touch with his childhood friend

18 *Ibid.*, vol., I, pp. 88-89; Wood argues 'that 'quelle resollution' & etc. is probably referring to the adjusting of the Treaty of Greenwich in London, July 1543', *Ibid.*, p. 88, n. 2. It is not difficult to agree with Wood's deduction as this was the only 'resollution' negotiated between Scottish ambassadors and Henry VIII at this time.

19 *L. & P. Henry VIII*, vol., XIX (II), p. 430.

20 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.1 fol., 72; published in *Maitland Miscellany*, vol., I, part II, p. 214.

21 Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 423. The office of Constable was an appointment for life, and 'was considered the most important of the 'great offices' of the French crown. His duties were exclusively military and included the enforcement of discipline among the troops, the supervision of army supplies, the appointment of commissioners of musters, the authorization of military expenditure and the allocation of troops to garrison towns. In time of war it was customary for the Constable to command the army in the King's absence and the vanguard in his presence. On ceremonial occasions it was his privilege to carry the king's naked sword', *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

and mentor, and his first act after his accession was to appoint the constable as president of the king's council. On 12 April Montmorency took the oath of constable and was confirmed as grand master. 'His arrears of pay (100,000 écus) were settled, and he recovered his governorship of Languedoc, while his brother [François de Montmorency, Seigneur de] La Rochepot was reappointed governor of Paris and the île-de-France'.²² Others of Montmorency's family also rose to prominence, although not any of his own eleven children as his eldest son was only seventeen in 1547. It was his three nephews, Cardinal Odet de Châtillon who moved into his uncle's apartment at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and became a notable cleric at court; Gaspard, who was shortly named colonel-general of the infantry and, later, Admiral Coligny, and who became governor of the île-de-France and Picardy after his uncle La Rochepot's death; and François, Seigneur d'Andelot who commanded a contingent of Henri II's army in Scotland in 1548, and became 'colonel-général de l'infanterie française from 1555 to 1558'.²³ Finally, Montmorency's cousin, Jean d'Humières, was appointed governor of the king's children and their household.²⁴ Of almost equal significance in the new régime was the elevation to the king's council of Marie de Guise's brothers: François de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, who succeeded his father as duc de Guise in 1550, and Charles de Lorraine, archbishop of Reims and, later in 1547, Cardinal de Guise and who, in 1551, succeeded to his uncle Jean's benefices including the title of Cardinal of Lorraine.²⁵ Both Guise brothers had the support of the king's powerful mistress, Diane de Poitiers, duchesse de Valentinois; twenty years the king's senior she now became the dominant woman at court.²⁶ There is no doubt that these four personages were the most influential at the court of Henri II. Professor Baumgartner argues that 'for most of Henri's reign the struggle for power and influence was intense and

²² *Ibid.*, p. 424; 'In July 1551 Montmorency was created a duke and peer, an unprecedented elevation for a mere baron, placing him on a par with the highest in the land', *Ibid.*, p. 424, cf. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol., II, pp 1-7.

²³ *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 494.

²⁴ Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. 48; which included Mary Queen of Scots after August 1548.

²⁵ H. Outram Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent* (Cambridge, 1930) p. 9; and Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 428. The other Guise at court mentioned by Wotton, was the fourth brother, Louis de Lorraine 'who was in turn Bishop of Troyes and Metz and Archbishop of Albi, Sens and Bordeaux, and was created Cardinal of Guise in 1553', Evennett, *Cardinal of Lorraine*, p. 10. The other members of this close-knit powerful family, other than Marie, were: Claude, Marquis de Mayenne and, in 1550, duc d'Aumale; a second François, Grand-Prior of France and General of the galleys; René, Marquis d'Elboeuf; Renée, Abbess of Saint-Pierre-des-Dames; and Antoinette, Abbess of Farmoustier, *Ibid.*, p. 9. Their father Claude, who had married Antoinette de Bourbon, was the second son of René, duc de Lorraine, and Philippa de Guedres; the eldest son Antoine having succeeded as duc de Lorraine, and the third son, Jean, became Cardinal of Lorraine.

²⁶ Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 423; Baumgartner, *Henry II*, pp. 57-59; 'in 1547 a marriage was arranged between the third Guise brother, Claude, and her daughter Louise de Brézé', *Ibid.*, p. 58. Diane, born in 1499, married Louis de Brézé, grand sénéchal de Normandie in 1514 and by whom she had two daughters. Although she was widowed in 1531, Diane continued to be known as 'la grande sénéchalle', for example as Wotton referred to her in his dispatch to the Privy Council on 6 April 1547, PRO, Sp 68/1/240.

fairly evenly matched. The Guises' greater ability [and] youthfulness, ... combined with the usual support of Diane de Poitiers, nearly balanced the great, almost filial reverence that Henry had for the constable [Anne de Montmorency]'.²⁷

The palace revolution at the highest ministerial level saw the fall of François, Cardinal de Tournon and Claude d'Annebault. Although the latter was allowed to retain the post of admiral, (albiet without pay) he had to relinquish his position as Marshal of France to Jacques d'Albon who was also appointed Grand Chambellan. D'Albon and his father, Jean, Seigneur de Saint-André who had been Henri's governor, were both included on the king's council, as was Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, the king's uncle. The Bourbons, who were the only princes of the blood except for the sons of the king and still suffering from the aftermath of Charles III, duc de Bourbon's treason in 1523,²⁸ were represented on the inner council by Antoine de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme.²⁹ At the upper levels of the administration only the Chancellor, François Ollivier, whose office was an appointment for life,³⁰ and two of the secretaries of state, Guillaume Bochetel and Claude de Laubespine, 'weathered the sudden storm'. They were joined by Cosme Clause, Seigneur de Marchmont, who had served as secretary in Henri's household when he was the Dauphin, and Jean Duthier who had previously been a servant of Montmorency;³¹ and 'within the fiscal administration, Jean Duval was replaced as trésorier de l'Épargne by [André] Blondet, one of Diane de Poitier's creatures'.³²

The advent of Henri II also witnessed a sudden influx of *fuorusciti*: Italian exiles, mainly from Florence but also from Naples, who congregated at the household of Catherine de Medici, and many of whom received important

²⁷ Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. 59.

²⁸ For an account of this complex series of events, which led to the sequestration of Bourbon's considerable lands, titles and offices by François I, after the duke had defected to the Emperor Charles V on 7 September 1523 see, Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 148-59.

²⁹ Bourbon's position at court rose in 1548 when he married Jeanne d'Albret becoming king of Navarre in 1555. Their son Henri, who was born in 1553, rehabilitated the family's fortunes when he became King Henri IV, the first Bourbon King of France in 1589.

³⁰ The Chancellor was head of the royal chancellery and keeper of the three royal seals; as head of the royal judicial system he presided over parlement when he attended it; and as chief of royal administration he prepared important edicts and presided over the two royal councils in the absence of the king. In January 1551, due to failing health, Ollivier gave up most of his duties to Jean Bertrand who had recently been promoted to first president of the parlement and given the title of 'Garde des Sceaux'. Widowed the same year, Bertrand became bishop of Comminges and, in 1557, archbishop of Sens and a Cardinal, Baumgartner, *Henry II*, pp. 52-53. It would seem that Bertrand had been in line for promotion from the beginning of the reign: Wotton mentions that Bertrand was called to court in the first days after Henri's accession, Wotton to the Privy Council, 6 April 1547, PRO, Sp 68/1/239.

³¹ N. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1962) pp. 17-19.

³² Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 425, cf, Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, vol., II, pp. 12-13.

French offices and pensions, both secular and ecclesiastical.³³ The most notable of the *fuorusciti*, according to Romier, was the celebrated poet Luigi Alamanni who 'forma un centre d'attrait pour ses compatriotes. Aussi bien, son crédit grandissait chaque jour dans l'entourage de la Reine: il devint le conseiller, le porte-parole et l'agent intime de Catherine de Médicis',³⁴ particularly following the publication in 1548 of his epic poem, *Girone il cortese*, which he had dedicated to Henri II.³⁵ Also influential, were the four Strozzi brothers: Piero, Leone, Roberto and Lorenzo, the queen's cousins.³⁶ Exiled from Florence by their distant relative, Cosimo 1^{er} (di Medici) Duke of Florence since 1537, the Strozzi were dispersed in Italy at the beginning of 1547. 'Le 28 mars 1547 Piero [Strozzi] averti de la malade du Roi, [François I] quittait Venise à la hâte, en route pour Paris'.³⁷ 'Roberto et Lorenzo partirent de Rome le 2 juillet ... et l'épouse même de Piero, accompagnée d'une escorte de vingt personnes, parmi lesquelles se trouvaient Cecco dei Pazzi, Vincenzo Taddei, Gino Capponi, Vico dei Nobili et Lucca degli Albizzi, quittait Venise pour la France, à la fin d'octobre'.³⁸

Piero Strozzi, a longtime favourite of Henri II, arrived at the French court on 8 April 1547, and soon after 'fut créé gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre pourvu d'une pension de 2,000 livres, portée plus tard à 14,000 livres, et nommé capitaine général de l'infanterie italienne. Seul, avec Coligny, comme par une sorte de privilège, Strozzi reçut le collier de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel au sacre de Henri II'.³⁹ Leone Strozzi who, like his elder brother Piero, studied at the University of Padova 'puis entré dans l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, devenu commandeur et prieur [de Capoue]. A

33 In 1560, Charles de Marillac, archbishop de Vienne, complained of the numbers of Italians in the French hierarchy: 'they fill a third of the benefices of the realm, have an infinite number of pensions and suck our blood like leeches', cited in, F.J. Baumgartner, 'Henry II's Italian Bishops: A study in the Use and Abuse of the Concordat of Bologna', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, XI (1980) p. 49. Baumgartner says that '27% of episcopal appointments for his [Henri II's] reign, 20 of 26, went to Italians', *Ibid*, p. 50.

34 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 147; his son, Giovanni Battista Alamanni, received the bishopric of Bazas from Henri II in 1555, F.J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate. The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547-1610* (Duke UP, 1986), p. 214.

35 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 147.

36 Catherine, born on 13 April 1519, was the daughter of Lorenzo di Medici, Duke of Urbino and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, both of whom died within a month of her birth. Thus, she was also the great-niece of the Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII. The Strozzi's father, Filippo, had married Catherine's aunt, Clarice di Medici in 1508, and it was she who took care of Catherine during her infancy in Tuscany, Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 148.

37 *Ibid*, vol., I, p. 149, n. 3, cf. Pandolfini au duc de Florence, 30 mars 1547, Venise (Arch. de Florence, Mediceo 2967, fol., 75).

38 *Ibid*, vol., I, p. 149, n. 4 and 5, cf. same to same, 30 avril 1547, Venise (*Ibid*, fol., 536), and 2 nov., 1547 (*Ibid*, fol., 720).

39 *Ibid*, vol., I, p. 154, n. 2, 3 and 4, cf. BN, Pièces Originales 2730; BN, Fonds Français 3132, fol., 32; *Correspondance de D. du Gabre*, ed., Vitalis, p. 119. Henri's coronation took place on 26 July 1547 at Reims, the day after his formal entry into that city; the ceremony being presided over by Charles de Lorraine, archbishop of Reims.

l'avènement de Henri II, Leone fut nommé gentilhomme de la Chambre et capitaine général des galères du Roi dans les mers du Levant et du Ponant'.⁴⁰ Roberto Strozzi, having inherited the commercial aptitudes of his father was designated the administrator of the family bank. 'Il résida peu à la cour de France, bien que Henri II l'eût créé gentilhomme de la Chambre'.⁴¹ The fourth and youngest brother, Lorenzo Strozzi, was destined for the Church. 'Titulaire de plusieurs abbayes en Piémont et de celle de Saint-Victor-de-Marseille, il reçut, à l'avènement de Henri II, l'évêché de Béziers' and on 15 March 1557, 'Lorenzo fut créé Cardinal'.⁴² The Strozzi 'possédèrent des richesses considérables, et le Roi tira d'eux beaucoup plus de deniers qu'il ne leur en donna. La Banque Strozzi avait ... une succursale importante à Lyon, établi dès le début du XVI^e siècle.... L'union qui associat les marchands de Lyon et les *fuorusciti*, dispersés à la Cour et aux armées, n'apparaît nulle part plus saillante que dans la vie de ces Strozzi, tour à tour banquiers, conspirateurs et soldats'.⁴³

Having effected the 'palace revolution', Henri II turned his attention to the defence of the realm. His major concern, according to Dr David Potter, 'was the English question — and primarily that of Boulogne — [which] is confirmed by the dispatch of de Vielleville on special mission to England late in May'.⁴⁴ Potter says 'that almost as soon as he succeeded his father, Henri II began to raise such questions about the new treaty recently negotiated by [Odet de] Selve and Baron de la Garde, that he refused to ratify it,⁴⁵ and that the new régime in France began to set on foot military preparations in Picardy which caused considerable anxiety to the English officers across the

40 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 161, n. 3 and 4, cf. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, Strozzi di Firenze, vol., XX; BN, Pièces Originales 2730. 'Lettres patentes de Henri II, portant provision de la charge de capitaine général des galères de France en faveur de Léon Strozzi, chevalier de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, prieur de Capoue ... Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1er juin 1547' [Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône B. 40 (corvus) fol. 45v], M.J. Fournier, 'Les Galères de France sous Henri II', *Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive* (1904) pp. 184-87.

41 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 162, n. 6, cf. Arch. de Sienne, lettre de al Reggimento XXXIII, 90.

42 *Ibid.*, vol., I, pp. 163-4, n. 3, cf. *Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Paul IV (avec la dernière année de Jules III et Marcel II)*, ed., D. René Ancel, OSB (de l'Abbaye de Ligugé), 2 vols., *Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France* (Paris, 1909), vol., I, p. 120. 'Présentation au pape de Laurent Strozzi, frère de Pierre Strozzi, pour l'évêché de Béziers, vacant par la démission de François Gouffier... Fontainebleau, 9 octobre 1547', *Actes de Henri II*, vol., I, p. 354.

43 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 163, n. 5, cf. Charpin-Feugerolles, *Les Florentins à Lyon*, pp. 182-85.

44 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 165-66, n.1, cf. 'François de Scépeau, Seigneur de Vieilleville (1509-1571). He began his career as enfant d'honneur to Louise of Savoy and rose in the estimation of François I in the course of the Italian wars', *Ibid.*, p. 166. 'Ce jeune homme, bien vu du roi [Henri II], succédera un jour à Saint-André comme maréchal de France', Clouas, *Henri II*, p. 145. For further elaboration of the 'Boulogne' question see Potter's thesis, Ch. 4: 'The English policy of the French Court, 1547-1549', pp. 169-209.

45 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 168, n. 4; also see Rymer, *Foedera*, IV (1741), pp. 152-55.

Channel'.⁴⁶ On 5 May, de Selve informed the Duke of Somerset of the act of the *conseil privé* which had refused to ratify the treaty.⁴⁷ Several weeks later on 31 May, Somerset, in the name of Edward VI, wrote to Henri II from 'nostre mayson dict Saynt Jacques [? St James Palace]', informing him that 'nous auons receu voz lettres du xiiij^e et xv^e iour de May. Et cy auons entendu tant par icelles que par le rapport de nostre conseiller le S^r de Bryan et par la relation du S^r de Vielleville, Chevalier, gentilhomme de vostre chambre, vostre grant et affectionne desire de nous correspondre en bonne et parfaicte amitie ... et nous auons escripte a nostre ambassadeur resiant lez vous les propos que nous auons fait tenir au dit S^r de Vielleville pour vous les relater'.⁴⁸ Even so, Henri II made no overt move against the English. 'Undoubtedly the main reason for French restraint after May 1547' argues Potter, 'was the shock news of the Emperor's victory at Mühlberg'.⁴⁹ This meant, continues Potter, that 'the Emperor was no longer tied up in Germany, or so it seemed, and the French policy of keeping him embroiled with the princes seemed to have been neutralised. The way seemed, therefore, to lie open to a closer co-operation between the Emperor and the English and it was fear of this which was one of the reasons behind the special mission of Brissac⁵⁰ to the Imperial court in the summer of 1547'.⁵¹ Brissac was to enquire 's'il y a aucun traité ou secrette intelligence et plus particuliere entre luy [Charles V] et le roy d'Angleterre',⁵² and also 'to create the impression that a rapprochement with the English was on the way'.⁵³ In fact, largely due

46 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 168-69; 'Wotton had been instructed by the English Council to require ratification on 1 April before it knew of François I's death', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 10 'The procès-verbal of the meeting at which the ratification was refused to Wotton is dated 19 April [1547]', BN, Fonds Français 18153, fol., 1.

47 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 139.

48 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 2590, No. 3A, this is an original letter and is signed 'Vostre bon frere et cousin, Edward', and counter-signed 'E Somerset' and 'Jo: Masone'.

49 'Les partisans de la France en Haute Allemagne crurent jusqu'à la fin à la victoire sur l'Empereur. L'annonce de la défaite de Mühlberg, connue avec certitude à Strasbourg le 9 mai, fut ressentie comme une catastrophe "triste et infaustum nuntium, nihil tristius omnibus accidere potuisse ... O Germaniae fatum et Caesaris fortunam!", Chelius à Bassefontaine, Strasbourg, 10 mai 1547, AN, Archives privées, Pariset, 'La France et Les Princes Allemands: Documents et commentaires (1545-1557)', No. 12, p. 244, this document is also cited in Pariset, *Les Relations entre La France et L'Allemagne*, p. 73.

50 Charles de Cossé, comte de Brissac (c.1506-1563): grand fauconnier de France en 1540; colonel général des gens de guerre français en 1542; Maréchal de France en 1550, il se rendit en Piémont, dont le roi [Henri II] lui donna le gouvernement général; en 1559 le roi le nomma, gouverneur et lieutenant-général de Picardie; il mourut à Paris décembre 1563, J-Fr. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne* (Paris, 1889) repr. (Gratz, 1966), vol. IX, pp. 294-96.

51 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 169-70, n. 1, cf. W. Friedensburg, *Nuntiatuerberichte aus Deutschland, 1533-1559*, X, Supp. No 32, p. 492.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 170, n. 2, cf. C. Marchand, *Charles I de Cossé, Comte de Brissac* (Paris, 1889), pièces justif. III, p. 562.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 170, n. 3, cf. Henri II to Brissac, Aug., 1547, *Ibid.*, p. 563.

to Montmorency's caution with the concurrence of the Cardinal Guise,⁵⁴ Henri II accepted Wotton's proposals for mutual restitution of ships, prisoners and merchandise; by 20 October 1547, Wotton had concluded a definitive agreement with the *conseil privé* that these restitutions should take place within the next ten days 'pour le bien conservacion et entretenement de la paix'.⁵⁵ These negotiations, however, did not take place until after Henri II's plans to liberate St Andrews Castle were successfully implemented, and England's devastating victory over the Scots at Pinkie in September 1547.

Henri II's prime objective, however, was to secure his Borders. On the Italian front, it was reported on 29 June 1547 by the Imperial ambassador, St Mauris, that Henri II was making 'preparations for the war in Piedmont' and that 'he had sent to the Rheingrave with all speed to raise lansquenets, and already five or six thousand have been collected and have entered France'. Rumour has it, continued St Mauris, 'that some of these lansquenets are to go to Bresse and towards Provence to defend Piedmont, whither three or four thousand French adventurers have been sent to garrison the fortresses'.⁵⁶ Orders dispatching the French troops had already been sent on 1 June, as noted by Prince de Melfi: 'Le roy a ordonne a monsieur d'Aumaille [François de Guise-Lorraine] gouverneur de Daulphine et Savoye, pourveoir et donner ordre a ce que les deux mil [2,000] hommes soyent prestz et en estat de marcher toutes et quantes fois que par ledict seigneur prince. ... Et a este escript au conte de Tende, [Claude de Savoie, comte de Tende et de Villars] gouverneur de Prouvence, et au seigneur de Saint-Andre l'aisne [Jean d'Albon] gouverneur de Lyonnoys, Forest et Beaujolloys, faire le semblable quant aux garnisons qui sont esdicts pays'.⁵⁷ In the north-west, St Mauris also reported that Henri II insisted that his preparations in Flanders 'are simply for defence, though the Flemings do not trust him. He has consequently reinforced all his strong places on the Flemish borders'.⁵⁸ Finally, Henri II did not neglect his more *politique* defences at Rome. 'Le cardinal du Bellay reçut de Henri II pleine autorité sur les autres membres français de Sacré

54 On 30 Aug., 1547, Paget informed Somerset 'of the Constable's good affection to this amitie and great desire to lyve in peace', B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack, eds., 'The letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563', *Camden Miscellany*, vol., XXV, 4th series (London, 1974) p. 13; see also letter from 'le Cardinal de Guise au connétable de Montmorency, Rome, 10 novembre 1547', A. Lublinskaya, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des guerres d'Italie, 1547-1548* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1963) p. 213.

55 Potter, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 173-75 and p. 174, n. 3, cf. BN, Fonds Français 18153, fols 11v-12r; Selve reported to Henri II on 26 October 1547 that the Protector was pleased with the agreement, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 227.

56 St Mauris to Prince Philip, Poissy, 29 June 1547, *CSP, Spanish, Edward VI*, eds., M.A.S. Hume and R. Tyler (London, 1912), vol., IX, p. 112.

57 'Instruction baillée par le prince de Melfi', Turin, 7 May 1547, Lublinskaya, *Documents ... guerres d'Italie*, pp. 44, 46 and 49. Giovanni Caracciolo, Prince de Melfi, was Lieutenant-General and Governor of Piedmont who, because of failing health, was replaced in 1550 by Charles de Cossé, Comte de Brissac.

58 *CSP, Spanish, Edward VI*, vol., IX, p. 162.

Collège, ainsi que la “surintendance générale” des affaires royales en Italie’.⁵⁹ This was the only change in French diplomatic personnel at the start of the new reign. Elsewhere, Henri II retained his father’s appointments which included that of Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d’Oysel, who served both Henri II and his son François II, not only as French ambassador from 1547 but also as Lieutenant-General in Scotland from 1550 to 1560.

On 27 May 1547, David Paniter, the Scottish ambassador at the French court, received a new commission⁶⁰ from the Scottish council which, essentially, reiterated all the articles of the previous commission of 26 November 1546, and which he had failed to present to François I in March 1547 before the king died. Additionally, a second commission referred to a letter, shown to the Scottish council by ‘Monseigneur Doysel’, from the King of Denmark (Christian III) to François I referring to the French king’s request for a renewal of the triple alliance between Denmark, France and Scotland. The Scottish council, having agreed to this proposal, ‘will not fail to depeche our ambassadour with diligence towart Denmark’.⁶¹ Also of concern to the Scottish council was the detention of the Scottish ambassadors, John Hay and James Stewart, Abbot of Dryburgh,⁶² who had departed for France in a Scottish warship, the *Lion*, which was wrecked or captured near Dover on 14 March 1547.⁶³ The Governor of Scotland, James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, wrote separately to Henri II on 14 May that the two ambassadors ‘sont encores de present detenez prisonniers a londres (“en la grosse Tour”, according to de Selve⁶⁴) nonobstant la comprehension de paix’.⁶⁵ The third commission of May 1547 concluded that ‘in the event of a treaty not being agreed upon by France and England, France is desired to send money and arms to Scotland; and, should the French King decide to land an army in England, the Scottish forces would co-operate from the North. King Henry is also desired to secure the favour of Denmark and the Emperor’.

59 Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 105, n. 4, cf. Fr. Giustiniani au Doge de Venise, 27 juillet 1547, Reims, ‘per Roma parti hoggi il Rmo card. di Parigi, al quale il Re Chmo ha dato commissione delle cose sue, et tutti li altri cardinali francesi’; A. Serristori au duc de Florence, 23 juin 1457, ‘El card.di Bellai haverà ordine dal Re de venire in questa corte soprintendente a tutti negotii’, Arch. d’État de Florence, Mediceo 3464.

60 ‘Articulis to the postulat Ros, ambassadour towart France’, under this, in a different hand, is added ‘resavit in Paris the xxvij day of Maii 1547’, signed ‘James G [James, Governor of Scotland]’, ‘Manuscripts of Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell Witham of Kirkconnell’, *HMC: Fifth Report, Part I, Appendix*, ed., W. Fraser, vol., XL (London, 1876), p. 651.

61 BL, Additional MSS 23,108 fols 8r-10v (no date, but before 31 March 1547); Lord Ruthven wrote to the Queen Dowager from Edinburgh on 18 March [1546-47] that ‘Schir Johne Campbell is devisit to pas to Flandris as we commonit of befoir, and sum uthers to Denmark’, *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 178, n. 1, cf. ‘There is no record that envoys were sent to Flanders and Denmark at this time’, claims the editor.

62 One of James V’s illegitimate sons.

63 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 176.

64 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 118.

65 BL, Additional MSS 32,091 fol., 141r; see also, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 7; and *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 180, 183 and 186 for Anglo-Scottish correspondence concerning the ambassadors.

Finally, Paniter was to show Henri II that ‘the absolution sent by François I, his father, to the “slayaris” of Cardinal Betun was insufficient, and to desire him to send to the Pope for a wider absolution “conforme to this memoriall”’.⁶⁶

Meanwhile in Scotland, the continued occupation of Langholm⁶⁷ by the English and the re-enforcement of St Andrews Castle with men, money and weapons by the régime of the Protector Somerset since the advent of Edward VI, caused increasing alarm. At a meeting of the Scottish council on 20 May ‘my Lord Governor and Lordis of the Counsale ar advertist, that our auld inemeis of Ingland ar in reddynes with navy of Inglis schippis to cum and invaid the realm, ... to birne, hery, sla and distroy the leigis of the samin, lik as thai have done in tymes by past’.⁶⁸ Henri II’s initial response to Scottish pleas for help, unlike his father’s cautious diplomatic manoeuvres,⁶⁹ was to contrive a brilliant lightning raid to besiege and wrest St. Andrews Castle from the hands of Cardinal Beaton’s murderers and their supporters, some of whom had been in occupation since 29 May 1546. This was Henri II’s first overt military action of his reign, and its planning appears to have had a long gestation period and its swift execution embodied many of the characteristics and tactics which were to be employed almost ten years later in the Calais campaign. These included intelligence gathering and meticulous planning with expert cartographers who had knowledge of the local conditions (in the case of St Andrews, of the Fife coast-line, tides and weather patterns); the appointment of the most experienced and proven commander, and the provision of an adequate number of men with sufficient munitions and supplies to mount and execute the expedition; and absolute secrecy in order to preserve the most important factor of all: the element of surprise.⁷⁰

The restitution of St Andrews Castle to the Scottish government by the French only served to hasten Somerset’s plans and military preparations⁷¹ for

⁶⁶ HMC, *Fifth Report, part I, Appendix*, p. 651.

⁶⁷ A fortified tower in Dumfriesshire in the Scottish West March.

⁶⁸ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 73.

⁶⁹ According to Roncière, ‘Henri II n’eut rien de l’insouciance et de l’inconstance paternelles. Et pour la marine, ce fut le précurseur de Colbert. Dès le début de son règne, il avait arrêté un vaste plan de constructions navales’, Ch. de la Roncière, ‘Henri II précurseur de Colbert’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, LXVI (1905) p. 634.

⁷⁰ The recovery of St Andrews Castle during the afternoon of 30 July 1547 by a French force commanded by Leone Strozzi, Captain of the French King’s Galleys of the Mediterranean and Atlantic fleets, and its restitution to the government of Scotland, is fully explored in, Elizabeth Bonner, ‘The Recovery of St Andrews Castle in 1547: French Naval Policy and Diplomacy in the British Isles’ [hereafter, Bonner ‘Recovery of St Andrews Castle’], *EHR*, CXI (June, 1996), pp. 578-598.

⁷¹ The French and Imperial ambassadors had been reporting military preparations throughout the Spring and Summer. As early as 25 April 1547, Odet de Selve informed Montmorency that ‘avant hyer ce feust quelques monstres de gentz de guerre hors les faulxbourgs de ceste ville [London]’, *Correspondance politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 135; and on 4 May he further informed him that ‘les monstres se font par tout ce royaume de gentz qui peuvent porter armes’, *Ibid.*, p. 138. Van Der Delft, who was much more concerned with reporting English

a continuation of the 'Rough Wooing', by trying to force the Scots to agree to the marriage of the young Queen of Scots to his nephew, Edward VI. Scotland, during the régime of the Protector Somerset, asserts M.L. Bush, 'was much more than one aspect of the government's foreign concerns. It was an overriding force which pervaded its whole policy'; affecting its domestic, economic and religious policy. Moreover, says Bush, 'the Scottish war dominated foreign affairs. In the context of early Tudor foreign policy the Somerset government was remarkable because it made its relations with France secondary to its relations with Scotland'. Although the Scottish war, waged in the name of Edward VI, continued the one Henry VIII had waged since 1542, Somerset, continues Bush, unlike Henry VIII, 'shied away from open conflict with France in order to concentrate whole-heartedly upon winning Scotland': Bush observes that 'generally he was prepared to comply with France in order to have his way in Scotland'.⁷²

But what Somerset did not realize was that it appears that the French king, during the first years of his reign, was prepared to comply with England in order to have his way in Scotland. This policy of both Henri II and Somerset of giving primacy to Scotland in the years 1547-1549, differed from the policy of both Henry VIII and François I who had respectively both considered Scotland as secondary to either France or England in the years prior to 1547. Both Henri II's and Somerset's aims were strictly dynastic which, as Bush says, 'basically concerned one royal family's acquisition of another royal family's possessions'. In this case, the dynastic aims of both Henri II and Somerset were centered on the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the union of the Scottish crown. Another major consideration which Bush points out with respect to Somerset, but which also applies to Henri II, was 'the government's wish to maintain the domestic peace upon which foreign war depended, and its eagerness not to antagonize Emperor Charles V'.⁷³ Somerset's pyrrhic victory over the Scots at Pinkie on 10 September 1547,⁷⁴ and his policy for setting up garrisons at 'Hume Castle, Roxburgh Castle,

and French activities in and around the Boulonnais to the Emperor, does not mention English military preparations against the Scots until 16 June, *CSP, Spanish, Edward VI*, vol. IX, p. 103. By 17 August, however, he reported that the Protector 'has been much occupied in putting in order the army destined for Scotland', *Ibid*, p. 133; and on 25 August that Somerset had decided to 'join the army which he had despatched already under the command of the earl of Warwick to encounter the Scots', *Ibid*, p. 140.

⁷² Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, pp. 1-10.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁷⁴ 'At the beginning of September the Protector Somerset crossed the Border at the head of an army of some 16,000 men, well furnished with artillery and heavy cavalry and supported by a fleet. At Pinkie, on 10 September, it was met by a Scottish army which was more numerous but was poorly equipped and very weak in cavalry. There was some courageous fighting, but the engagement ended with mismanagement, confusion, and ultimately panic, in which thousands of Scots, hemmed in between the sea and the Esk, were killed and about 1,500 taken prisoners', Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 76; see also A.F. Pollard (ed) *Expedition into Scotland...* (W. Patten) repr. in *Tudor Tracts* (London, 1903), pp. 153-57; and C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth century* (New York, 1937), repr. (New York, 1979).

Eyemouth, Castlemilk and Moffat on the Scottish Borders, at Broughty Craig in the Tay and on the island of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth',⁷⁵ both instituted the *casus belli* and established the English *modus operandi* in the military conflict during the next two years. From this point, Henri II's and Somerset's policy parted company.

At the level of the common soldier in Scotland a more human and individual view of Pinkie, or rather the anticipated aftermath of the English invasion, is seen in the special Act of Parliament promulgated by the Governor, James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, at Monktonhall on 8 September, two days before the battle. 'In order to encourage his soldiers, he there promulgated a statute conferring privileges and special exemptions upon the heirs of those who, by the chance of war, were destined to fall in the anticipated conflict'. This act serves to highlight the tragic circumstances and bitter experience wreaked upon the Scots by repeated invasions of marauding English armies during the reign of Henry VIII. 'The act proceeds upon the preamble that "the hail body of the realme is passand forward at this tyme to resist our auld inemies of England now coming in this realme to invaid the samyn"; and confers its benefits on "quhatsumevir persoun or persounis that happynis to be slane, hurt to deid, or takins seiknes in our soverane lady's army ... and deis in the said seiknes, gangand, remanand, or cumand therfra".⁷⁶ It goes on to enact that the heir of a landholder dying as mentioned, provided he enter to his lands within three terms after the death of his ancestor, shall be relieved of the payment of the ordinary duplicand.⁷⁷ In like manner, the usual grassums⁷⁸ and 'entry silver'⁷⁹ were not to be exacted for five years from wives, children, executors, or assignees of tacksmen, rentallers, and others dying in the fight; and the presentation and collation of spiritual benefices rendered vacant by the death, in battle, of churchmen,⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Bush. *Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 13.

⁷⁶ *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed., G.P. McNeill, vol., XVIII, 1543-1556 (Edinburgh, 1898), p. lxvi, cf. *APS*, vol., II, p. 599. This act formed part of the Privy Council's deliberations conducted at Edinburgh on 22 August 1547, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 78-79; 'Presentibus, Regina [Marie de Guise] et Gubernatore. Sederunt. Episcopi, Dunkeldensis, Candidecase. Abbates, Dunfermling, Dryburgh, Culross. Henricus Lauder, Advocatus', *Ibid.*, p. 77. It should be noted that the deliberations of the Privy Council are missing from this date (22 August 1547) until after this Anglo-Scottish war, resuming on 25 March 1550; the day after the Anglo-French peace treaty of Boulogne was signed.

⁷⁷ *Duplicand*: 'Sc. law, a doubling or doubled amount of feu-duty (feu) for one year or certain specified intervals or on certain occasions', *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen UP, 1985).

⁷⁸ *Grassum*: 'late 15th - 17th C. Sc. Law: a sum paid by a tenant or feuar (Feu) at the grant or renewal of a lease or feu-right', *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Entry Silver*, 16th C: money paid on entering into the occupation of land, on being admitted as an apprentice, on bringing goods into port etc., *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ 'A significant number of clergy fell at Pinkie, fighting under a banner inscribed: '*Afflicte sponse ne obliviscaris*', Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 77; also see Starcerius *De expeditione in Scotiam...*, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, p. 155.

were to pass to their nearest kin'.⁸¹ 'It is in consequence of the application of the provisions of this act to the particular cases falling under it that the names of persons slain at Pinkie appear in the draft Responde Book.⁸² Deaths falling under the act made at Monktonhall affected the amount of the casualties payable by the heirs of the landholders thus deceased.... The entries note, in general, that sasine⁸³ of lands was granted to such a one "whose father died in the fight at Pinkiecleugh".⁸⁴ This Act of Parliament was not without precedent. For example, at Twesilhauch on 24 August 1513, sixteen days prior to the battle of Flodden, the Lords of the Council declared that 'it is statut and ordanit be the kingis hienes [James IV] with avis of al his lordis being thar for the tyme in his ost⁸⁵ ... gif ony man beis slane or hurt to deid in the kingis army ... his aieris sall have ward, releife and mariage of the king free, dispensand with his aige'.⁸⁶

Soon after the disaster of the English victory at Pinkie, Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel was dispatched to the French court with a secret report from Marie de Guise and the Scottish council for Henri II; thereby continuing an unusual convention for resident ambassadors, instituted in Scotland in 1546, of what is termed in modern parlance as 'shuttle diplomacy'. This was a departure from normal procedure in the sixteenth century when resident ambassadors, once they had been appointed, rarely returned to their own countries for short periods on *ad hoc* embassies during the period of their commission.⁸⁷ The only logical reason for establishing this 'shuttle diplomacy' appears to have been the extremely sensitive and highly secret nature of the communications between the French and Scottish courts during d'Oysel's long commission as the first resident French ambassador in Scotland, from March 1546 until July 1560.⁸⁸ Apparently, these communications were

81 *Exchequer Rolls*, vol., XVIII, p. lxxvii; and *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 79.

82 'The respondes are memoranda made by the director of chancery in sending precepts to the sheriffs, ordering them to give sasine of lands retoured in chancery', *Exchequer Rolls*, vol., XVIII, p. lxxvii.

83 *Sasine*: 2, Sc. law: the act or procedure of giving possession of feudal property, originally by symbolic delivery of earth and stones, now by registry at the General Register of Sasines in Edinburgh', *The Concise Scots Dictionary*.

84 *Exchequer Rolls*, vol., XVIII, p. lxxvii; for the 68 names listed in the Responde Book see *Ibid.*, pp. lxxviii-lxx.

85 'Ost: a confrontation or joining in battle of two opposing armies; two such armies at the point of battle, la.15th e.16th century,' *The Concise Scots Dictionary*.

86 *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 1.

87 For example, the resident French ambassadors to the English court: Charles de Marillac (April 1539 to April 1543), Odet de Selve (July 1546 to July 1549), and Antoine de Noailles (April 1553 to June 1556), remained at their posts during their commissions, at times even unwillingly in the case of Antoine de Noailles. For the origins of the resident ambassador in Western Europe see, G. Mattingly, 'The First Resident Embassies: Medieval Italian origins of Modern Diplomacy', *Speculum*, XI (1937); and *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), repr. (Middlesex, 1965), Ch. 16, 'The Spread of the New Diplomacy', pp. 146-153.

88 For a brief biographical background of d'Oysel (as he is known to English and Scottish editors and historians), see *Supra*, n. 300 and for greater detail, Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Cleutin' (forthcoming). D'Oysel appears to have made his first journey to Scotland in March

so sensitive that only a single, highly placed servant of the French crown could be entrusted with particular information to be delivered to the French King *viva voce*.⁸⁹ At the French court on 30 September 1547, St Mauris reported that the 'French ambassador resident in Scotland arrived in this Court' and that '*Dux* [Henri II] was three days closeted, and it was said conferring as to sending the help demanded'.⁹⁰ D'Oysel's embassy, however, concerned far more than the traditional Scots pleas for help following yet another devastating English incursion into Scotland; although the magnitude of the English victory gave Henri II an effective bargaining counter to implement his plan for the marriage of the Queen of Scots to his son, and the ultimate union of the French and Scottish crowns. Professor Donaldson says, that it was the Scottish council who, within a few weeks of the battle of Pinkie, 'discussed the possibility of her [Mary Queen of Scots] going to France'.⁹¹ Discussions regarding French aid appear to have taken place when d'Oysel returned to Scotland in October carrying a letter, dated on the 12th, for Marie de Guise from Montmorency informing her that the news of the English victory at Pinkie 'a tant enuye ledict Seigneur [Henri II] et toute ceste compaignye que ... nous recevoir si ladicte perte se feust adreesee en nostre endroit'; and that 'vous entenderez la deliberation du Roy par ce que cedit porteur [d'Oysel] vous exposera', and 'que je congnoistray qui concerna les affaires de vous, la petite Royne vostre fille et de son Royaume, je m'efforcera tousiours de vous faire tout le service qui me sera possible'.⁹² Following the Scottish council's decision on Henri II's *délibération*, d'Oysel was once again dispatched to the French court.⁹³ One of the letters he carried, dated 16 November, was from Arran who recommended most highly d'Oysel to the duc d'Aumale. Arran wrote that 'La Royne et moy auons prie Monseigneur d'Oisel, ambassadeur du Roy, present porteur sen aller par dela pour luy faire entendre lestat des

1546 carrying pensions for Marie de Guise, Arran and other Scottish magnates, *Supra*, n. 302. Prior to d'Oysel's appointment, French embassies to Scotland over the centuries had been single purpose legations, which may have lasted several months, after which the envoys returned to France following the completion of their mission. Conversely, Scottish embassies to France in the same period tended to be of much longer duration, especially in the first-half of the sixteenth century, for example, David Beaton's embassy, to the French court from July 1537 until 1541, see Bonner, 'Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing'', p. 41, and Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp. 1092-93.

⁸⁹ Over and over again the phrase: le Seigneur d'Oysel 'vous rendre bonne et amplement de mes nouvelles' (Henri, Dauphin to Marie de Guise, 16 June 1546, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 141), is seen in the correspondence, especially during the period from 1546 to 1549.

⁹⁰ *CSP, Spanish, Edward VI*, vol., IX, p. 217.

⁹¹ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 78.

⁹² *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 172. The laird of Longniddry [Hugh Douglas] wrote to Somerset on 5 November warning him that 'there is great peril of the Queen and Governor transporting our sovereign lady to France, and delivering our strengths to the French King', *CSP Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 37.

⁹³ Lord Grey of Wilton reported to Somerset that 'on 23 instant [Nov.] Dose, the French ambassador, ... left for France by the west seas, where Sir George Douglas saw him embark', *CSP Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 42. It should be born in mind that Sir George Douglas kept a foot in both the English and French camps throughout both periods of the 'Rough Wooing'.

affaires de ce Royaume. Et en particulliere aucunes choses, dvne ne nous sommes voullu fyer en personne quelconque, pour la congnoissance que auons eue de la grande fidelite et bonne diligence ou Il sest tousiours employe pour le service dudict Seigneur [Henri II] en tout ce qui luy a este possible'.⁹⁴ The commendations of d'Oysel by Arran and Marie de Guise so early in his career were to be fully justified, not only throughout the reign of Henri II but also during the reigns of his sons, François II and Charles IX, when he proved himself a loyal and faithful servant of the French crown until his death in Rome in 1566.

Meanwhile in Scotland some lords and lairds found it expedient to assure themselves to England. Bothwell offered to deliver the Hermitage if Somerset 'would help him to a wife in England'.⁹⁵ Patrick, Lord Gray was paid £1,000 by Sir Andrew Dudley to hand over Broughty Castle. Dudley then reported to Somerset that Gray and the 'laird of Monwennye [Mountquhanie] were with me at night on 11th [November 1547] on a plan to get St Johnstons, [Perth] St Andrews, Dundee & etc'.⁹⁶ Among the lairds, 'James Herest of Trabroun, George Broun of Colstoun, John Cokburn of Ormiston, Alexander Creichton of Brunstoun, Hew Douglas of Langnidry' and Symone Prestoun, Cragmillar's son, were later summoned on 13 March 1548 by the Lords of the Council, 'for spoliatioun in cumpany with the erle of Herfurd, protectour, and the army of our auld innemyis of Ingland of thair convoying, gyding, causing, devising & etc'.⁹⁷

94 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol. 7; this MS volume (337 fols) of original letters from Scotland (1543 to ?1575) was previously catalogued in the BN, Collection Gaignieres and contains 117 letters, 85 of which come from the period 1547-1550; 75 of those covering the war in Scotland, 1548-49. Teulet published only 20 of these in *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 159-217, and *Papiers d'Etat*, vol., I, pp. 659-720. Regarding Arran's letter to the duc d'Aumale, 16 Nov., cited above. Merriman also cited the same letter in his Ph.D. thesis, but he misinterpreted it when he mistranscribed 'Il' as 'je', although the verb '[s]jest' should have alerted him. Merriman says that 'he [d'Oysel] took with him a letter from Arran of 16 November [1547] asking d'Aumale to remind Henry of "la grande fidelite et bonne diligence ou Je [sic] sest tousjours employe pour la service dudict seigneur en tout ce qui luy est possible".' Thus, according to Merriman, (Ph. D. Thesis p. 264) Arran is recommending himself to Henri II; when in fact, Arran was recommending d'Oysel to Aumale as a faithful trusted servant of Henri II.

95 John Dudley, Earl of Warwick to Somerset, 30 Sept. 1547, *CSP Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 22.

96 *CSP Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 39.

97 *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 573. But loyalties appear to have been fluid as is seen in the case of George Broun of Coulston who joined Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, Andro Johnestoun of Elphinstoun, William Douglas of Quhittinghame, John Sinclair of Hirdmonstoun, Alexander Hume of North Berwick and Jame Lausoun of Humby, and who in September 1549 registered a bond of caution: "Forsamekle as ... Thomas, Maister of Erskine is bundin to capitane Escho [? Essé, although by September 1549 he back in France], Francheman, that schir James Wilfurd [Wilford or Wilforth, English] capitane of Haddingtoun, on na wys sall eschaip furth of ... Scotland bot sall reman as lauchtfull prisoneir under pane of ten thousand pundis Scottis money..." *Ibid*, p. 593.

Henri II was not slow to respond to pleas for help from the Scots. On 26 November 1547, St Mauris reported that Paniter was summoned by the King who commanded him 'to declare to the Queen and Regent of Scotland that ... he would see to sending French and Italian troops to help them, as well as arms and supplies. And it is certain that the King has sent several great ships to Brest, which are supposed to be for Scotland'.⁹⁸ By 20 December the English at Broughty had heard that there was a 'great power of galleys and carryckes coming from France to take the government and fortresses, and the young Queen to France by the West seas' and that Arran had promised the French King 'for a sum of money to deliver him the young Queen and all the fortresses, and his authority, for a pension'.⁹⁹ Soon after, on 30 December, Grey of Wilton informed Somerset that d'Oysel and Paniter were returning to Scotland 'and with them 100 gentlemen captains for the war sent by the King with a great sum of money'. The same day Sir Ralph Bulmer also wrote to Somerset that 'on Christmas day 2 French ships landed 50 captains at Dumbarton with as much money as will waige 10,000 Scots for a year, sent by the Bishop of Rome. The French to pay it each to his company of Scots'.¹⁰⁰

In London, Odet de Selve reported to Montmorency that he had received confirmation of 'l'arrivée du Seigneur de la Chappelle en Escosse' accompanied by 'six gentilshommes francoys quy avoient mené quant et eulx chascun troys cappitaines et gentz de guerre'.¹⁰¹ The day after their arrival 'on St Stephen's day [26 December] at night, three of the chief captains [? gentilshommes] dressed in white satin, went to Stirling to show the Queen and council that 6,000 French are embarked for Scotland, waiting for a fair wind'.¹⁰² Soon after, in January 1548, three French *gentilshommes* were at Stirling from where 'La Chapelle', 'Regnault Montauban' and '[?Ca]thines' wrote to the duc d'Aumale on 13 and 17 January;¹⁰³ La Chapelle informed d'Aumale that 'je partiray demain dicy pour aller trouuer le conte darguil [Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll] ou Il a assemble troys ou quatre mille [3 or 4,000] hommes et ... pourrons prandre une ville que les anglois fortifient quy sappelle dondy [Dundee] quy est de grand consequence'.¹⁰⁴ At 'Saint Jehanston' [Perth] on 17 January 1548, a muster was conducted by Thomas de Stratton, Escuyer, Seigneur de Moulins, commissaire ordinaire, Jehan de Visonye, contrerolleur, and Messire Raoul Moreau conseiller du Roy

98 *CSP Spanish, Edward VI*, vol., IX, p. 526.

99 Andrew Dudley to Grey of Wilton, Broughty Craig, 20 Dec. 1547, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 50.

100 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, pp. 54-55.

101 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 266-67.

102 'Cesford made an errand to hunt with me to tell these news', Sir Ralph Bulmer to Somerset, 30 Dec., 1547, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 55.

103 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 11r (Regnault Montauban) and 13r (La Chapelle) 13 January; 15r ([Ca]thines) 17 January, all original autograph letters.

104 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 13r; Regnault Montauban also informed d'Aumale on the same day from Stirling that 'nous partons ce jourdhuy pour aller a dondie [Dundee]', *Ibid*, fol. 11r.

et tresorier extraordinaire de ses guerres, of 247 'hommes de guerre a pied adventuriers dont en y a six vings treize [133] harquebuziers et le reste picquiers et hallbardiers estans souz la charge et conduite de Nicolas Romien leur cappitaine ... que le Roy nagueres faitc leurs et mettre sus en ce pais d'Escosse tant pour la garde service et deffence dicelluy que pour le recourement de la ville de dondy [Dundee] et autres villes et places tennus par les Anglois'; and who were paid a total of 2,062 livres tournois for one month.¹⁰⁵ The following month, on 18 February, 25 'hommes de guerre sous la conduite du capitaine Scoubarre', were mustered under the general command of 'Jehan de Carbonniers, Seigneur de la Chapelle'.¹⁰⁶

There is no evidence to show whether de la Chapelle's meeting with Argyll was uncongenial, but on 5 February 1548 Sir Andrew Dudley, 'on the great suit of Lord Gray and other gentlemen of Angus, made a general assurance with the Earl of Argyll for 21 days'; the Earl agreeing, 'that he will take the King's [Edward VI] part in his godly purpose, whereon Gray borrowed 1,000 crowns' from the English to give to Argyll, and that 'Gray doubts not but for a pension Argyll will be secured'.¹⁰⁷ This was a considerable *coup* and the English Privy Council were delighted to oblige; on 15 February they sent 'John Brend, instructed by speciall instructions to repaire in to Scoteland to treat with therle of Arguyle uppon occasion of writing sent from the said Erle giving hope of his devocion'.¹⁰⁸ This pro-English position of the 4th earl of Argyll's was most unusual, and it presupposes that perhaps the Seigneur de la Chapelle did not, or could not, have made a similar offer. However, when Marie de Guise heard of Argyll's dealings with the English she sent for him to come to Dumbarton where she remonstrated with him saying that he 'favoured England whatever they did

105 BN, Fonds Français 25794, No. 26; for a full transcription of this Muster Roll see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming), and *Supra*, n. 340 for a similar Muster Roll also taken at 'Saint Jehanston en Escosse' on 17 January 1546-47 of 187 Scottish 'hommes de guerre' BN, Fonds Français 25793, No. 593, which has been catalogued with the Muster Rolls of François I, but which almost certainly belongs to those of Henri II; probably a clerical error was made with the year.

106 AN, Archives Privées, Archives et Collection de Gournes, 109 AP 6, No. 1 (en déficit). Unfortunately, only the catalogue entry of this Muster Roll remains but see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

107 Sir Andrew Dudley to Somerset, Broughty Craig, 5 February 1548, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 71; see also *APC*, vol., II, p. 543.

108 *APC*, vol., II, p. 170. On 1 April 1548, John Brende was appointed 'Muster Master' on the English Northern Border 'with charge upon his allegiance to attend the true and diligente service of the Kinges Majestie in that behalfe, because it was considered by his late service to the Earle Argile ... to expresse by the penne verie vivelié and handsomlye from tyme to tyme all his proceedings as occasion hath require to employ him in the service of his Majestie', *Ibid.*, vol., II, p. 551. The same day the Privy Council wrote to Lord Gray saying that 'they conceaved towards him a good dispositiōne towards the service of his Majestie', *Ibid.*, vol., II, p. 551; and on 3 April the council directed Sir Andrew Dudley to 'make offer of M [1,000] crowns pencion unto the Lord Graye of Scotland', but first make overture of vjC [600] crownes ... by degrees addinge to viijC [800]', *Ibid.*, vol., II, p. 522. For further information on Brende's service to Somerset's government see, H. Davis, 'John Brende: Soldier and Translator', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol., I (1937-38), pp. 423-25.

here, and that he “swld ly abak” for which he had instantly got a great sum of “angell nobiliss”;¹⁰⁹ even though ‘the Earl of Argyll “is heichly suspectit wyth the Quene and Governour”’,¹¹⁰ at this time.

Argyll's vacillating loyalties may well have been due to the nature of the contract, signed by Henri II at Châtillon on 27 January 1548, in which ‘Messire Jacques Hamilton, Comte d'Aran, Tuteur unique de la Reine d'Escosse, Protecteur, Gouverneur, et seconde Personne dudit Royaume’, agreed that in return for 12,000 ‘livres de rente, en titre de Duché en ce dit Royaume pour luy, ses hoirs, et ayans cause,’ that he would ‘assemblé les Estats du Pais et par luy fait consentir ledit Mariage [of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin], et pour la seurete d'icelui, delivré et mis és mains dudit Seigneur [Henri II] ladite Reine d'Escosse, ensemble aucunes des principales et plus fortes places du Royaume’.¹¹¹ The details of this contract were revealed on 5 February 1549 in the ‘Brevet du don du Duché de Chastellerault’, which was signed by Henri II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in the presence of ‘Messeigneurs les Cardinal de Lorraine et Duc d'Aumale, les Constable, Chancelier, et Seigneur de Saint André, Mareshal de France, et autres de sondit Conseil Privé’, with David Paniter, Bishop of Ross, and Scottish ambassador in France, signing for the Governor as his procurator.¹¹²

The trusted messenger and intermediary in these secret negotiations between the French and Scottish courts was Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, who carried a brief letter to Marie de Guise from M. de Mandosse written from ‘Chastillon’ on 29 January 1547/48, two days after the ‘contract’ had been signed. Mandosse assured the Dowager that ‘si le porteur estoit aultre que Monsieur d'Oysel je vous eusse fait plus longue lestre ... aussi par luy

109 Earl of Argyll to Lord Gray, ‘Castell Cariik’, 15 March 1548, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol. 1, p. 96.

110 Alexander Whytlaw to Somerset, Dundee, 22 March 1548, *Ibid.*, p. 100; Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange pledged himself to the English cause on 11 March 1547, at the same time as Patrick, Lord Gray and the ‘Castillians’: Norman Lesley, James Kirkcaldy of Grange and Henry Balnaves, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

111 Professor Donaldson says, that ‘Blackness and Dunbar were handed over to the French at this stage’, Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 78. On 1 Feb., Grey of Wilton received news that ‘Dunbarton Castle is to be at the Queen's disposal, [and] Dunbar [is] promised to the French’, *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol. 1, p. 71.

112 ‘Brevet du don du Duché de Chastellerault’, AN, P 2308, pp. 365-66 (copy); BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fol. 158r (copy); published: *Titres et Pièces Justificatives, des legitimes pretensions de la Maison de Hamilton sur le Duché de Chastellerault, et autres choses comprises dans le Don fait par le Roy, Henry Second, à Jacques Hamilton, Comte d'Aran Protecteur et Gouverneur du Royaume d'Escosse*, MDCCXIII, ed., C. Hugier (Paris, 1713), [hereafter, Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*], p. 1; *Mémoire justificatif du Droit qui appartient à M. le duc d'Hamilton de porter le titre de duc de Châtelherault*, ed., J.A.B. Teulet (Paris, 1863), [hereafter, Teulet, *Mémoire Justificatif*], pp. 3-7; *Factum of the Earl of Arran touching the Restitution of the Duchy of Chatelherault*, MDCLXXXV [1685], ed., M.W. Turnbull (Edinburgh, 1843), [hereafter, Turnbull, *Factum*], pp. 6-7. Apparently the original document was sold at a sale in June 1966: ‘orig. (38 x 36 cms) signé sur parchemin, signalé dans *Lettres autographes et documents hist. ... de la maison Charavay*, vente de juin 1966, No. 31016’, *Actes de Henri II*, vol. III (1549), p. 111.

mesmes entendrez le bon recueil quil a eu du Roy et de toute la compaignye'.¹¹³ The duc d'Aumale had also written to his sister informing her that he has received her letter 'par le Sieur d'Ozel, present porteur, que le Roy a tresbien et volontiers ouy et entendu toutes les fois qu'il a voulu parler a luy', and that he had also 'si souvent devisay avec ledict Seigneur d'Ozel tant du contenu en vosdicts lettres que de tout autre affaire de dela qu'il en est si bien instruit et despesche qu'il vous en peult entierelement rendre bon comte et de toutes autres nouvelles de deca'.¹¹⁴

The following month, Henri II appointed d'Oysel to supervise the equipping and victualling of the French fleet to be sent to Scotland. This was a temporary position until the 'commission [on 4 April 1548] du Seigneur de Noailles, [Antoine] maître d'hotel du roi, pour aller à Brest inspecter et diriger les préparatifs qui s'y font tant en vaisseaux qu'en munitions et ravitaillement en vue de l'expédition d'Écosse'.¹¹⁵ In the meantime, d'Oysel visited Nantes from where, as he explained to the duc d'Aumale on 14 February 1548, 'jescripuiz au Roy lordre en quoy je trouuay lartillerie et equipage dicelle quy ne prete de guerre', but before his departure for Brest he had received an 'assurance des commissaires et canoniers de la dite artillerie'. On 17 February he asked d'Aumale to assure the King that 'je ny perderay une seulle heure de temps', and that 'preparer cependant tousiours les choses requises au voyage comme de victuailles et autres provisions'. On 7 March he wrote to d'Aumale that he was still 'attendant lartillerie qui doit venir de Nantes', and that 'je mapprecyees bien par laugmentacion du nombre des gens de guerre que le Roy y envoye que vous avez tresbien mis la main'. The delay in the arrival of the French expeditionary forces, however, caused anxiety in Scotland. On 30 April 1548 d'Oysel, who had returned to Scotland, wrote to d'Aumale from Dumbarton that 'ce jour dhuy nous auons este advertez que les ennemys quy sont en nombre de quatre a cinq mil [4-5,000] hommes de pied et environ deux mil [2,000] cheualx sont arrivez a hedington [Haddington]', which the English had now begun to fortify.¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding the delay of the French forces, Henri II further elaborated and formalized the conditions of the contract signed with the Governor on 27 January 1547/48 at Châtillon. By his letters patent, given at the Abbey of Vaultusant on 28 April 1548, Henri II acknowledged that 'nostre trescher et tresame cousin Le Conte d'haran Chevalier de nostre ordre gouverneur du royaume d'Écosse voyant les effortz que le roy d'Angleterre leur ancien ennemy a faitz en lannee derniere. Et les preparatifz qui se

¹¹³ *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 184.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, vol., I, pp. 179-180.

¹¹⁵ *Actes de Henri II*, vol., II (1548), p. 180, cf. BN, Pièces Originales 2114, dr 48075, de Noailles fols 20v-23r. 'Noailles was commissioned along with his cousin, René de Laval de Boisdauphin', R.J. Kalas, 'Wealth, Place, and Power in Sixteenth-Century France: The Rise of the Selve and Noailles families', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, New York University (1982), p. 269.

¹¹⁶ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fols., 17r, 19r, 27r and 179r.

dressent de sa part plus grans que Jamais pour de nouveau Invahir et assaillir le dict royaume d'Escosse', and if the English were to seize the Queen of Scots, then for her security it would be best to place 'la dicte princesse et lestat de sondict royaume en la mesme protection que le nostre propre'; and as far as the kingdom of Scotland is concerned, 'pour le fait du gouvernement dicelluy *Mais y soient toutes choses maniees avec la plus grande vnyon et concorde que faire se pourra nous auons dict declare consenty et accorde disons* declarons consentons et accordons voullons et nous plaist que durant la minorite de ladicte princesse nostredit cousin le Conte d'Arran ayt la totale et entiere disposition au dict royaume descosse ainsi quil a de present et quelle parvenue enlaige de maiorite Il ayt et continue le ¹¹⁷ dict gouvernement sa vie durant'; and when she has reached her majority, Henri II 'le ferons tenir quicte et descharge de toutes choses par luy manies et administres ce quil maniera et administerra pour la dicte princesse durant sadicte minorite ... et mesmement en sondict gouvernement et auctorite luy adressons tout le secours et forces que nous enverrons cy apres au dicte pays'.¹¹⁸

As an added incentive for Arran to set in motion the terms of their contract, Henri II by his letters patent, also given at the Abbey of Vaultysent on 28 April 1548, acknowledges Arran's service to François I, and knowing 'le desir qu'il a à la continuation des anciennes alliances et amitez d'entre les Royaumes de France et d'Escosse, et à la perpetuelle union d'iceux ... Nous desirons les approcher de Nous par alliances et affinity ... nostredit Cousin le Comte d'Arran ... promis et promettons par ces Presentes, bailler à son Fils

117 My Italics.

118 NAS, Hamilton Muniments N.R.A. (5) 2177, Bundle 2021, Original parchment, seal missing. I am grateful to his Grace, the duke of Hamilton, for his kind permission to have this document, from his archives at Lennoxlove, photocopied in July 1986. Copies: BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols 161r & v; Published: Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp.7-8 (full transcription); and *Balcarras Papers* vol., II, pp. xxxvi-vii. See the transcription of a copy of this document, 'lately found by the editor [Marguerite Wood] among the Hamilton MSS, [which] is certified by the Clerk Register [Alex. Gibsone] between 1541 and 1549', *Ibid*, p. xxxvii. The two passages in Italics were omitted in Wood's transcription, although there are no dotted lines or any other indication of any omissions. Therefore, either Wood has made a mistake or the clerk omitted the passages in 1548 or 1549, even though he affirms 'Hec est vera copia originalis scripti testant, meis signo et subscriptione manualibus, Alex. Gisbone Cls. Regri.', *Ibid*, p. xxxvii. If these omissions were deliberate, then the clerk must have been instructed to omit them by Arran, presumably so that he could show the copy to interested parties, keeping the original for himself alone. If this were so, one can ponder his reasons. Perhaps, '*la plus grande vnyon et concorde*', in the first passage was politically unpalatable; and if the second passage is omitted, à la Wood, the clause is greatly strengthened, leaving no room for doubt: 'nostredit cousin le Conte d'Arran ayt la totale gouvernement sa vie durant', *Ibid*, p. xxxvi. Finally, there is a catalogue entry and description of this document in *HMC*, 11th Report, Appendix Part IV, p. 39, which notes that this document 'is printed in the *APS*, vol., II, pp. 508-10'. This is incorrect. Those documents are copies of letters patent signed by Henri II on 19th April 1558. But they do, however, refer to Henri II's letters patent of 17 June 1549 (which review those of 28 April 1548) and clearly and unambiguously state that Arran is to have the government of Scotland only during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots who, by 1549, was being nurtured at the French court. For an edited version of the 1548 document see, Turnbull, *Factum*, p. 10.

aisné par Loy de Mariage, La Fille aisnée de nostre trescher et tresamé Cousin le Duc de Montpensier'.¹¹⁹ Soon after, the young James Hamilton, or the Conte d'Aran as he was to be known in France,¹²⁰ arrived there as a pledge for his father, who was reported 'to be "tormented" at his son's delivery to France'.¹²¹ Young Arran, who was born *circa* 1537, had only been recently released in August 1547 from custody in St Andrews Castle where he had initially been lodged in 1543 by Cardinal Beaton as a pledge for his father's loyalty, and where he had been kept as a hostage by the 'Castilians' for 15 months after they had murdered Cardinal Beaton on 29 May 1546, having then occupied the Castle.¹²² Now in May 1548, young Arran was welcomed in France by François, duc de Lougueville, who wrote to his mother [Marie de Guise] on 26 June that he would give 'au filz de Monsieur le Gouverneur tout l'oneour et le bon traitement que je luy poure fayre'.¹²³ The duc d'Aumale also wrote to his sister that Henri II was 'fort content de la venue du filz de M. le gouverneur par deca, lequel il a receu bien honorablement'.¹²⁴ The governor need not have been concerned for his son's welfare for, like Mary Queen of Scots' sojourn in France, the next ten years domiciled at Châtellerault¹²⁵ were to prove the happiest in the 3rd earl of Arran's long life.

Meanwhile in Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots who, during the Pinkie campaign 'was sent to the island priory of Inchmahome',¹²⁶ thence to Stirling from where, as Grey of Wilton reported to Somerset on 22 February 1548, she was removed to Dumbarton for fear of invasion and her "convoye into Fraunce is dowpted".¹²⁷ But where she now waited with her mother, protected by French troops, at the fortress-stronghold on the Firth of Clyde

119 BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fol., 160v; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, p. 6; *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, pp. 197-98; Turnbull, *Factum*, p. 10

120 'In 1550 the Master [of Hamilton] was put in fee of the earldom of Arran and lordship of Hamilton, with liferent reserved for his father, and became known thereafter as Earl', R.K. Hannay, 'The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary', *SHR*, XVIII (1921), p. 162, *cf.* *Acts and Decrees*, VII, p. 195; NAS, Charters, No., 1621-22, 1427.

121 Grey of Wilton to Somerset, Haddington, 7 June 1548, *CSP Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 117. It is not known precisely when young Arran departed for France but there were several items delivered to him on 3 May 1548: 'thre sarkes [shirts] to his graces sone at his departing to France', £3:12:0; 'ane Scottis quhyngar [a short stabbing sword]', £1:4:0; and 'ane Franche quhyngar', £2:0:0, *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 183.

122 For aspects of young Arran's military career as a Captain of 60 Lances in Henri II's army during the 1550s see, Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 33-35, and *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming), for numerous fully transcribed and translated documents.

123 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., I, p. 205.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

125 J. Durkan, 'James, Third Earl of Arran: The Hidden Years', *SHR*, LXV (1986), p. 155; in this article Durkan examines the origins of young Arran's religious convictions which were apparently confirmed during his years in France.

126 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 78.

127 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol. I, p. 80.

for Henri II's ships to take her to France.¹²⁸ It was during this period that Matthew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, (an English subject since 1544) and Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the English West March, and a company of men invaded the West of Scotland, but the 'Assured Scots' betrayed them and the expedition ended in failure.¹²⁹

At the seaports of Normandy and Brittany preparation of the French fleet and army destined for Scotland continued apace under the supervision of Antoine de Noailles; during which time 'les vice-amiraux de Normandie et de Bretagne avaiert reçu un ordre de mobilisation générale'.¹³⁰ From Boulogne Sir John Brydges sent an urgent report from one of his spies to the Protector on 14 May 1548. The spy says that he arrived at Rouen on 7 May and as he 'saw no shippes there but only ... merchants'. He then went to 'Caudebec where as they prepared all their bisquyts and breade and there attending v [5] shippes to be charged therewith and to go to Brest with the same'. At Le Havre he saw iiij [4] greate shippes of war whereof iij [3] were of thre toppes the fourth of iiij [4] toppes that are very strongly apperelled with ordinance countyng xxx [30] pieces of great Artillerye. The iiijth [4] being of iij [3] toppes the *Gallyon*' whose captain is called 'Monsieur de Lozon'. Also 'there are xx [20] other shippes ij [2] and iij [3] toppes the piece ... furnyssed very strongly with artillery of all sortes. The harbynger of the lansquenetz ... was there and appoynted the lodgings of the said shippes ... with their provyson to depart there the xxvth [25] of this month of May'. He next went to Montvilliers [near Le Havre] where 'he founde v [5] enseignes of Thallemaignes whiche being very well armed marched in the fieldes with their enseignes displaid ... he reconned the number of xvij^c [1,700] Lanquenetz apperteyning to those ffive Enseignez. The furriers hathe taken upp lodging in the villages about the said towne of Montvilliers [*sic*] for the nombre of five M [5,000] Italiens, Pyedmontieses Lymosynes and Lyonois ... Also he saw the comyssioners very secretly gathering togethers all manner of pyoneres and horsstes for draughtes of artillery thereabowte to be redy the last day of may ... whither they as yet know not. The Kinge hathe given in commandement for all the legionaires ... of Normandye and Bretain whiche

128 Grey of Wilton reported to Somerset on 1 Feb., 1548 that 'Dunbarton castle is to be at the Queen's disposal', *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol. I, p. 71; and on 17 March, Ninian Cockburn wrote to Somerset that 'Scho [Marie de Guise] hes wylled the Franche men to be masteris in Dounbertan' and that 'x or xij Franche gonares' are going there in order to keep it, *Ibid.*, p. 97.

129 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol. I, pp. 79 and 86; 'Proclamation by Wharton giving thanks for Lennox and himself to all English and Scots who have served in the King's Godly purpose ... and all Scots who served the King shall be rewarded according to their bills of numbers', *Ibid.*, p. 81, of which the Scots took little heed it seems.

130 Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, 6 vols (Paris, 1899-1932), vol., III, p. 435, *cf.* Commission donnée par Méry de Sépoys, vice-amiral de Bretagne de mettre arrêt sur tous les navires propres au service du roi, 29 mars 1548, *cf.* P. Fournier, *Hydrographie*, 2e édition p. 248. D'Oysel had mentioned to d'Aumale on 14 February 1548 that 'Monseigneur de Seperoy a enuoye' from Nantes to Brest 'lung des dicts vasseaulx', BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 17r.

are esteemed to the nombre of x M [10,000] at the lest to be in a redynes the last of may vpon payne of deathe ... ffrom Mountivilliers he went to Brewant [?Brionne] in Normandye where as he sawe a certen number of Legionaires'; thence to Greneville [?Granville] by Feckam [?Fecamp] where he sawe great preparacion of horses for draughtes of artillerye and other aymunycions'. At Dieppe he 'counted xxx [30] shippes whereof ix [9] or x [10] were greate shippes of warre very Evill appoynted' whose mariners said that 'they did attend the commyng down of the kinge and that they should be very shortly in a redynes to serve'. Later that evening at Le Havre he was told by other mariners, midst speculation of their destination, that vj^c [600] light horses attending to be embarqued at Brest with that army the last of May. He further saithe that the bruyct is in every of the places where he hathe travailed for this Intelligence that the Frenche Kinge in person shall at mydsommer next descend in Picardy with his Army Riall saying prively that he will come to Boulogn. And that he saith yt shall cost hym his Realme of ffrance but he will have it agayn'. It is also bruited that 'Monsieur de Rieulx Le Grand M[aitre] de Flandres is amonge vs here in Boulogn with iiij M^l [4,000] brave Spaynardes for the defence and soccour of this town. ... And that Themperor [Charles V] hathe sent into England x thousands [10,000] lansquenetz and to serve the king of England where he list to bestow them'. Furthermore, 'there is in Desures and Samer xj [11] Enseignes of Lansquenetz ... [awaiting] the commyng of the kyng'. Finally, at Le Havre 'there are iiij [4] great shippes of warre of Scottlande well appoynted of iij [3] toppes a piece attending the disanchoring of Tharmye to go into Scottlande the Capitaynes wherof remayn on the lande to refresshe them[selves]'.¹³¹

The English spy's report of May 1548 is only one of a number of similar reports detailing French military preparations in Normandy and Brittany during the first half of 1548. The very size of the army which was

131 PRO, Sp 68/15/ fols., 57, 58, 59 and 60. For a summary of this document see Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol., III, pp. 435-36, cf. *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, pp. 342-45. Madame Baudoin-Matuszek also reviews the French preparations for war in 'Henri II et les expéditions françaises en Écosse', p. 359, but there are errors in some of the footnotes: i) p. 359, n. 4: 'Londres, Public Record Office Sp. 68/2.'; this reference is defective. The 'Calais Papers' are to be found in Sp 68/ volume 15, not volume 2 where other documents of 1548 are to be found. ii) p. 359, n. 7 '*CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 554'; no such page exists in this volume; the reference is in *CSP Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 554. iii) p. 360, n. 5, '*C.S.P. Spanish Edward VI*, p. 339 (Londres, Public Record Office 68/2)'. The reference is actually in *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 339, and the original document is in, PRO, 68/15/9-11. The Spanish *Calendar* refers to England and Germany, 8 Feb., 1549. Again the PRO reference is defective and the volume number is incorrect. The code number 68 is correct for the 'State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI', which comprise 15 volumes; the 'Calais Papers' occupying most of volume 14 and volume 15. When Turnbull edited the papers, or whomever bound the volumes, they removed all those dispatches between the Privy Council and the English at Boulogne and environs for the period 1548 to 1552. Subsequently, Turnbull made separate entries in the *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, which are entitled the 'Calais Papers', and which are itemized from 1 to 187, (*Ibid.*, pp. 292-358). All the other papers, from 1547 to 1553 are numbered chronologically (*Ibid.*, pp. 1-291).

being assembled indicates Henri II's dual military objectives during the first years of his reign: firstly, to settle the marriage alliance with the Scots and expel the English from Scotland; and secondly, to retake Boulogne and, ultimately, 'recouvrer le surplus',¹³² and expel the English from France. The great concern of the French throughout 1548 and 1549, however, was that 'the Emperor and the King of England may join arms against them, because of the help they are giving the Scots'.¹³³ Details of the military build-up were soon circulated among the foreign ambassadors at the French court, although Wotton appears not to have been as well-informed as some others.¹³⁴ Indeed, his most credible information came from St Mauris, the Imperial ambassador who reported on 26 March 1548 that 'the French expedition to help the Scots ... will consist of 6,000 foot, 200 men-at-arms and 500 light horse', and that 'the English ambassador is desperately anxious to discover this, for he told me in confidence that the English are resolved to attack the French at sea if they are able to'.¹³⁵ On 18 March 1548 Wotton reported to the Council the information he had received from St. Mauris, and that 'the French King makith money by all wayes possible, he hath demanded of the Parisiens by waye of levie iiii hundred thowsands [400,000] frankes whereof I hear that they offer a good parte'.¹³⁶ St. Mauris confirmed this on 6 April reporting that 200,000 crowns 'had already been deposited at the Louvre'.¹³⁷ Even the Venetian Senate, who informed the Bailo at Constantinople on 22 March that 'the French king would not renounce his protection of the realm of Scotland' and that 'France now assists the Scots'¹³⁸ seemed in many ways at least as informed as Wotton. Uncharacteristically, the papal nuncios were almost silent on the subject of Scotland and the war, although this was almost certainly due to the arrival at the French court of Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, the newly appointed papal nuncio to Scotland, at the end of January 1548.¹³⁹ Lippomano remained at the French court 'for more than four

132 Following several successful encounters during the Boulogne campaign, Henri II wrote to the duke of Ferrara on 26 Aug., 1549: 'vous auez sceu l'entreprise que j'auoys faicte de venir en ce pays de Boullenoys essayer de recouurer ce que les Anglois me detiennent iniustement ... que jespere moyennant La grace de dieu recouurer le surplus', Arch. di Stato di Modena, Cancelleria Ducale Estense, Principi Esteri, Enrico II (uncatalogued). Romier observes that 'l'idée de la conquête de Calais l'obséda pendant tout son règne. Dès 1544, encore Dauphin, il s'était porté vaillamment au secours de la ville de Boulogne assiégée. La chute de cette place lui causa le plus grand dépit', *Les Origines*, vol., I, p. 29.

133 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 556. For an examination and analysis of these themes see, Potter, Thesis, pp. 183-203.

134 PRO, Sp 68/2/ fols., 325-42, 363-67, 387-89, 419-21, 423-26 and 435.

135 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 554; see also, Wotton to the Council, 18 March 1548, PRO, Sp 68/2/366. St Mauris's information, regarding the French expeditionary force which was to arrive in Scotland in June 1548, proved to be remarkably accurate.

136 PRO, Sp 68/2/365.

137 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 562; estimated as 600,000 francs, *Ibid*, p. 561. In French financial documents of the time the terms 'crowns' and 'francs' were no longer used, rather it was *écus d'or de soleil* and *livres tournois*.

138 *CSP, Venetian*, vol., V, p. 226, and *Ibid*, pp. 225, 227-28.

139 From Rome, Cardinal Farnese informed Della Torre, the then papal nuncio in France, that 'quanto alle cose de Scotia Mons. d'orona [Verona] deve essere un gran pezzo in Là, primi il

months receiving further instructions from the royal councillors and awaiting':¹⁴⁰ 'la speditzione delle [Scottish] Bolle de quei vescovati ed altri brevi che se gli hanno a mandare',¹⁴¹ and also 'che in Parigi sia vento l'ordine che N.S. [Nostro Signore] desidera acciò che il suo presente di X^m [10.000] scudi possi apparir in qualche buon modo'.¹⁴² Paul III also made an even larger sum available to Henri II so that he could directly assist the Scots. On 1 May 1548, Dr. Thirlby, English ambassador with the Emperor, wrote to Sir William Petre and enclosed M. Mount's notes: 'scriptum est ex Italia per factore auis Augustam Papam conferre Regi Gallia centum et vicena mila coronatorum [120,000 crowns] prouivandis Scotis et in prompto soluiste 80000'.¹⁴³

After months of waiting at the French court, Lippomano finally sailed with the French fleet bound for Scotland, which 'parti da Brest alli 26 di Maggio, e per lettere che si hanno de iij [3 June] di questo s'Abla di grazie [Le Havre]¹⁴⁴ a passato per Normandia con buon tempo'.¹⁴⁵ The French expeditionary force of about 6,000 men, sent by Henri II 'pour la garde

giunga in corte', Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereafter, ASV], Fondo Pio fol., 60r; Borghese, I, 3, fol., 109r; paraphrased in French: *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 255. It should be noted that new folio numbers have been designated to most of the MS volumes in the Secret Vatican Archives since Lestocquoy used them.

¹⁴⁰ J.E. Law and J.M. Manion, 'The Nunciature to Scotland in 1548 of Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Verona' [hereafter, Law and Manion, 'Nunciature'], *Atti e Memorie della Accademia di Agricoltura Science e Lettere de Verona*, serie VI, XXII (1970-71), p. 417.

¹⁴¹ ASV, Fondo Pio 57, fol., 60r; Borghese I, 3, fol., 109r; Archivum Arcis: AA. Arm. I-XVIII, 6532, fol. 230v; parphrased in French, *Correspondance des Nonces*, vol. VI, p. 267.

¹⁴² Cardinal Farnese to Della Torre, [24-31] January 1548, Rome: ASV, Fondo Pio 57, fol., 70r; Borghese I, 3, fol., 129r; Farnese also mentions 'di quelli danari hanno da essere pagati da un fratello del Governatore di Scotia [?] John Hamilton] e ch'è bene auertire ch'ancora esso pigli ed effetto come il dover vuole', and also to tell the Scottish ambassador [Paniter] 'che di quella pensione di M [1,000] scudi, assignalo à colui, ch'è fuggito in Inghilterra, non si farà altra speditzione', *Ibid.*, fol., 71r & fol. 129r; see also *Correspondance des Nonces*, vol., VI, pp. 260-61.

¹⁴³ 'M. Mount his notes', PRO, Sp 68/2/445.

¹⁴⁴ Cited in contemporary documents (in modernized French) as *Havre du Grâce*. According to Professor Knecht, Francis I's 'main contribution to the development of France's Atlantic seaboard was the foundation of Le Havre. ... A deep-water inlet at Grasse [?] situated on the present Côte du Grâce near Honfleur] was already being used by ships, but it was undefended, and there was a real danger that it might become seized by the English in wartime. By 1517', continues Knecht, 'the transformation of the inlet into a properly fortified harbour had become a defensive necessity. Francis also needed a good base from which to send a fleet to his ally James V of Scotland', *Francis I*, p. 324.

¹⁴⁵ ASV, AA. ARM. I-XVIII 6532, fol., 278r; 'this is the last communication from Lippomano himself recorded in the published correspondence of the nuncios in France', Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', p. 417. On 14 June 1548, Della Torre informed Cardinal Farnese that he had 'reçu deux lettres de l'évêque de Vérone du Havre, en date du 2 juin', and that Lippomano had also 'écrit longuement au Cardinal Farnèse', *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 324. Unfortunately, say Law and Manion, 'neither the originals nor the copies of the Lippomano-Farnese correspondence have been discovered so far', 'Nunciature', p. 417, n. 60.

seurete et deffence' of Scotland,¹⁴⁶ was under the overall command of André Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé, who was aged in his sixties and an experienced veteran of François I's wars against the Emperor. The force comprised lansquenets under Jean-Philippe, Reingraf zu Dhaun (known as the Rhingrave¹⁴⁷), French and Gascon infantry under François de Coligny, Seigneur d'Andelot, Italian mercenaries commanded by Pietro Strozzi, and cavalry under the Seigneur d'Etauges.¹⁴⁸ The Fleet comprised 18 galleys under the command of Leone Strozzi ('Villegagnon avait le commandement de quatre galères'¹⁴⁹), one Brigatine, 26 ships of war commanded by the vice-admiral of Brittany, the Seigneur de la Meilleraye, and as victuallers, 80 Flemish "pynces" of 40, 50 and 60 tons a piece.¹⁵⁰ On 18 June d'Oysel reported the arrival of the French forces to the duc d'Aumale: 'mardy xij^eme de ce mois larmee du roy fut descouuerte en ceste coste. Mais pour les grands ventz quil a fait na peu arriver icy de cinq ou six jours apres' [17 or 18 June] and 'la venue de laquelle armee monseigneur a este vng merueilleux ayse et contentement a la Reyne et monsieur le gouverneur';¹⁵¹ both of whom with 'Monseigneur d'Esse et tout le conseil il a este conclud que dedans troyz jours ledict Seigneur d'Esse avec la compaignie qui est icy et quelque caualerie de pays qui est icy entretendue iroint recongnoistre le lieu de Hedinton [Haddington]'.¹⁵² The following day on 19 June, 'the lordis of counsale', announced that 'havand consideratioun of this present tyme of weir, and how

146 Muster Roll taken at Leith on 25 June 1548 of 140 'hommes de guerre adventuriers francois', BN, Fonds Français 25794, No. 31; for a full transcription of this document see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

147 There has been some confusion between Jean-Philippe and his brother Philippe-François, both of whom commanded companies of German troops in the service of France, and both of whom were known as "le conte Ringrave"; for a more detailed analysis see, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

148 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la guerre d'Ecosse*, pp. 8-9; Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol., III, p. 436; A. Heulhard, *Villegagnon roi d'Amerique: un homme de mer au XVI^e siècle, 1510-1572* (Paris, 1897) pp. 36-37. 'François d'Anglure d'Estauge commandait mille chevaux de diverses nations', *Mission de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron Fourquevaux, en Ecosse, 1549*, ed., G. Dickinson (Oxford, 1948), p. 11, n. 2.

149 *Ibid.*, p. 38. Born Nicolas Durand in 1510, he adopted the name "Villegaignon" when studying law in Paris and later, before 1531, he was admitted (like Leone Strozzi) into the Order of St. John of Malta, *Ibid.*, pp.3-7.

150 Palmer and Holcroft to Somerset, Berwick, 1 July 1548, *C.S.P. Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 134. This appears to be the only surviving reference which gives the composition of the fleet, cf. Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol., III, p. 436, n. 5; although it may now not be possible to check. Apparently, many of the early maritime records are missing as a result, for example, 'of the bombardment of Dieppe by the English fleet in 1694 [which] destroyed most of the town, including its archives', Jean Rotz, *Boke of Idography*, edited and introduction, Helen Wallis [facsimile of maps and text presented to Henry VIII by Jean Rotz in 1542, BL, Royal MS 20, E. IX] (Oxford, 1981)p. 3; see also Bonner, 'Recovery of St Andrews Castle', p. 588.

151 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 43r; on 12 June 1548 'William Hardye [was] send to Edinburght, Corstorphyn, Linlythgw, Selkirk, Striviling, Dunblane, and all placis thairabout efor the first sycht of the Franche navye to caus thresche corne and bring victuellis to the toun of Edinburght', *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 204; up to the end of the 18th century it can safely be asserted that the English never received such a welcome in Scotland.

152 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol. 43r.

all men in this realme be reasoun of the general proclamations are makand and preparand thaim with all diligence for the host and army for expulsion of the auld enemyis and to put this realm to fredome'.¹⁵³

The most pressing business to be discussed, as far as the French were concerned, at their initial meeting with the Lords of the Council was Henri II's contract with the Governor for the marriage alliance and the removal of Mary Queen of Scots to France; certain galleys having been already ordered to navigate from Leith via the Orcadies and Western Isles to Dumbarton.¹⁵⁴ Using several euphemisms in order to preserve a modicum of secrecy, d'Oysel reported to the duc d'Aumale on 18 June: 'Et quant a laffaire monseigneur pour lequel je fuz dernièrement deuers le Roy [the contract], je treuve que la Reyne et le dict gouverneur, suivant leur premiere deliberacion, sont en meilleur volente quilz ne furent jamays de faire mectre entre les mains du Roy les places fortes qui sont nommees, ... et aussi comme apres la conuocation des estatz [a parliament], qui sera bref, Ilz luy enuoieront la chose quil desire le plus de recouurer [Mary Queen of Scots], ... et en attendant on fera faire aux galleres depputees pour cest effect le tour des ysls'.¹⁵⁵ On 24 June, d'Oysel wrote to the duc d'Aumale that 'seigneur d'Esse les seigneurs Pierre Strossy et Andellot font leur compte de desloger demain',¹⁵⁶ and 'tirant vers le dict Hedington [Haddington] pour incontinent apres laller assieger'. At the same time the governor 'meiste le chasteau de Dombarre [Dunbar] entre les mains du Roy ... et de celluy de Blaquetz [Blackness] le dict seigneur gouverneur est prest a en faire le semblable';¹⁵⁷ Arran had also agreed that Pietro Strozzi could 'commence a faire le desseing deceque sera besoing pour fortiffier le petit lict [Leith]'.¹⁵⁸

The initial French attack on Haddington having failed, a halt was called until, according to John Brende who reported to Paget on 6 July, 'the lordes have assentid to the mariage and for that perpost the Quene [Marie de Guise] this night is come into this Campe [outside Haddington] and the Ceptre Crowne

¹⁵³ *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 575.

¹⁵⁴ For further details and a contemporary map see, Bonner, 'Recovery of St Andrews Castle', pp. 583-87.

¹⁵⁵ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 43r. The English, however, had a good spy network among the 'Assured Scots'. On 1 July 1548, Palmer and Holcroft reported to Somerset that 'we hear 4 galleys and 6 ships (2 of them Scots) sailed 3 days ago for Dunbarton, to take the young Queen to France', *C.S.P. Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 134.

¹⁵⁶ BN, Fonds Français 25794, No. 31: Muster Roll of 140 'hommes de guerre' under 'Sr Bonnechose' and his Lieutenant, 'Sr de St Cler', of the 300 under the command of 'Collonnel d'Andelot', taken at Leith on 25 June 1548; for a full transcription see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

¹⁵⁷ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol. 61r; participants at the meeting made sure the deliberations were well-publicised at top levels at the French court; viz letters from, d'Oysel to Cardinal de Guise, 24 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 57r; d'Essé to Cardinal de Guise, 25 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 71r; La Chapelle to duc d'Aumale, 25 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 81r; Marie de Guise to her brothers, the duc d'Aumale and Cardinal de Guise, 25 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 249r.

¹⁵⁸ Andelot to duc d'Aumale, 20 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 53v; see also 'lettre ecrite d'Escoce', (no name) Musselburgh, 1 Sept., 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 123v.

and Sworde is sent for to be deliverid to the Lieutenant of ffrance [Seigneur d'Essé]. Brende also cynically observed that 'the ffranche crownes all redie resteywed prevaileth more in this matter with the Lordes of Scotland'.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, at Edinburgh on 26 June 1548, Marie de Guise had assembled the Lords and 'a fait accorder de signer de leurs mains au conte d'Angous [Archibald Douglas 6th earl of Angus],¹⁶⁰ George Duglas [Sir George Douglas] son frere,¹⁶¹ le conte de Casselles [Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd earl of Cassillis], le Chterdaerq [*sic*, ?], le seigneur de selton [George, 5th Lord of Seton] et plusieurs autres seigneurs et barons, et a sept ou huict evesques et prelates de ce Royaume; non seulement le traicte de mariage dentre monseigneur le dauphin et la dicte petite Reyne, mais aussi quelle luy sera delluicee pour estre menee deuers luy [Henri II] toutes et quantes foys quil luy plaira la demander'.¹⁶²

Thus a parliament was hastily convoked to meet at Haddington Abbey on 7 July 1548, and the Royal Regalia¹⁶³ was summoned from Edinburgh to dignify the proceedings with the ceremonial legal symbolism of the solemn contract and agreement between the two kingdoms. This Act of Parliament is one of the most significant in sixteenth-century Scotland; the fact that it endured only up until July 1560 in no way lessens its great importance in the years from 1548 to 1560. On 7 July 1548, the Three Estates clearly and unambiguously put the future of the Realm and defence of the Kingdom of Scotland in the hands, and under the protection, of Henri II, King of France, by agreeing to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin François and the union of the two kingdoms; providing that all the lieges of Scotland were maintained in the same freedom, liberties and laws of previous Scottish kings. The significance and uniqueness of this document therefore requires

¹⁵⁹ PRO, Sp 50/4/65 or 227 ? (both folio numbers appear side by side).

¹⁶⁰ Quittance or receipt signed by 'Archibald erle of Angus' on 26 June 1548 at Edinburgh, that he had received from 'Marie Quene of Scotland' the sum of 'twa thousand and fyve hundreth [2,500] franckis gud and vsuelle money of france In name and behalve of the maist cristin king of france [Henri II] for payment of our pension of the first terme We have of his Maieste of the maist honorable order of the Coquillie [order of St Michael]...', NAS, E 34/14/5.

¹⁶¹ Quittance signed by 'George Douglas of Pendreth [Pittendreich]' on 26 June 1548 at Edinburgh, that he had received from 'Marie quene of Scotland' the sum of 'ane thousand [1,000] cronis of the sone [*écus d'or de soleil*] in part payment of my pension bypast that I have of the maist cristin king of france [Henri II]', NAS, E 34/14/6. Angus and Sir George both received approximately the same amount of money; see 'Equivalency Table', Appendix No. 1, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

¹⁶² D'Oysel to duc d'Aumale, 24 June 1548, BN, Fonds Français 20547, fol., 61v; d'Oysel to Cardinal de Guise, 24 June 1548, *Ibid.*, fol., 57v.

¹⁶³ The Scottish Royal Regalia of the Crown of James V, Sword and Sceptre (also known as the Honours of Scotland) were walled-up in a vaulted room at Edinburgh Castle after the Anglo-Scottish Act of Union of 1707. The vault was eventually re-opened, at the behest of Sir Walter Scott, and the Regalia placed on display in 1818, where it has remained to this present day; for full details see, C.J. Burnett, and C.J. Tabraham, *The Honours of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993).

the citation of a lengthy passage so its importance to Scottish history may be better appreciated. The Act of 7 July 1548 declared that:

The quhilk day Monsiour Dessy [d'Essé] Lieutenant generall of the nauy and armie send be the maist Christin king of France [Henri II] for support of this Realme at this present tyme schew how that his maister the King of France hauand regard to the ancient lig confederatioun and amitie stand and betuix the Realme of France and this cuntry and of the mortall weiris crueliteis depredatiounis and intollerabill iniuris done be our auld enimeis of Ingland aganis our Souerane Lady [Mary] being of sa tender age hir Realme and liegis thairof ... the said maist Christin King ... could do na les to aide support manteine and defend at his powar this tender princes hir Realme and liegis... to put this Realme to the auld libertie priuilege and fredome and to recouer all strenthis Castellis and Fortalices out of our auld enimeis handis ... Thairfoir hauand consideratioun of the premissis and how that the said maist Christin King hes set his hail hart and mind for defence of this Realme desyrit in his said maisters namefor the mair perfyte vnion and indissolubill band of perpetuall amitie lig and confederatioun The mariage of our Souerane Lady to the effect that the said maist Christin Kingis eldest sone and Dolphin [François] of France may be coniunit in matrimonie with hir grace to the perpetuall honour plesour and proffeit of baith the Realmes obseruand and keipand this Realme and and liegis thairof in the same fredome liberteis and Lawis as hes bene in all Kingis of Scotlandis tymes bypast and sall mantene and defend this Realme and liegis of the samin as he dois the Realme of France ... Monsiour Dessy Lieutenant in the name of the said maist Christin King his maister (Monsieur Dosell [d'Oysel] his ambassadour present in the said Parliament confirmand the samin) verry ressonabill and hes grantit that our said Souerane Lady be maryit with the said Dolphin at hir perfyte age¹⁶⁴ ... My Lord Gouvernour [James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran] in our Soverane Ladyis name ratifeis and appreuis in this present Parliament the determinatioun and consent of the thre Estatis of the samin being present concerning the mariage of our Souerane Lady with the Dolphin of France conforme to the act of Parliament maid thairupone.¹⁶⁵

164 Deemed to be twelve years, *viz*: 8 December 1554.

165 *APS*, vol., II, pp. 481-82. 'In conuentu trium ordinum Scotorum habito in monasterio propre hadintonam die septimo Julij anno christi millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo octavo. Illustris Andreas Montallembert et d'Esse prefectus naualium et terrestrium copiarum ab Henrico christianissimo rege Francorum ...' signed, 'Ita est in Registro, Jacobus makgill', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 2; contemporary copy of the Latin translation of the Act of Parliament at Haddington on 7 July 1548, probably of the document with the 'maixme regni sigillo cum illustris principis Jacobi Arrarine comitis tutoris et gubernatoris subscriptione' (*Ibid*) sent to Henri II to inform him of the proceedings undertaken in his name by his proxy, André de Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé.

The following day on 8 July 1548, Marie de Guise wrote to her brother, the duc d'Aumale, informing him that 'le seigneur Pierre Storssy [Strozzi], lequel estoit arrivé le jour de devant blessé d'un coup de hacquebusse à la cuisse, en revoyant la ville de Hadinton, dont il n'est en aucun danger. Je luy demandé quelle résolution il avoit prise sur les affaires du Roy et ce qu'il luy en escriroit'. Strozzi replied that he estimated 'les affaires dudit Seigneur [Henri II] et celles de par deca [Scotland] estre une mesme chose, et son royaume et celluy-cy estre tout un'. The Dowager further informed her brother that 'Il fut hier tenu un parlement icy de tous les Estats, la où chacun consentit d'estre sujet dudit Seigneur, par le moyen de l'honneur qu'il faict la Royne ma fille de la vouloir bailler a monsieur son fils'.¹⁶⁶

Soon after the Haddington Parliament, Henri II granted 'lettres de naturalité generales pour le Comte d'Aran, his heirs and successeurs' at Dijon in July 1548,¹⁶⁷ in which he declared that:

Nous avons puis n'agueres donné, cedé, transporté à nostredit Cousin le Comte d'Aran, pour luy, ses hoirs, successeurs, et ayans cause, à toujours, nostre Duché de Chastellerault, avec toutes ses appartenances et dépendances, jusques à la valeur de douze mille [12,000] livres de rente par chacun an; et afin que sous couleur qu'il est Etranger, natif dudit Royaume d'Escosse, et non de nos Royaume et Païs, l'on ne puisse après son trepas pretendre ledit Duché, Nous devons retourner par droit d'Aubeine, et à sesdits heriteurs successeurs, et ayans cause, donner quelque trouble ou empeschement en la jouissance dudit Duché.¹⁶⁸

Henri II also recognised in Arran 'la grandeur de desdits services, et l'entiere et sincere amitié, et affection, que Nous connoissons par effet, qu'il porte à Nous et au bien de nos affaires, union et conservation des anciennes alliances et amietez d'entre les Royaumes de France et dudit Escosse'. Furthermore Arran could 'soit par testament, ordonnance de derniere volonté, donation faite entre vifs, ou en quelque autre sorte que ce soit, luy puissent succeder, prendre et apprehender la possession et puissance de sesdits biens tout ainsi qu'ils feroient et faire pourroient, si nostre dit Cousin et sesdits enfans et heritiers estoient originaires et natifs de nosdits Royaumes et Païs, ou audit Païs d'Escosse; ... et soit qu'ils soient demeurans en iceux nosdits Royaumes et

¹⁶⁶ *Mémoires-Journaux de François de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale et de Guise, 1547 à 1563, in Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, tome, VI [hereafter, *Mémoires de Guise*], eds., M.M. Michaud et Poujoulat (Paris, 1839), p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ Henri II was at Dijon from 1 to 13 July 1548, 'Itinéraire de Henri II', *Actes de Henri II*, vol., III (1549), p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ BN, Coll. Claimambault 724, fol., 163v (copy); Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, p. 12; Turnbull, *Factum*, p. 11.

Pais, ou audit Pais d'Escoce',¹⁶⁹ and that neither Arran nor his 'enfants et heritiers soient tenus payer à Nous, ni à nos successeurs Rois de France, aucune finance ou indemnité, de laquelle à quelque somme, valeur et estimation qu'elle soit et puisse monter'. These letters patent, however, were not registered in the Chambre des Comptes until 25 April 1549, after those of the 'Don du Duché de Chastellerault' had been registered at the Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes on the 2 and 12 April 1549.¹⁷⁰

Henri II also made doubly sure about the Scottish succession should Mary Queen of Scots and/or the governor die, which is reflected in the will and testament of James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran in his official capacity as Governor of Scotland:

at Pynkie the xxvj day of August the zeir of God 1^m v^c xlviij zeris [25 August 1548], ... we James Erll of Arrane lord Hamiltoun protectour and governour of the realme of Scotland makis our testament as followis: ... Item we mak ane reverend father in God Johnne [Hamilton] bishop of Dunkeld our bruther our anerle exectour and als tutour testamantar to our eldest sone and the remanent of our barnys, and levis our said bruther and all our barnys kyn and freindis to the maist Cristin king the king of France [Henri II] and ordanis to haif thame in all behaffis efter his will and plesour and at his gracis consale and command and to deliuer the strenthis of Scotland to his maieste now being in our hand ... Signed James G.¹⁷¹

Whether the papal nuncio, Pietro Lippomano, attended the Haddington Parliament as his predecessor Marco Grimani had at Edinburgh in 1543, is not known, although it seems unlikely given the recurrent fever which he contracted on board the French vessel en route to Scotland; and to which he succumbed a month or so later.¹⁷² It is probable, however, that he attended

169 This latter clause is unusual in allowing the beneficiaries of Arran's will the rights of dual-residency; and as dual-nationality was not recognised in the *ancien régime*, Henri II had obviously extended special privileges to Arran and his successors; for further details see, Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp. 1094-95.

170 BN, Coll. Claimambault 724, fols., 163v-164v (copy); Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 12-14; Turnbull, *Factum*, pp. 11-12.

171 *MS. of the Duke of Hamilton: HMC*, 11th Report, Appendix, Part VI (London, 1887), pp. 53-54.

172 'Generally it has been accepted that Bishop Lippomano died on 9 August 1548', Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', p. 440; but there is reason to believe that he died some weeks before, *Ibid.*, p. 441. Unfortunately, 'the Lippomano correspondence has been lost to the official record and no biography or family history yet exists', *Ibid.*, p.405. For such excerpts from those letters as do survive concerning Lippomano, including a letter of introduction to William Gordon (son of 3rd earl of Huntly) bishop of Aberdeen, from Giovanni Ferreri written in Paris 27 April 1548; see J. Durkan, 'Robert Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh', *Innes Review*, 1 (1950) p. 66, cf. G. Ferreri, *Letterbook of Giovanni Ferreri on Scottish Affairs* (Paris, 1547-1561), catalogue and extracts of the *Letterbook* are published in *Papal Negotiations with Mary*

the meeting of the Lords and prelates convened by Marie de Guise at Edinburgh on 26 June 1548. The fact that Lippomano 'was sent as a nuncio, as a resident ambassador, not simply as a legate as had been the case [with Marco Grimani] in 1543, should have made clear to contemporaries the increased concern Paul III¹⁷³ felt for Scotland', and it 'probably contributed to the successful culmination of French policy at the parliament of 7 July 1548' at Haddington.¹⁷⁴

Another reason for 'Lippomano's mission was to take a number of papal bulls relating to Scottish bishoprics with him to Scotland'.¹⁷⁵ Apparently, the bulls were not ready when Lippomano left Rome in January 1548 because, 'les solliciteurs écossaise sont très négligents: ils disent n'avoir pas d'argent pour payer les bulles'.¹⁷⁶ But of greater concern at this time was Lippomano's failing health. On 22 July the papal nuncios in France reported to Cardinal Farnese that 'l'état de Mgr. de Vérone laisse peu d'espoir; s'il meurt on ne sait ce que deviendront les 10,000 écus¹⁷⁷ qu'il porte avec lui, alors qu'il a laissé les bulles en France'.¹⁷⁸ According to Law and Manion, 'the only Scottish bishopric for which at least some of the bulls were intended and which can be clearly identified from the published diplomatic correspondence is the bishopric of Ross'.¹⁷⁹ On 21 February 1548, Della Torre reported to Cardinal Farnese that 'per ordine ch'io ho dal Re et dal sudetto Mons. Cardinale [de Guise] Mons. de Verona et io saremo con l'Ambasciatore de Scotia [Paniter] et vedrà se de risolverla al men male che si portà et la cosa si renderà tanto piu difficile quanto che questo Ambasciatore e de li interessati et aspetta le bolle della sua chiesa Rossen et dubito che non sia buono instrumento in questo caso'.¹⁸⁰

Queen of Scots during her Reign in Scotland, 1561-1567, ed., J.H. Pollen (Edinburgh, 1901) Appendix I, pp. 413-419.

173 'Pope Paul III sent [envoys] on two occasions: Grimani and Lippomano 'with large sums of money' to assist in a reformation, and a setting in order of the church and its maintenance and defence', W.J. Anderson, 'Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625', *Innes Review*, X (1959), pp. 183-84.

174 Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', p. 424; Law and Manion argue that 'it would probably be correct to assume that the bishop of Verona was instructed to co-operate closely with the French and to assist in the negotiations preliminary to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin', *Ibid.*, 428.

175 *Ibid.*, p. 428.

176 Cardinal Farnese to Della Torre, Rome [2 Feb., 1548, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 264.

177 'The Legate is at point of death, and there is a "stryveffe" for money he brought with him', Palmer and Holcroft to Somerset, 1 July 1548, Berwick, *C.S.P. Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 134.

178 *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 351.

179 Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', p. 429.

180 ASV, AA. I-XVIII 6532, fol., 234r. David Paniter was a crown nomination for the bishopric of Ross on the death of Robert Cairncross when he was royal secretary before 23 Dec., 1545, at which time he was granted the temporalities. Even though he was provided on 28 Nov., 1547, he was still officially referred to as the bishop-elect of Ross on 28 Nov., 1549, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae Medii Aevi ad annum, 1638* (hereafter *Fasti*), ed., D.E.R. Watt, Scottish Record Society, New Series (Edinburgh, 1969) p. 270.

It is entirely probable that the bull for the bishopric of Ross was left in France by Lippomano with the others sent from Rome. Law and Manion argue that the reason the bulls were left behind 'probably lies with difficulties arising from the provision to other Scottish bishoprics, and with attempts made by the Earl of Arran to use his position as governor to control the royal right of nomination to benefices for his own political advantage'.¹⁸¹ According to R.K. Hannay, after Henri II had agreed to bestow the Duchy of Châtellerauld on Arran, 'the papacy released the bulls of St Andrews and Ross, to keep the Governor, his brother, and the Secretary amenable';¹⁸² and 'it did not provide John [Hamilton]¹⁸³ for St Andrews till his brother, the Governor, was safely bound over to France'.¹⁸⁴ It is probable that the bulls left in France by Lippomano were those of St Andrews, Ross and Dunkeld, and that this was a deliberate act by the nuncio, very likely at the behest of Henri II, to serve as a measure of insurance that the Governor would keep his word and their contract. Henri II had good reason to be cautious. Arran's reputation for vacillation, prevarication and dissembling were well-known, not least by Marie de Guise,¹⁸⁵ and Henri II would have wanted all the legal obstacles cleared with the Scottish government, and the young queen safe on French soil before either handing over the Duchy of Châtellerauld or allowing Lippomano to deliver the papal bull of the most prestigious ecclesiastical prize in Scotland to the Hamilton family.

Lippomano's 'mission was intended to contribute to the success of French policy in Scotland', assert Law and Manion, 'to defeating the English invasion and to securing the marriage alliance of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin. But,' they claim, 'his nunciature should be seen as more than an

181 Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', p. 429

182 Hannay, 'Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers', p. 40.

183 John Hamilton, an illegitimate son of the 1st Earl of Arran, was born in 1512 and 'entered the Church at a very early age as a Tironensian monk of Kilwinning abbey and rapidly progressed through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, receiving the appointments of commendator and later abbot of Paisley in 1525', Finnie, 'The House of Hamilton', p. 18; he also 'retained the Abbey of Paisley until 1553', *Ibid*, p. 9, notwithstanding subsequent appointments. On 20 Jan., 1544, Hamilton was granted the temporalities of the bishopric of Dunkeld, having been nominated by his half-brother, the Governor, and was provided on 17 Dec., 1544. He was granted the faculty to change his religious habit for the dress of secular bishops on 15 March 1546, receiving his letters of legitimization on 20 June 1546, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1513-1546*, vol., III, eds., J. Paul and J. Thomas (Edinburgh, 1883) p. 764; and was consecrated bishop of Dunkeld on 22 August 1546, Watt, *Fasti*, p. 100. On 31 May 1546, however, he was granted the temporalities of St. Andrews following David Beaton's murder, and was translated from Dunkeld by Paul III on 28 November 1547 to St Andrews, but the appointment was not made effective until June 1549.

184 R.K. Hannay, *The Scottish Crown and the Papacy, 1424-1560*, The Historical Association of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 12.

185 She told Sir Ralph Sadler in 1543 that Arran was 'assuredly a simple and the most inconstant man in the world, for whatsoever he detirmineth today, he changeth tomorrow', *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, p. 115.

encouragement for French diplomacy. At that time, the preservation of Scotland within the orbit of French influence was understood as the only way to maintain her in obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. ... Paul III showed himself to be aware of the critical situation in that country', they continue, 'but he also demonstrated his almost complete dependence on France. Every aspect of Lippomano's mission indicates that he was closely associated with French policy'. Finally, Law and Manion conclude, 'where Paul III was able to make a contribution by sending a nuncio with money and by exercising the right to provision to Scottish benefices, he did so to strengthen French policy. That his nuncio died and was not replaced,¹⁸⁶ that the money was possibly misused and that the ecclesiastical situation was left unresolved while French policy succeeded, emphasizes the secondary role played by the papacy and its representative'.¹⁸⁷

As a further insurance to persuade the Scots and Arran to honour his contract, Henri II, 'Chef et souverain de l'Ordre de Monseigneur Saint-Michel', by his letters patent given at Dijon on 6 July 1548, authorized:

nostre trescher et amé Cousin le Comte d'Aran, Gouverneur d'Escosse et Chevalier dudit ordre ... Nous et nosdits Freres élus et trouvez dignes et capables d'estre associez en la Compagnie dudit Ordre ... nos chers et amez Cousins Georges Gordon Comte de Huntly, Archebal Champel Comte d'Argyle, et Archebal Douglas Comte d'Angous, [considering not only] qu'y a fait et fait encore tous les jours le Roy d'Angleterre leur Ennemi, mais aussi l'entretienement de l'ancienne alliance et amitié, qui de tout temps a esté entre les Royaumes d'Escosse et de France ... Vous avons commis et député ... par ces presentes pour signifier à nosdits Cousins et à chacun d'eux l'élection qui à esté faite le leurs personnes, et prendre d'eux le serment tel qu'il est contenu au Memoire que Vous envoyons, et ce fait leur presenter de par Nous le dit Collier. This singular honour was accompanied by a pension to each of 2,000 livres tournois *per annum*.¹⁸⁸

The Order of Saint-Michel to which the Scottish earls were admitted was instituted by Louis XI on 1 August 1469; the statutes were later

¹⁸⁶ It seems that Henri II was instrumental in not having the nuncio replaced. On 19 November 1548, Della Torre reported to Cardinal Farnese that Henri II, 's'est étonné qu'à Rome il ait été fait des instances de sa part pour l'envoi d'un autre nonce en Ecosse: il n'a donné aucun ordre, ne voulant pas charger S.S. [Sua Santità] de cette dépense sans nécessité', *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 412.

¹⁸⁷ Law and Manion, 'Nunciature', pp. 446-47.

¹⁸⁸ 'Pour demye annee de la pension des troys chevaliers de lordre qui sont par dela, iijM [3,000] livres', *Estat de Henri II, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 22 April 1549*, BN, Fonds Français 18153, fol., 69r; for a full transcription see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

formalized on 22 and 24 December 1476.¹⁸⁹ The earls had been admitted to an exclusive band of Scottish predecessors in the Order including, James III, ?1484;¹⁹⁰ ? James IV, 1494; Alexandre Stuart, duc d'Albanie, 1485; Bernard Stuart, 3rd Seigneur d'Aubigny 1493; and the Comte de Bothvile [?Bothwell] 15 mars 1497/98;¹⁹¹ and during the reign of François I, Robert Stuart, 4th Seigneur d'Aubigny and James V in 1536. As noted previously, Angus had already received 2,500 francs from Henri II by the hands of Marie de Guise on 26 June 1548;¹⁹² and Argyll had received 'a great sum of "angell nobiliss"', from her in March 1548;¹⁹³ Huntly, however, had formally requested of Henri II, not only the Order of Saint-Michel, but also an annual pension of 2,000 livres in a Bond of Manrent to Marie de Guise which he signed at Newcastle on 14 April 1548.¹⁹⁴

George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly and Chancellor of Scotland,¹⁹⁵ had been captured at the battle of Pinkie, and was detained in 'open arrest' in London¹⁹⁶ where he had frequent contact with Odet de Selve, the French

189 P. Contamine, *Guerre, État et Société à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1972), pp. 429-30, and n. 157; also see, P. Contamine, 'L'ordre de Saint-Michel au temps de Louis XI et de Charles VIII', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale de Antiquaires de France* (1976) p. 212, cf. *Ordonnances des rois de France*, tome XVII, pp. 236-55 et tome XVIII, pp. 217-23.

190 'Il est possible que le roi d'Escoce ait reçu l'ordre à la suite d'une ambassade conduite par Béraud Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, en mars 1484', *Ibid.*, p. 225.

191 'Recueil historique des chevaliers de l'ordre de Saint-Michel ... régnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et de Louis XII, depuis 1469 jusques 1515', BN, Fonds Français 32864, pp. 60, 92, 101 and 175; see also 'Constitution of the Ordre de St Michel': 15th-century MS volume bound in vellum. For 'l'hone Forman Rothesay herauld' (fol. 3v) 'Donne en nostre chastle d'Amboise le premier jour dauoust lan de grace mil quatre cens soixante neuf [1 August 1469] Et de nostre Regne le neusieme' (fol., 24r), Illuminated MS, NLS, Adv. MS. 31.7.15; for further elaboration and photographs of the Order of Saint-Michel, see Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Cleutin', (forthcoming). Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, de Villeparisis et de St Aignan, was admitted to the order by Charles IX on 14 July 1562.

192 NAS, E 34/14/5.

193 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 100.

194 NAS, SP 13/58; for a full transcription of this document, see Elizabeth Bonner, 'George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly's Bond of Manrent to Marie de Guise to Serve Henri II' (for submission to *Northern History*).

195 George Gordon, born in 1510, was the grandson of Alexander, 3rd earl of Huntly, by an illegitimate daughter of James IV, who succeeded to the Earldom in 1524 which included the office of Lieutenant of the North with vast territorial possessions and the judicial office of Sheriff of Aberdeen with civil and criminal jurisdiction over a wide area. He came to prominence on the Regency Council appointed for Mary Queen of Scots in 1542, following the death of James V, and in 1546 he was appointed Chancellor of Scotland, (G. Donaldson and R.S. Morpeth, *Dictionary of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 102); with custody of the Great Seal which, apart from Angus's few months as Chancellor in 1527-28, made him the first lay Chancellor since his great-grandfather had held the office at the end of the fifteenth century, Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, p. 230.

196 De Selve reported to Henri II on 18 October 1547 that Huntly 'n'a esté mictz ne logé en la Tour ne en aucune autre prison, mais au contraire est traicté et caressé gratuitement et humainement aultant qu'il est possible ayant liberté d'aller et venir par tout où bon luy semble en la compaignie toutesfoys d'ung chevallier angloys de qui il est prisonnier', *Correspondance de Odet de Selve*, p. 218.

ambassador.¹⁹⁷ As in 1542, following the capture of the Scottish nobles at Solway Moss, the Protector, like Henry VIII, offered Huntly his freedom 'afin de s'en retourner en Écosse pour y négocier le mariage de la reine d'Écosse avec le roi d'Angleterre'.¹⁹⁸ But, according to de Selve, Huntly 'ne prendra aucune résolution avant l'arrivée de la réponse du roi, [Henri II] et il déclare toujours décidé à refuser les conditions qu'on lui propose si le roi a l'intention de secourir l'Écosse'.¹⁹⁹ During the next few months, Huntly examined various plans to make good his escape deciding that it might be best accomplished from a visit to the North. On 17 March 1548 he wrote to Marie de Guise that 'I haiwe gotten leiff to cum to the bordour for besines I haiwe adoo ... quhilk your grace sall thynk veray necessar to be done wyth all diligens'.²⁰⁰ Huntly arrived at Newcastle the next day, and from there on 14 April 1548 he signed a Bond of Manrent to Marie de Guise, declaring that the:

maist Cristyn Kyng off France [Henri II] sall pay my ransome and get me ye ordour off France [l'ordre de Saint-Michel] with twa thousand lj [2,000 livres] of zerly pention for all the [da]yis and termis of my lyf ... and I be heretable [hole in MS] off ye Erldomes of Orkney Ross or Murray', and that if Henri II is agreeable then Huntly will support 'ye contrak of marriage to be maid and endit In face of huly kirk betwyxt ye Rycht nobill kyng and Dawlphyn of France or ony utheris of ye maist cristyn kynges sonns And our mastres ye Quenis grace of Scoitland and sall consent and cawiss all wtheris of my kyn frenddes allyarres and parttakarris to quhowme pentione salbe gyffin and all wtheris is pertenant me or beand within my dominionis and lordschypis or oony of mynn consent to the samin ... And leilly and trewly to serve The maist nobill cristyn kyng of France within the Realm of Scoitland or withowt with my kyn frenddes and allya on hes grace expenses as his grace or ony off his namyn pleis require me. The Quenis grace doager of Scoitland and our souveraine lady my dowetey and omage acht to ye cronis alernnyrly exceptet.²⁰¹

197 Huntly told de Selve that the Scots' defeat at Pinkie and 'sa prinse et mectant la faulte de cest inconvénient sur le gouverneur quy avoyt esté d'opinion que l'on assaillist lez Angloys, et que luy n'avoyt uncques de cest advis, mais plus tost de se tenir dans le fort et temporiser ung peu', but Huntly thought 'les Escossoys avoint la victoyre en la main sans danger, mais que ledict gouverneur ne l'avoyt voullu croire et luy avoyt dict lorsqu'il sembloyt qu'il eust paour de quoy il avoyt bien voullu monstrier le contraire et y avoyt esté prinse avec plusieurs autres', *Ibid.*, p. 218.

198 Selve to Henri II, 19 Oct., 1547, *Ibid.*, p. 224 and p. 219.

199 Selve to Henri II, 20 Oct., 1547, *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27; and Selve to the Constable, 14 Dec., 1547, *Ibid.*, p. 255.

200 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 223; 'Selve had reason to be doubtful of the Earl's good faith: but it was the English, not the French party, whom he ultimately deceived', *Ibid.*, p. 223, n.1.

201 NAS, Sp 13/58; Wormald, 'Appendix C: Religious and Political Bonds', *Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*, p. 404; when examining the 1,032 bonds cited in Wormald's appendices, this bond is atypical of all except two others. One is of John Crichton and ten other Crichtons *et al* to Robert, 6th Lord Maxwell on 22 June 1550, which declares 'allegiance

Huntly also wrote from Newcastle to his brother, Alexander Gordon, postulant of Caithness,²⁰² asking him to 'hast yow to me ... I hayff sic materis to sc[h]aw yow that I cannot wryt presently'.²⁰³ On 23 May 1548, de Selve reported to Henri II, that 'le navire de Quiriace²⁰⁴ était resté longtemps à Newcastle, mais que le comte de Huntley n'avait pu en profiter'. Selve also told the king that Huntly's envoy 'conta ensuite comment l'évêque de Caithness était venu trouver le comte de Huntley à Newcastle et comment les deux frères s'y étaient séparés le même jour, le comte pour revenir à Londres, l'évêque pour retourner en Écosse emportant à la reine le serment écrit du comte'.²⁰⁵

The arrival of the French fleet in June 1548 'de secourir l'Écosse' must have given Huntly cause for satisfaction during his incarceration in London. Soon after their arrival at Leith, as d'Oysel reported to the duc d'Aumale on 24 June, 'ce qui touche le passage de la petite Reyne devers le Roy, la Reyne vostre seur a donne charge au seigneur Pierre [?] Strozzi], faire partir ce jourdhuy de nuit sans les gallaires quil a pleu au Roy ordonner pour cest effect entre lesquelles doit estre la *Realle* pour plus seurement et mieulx porter sa personne', and as a feint to the actual destination of the expedition, 'le seigneur d'Andelot ... embarquer sur icelles le nombre de sept vingts [140] souldats faignant que les dictes gallaires vont reuisiter les rivieres d'icy a lentour et le fort de Brouticrat [Broughty Craig]'.²⁰⁶ Villegagnon²⁰⁷ was

excepted to the most Christian King of France', as well as the queen and governor for nine years, *Ibid.*, p. 338; Wormald says that this bond 'does not admit of an obvious explanation', *Ibid.*, p. 60. The second bond was the only other one signed outside Scotland, it was also signed at Newcastle on 2 March 1566 by Argyll, Moray, Glencairn *et al* in support of Darnley, *Ibid.*, p. 405 and p. 50. Apart from these two specific features in these particular bonds, Huntly's bond to Marie de Guise to serve the King of France in return for the above-mentioned conditions is certainly unusual, if not unique, among the 1,032 bonds covering the years from 1442 to 1603.

202 Gordon's crown appointment to the bishopric of Caithness in 1544 (he replaced Robert Stewart, brother of the 4th earl of Lennox, when they both defected to England in 1544; Robert, however returned to Scotland in 1545) had been disputed since 1545, Watt, *Fasti*, p. 61. Gordon sought the support of Marie de Guise, signing a Bond of Manrent to her on 17 January 1548 for an annual pension of £200, NAS, Sp 13/55; and on 14 April 1548 by her letters patent, she declared her support for 'Messire Alexandre estant dernièrement en France a baille sa foy et promesse au treschrestien Roy pour y perpetuellement demeurer son fidel serviteur et subject', and that Henri II, 'baillera audict Messire Alexandre vng benefice dela valeur dudict euesche de Cathenes [Caithness] ou en France ou en Escosse', as well as a pension of 'cinq cens [500] marcs d'Écosse par an'; and meanwhile, Henri II granted him a 'pension de mil [1,000] livres par an', BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 117r&v.

203 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 277; Alexander Gordon kept the Dowager fully informed, see letters to her on 21st, 25th and 29th April 1548, *Ibid.*, pp. 227-31.

204 Le Seigneur Quiriace, marin Français (Breton) s'emploie dans les tentatives d'évasion du comte de Huntley, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 307.

205 *Ibid.*, p. 355; presumably, Huntly's *serment* to Marie de Guise was the above-mentioned Bond of Manrent. In the same letter, Huntly's envoy said that the Earl 'venait d'être amené à Londres pour être enfermé à la Tour, a cause des soupçons d'évasion et de trahison conçus contre lui', *Ibid.*, p. 355.

206 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 61r.

given command of the expedition and 'partist de la rade de Petit Lict [Leith] avec quatre galieres, lequel ayant fainct prendre la route de France entra en la mer Germanique [North Sea] et Pethelantique [Pentland Firth] (qu'ils appellent) ou ayant costoyées les trente Isles des Olchades [Orkneys] en moins de tems qu'on n'esperoit qu'il le peust faire, arriva à Dombertram [Dumbarton]'.²⁰⁸ There, the young queen and her mother waited, guarded by 'vn bon nombre de gentilshommes François, vertueux et hardis'²⁰⁹ who had arrived with the seigneur de la Chapelle the previous December. On 29 July 1548, Marie de Guise bade farewell to her daughter and 'la fit embarquer dans la galere *Reale*, ou estoit le seigneur de Brézé;²¹⁰ ... lequel auoit été despeché expres par le Roy, pour conduire cete Princesse' en France.²¹¹ Mary Queen of Scots was accompanied by her official guardians, the Lords Erskine and Livingston, her nurse, Jean Sinclair, her governess, Lady Fleming, her half-brothers Robert and John Stewart, (illegitimate sons of James V) and her four "Maries", or maids of honour: Mary Fleming, Mary Seton, Mary Beaton and Mary Livingston.²¹² The galleys finally departed the Firth of Clyde on 7 August 1548 and, according to Brézé, 'fymes nostre descente en se lieu de Sainct Paul [St. Pol] de Leon le xv^e de ce moys daougst [15 August 1548]; ayans demeure dixhuict jours sur la mer avec grandes tourmentes et presque contrainctz deux ou troys foyz relaizer a dombertrand [Dumbarton]. Et vue

207 On 12 July 1548 at Dijon, Henri II announced the names of the captains of his galleys in the Atlantic fleet in which Villegagnon was given charge of two galleys, BN, Fonds Français 18153, fols 38v-40r. Also see Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol., III, p. 456. These galleys were disbursed to Bayonne, Rouen and Edinburgh, Roncière, 'Henri II Précurseur de Colbert', p. 635; and on 6 Jan., 1549, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Henri II ordered that of those five galleys presently in Scotland, 'Ledict Seigneur vout que la gallaire la *Lune* soit desarmee. Et quil ny en ait que quatre en Escosse et sera promptement envoie la soulede des dites quatre gallaires par le chevalier de Seure', BN, Fonds Français 18153, fols., 53r&v; see also Heulhard, *Villegagnon*, p. 39.

208 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse*, p. 30. Beaugué, an old friend of the seigneur d'Essé, accompanied the French expedition and published his account of it in 1556. Beaugué described Villegagnon's voyage as 'vne navigation que galieres n'auoyent iamais fait: aussi sont elles mal conuenables à resister aux impetuosities de cete mer, à cause des marées qui y sont merueilleusement fortes, et des tourmentes qui y sont continuelles', *Ibid*, 30; see Bonner, 'Recovery of St Andrews Castle', for map of James V's circumnavigation of Scotland in 1540 which, I have argued in this article, together with Alexander Lindsay's pilot-book very probably provided the means for navigation of this all important voyage.

209 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse*, p. 29.

210 It has generally been thought that it was Philippe de Maillé, Seigneur de Brézé, who conducted the Queen of Scots to France in 1548, but in a recent article it is claimed that it was his brother Artus who 'was appointed to direct the voyage by a royal commission of 28 April 1548', M-N. Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Mary Stewart's Arrival in France in 1548', *SHR*, LXIX (1990), p. 91, n. 2, cf. Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France* (Paris, 1726-33), vol., VII, p. 516. As there is no documentary evidence presented, Anselme's statement still leaves the question open, and Madame Baudouin-Matuszek admits that 'it is possible that the voyage was led by his brother Philippe', *Ibid*, p. 91, n. 2.

211 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse*, p. 30.

212 A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1969), repr. (1985) pp. 54-55; R.K. Marshall, *Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 27; also see T. Duncan, 'The Queen's Maries', *SHR*, II (1905).

nuict ainsy que estiens pres de dix lieulx en Cap de Cornouaille [Cornwall] estant la mer merueilleusement impetueuse et avec aussy grans vagues que lay de ma vye veue. Le tymon de nostre gallere fut rompu, qui nous myt en bien crainte, mais nostre Seigneur y voullut pourveoir de sorte que ne demourasmes gueres sans y en avoir mys vng oultre quelque grosse mer quil y eust'. Brézé assured Marie de Guise that 'la Roynne vostre fille ... fait aultant bonne chere que layez jamays veue', and that the King has instructed him to take her to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and that 'Monsieur et Madame de Guise, Monsieur Destampes et Monsieur de Rohan luy viennent audevant'.²¹³ The same day Brézé wrote to the duc d'Aumale from Roscoff,²¹⁴ and presumably, also to Henri II who wrote to M. d'Humières, governor of the royal children's household, from Turin on 24 August 1548 that 'jay eu certaines nouvelles de larrivee en bonne sante de ma fille la Roynne d'Escosse au haure de Roscou [Roscoff] pres Leons [St Pol de Léon] en mon duche de Bretagne qui ma este tel plaisir que pouez penser ... Je vous avis que jentendz quelle marche deuant mes filles car le mariage de mon filz et delle este arreste et conclud. Et sans cella elle est Roynne couronne. Et comme telle je veux quelle soit honnoree et servyr'.²¹⁵ On 18 October, Henri II informed the duc d'Aumale that 'ma fille la roynne d'Escosse arriva dimanche en fort bonne santé à Carrières,²¹⁶ ou sont

213 Seigneur de Brézé to Marie de Guise, St Paul de Léon, 18 August 1548, J.T. Stoddart, *The Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1908), pp. 410-11, cf. NLS, Balcarres MS, vol. III, No. 132; Stoddart has transcribed and translated the Brézé correspondence and other letters concerning Mary's voyage and arrival in France *Ibid*, Appendix A, pp. 405-44. For additional letters see *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 3-4 and 43-44. For extracts of this correspondence see W.M. Bryce, 'Mary Stuart's Voyage to France in 1548', *EHR*, XXII (1907). Part of the hagiography of Mary Queen of Scots includes her presumed arrival at Roscoff in Brittany where there is immortalized 'her footprint on the rock there, and the erection, later in the year [1548], of a Chapel to St. Ninian [still standing] over its tracing', *Ibid*, p. 47. Bryce argues logically, in view of Brézé's letter of 18 August, that the landing actually took place at St Pol de Léon which is several miles distant from Roscoff, *Ibid*, pp. 47-8.

214 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 121r.

215 BN, Fonds Français 3134, fol., 12 (orig); and a copy BN, Nouv. Acq. Fonds Français 7699, fols., 146r-147r. On 29 Aug., 1548, Henri II wrote to Marie de Guise to inform her of the safe arrival of her daughter and that 'ayant mande par toutes mes villes et autres lieux et endroitz ou elle passera qu'elle soit recuee avec tel honneur et defference que l'on fait a la propre personne de la Roynne ma femme, ayant pouvoir de donner remissions de delivrer prisonniers', Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Mary Stewart's arrival', p. 94. This is a draft letter from the papers of Jean Duthier which has recently come to light in the 'Moscow (Tsgada) Central State Archives, Ancients Acts, Collection Lamoignon, vol., VII, fols 26-30', *Ibid*, p. 91, n. 4. Concerning these documents see, V. N. Mal'ov, 'Les Archives d'un Secrétaire d'État de Henri II Retrouvées à Moscou', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, CXXXV (1977); and following his research in these archives: M. Antoine, 'Institutions Françaises en Italie sous le Règne de Henri II: Gouverneurs et Intendants (1547-1559)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps Modernes*, vol., 94 (1982).

216 On 2 October the King had instructed M. d'Humières to 'faire acoustrer le logeis de Carrières pour icelluy estant acoustré et en ordre, y mener mes enfans, avecques lesquelz madicte fille la roynne d'Escosse y logera jusques à ce que je soye par della. Et cependant l'on nectoira le chasteau dudict Saint-Germain-en-Laye, pareillement la basse-court et le villaige; et fera l'on audict chasteau ce que scavez que j'ay ordonné estre fait, beaucoup mieulx et plus aisément que mesdicts enfans y estoient, lesquelx aussi ne se trouveront que mieulx de danger ung peu l'air'. Henri II was concerned not only for his children's health, but also his own.

mes enfans', and I have heard that 'mon fils et elle furent dès le premier jour aussy apprivoisez ensemble comme s'ils se fussent cognus de longtems; et ne vient personne de devers elle qui ne la loue tant que merveille qui me redouble l'envie que j'avois de la voir'.²¹⁷ Henri II finally met Mary in early December 1548. Brézé wrote to Marie de Guise on the 11th that the 'le Roy luy a faict la meilleure chere quil luy a este possible et luy continue encore de jour en jour et sestime grandement heurus dequoy elle est venue sans fortune et maladie et ne la tient moindre aujourdhuy que sa propre fille'.²¹⁸

As soon as Henri II had had news of the safe arrival of Mary Queen of Scots, he informed the 'Estats D'Escosse' that 'vostre Reyne nostre tres-Chere et tres-Amée Fille est arrivée à bon port en nostre pays et Duché de Bretagne, dé le 13 de ce mois'.²¹⁹ Henri assured the Scots that 'pour nostre Fille et par consequent son Royaume, ses affaires et Sujets estre avec les nostre une mesme chose, sans en faire jamais separation, pour aucune occasion que ce soit, dont vous vous pouez bien asseurer; quelques remonstrances et persuasions qu'autres vous ayent faites, et puissent faire cy-apres au contraire'. He begged and exhorted them 'de vous ioindre à l'advenir ensemble par une parfaite amitié et commune intelligence à l'obeissance que vous devez à vostre Reyne nostre Fille, ... la Reyne sa mere' and the Governor: 'car obseruant entre vous cette vnion et intelligence sans diuision ny partialité, vous demeurerez inuincibles en vostre ancienne reputation, d'auoir esté toujours les Sujets autant ou plus affectionnez, fermes et entiers, que nuls autres enuers leur Souuerain Prince et naturel Seigneur'. Henri pointed out the folly of divisions within kingdoms and asserted that 'Nous ne voulons faire moindre deuoir qu'à l'administration et gouvernement des nostres propres; et à l'exemple et imitation d'eux, nous desirons sur tout singulierement vous instituer la Iustice distributiue, par laquelle les mauuais soient punis et chastiez, et les bons reconnus et recompensez, comme nous auons deliberé de faire, d'autant que sans cela, comme vous scauez, les Roys ne peuuent regner sur leurs Sujets, ny

He further instructed M. d'Humières 'de ne laisser venir audict Saint-Germain et principalement au chateau personne soit maçon, manouvrier, ou autre de lieu suspect de maladie contagieuse; et tiendrez main que le semblable se face à Poissy et au villaiges d'alentour, affin que quant je seray, je n'y puisse auoir danger', Stoddart, *Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 421-22, cf. BN, Fonds Français 3120, fol., 69.

²¹⁷ *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 2.

²¹⁸ Stoddart, *Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 425, cf. NLS, Balcarres MS, vol., III, No. 130.

²¹⁹ *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat des Roys, Princes et Ambassadeurs et autres Ministres sous les Règnes de François Ier et Henri II, 1537 à 1559* [hereafter, Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*], 2 vols., ed., G. Ribier (Blois, 1666), vol., II, p. 150; this document is dated '30 juillet 1548'. As this date pre-dates Mary's arrival in France: 15 Aug., 1548, there is possibly a clerical error. Perhaps 30 Aug., 1548 was the actual date? Dr. David Potter says that 'this unusual letter of Henri II to Selve is obviously from the du Thier draft by Ribier; like many Ribier documents it was sold in the 19th century but the date remains a problem'. On 29 Aug., Henri II informed Marie de Guise that 'vous advisant que je n'ay voulu faillyr de faire une bonne lectre aux princes, prélatz, seigneurs, gentilzhommes et gens des troys Estatz des Royaulme et Pays d'Escosse qui est de la substance telle que vous verrez par le double que je vous enuoye', Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Mary Stewart's arrival', p. 95.

les Sujets viure sous leurs Roys'. Finally, he assured them that he would send 'vn bon et suffisant renfort, et rafraichissement de gens de guerre, pionniers, argent, poudres, munitions et autres choses qu'il nous asemblé estre necessaires, vous pouuant bien asseurer que nous n'oublirons aucune chose qui soit en nostre pouuoir pour vous maintenir, conseruer, et defendre contre ceux qui se porteront vos ennemis'.²²⁰ On 20 November 1548, Henri II informed Marillac from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, that concerning the marriage, the 'Royaume d'Escosse auecques mon filz le Dauphin accorde et consenty par tous les Estatz du Royaume'.²²¹

Soon after, Henri II set out in explicit terms his interpretation of the recent events in Scotland. In an undated letter to Odet de Selve, he informed his ambassador of the safe arrival of 'ma Fille' and of the marriage contract 'fait et passé solennellement en Escosse, auant le partement de ladite Reyne, et l'investiture et possession de Royaumes, Sceptre, et Couronne, baillée et delaisée en la presence, et du consentement des Estats du pays, à mes deputez au profit de mondit Fils, lequel a esté en ce faisant reconnu pour Roy d'Escosse'. The French king also instructed de Selve to inform Somerset of these events, and in the same terms. Thus, Henri II considered that he had an obligation 'à la protection, defence, et conservation dudit Royaume d'Escosse, comme du mien propre, n'estant à present tous deux qu'une mesme chose l'un avec l'autre: quoy qu'il en soit, par le moyen et occasion susdit, le dit Royaume est à estimer et reputer maintenant comme membre dépendant de mon chef, et par consequent doit estre compris en la iouissance de Benefice de la paix et amitié qui est entre le Roy d'Angleterre et moy, qui tiens à present le lieu de Roy d'Escosse, avec l'obeissance de ses vassaux et sujets, lesquels ne peuuent plus auoir autre volonté que la mienne'. Therefore, 'ie prie ledit Protecteur que mettant en consideration ce que dessus, il fasse cesser toutes entreprises, incursions et inuasions, hostillitez sur ledit Royaume d'Escosse et Sujets d'iceluy, et de ce costé là, ie donneray ordre qu'il sera fait le semblable pour l'obseruation du traité de ladite paix et amitié'.²²²

The reaction from England was predictable. On 15 August 1548, St Mauris reported to the Emperor that 'from what I have heard the English ambassador here resident say, the Protector and Council of that country are raging about this marriage, for they see they will have to do with a powerful enemy, who may well prevent them from subduing Scotland'.²²³ The Lord Protector had written to Wotton informing him of his meeting with the French ambassador and, as on a former occasion when Somerset had offered to prove to de Selve the 'Kings Mat^{ies} just Title to the Souverainité of the Realm of Scotland', by showing him a great number of very 'antient and authentik Writings', Somerset again offered to show him the 'very Originalls

²²⁰ Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Estat*, vol., II, pp. 150-51.

²²¹ BN, Fonds Français 3098, fol., 76.

²²² Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Estat*, vol., II, p. 152.

²²³ CSP, *Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 572.

so as his M^r [Master, Henri II] might by him also understand the truth of these things'. The Protector told Wotton that de Selve had replied that 'as he was a Servant he might exceed the limits of his Commission and because he had not received any such common attunment from his M^r he would not take appon him the view or report of the said Originalls', Somerset angrily replied, '(quothe wee) ye may do as you will. We have them here by the which it may well appere that above six hundred yeares past and even from the beginning the Scottish Kings have done and sworn Homage and fealty to the Kings of England, and so continued unto the Reign of King Henry the VIIth',²²⁴ Somerset concluded this long despatch by enclosing the 'Copy of a book compiled by such as have had the view of the Kings Maties Records ... and the Copy of Sundry antient writings',²²⁵ which he instructed Wotton to show the French King.

Henri II did not allow the news of his great *coup* to remain long a secret. En route to Piedmont, on 3 August 1548, he instructed his ambassador in Constantinople, Monsieur d'Aramon, [Gabriel de Luitz, Baron] to inform 'le grand Seigneur [Suleiman II]' that 'sans mon aide et secours, ce pauvre Royaume d'Escolosse demeureroit en proye, et à la discretion desdits Anglois qui le vouloient faire de la petite Reyne Pupille avec leur Roy, mais i'y ay bien pourueu; car j'ay fait tirer et amener par deca ladite Reyne, pour estre nourrie avec mes enfans'.²²⁶ At the French court, St Mauris informed the Emperor on 15 August that it was said openly at table here that the Princess of Scotland's 'marriage with the Dauphin has been arranged with the Scots consent, ... that the Scots had sworn fealty to the King of France in his son's name before a proctor [Seigneur d'Essé] sent to Scotland by the King for that purpose, and they even handed over the Crown of Scotland to be presented to the Dauphin who might henceforth call himself King of Scotland'.²²⁷

224 PRO, Sp 68/2/543, draft dated only 1548; 'Draft, autograph of Secretary Petre', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 27; de Selve told Somerset, who informed Wotton, that 'he would both make report of that wee had said to him touching the Kings Maties title to the Superiority of Scotland', PRO, Sp 68/2/545. Although de Selve reported a number of meetings with the Protector to Henri II during the autumn of 1548, there is no reference to this particular meeting in his published correspondence.

225 PRO, Sp 68/2/545-46.

226 Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, vol., II, p. 153; this letter is also dated in anticipation of events as they actually transpired for which there seems no plausible explanation, other than Henri II's absolute confidence that his plan for Scotland would be realised precisely as he had arranged it; see also *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, ed., E. Charrière, 4 vols (Paris, 1848-60), vol., II, p. 71.

227 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 572. On 20 August the Doge and Senate informed the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople that 'after the safe arrival in Scotland of the French succour, the Scottish barons, at the persuasion of the Governor, had determined to send the young queen to reside in France', *CSP, Venetian*, vol., V, p. 228.

There appears to be little doubt of Henri II's interpretation, his view no doubt coloured by French Salic Law,²²⁸ of the ceremony and Act of Parliament passed at Haddington Abbey on 7 July 1548: the legal symbolism of the investiture of the Scottish crown, sceptre and sword upon his proxy; the recognition by the Three Estates of Scotland of the Dauphin as their king, and *ipso facto* Henri II during his son's minority; and the submission of the Scots nobles, lay and ecclesiastic, and thereby all Scottish subjects, to him. It is not improbable that Henri II himself had insisted on the ceremony with all its legal symbolism, in addition to a formal Act of Parliament. Also *par hazard*, the venue of Haddington Abbey for the convocation of the parliament, very likely held in the great hall or chapel of the abbey, no doubt evoked a religious atmosphere, especially in passing an act concerning one of the seven holy sacraments; and the investiture of the crown, sceptre and sword, reminiscent, and with religious connotations, of coronations. For Henri II, as he wrote to de Selve, it was his duty and obligation to protect, defend and conserve the Kingdom of Scotland, in lieu of the King of Scots, as he would France, and that at present both Kingdoms were as but one and the same thing dependant upon his leadership.²²⁹

How the Scots interpreted these events was probably different, but they were in no position to debate the subject. At that time, the Scots would have been obliged to submit to either England or France; and it was they who had begged the French for help, and had already accepted Henri II's not inconsiderable *douceurs* of gold, pensions, military orders, lands and benefices; the Scots were obliged, therefore, to meet the French King's conditions. As there does not appear to be any remaining evidence of what the Scots privately thought, in all probability they accepted Henri II's conditions in face of an emergency, hoping that it would be a short-term measure. On the plus side, at least there was a fair stretch of turbulent water separating France from Scotland, which certainly gave them a better chance of eventually regaining their full independence than if they had been forced to submit to their 'Auld Enemeis'.

In France, speculation on the outcome of the successful contract and agreement for the peaceful union of Scotland and France claimed great attention. On 26 October 1548, St Mauris reported to the Emperor that 'the Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara [Julio Alvarotti] has assured me that he has heard from their (*sic*) Cardinal²³⁰ that the Scottish marriage is made, adding that his master would not otherwise have lent his ear so readily to

²²⁸ *Salic Law*: the alleged fundamental law of the French monarchy, by which females were excluded from succession to the crown; pertaining to the Salian Franks who inhabited a region near the Zyder Zee, and to whom the ancestors of the Merovingian dynasty belonged. Salian Law or Code (*lex Salica*), a Frankish law book, written in Latin, and extant in five successive enlarged recensions of Merovingian and Carolingian date, *The Shorter OED on Historical Principles* (OUP, 1973).

²²⁹ Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, vol., II, p. 152.

²³⁰ Ippolito II d'Este, cardinale di Ferrara, brother of Ercole II d'Este, duca di Ferrara.

proposals of marriage for his eldest daughter, but consented more willingly because of the close kinship of the Guises with France established by the Scottish marriage'.²³¹ In the same despatch, St Mauris also reported that 'lambassadeur d'Escosse, Paneter, aurant heu pour le regard dudit mariage vng bon benefice²³² du Roy, et de nouveau vng autre du gouverneur d'Escosse, ... que les principaulx d'Escosse auriert accorde dudit mariage et y a accepte le dauphin pour leur Roy et le Roy [Henri II] son pere pour protecteur dudit Escosse' as well as this there were the 'grandes pensions que luy accorde baille ausdits principaulx; ... aucuns deulx accorde est fait chevalier du lordre du Roy [Order of St Michael]'. Of greater significance, however, was the additional information that the French intended, 'choisir tant en Normandie que la Bretagne vng nombre dhommes de longue Robbe²³³ pour enuoyer audit Escosse ou le dit Roy a resolu destablir vng parlement.²³⁴ Furthermore, there is already a 'conseil particulaire Introduit pour traiter les affaires d'Escosse' of which Paniter and Bertrandi [? Jean Bertrand] are to be members.²³⁵ There is no evidence to show that either of these proposed institutions was ever established, but there may well have been plans to follow

231 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 303. One of Henri II's reasons for visiting Piedmont in 1548 was to settle personally the marriage contract of François de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, with Anne d'Este, eldest daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, whom Henri II had requested 'de venir sceller en personne, à Turin, le mariage de sa fille', Romier, *Les Origines*, vol., I, p. 65, cf., J. Alvarotti au duc de Ferrare, Maçon, 23 juillet 1548; et Lyon, 24 juillet 1548, Arch. d'État de Modène, estero, Francia. The Duke of Ferrara had been petitioned by both François I and Henri II since 1546 for a marriage alliance, *Ibid.*, vol., I, pp. 61-64; but in 1548, as Romier points out, the future 'duc de Guise et vainqueur de Metz et de Calais n'était encore que petit compagnon sans fortune et sans gloire', *Ibid.*, vol., I, p. 65.

232 'Le Roy estant a Lyon accorde et octroye à Monsieur l'evesque de Rosse, Messire David Paniter, ambassadeur du Royaume d'Escosse, resident pres sa personne l'abbaye de Sye [Absie], ordre St Benoist au diocese de Mallezane [Maillezaiz] ... Cardinal de Gyse present, 30 sept., 1548', BN, Fonds Français 5127, fol., 157r. Two weeks later, the papal bull conferring the Bishopric of Ross was registered at Rome: 'Paulus Episcopus Seruus Seruorum Dei: Dilecto filio David Paniter, Electo Rossensis, salutem et Apostolicam Romani Pontificis providentia circumspecta ... Datum rome apud Sanctum Petrum ... pridie Idus Octobris 1548 [14 Oct., 1548]', ASV, Registro Vaticano 1682, fols., 274r-276v.

233 'The term *noblesse de robe* is Old Régime rather than Renaissance; during the Renaissance the appellation *robe longue* was used for high officials, because of the sweeping robe they wore, as distinguished from the military short skirt or *robe courte*, of nobles', Wolfe, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 71.

234 The word '*parlement*' has been translated as 'parliament' in the *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 303. This is a literal translation and is misleading; the word should have been left in the original French. A *Parlement* was the highest judicial body of French government; a series of law courts whose officers were appointed by the crown, (although by the 16th century their offices often had become hereditary) and whose function was to administer and 'dispense justice in the king's name and on his behalf', J.H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris* (London, 1968) p. 3. Thus, the *Parlement* was not a representative body as was the Parliament of Scotland, or The Three Estates as it was also known, whose function was analogous with the *États Généraux* not the *Parlement* in France.

235 Osterreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Frankreich Carton 16, Berichte 1547-1548, fols 82v-83r; Original despatch in cypher, St Mauris to the Emperor, 'Doiz Chastau le xxvj jour Doctobre 1548 [26 Oct., 1548]', *Ibid.*, fol., 101r.

the recently established and similar bodies in Piedmont.²³⁶ The choice of lawyers from Normandy and Brittany was significant given the ancient links with Anglo-Normans and their institutions during the reign of David I (1124 - 1153);²³⁷ and the links with Brittany were even closer. The Stewarts were originally 'stewards to the Counts of Dol in Brittany and then, in the twelfth century, to the Kings of Scotland',²³⁸ before becoming the ruling dynasty. Also the 'earliest law of Scotland, a brief tract entitled *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos*,... were incorporated into *Regiam maiestatem*';²³⁹ as well as the treaties and marriages between the Scots and the Dukes of Brittany during the 15th century.²⁴⁰

By 19 November 1548, Vatican officials were already referring to Scotland as the 'regno del delfino', but they were more concerned with the ecclesiastical tenths than the marriage alliance. Della Torre reported to Cardinal Farnese that Henri II had told him 'che no' "bisogna haver" questa consideratione et che al stato ecclesiastico di Scotia paghera volentieri, sapendo che tutti deve esser speso in fortificare lochi alle frontiere de Anglesi per beneficio publico ... tutto sara conoscere quel Regno nell antica obbedienta de la sede apostolica'. As for the notion 'che sua santità [Paul III] manda un altero Nuncio in Scotia', Henri II was astonished and 'dicedomi che no'ha dato alcun ordine sopra di cio, per non dare masimo questa spesa a sua B^{ne} adesso, non vi essendo bisogno'.²⁴¹

Henri II may have been delighted with the success of his *politique* in Scotland, but the situation there had deteriorated markedly for the French army during the autumn of 1548,²⁴² following the departure of Mary Queen

236 I discussed this point with Professor Michel Antoine in 1985, and he agreed that it was likely that the Piedmont model may have been chosen for Scotland. See M. Antoine, 'Institutions françaises en Italie sous le règne de Henri II', and 'Genèse de l'institution des intendants', *Journal des Savants* (1982).

237 Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times*, p. 77.

238 Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, p. 20.

239 J. Wormald, 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland', *Past and Present*, 87 (1980), p. 59.

240 See Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', pp. 19-20; and 'Charles VII's Dynastic Policy in the 'Auld Alliance: the Marriage of James II and Marie de Gueldres [1449] Revisited' (forthcoming).

241 ASV, Principi XIV, fols., 102r&v; paraphrased in French, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 412.

242 For a blow by blow account of the military engagements during 1548 and 1549, and illustrations of forts, fortifications and maps, see Merriman, Ph. D. Thesis, pp. 258-326; and M.H. Merriman and J. Summerson, 'The Scottish Border', in *The History of the King's Works*, ed., H.M. Colvin, vol., IV part II, 1485-1660 (London, 1982); for an excellent synthesis of Marie de Guise's rôle during the conflict at this time see S.S. Sypher, 'Mary of Lorraine and the end of the Old Alliance' (1965), pp. 123-143. This unpublished thesis is possibly the best examination of Marie de Guise as Queen Dowager of Scotland, including the most recent monograph: R.K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977). Where Sypher's thesis is weak, however, is in the poor handling of Anglo-Scottish relations. That not one 20th-century Tudor historian, not even the works of Pollard or Elton, graces Sypher's bibliography, (only Harbison's well-defined and limited study of aspects of Mary Tudor's reign from 1553 to 1557, rates a mention) helps to explain this deficiency.

of Scots. On 29 August 1548, Henri II informed Marie de Guise that he had received her recommendations concerning 'le Royaume d'Escosse et les affaires d'icelluy', that he wanted only 'faire pour la protection et conservation du dit Royaume que pour le mien propre' and that 'estimant tous deux l'ung avec l'autre n'estre qu'une mesme chose' and furthermore, he intended sending 'Villegagnon to Scotland with 'ung bon et suffisant secours et raffraichissement de gens de guerre, pyonniers, argent, puldres, munitions et autres choses necessaires'. He would also write to the 'Seigneurs d'Essey et d'Andelot', and as far as 'que touche mon armée de mer, vous avez entendu par le chevalier Seure²⁴³ mon voulloir et intention las dessus et le nombre de galleres et vaisseaulx que je veulx que y demeurent cest yver'.²⁴⁴ The main problem with the war in Scotland was that the French and Scots had failed to capture Haddington which was central to a successful outcome. In the months following the Parliament at Haddington Abbey relations had become strained; the Governor is reported to have said: 'les François ne faisoient aultre chose que gaster et destruire le pais'; to which 'monsieur d'Essé, en une grande colère, luy respondist que la faulte estoit en luy quy avoit souffert les Anglois labourer et fortiffier quant il les eust bien empeschés'.²⁴⁵ To make matters worse, the Scots were deserting in great numbers; on 17 July it had been reported that the Governor had only 300 men. Methven²⁴⁶ also reported to the Dowager that 'the greit arttalzery was reterit to Leith and Edinbrught'²⁴⁷ from Haddington by the French. The Governor sent out proclamations throughout Scotland recalling the men who had dispersed,²⁴⁸ and Marie de Guise commanded 'que tous les gentilshommes de sa maison, et les autres serviteurs, ceux qui pouoyent porter armes, allassent diligemment au camp, sans en retenir aucun pour son service'. Then, 'monté à cheval, ... elle cherche toutes les maisons d'Edimbourg, et ainsi qu'elle traversoit la grande rue, elle rencontra plusieurs Escossois, ausquels remonstrant le devoir, elle disoit en leur langage avec termes modestes et graves'. She rallied the troops, both French and Scots, sent food and drink from her pantry to the troops in the field, and exhorted the Scots to remember 'que l'Escosse desolée par fortunes, ses villes saccagées, ses grands palais brusles et ars, ses eglises demolies et abatues, l'inhumaine boucherie des ses nobles et citoyens et autres crauutez des Anglois, pouoyent bien auoir engendré es coeurs de Escossois vn grand desir de vengeance'.²⁴⁹ Money was also in short supply, and d'Essé wrote to

243 There is a mention of a 'chevallier de Seure' who was instructed to carry money to pay the crews of the French galleys in Scotland on 6 January 1549, BN, Fonds Français 18153, fol., 53v.

244 Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Mary Stewart's arrival', pp. 94-95.

245 'Advertissements d'Escosse', sent by St Mauris of the Prince of Spain, 30 Sept., 1548, Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, vol., I, p. 190.

246 Henry Stewart, 1st Lord Methven, a descendant of Robert II and the 3rd husband of Margaret Tudor.

247 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 251 and n. 1.

248 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, pp. 218-19.

249 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse*, pp. 36-37, 39, 50-51 and 132; 'les Escossois, qui demeurent aux isles d'Orcanet, [Orkneys] qu'ils appellent sauages, et ceux habitent la partie de midy s'assemblerent à Edimbourg en grand nombre et de là obeissans à la

the duc d'Aumale that 'l'inconvenient en quoy nous pourrions tomber si l'argent nous falloit. Il vous plaira en cella volloir estre aydant que puissions estre secouruz dheure autrement tout en ung instant toute ceste armee seroit perdueit'.²⁵⁰ From the beginning, the Dowager had begged her brothers to be aware 'que ne pargne vostre solisitasion que sete aremee ne demeure san poiman'.²⁵¹

By September the situation had worsened and the assault on Haddington had been abandoned. On the 25th, d'Oysel expressed his anxieties, and those of Marie de Guise, to the duc d'Aumale informing him that 'depuis le partement du Seigneur Pierre [Strozzi] et Monseigneur d'Andellot ... Monseigneur de d'Esse retirer l'armee de Montrelebroz [Musselburgh] ... et mis les lansquenetz au Petitlict [Leith] et les bandes Francoyses aux faulxbourgs de Lislebourg [Edinburgh]',²⁵² with the result that 'l'Angloys peult aller et venir en robbe de Barrvich [Berwick] a Hedington [Haddington] et ailleurs ou il luy plaira'. Also, d'Essé had failed to fortify Dunbar which, in his opinion, 'a tousjours este quil nous falloit, des le commencement et a l'arrivee de l'armee, commencer a fortiffier ladicte ville de Dombarre [Dunbar] et la asseoir nostre frontiere, ... que jen ay escriptes au Roy auparauant la venue de la dicte armee et depuis'.²⁵³ French morale was low and the troops were weakened by 'la peste qui est en plusieurs endroictz de ce Royaume',²⁵⁴ when a seemingly minor incident, the sale of an harquebus²⁵⁵ to a Scot by a Frenchman who then ran off with both the money and weapon, resulted in a full-scale riot between the allies. The Scot had complained to the Provost who ordered its restitution, but the Frenchman, who had returned with a number of his compatriots, refused and then attacked the Provost 'wounding him in the head, arm and thigh'. In the riot which ensued 27 Scots were killed, including 'young Hamilton, the eldest son of the Provost, William Stewart, brother of my Lord Methven [and] Robert Hamilton', and some 30 to 40 were wounded by 'harquebus shots, most of whom it was feared would die. There were eight Frenchmen and one French captain killed'. The next day, 8 October 1548, Seigneur d'Essé, having been entreated by Marie de Guise, decided to make an attack on Haddington. Joining up with the Rhingrave they mounted an assault the following day which ended in ignominious failure. It was reported that 'the Scots are very glad that the French have been so thoroughly well drubbed

Reyne nous vindrent trouuer à Edimton [Haddington] ... armez de leurs iacques, et chacun d'eux vn grand arc apouin et leurs carquois, espées et boucliers penduz en escharpe ... ainsi qu'ils sont nuz fors que de leurs chemises taintes, et de certaines couuertures legeres faites de laine, de plusieurs couleurs, *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

²⁵⁰ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 111r&v.

²⁵¹ Marie de Guise à ses frères, 25 June 1548 (Holograph), BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 249r; ('que n'épargniez votre sollicitude afin que cette armée ne demeure sans payement', Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, p. 675.)

²⁵² BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 141r.

²⁵³ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 142r.

²⁵⁴ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 141r.

²⁵⁵ An old (16th-century) type of musket fired from a forked hand-rest or tripod.

at Haddington, the members of the House of Hamilton especially, who are much incensed at the loss of their kinsmen in the affray'.²⁵⁶

Beaugué, who was in Edinburgh at this time, passes very lightly over these events,²⁵⁷ while Syphers says he 'does not seem to see them as symptomatic of deteriorating relations between the French and Scots'.²⁵⁸ What was becoming manifestly obvious, however, was d'Essé's failure to command the army and conduct the war, which Beaugué as a friend, would not have wanted to recognize. At the same time, this riot should be put within the context of the sixteenth century. For example, when the French troops marched out of Edinburgh the next day 'the townspeople shut the gates and began to hunt out every Frenchman that was in the city ... the sick and others who had remained behind were at once despatched, and their bodies cast into their private places so that they should not be found'.²⁵⁹ Unfortunately, it would appear that the riot was caused by bored, idle soldiers and d'Essé's lack of good lordship and leadership of his men was the prime contributing factor. Much attention has been focused on complaints about the French army in Scotland, especially during the period 1548-1550; not least by Marie de Guise herself who complained bitterly about their behaviour to her brothers.²⁶⁰ It should be born in mind, however, that the presence of any foreign force in another country, even one that has been requested for the host nation's aid and succour, has, in most cases throughout the centuries, caused problems in their relations with the local populace. During the Hundred Years War the French were no more enchanted with the Scots, referring 'to their allies as mere "mutton guzzlers and wine bags"'.²⁶¹ More particularly, on 7 May 1424, the Scots arrived at Loches where they received the keys of the city. By 19 June however, 'the council were sending deputations to Douglas [Archibald, 4th earl of Douglas, 'the Tyneman'] to complain about the behaviour of his men and to ask him to move them out of the town, an errand repeated on 5 July [1424]'.²⁶²

At about the same time that Henri II, who was still in Piedmont, was receiving inauspicious reports concerning Scotland, he also received news of revolts against the *gabelle* (salt tax) in Guyenne which had started during the

256 Advices of events in Scotland, 1-9 Oct., 1548, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, pp. 293-97.

257 Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse*, p. 76.

258 Syphers, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 128, n. 44.

259 *CSP Spanish*, vol., IX, pp. 295-96.

260 *Mémoires de Guise*, pp. 11-12 and 33; On 20 and 28 March 1549, Lady Home complained to the Dowager about the Spanish as well as the French, *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 295-97.

261 B.G.H. Ditcham, "'Mutton Guzzlers and Wine Bags': Foreign Soldiers and Native Reactions in Fifteenth-Century France", *Power, Culture, and Religion in France, c.1350 - c.1550*, ed., C. Allmand (Suffolk, 1989), p. 4.

262 B.G.H. Ditcham, 'The Employment of Foreign Mercenary Troops in the French Royal Armies, 1414-1470', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1979), p. 47. Ditcham devotes an entire chapter in his thesis to this problem, *Ibid*, pp. 289-309.

Summer.²⁶³ On 7 September 1548 the king arrived in Dauphiné and 'gave commissions to Montmorency and the duc d'Aumale as the Constable's lieutenant, to crush the revolt'.²⁶⁴ This Montmorency proceeded to do using such ruthless measures that the inhabitants 'with on Voyce they planly [saie that] they will enioge their old liberty which they [receavyd of] th' inglisshmen in tymes past in token vohe[rof they] bere the redd crosse cryny Vive le comm[ons]'.²⁶⁵ As soon as the revolt had been crushed the Constable was able 'd'envoyer personnes dignes de creance et de quelque autorité en Escosse avec un secours de douce cens [1,200] homes et quelque munitions et armes: ... choisit les Seigneurs de Forquevaux²⁶⁶ et de Visque²⁶⁷ ... [qui] cognoissans combien le Roy a acueur le bien des affaires d'Escosse qui sont les siens propres'.²⁶⁸ The main purpose of Fourquevaux's and Visque's commission was to investigate Marie de Guise's complaints 'que le Roy a que le Seigneur Dessay [d'Essé] soublie tant que de ne lui communiquer les choses qu'il fait par dela et ne si conduire par son bon avis et conseil'.²⁶⁹ Also, they were to tell the Seigneur d'Essé 'que le Roi veut et entand qu'il mette le plus de Jens qu'il pourra dedans Dombarre et autres petites places'. It would also be necessary 'qu'ils facent les montres et reveues de bandes ... plus a propos ont advise d'envoyer maintenant outre les paimens de trois mois de ce secours la

263 'L'appellation de Guyenne ... s'est introduite à la place d'Aquitaine au traité de Brétigny, [1360] comme désignant plus spécialement la partie cédée aux Anglais', and comprised, 'Bourdelois, Bazadois, Agenois, Quercy, Rouergue, Périgord', and often included were 'Saintonge, Angoumois [et] Limousin', S-C. Gigon, *La Révolte de la Gabelle en Guyenne, 1548-1549* (Paris, 1906), p. 11; this is the most comprehensive account of the revolt and is supported by a massive appendix of relevant documents, *Ibid*, pp. 225-98.

264 Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. 11; see also, 'Pouvoirs donnés au connétable de Montmorency our rétablir l'ordre et réprimer les troubles survenus en Guyenne, ... devant Bordeaux de ses forces armées avec celles du duc d'Aumale, envoyé en Poitou; La Côte-Saint-André, 14 sept., 1548', *Actes de Henri II*, vol., II, p. 360, cf, BN, Fonds Français 4588, fols., 152-54; and concerning the *estats* of expenses, BN, Fonds Français 18153, fols., 73, 125-26, 177-78.

265 Lord Cobham to Somerset, Calais, 14 Sept., 1548, BL, Cotton Coll. E VI, 198, cf, Gigon, *La Révolte de la Gabelle*, p. 246; see also *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 574.

266 *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, p. 8. Raymond de Rouer de Beccarie de Pavie, baron de Fourquevaux, was born at Toulouse in 1511; he joined the army of Maréchal de Lautrec, sent to Italie to save Pope Clement VII from the Imperial army's 'Sack of Rome' in 1527, and later returned to Toulouse in 1530. Captain of 1,000 men in Savoy (1535-36); defended Fossano (1536); and accompanied the Dauphin, the future Henri II, to Piedmont. In 1548 he commanded a legion in Guyenne, was sent to Scotland (1549) and Ireland (1550) after which he was appointed captain-governor of Narbonne but was almost immediately co-opted into Henri II's wars in Italy. From 1557 until his death on 4 July 1574 he administered Narbonne, excepting the years 1568-72 when he was ambassador in Spain. *Ibid*, pp. 5-7. For further details see 'Papiers Fourquevaux', AN, Archives Privées, 159, Carton 1.

267 Charles de Saint-Martin, Comte de Visque, Capitaine d'hommes d'armes, *Catalogue de Actes de François Ier*, 10 vols (Paris, 1887-1910), No. 31389.

268 *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse en 1549*, p. 9.

269 *Ibid*, p. 10. Marie de Guise addressed a long letter of complaint to her brothers, *Mémoires de Guise*, pp. 32-36, in which she pleaded that 'j'endure despeynes insupportables', *Ibid*, p. 32. 'Quant au seigneur d'Essey, ce qu'il a fait du passé a esté par ignorance'; notwithstanding 'je n'avois entendu que d'Essey n'eut adverty le Roy de toutes choses, comme il luy avoit commandé; le pauvre homme n'a jamais pris conseil à personne, ce qui luy a fait grand tort'. More serious was the lack of money, not for herself personally 'mais quant il est question de la perte d'un royaume, il n'y fault rien espargner', *Ibid*, p. 33.

somme de dix mille [10,000] escus pour employer au paiement des bandes dela'.²⁷⁰ From Bordeaux on 9 November 1548, Montmorency informed them that 'jay trouve encores cinq mille [5,000] escuz que Jenvoye au tresorier', and that there was 'quantite de vin dedans les navires de votre advitaillement de les despartir et en faire present de ma part au Seigneur d'Essay, conte Raingrave, La Chappelle, l'ambassadeur [d'Oysel]'.²⁷¹

Also in November 1548, musters were held in Edinburgh and Dundee by Messire Benoist le Grant, 'conseiller du Roy et par luy commis a tenir le compté et faire le paiement des fraiz de lextraordinaire de ses guerres'.²⁷² At Edinburgh on 11 November, 'neuf vingts sept [187] hommes de guerre a pied avanturiers francois et gascons estans soubz la charge et conduite du Seigneur de Merarques leur cappitaine particulier sa personne y comprinse faisons partie de plus grand nombre dont est Colonne le Seigneur de la Chappelle', were paid 2,244 livres, 6 sols, 8 deniers tournois 'd'un mois dix jours commencans le premier dicelluy mois de novembre'.²⁷³ On the same day and place, 'huict archers ordonnez par ladministracion de la justice des camp et armee qu le Roy a des longtemps pour son serment en ce royaume et pais descosse soubz Anne de Lestuf, Seigneur de St Leigier prevost de la dite justice', were paid 180 livres tournois: 100 livres for the prevost and 10 livres for each of the archers.²⁷⁴ At Edinburgh on 14 November, 'seize [16] hommes de guerre espagnolz harquebuziers a cheval estans soubz la charge et conduite du St d'Escoubar leur cappitaine, were mustered by 'Pierre de Combas Seigneur du dit lieu Cappitaine du Chasteau de Dombarre [Dunbar]', and were paid 1,316 livres, 5 sols tournois for three months from 10 August 1548.²⁷⁵ Finally, at Dundee on 20 November, 200 'hommes de guerre a pied escossois de longtemps mis sus pour le service du Roy en ce dit pais d'Escosse soubz la charge et conduite du Seigneur James Dogues [Dog] leur cappitaine', which comprised 120 'harquebuziers et le reste picquiers' were paid 1,720 livres tournois for one month.²⁷⁶ Marie de Guise implored Henri II to 'haste ses forces avec toute la diligence qui luy sera possible et envoie icy une forte et puissante armee et que ce soit de bonne heure soubz la conduite dung chef de bonne et grosse estoffe et auctorite'. She also advised the king to 'trouve moyen de soy faire maistre de la mer par ce que cest le principal et plus grande fondement que face le dit enemy du couste de deca'.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁰ *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, pp. 12-13. On 20 February 1549, d'Essé made a full and detailed deposition to the Seigneurs Fourquevaux and Visque in reply to all Henri II's queries, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-26.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁷² Muster Rolls No. 3, 4, 5 and 6; for full transcriptions of these documents see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, Muster Roll No. 3, B.N. Fonds Français 25794, No. 38.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Muster Roll No. 4, *Ibid.*, No. 39.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Muster Roll No. 5, *Ibid.*, No. 40.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Muster Roll No. 6, *Ibid.*, No. 41.

²⁷⁷ *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, p. 17.

In December 1548, the war effort was revitalized from the nadir into which it had fallen by the escape of the Earl of Huntly from English captivity. Huntly had told de Selve that Somerset 'se mectant à deviser avec luy du mariage de la Royne d'Escosse avec ce Roy',²⁷⁸ and that the Protector 'luy a accordé de pouvoir aller pour troys moys en Escosse'.²⁷⁹ Huntly gave the English the slip at York and made his way to Stirling where he spent Christmas with the Dowager and other Scots nobles.²⁸⁰ Then, at Edinburgh on 13 February 1549, Huntly was invested with the Earldom of Moray which was the last condition to be honoured in his Bond of Manrent to Marie de Guise to serve the King of France.²⁸¹ From Edinburgh he went to Jedburgh, from where his brother, Alexander Gordon, wrote to Marie de Guise on 20 February 1549 that the Earl 'at his cummyng hyr patt ordour to the toune and gart mak proclamatiounis in the cuntray for fwrnsyng off the army, quhillk was neverwelws difficile to be doune'. The Seigneurs d'Essé and d'Oysel and their troops arrived soon after and Ferniehirst Castle was taken and a sortie into Northumberland undertaken.²⁸² On 25 February, Marie de Guise told Fourquevaux that she wished Henri II to be informed 'bien expressement la conduite dudit Seigneur de hontelay [Huntly] en tout ce qui touche et concerne son service et quil sera tres bon quil plaise au Roy le bien traiter doresnavant. Et semblablement pourveoyr son frere [Alexander Gordon] de quelque benefice pour luy donner moyen de sentre tenir et de continuer a ly faire le service quil a commence'.²⁸³ Before he left Jedburgh, Alexander Gordon informed Marie de Guise that Huntly had written to the 'kyngis grace, my lord Constable [Montmorency] and to my lordis duk of Omall [duc d'Aumale] and Cardinall of Gwys [Guise] qwhilk ar bot generall writyngis off credit: ther is na mention off ony besynes'.²⁸⁴ There may not have been any 'business' discussed in these letters, but it was certainly in Huntly's interest to keep open personal lines of communication with Henri II and the most powerful nobles in France. It was also in February 1549 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye that the

278 Selve to Henri II, 26 Oct. 1548, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 464

279 Same to same, 6 Nov., 1548, *Ibid.*, 466.

280 'Et estant pour lors à Streling on se trouva mon cousin le gouverneur, l'archevesque de Saint-André, son frère, les comtes de Hontelay [Huntly], Darguet [Argyll] et plusieurs autres seigneurs, a cause de Noël qui est le costume du pays et s'estant aussy trouvé là le Sieur Doisel, ambassadeur du Roy, le seigneur de La Chapelle, Montluc, et tous les principaux capitaines de l'armée; M. de Termes s'y devoit trouver, mais les gouttes le printrent, de sorte qu'il n'y peut venir', Marie de Guise à ses frères, 18 fév., 1549, *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 6.

281 'pro servitio patri suo tam pacis quam belli temporibus impenso ... Georgio Comiti de Huntlie dom. Gordoun et Badyenach & etc. regni sui cancellario ... S. Michaelis archangeli in Gallia equiti aurato, hereditibus ejus et assignatis, terras et comitatum de Murray cum annexis firmas burgales et custumas burgorum de Elgin et Fores' and all the rest of the considerable lands, forests, rivers, lakes, towns, villages, castles, churches and their tenants & etc. of the Earldom of Moray, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol., IV, 1546-1580, ed., J.M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1886) No. 299, p. 71. Also see, arrangements 'whereby Huntly is to be infest in the lands and earldom of Moray', *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 582.

282 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 287.

283 *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, pp. 18-9.

284 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 291.

Governor received his reward of the Duchy of Châtellerault. Several months previously, however, the King had been obliged to clarify the legal situation. On 20 November 1548, Henri II sent letters patent,

a tous Avocats, Procureurs et autres Gens de Justice, Pratique et Finances ... pour avoir nostre avis sur la forme des dites Lettres [du Don du Duché de Chastellerault], et seureté dudit délais, l'Ambassadeur dudit Royaume d'Escosse [David Paniter], résident près de Nous, ainsi qu'il Nous a presentement fait entendre auroit convoqué et assemblé aucuns de Vous, à quoy Vous auriez fait difficulté d'entendre et vacquer sans avoir Lettres de Nous, à cette fin: Nous a ces causes, voulans proceder de bonne foy audit affaire, et le délais, cession et transport dudit Duché de Chastellerault estre fait à nostredit Cousin [le Comte d'Aran] tant pour luy, que les siens hereditalement, perpetuellement, à toujours, en si bonne et valable forme, qu'il ne puisse estre revoqué cy-après en doute ne difficulté.²⁸⁵

The letters patent of February 1549 of the 'Don du Duché de Chastellerault' were registered at the Parlement de Paris on 2 April 1549,²⁸⁶ at the Chambre des Comptes on 12 April 1549,²⁸⁷ and by the 'Trésoriers de France' on 4 Novembre 1549.²⁸⁸ Thus, the letters patent were registered in two of three principal fiscal and sovereign courts of Renaissance France:²⁸⁹ the Chambre des Comptes²⁹⁰ and the Cour du Trésor.²⁹¹ However, as Wolfe points out,

285 Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 14-15.

286 'Don du duche de Chastellerauld fait au Conte d'Haran gouverneur du Royme d'Escosse', AN, Registre du Parlement de Paris, X1A 8616, fols., 249r-230v.

287 AN, P 2308, fols., 368-374; BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols 159r-160v; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 3-6; Teulet, *Mémoire Justificatif*, (extracts) pp. 9-13; and Turnbull, *Factum*, (extract) pp. 7-10.

288 BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols., 166r&v; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 17-18; and Teulet *Mémoire Justificatif*, (mention) p. 16.

289 The third court was the Cour des Aides; the others being the Cour du Trésor and the Chambre des Comptes which handled most of the cases between the crown and tax officials. ... Litigation between taxpayers and tax officials involving tailles, aides and gabelles had to be settled by the Cour de Aides. Most quarrels over rents and dues from the domaines were sent to the Cour du Trésor', Wolfe, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 269.

290 The prestige of the Chambre des Comptes was great. Its presidents 'deliberate and judge definitively in a sovereign manner'. The edict of Blois, December 1520, called it 'our court of last resort ... to be subject to [the king] with no intermediaries. And there may be no appeal from the orders, depositions, and judgements of the said judges of the Comptes', F.A. Isambert *et al*, eds., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420, jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, 29 vols (Paris, 1822-1833), vol., XII, pp. 183-87, Wolfe, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 271. 'When fiscal records appeared before the Chambre des Comptes they were, in a sense, on trial. Each account was submitted to the solicitor attached to the Chambre des Comptes (*procureur général*) who represented royal interest. The account was then passed on to auditors who compared it to previous accounts for the same district', and so forth through a lengthy checking procedure which when completed, 'the account then became part of the permanent archives and could not be removed from its case or even consulted by outsiders without specific royal permission'. This entire process of clearing

'Parlement also had some power over the revenues system, especially where domain lands were concerned',²⁹² and therefore the reason for registering the 'Don du Duché de Chastellerault' in the Parlement de Paris as well. But also probably because 'in 1544 a fundamental reform, part of the changes that established the bureaux des finances, undercut the Cour du Trésor almost completely, since many of its functions were now absorbed into a single bureau des finances'.²⁹³ The letters patent of the 'Don' registered in the Chambre des Comptes, ('in which all edicts of alienations of domain lands and revenues had to be registered'²⁹⁴) are the same as those registered at the Parlement de Paris, but those registered by 'les trésoriers de France' are only a brief outline of the salient points.

The 'Don du Duché de Chastellerault' given at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in February 1548/49, declares that:

'Henry par la grace de Dieu Roy de France ... ayans egard et consideration aux grands vertueux agreables et Recommandables plaisirs et services que nostre trescher et tresame cousin Le Conte dharan chevalier de nostre ordre Gouverneur du Royaume d'Escoce ... pour auoir moyenne laccord de mariage dentre nostre trescher filz le daulphin et nostre treschere et tresamee seur et cousine La Royne d'Escoce. Et pour la plus grande seurete et assurance auoir deliure et mis es mains de noz deputez ladite Royne quy depuis a este amenee et conduite en nostredit Royaume ou elle est de present. Et outre pour auoir mis es mains de nosdits deputez les chasteaulx et places de Dombart [Dunbar] et Blacnelez [Blackness] quy sont deux des plus fortes et plus importantes dudit Royaume d'Escoce ... Nous a ces causes et apres mis le fait de sadite recompense en deliberation avec les princes de nostre sang et gens de nostre conseil prive et par eux fait veoir accord et contract fait et passe entre nous et ledit Seigneur conte cy attache souz le contre scel de nostre chancellerie ... pour aucunement remunerer Icelly Seigneur conte de ses seruices quy meritent beaucoup plus comme veritablement nous congnoissons Avons donne cede quite transporte et delaisse ... a Icelly nostredit cousin ses hoirs successeurs et ayans cause a tousiours Le duche de

accounts 'was a royal secret; ... accounts were in no sense public records', *Ibid*, pp. 272-73; see also R. Doucet, *Les Institutions en France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1948), vol., 1, pp. 189-96.

²⁹¹ The Cour du Trésor (also called the Chambre du Trésor) 'judged disputes involving rents, censives, and the King's seigneurial rights on the royal estates; all royal tolls and some tariffs; income derived from rights over Jews, foreigners, freed serfs, wards, bastards, and treasure trove; feudal income from the vassals and subvassals; and income from the church hierarchy such as the *régale* from vacant bishoprics', Wolfe, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 277; and for further details, Doucet, *Les Institutions*, vol., 1, pp. 198-200.

²⁹² Wolfe, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 269.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 278.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 273.

Chastellerault ses appartenances et dependances ainsi quilz se poursuyuent et comportent en tous droictz prerogatiues de duche justice haulte moyenne et basse mere mixte impere fiefs et arrierefiefs hommes hommages vassaulx vasselages cens rentes lotz ventes Rachaptz quincetz Requintz aubeynes confiscations et autres droictz et deuoirs seigneuriaux quelconques maisons places chasteaulx dixmes champarts prez garennes forestz boys tailliz pastiz estangs Rivieres pescherie moulins vignes terres labourables et autre domaine quel quil soit appartenances et dependances dudit duche prouision aux offices ordinaires et benefices dudit duche ... [et] la somme de douze mil [12,000] liures tournois de Rente ou Reuenue annuel par chacun an ... Le conte d'haran sesdits hoirs successeurs et ayans cause perpetuellement hereditalement et a tousiours. Et en ordonner et disposer comme son propre et vray heritage ... Et neantmoins nostredit cousin y aura ...blank... droict de chasse par toutes lesdites forestz et oultre pourra prendre dudit boys pour son vsaige et chauffage seulement ainsi que vng bon pere de famille et non autrement. ... Car tel est nostre plaisir nonobstant quelconques ordonnances et reuocations generales ou particuliers faictes ou a faire de nostre domaine ... tant anciennes que modernes et sur lerection de noz coffres du louure ... Et afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable a tousiours. Nous auons fait mettre nostre scel a cesdites presentes. ... [signé] Henry, Messires les Cardinal de Guyse et duc d'Aubmale Le Seigneur de Montmorency Connestable de France et autres presens. Duthier. Lecta publicata et Registrata audito et Requirente procuratore generali Regis Parisiis In parlamento secunda die mensis Aprilis [1549] sic signatum Dutillet Collationne est fait a l'original [signé] Dutillet.²⁹⁵

Jean Du Tillet, secrétaire du roi et greffier civil au Parlement de Paris, added this note in the margin of this document: 'Y eut registre secret fait par la Cour du vouloir du Roy apres les remonstrances dicelle fondees sur lordonnance du domaine de la Couronne et serment du Roy lequel registre mon maistre, Martin Ruze, conseiller et rapporteur, a retenu par deuers luy et ne le ma voulu bailler combien que je luy aye souuent demande. Et apres son deces fait chercher en sa maison ou il na este trouue ce que je certifie pour la conservation du droict du Roy et ma descharge [signé] J. Dutillet'.²⁹⁶ It is

²⁹⁵ AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fols. 249r-250v. As mentioned previously, on 25 April 1549 the 'lettres de naturalité' for 'Jacques Hamilton, Comte d'Aran, ses enfans, heritiers, successeurs, et ayans cause, which were given at Dijon in July 1548, were 'expedié en la Chambre des comptes du Roy nostre Sire. Et illec: enregistré aux Registres des Chartes à present courantes', BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols., 163v-164v; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 12-14 According to Bosquet, 'lettres de naturalité ... doivent être vérifiées en la chambre des comptes; et cette vérification se fait toujours sous la clause que l'impétrant laisse des héritiers regnicoles', Bosquet, *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, vol., I, pp. 236; also see Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp. 1098-99.

²⁹⁶ AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fol., 249r.

reasonably certain that if Du Tillet could not find the secret register in the sixteenth century, which was kept for the King after the remonstrances of the “parlementaires”²⁹⁷ and spirited away by Martin Ruzé, then it probably has not survived. Their protests, however, may have concerned the letters patent of Henri II which declare that ‘la justice et jurisdiction de Chastellerault ressortiront neuement et sans moyen en la court de parlement’, which were issued at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in May 1549 and registered at the Parlement de Paris on 7 September 1549, and collated from the original by Du Tillet.²⁹⁸ In these letters patent Henri II further elaborated the conditions for,

delaisant et transportant la [*sic*] duché de Chastellerault²⁹⁹ avecques toutes ses appartenances a nostre trescher et tresame cousin Le Conte dHaran gouverneur du Royaume dEscosse; that notwithstanding a ‘certain edict cy deuant faict par’ François I that ‘la justice du dict Chastellerault ressortiroit³⁰⁰ au dict Poictiers, ... Nous mouuans apres auoir mis la matiere en deliberation des princes de nostre sang et gens de nostre prive council ... que nostre dict cousin Le Conte dHaran joysse luy et les siens successeurs et ayans cause dudict duché de Chastellerault’, but that ‘la justice dudict Chastellerault ressortisse neuement et sans moyen en nostre dicte court de parlement a Paris; ... que le dict duché a este tenu en nostre main sans aucune restriction ne modification quelconques. Et ce nonobstant ledict obtenu par ceulx dudict Poictiers par lequel estoit dict que la justice dudict Chastellerault ressortiroit audict Poictiers ... Pourveu toutesfois que nostredict cousin ne fera que nommer aux offices a quy appartiendra la congnoissance et jurisdiction desdicts cas Royaux quant a ce qui touche icelle jurisdiction pour sadicte nomination y estre par nous pourveu et non autrement. Et pour le regard des autres cas pouruoyera suyuant le contenu en sesdictes lettres de don et transport.³⁰¹

297 The Parlement not only had a judicial function but it also had a ‘right to remonstrate. One of the duties of the Parlement was to record royal enactments in its registers.’ The magistrates also gradually acquired the right to point out to the ruler any objections in the legislation in question which ‘would injure the rights of individuals or groups, harm the king’s own interests or clash with previous royal enactments already transcribed on to the Parlement’s registers. The remonstrances were transmitted to the sovereign with whom the final decision lay’, Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris*, p. 4.

298 AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fols., 316v and 317r.

299 On the accession of François I in 1515 the ‘vicomté of Châtellerault, which belonged to François de Bourbon [brother of Charles III, duc de Bourbon], was turned into a Duchy’, Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 15. In 1523, Châtellerault was included in François I’s sequestration of the Bourbon lands after the Duke defected to the Emperor, *Ibid*, pp. 148-59; the duchy now became part of the king’s mother, Louise of Savoy’s lands, and following her death on 22 Sept., 1531, Châtellerault was ‘absorbed into the royal demesne’ by François I, *Ibid*, p. 238; and inherited as such by Henri II in 1547.

300 *Ressortir à: (vi indir (Jur) cour, tribunal)* to come under the jurisdiction of.

301 AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fols., 316v and 317r; B.N. Coll. Clairambault 724, fols 161v-162v; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces* (1713), pp. 8-10, incorrectly dated in Hugier as ‘May l’an de grace mil cinq cent quarante-huit[1548]’ by ‘Morel et De Beaufort’ who ‘collationné a

The 'justice' of Châtellerault, presumably, came under the jurisdiction of Poitiers by an edict of François I, following the death of Louise of Savoy on 22 September 1531. But when David Paniter, as Arran's procurator, attempted to settle the transfer of the duchy following Mary Queen of Scots' arrival in France in August 1548, he apparently experienced jurisdictional difficulties, which Henri II was obliged to make clear and declare his intentions regarding the 'Don' of the duchy in his letters patent of 20 November 1548: 'à tous Avocats, Procureurs et autres Gens de Justice, Pratique et Finances'.³⁰² When the letters patent of the 'Don du duché de Châtellerault' of February 1549, however, were submitted to the Parlement de Paris for registration, there were remonstrances in the Parlement (according to Du Tillet's marginalia) which were probably due to the clause which bestowed upon Arran: 'tous droitz prerogatives de duche Justice haute moyenne et basse'.³⁰³ It would appear that these remonstrances obliged Henri II to issue further letters patent in May 1549 which declared: 'la justice dudict Châtellerault Ressortisse neuement et sans moyen en nostredicte court de parlement a Paris'.³⁰⁴

The chronology of these documents concerning the contract between Henri II and Arran, signed at Châtillon on 27 January 1548, is important not only with respect to the letters patent of May 1549, but it is also important to distinguish those documents issued by Henri II before the Haddington Parliament and the removal Mary Queen of Scots to France, especially the letters patent issued by Henri II at Paris on 17 June 1549 to 'Le Conte de Arane chevalier de nostre ordre Gouverneur du Royaume d'Escosse' in which Henri II declared that:

Luy auons par ces presentes en parolle de Roy promis et promettons aduenant quil pleust a Dieu appeller a sa part ladicte Roynne d'Escosse sans hoirs yssuz de son corps. Et que par voy de fait aucuns ses

son Original en parchemin' on 13 Aug., 1683, *Ibid.*, p. 10; there are a few clerical differences in the text between the MS and Hugier, but they are of no consequence to the sense of the document other than the year of 1548, which the 17th-century copyist put as 'le troisieme de nostre Regne', *Ibid.*, p. 10, — 1548 was Henri II's second regnal year. Teulet, dates the document 'mai 1548', *Mémoire Justificatif* (1863), p. 10; Turnbull also accepts 'May de la mesme année [1548]', *Factum* (1843), p. 11. Thus, we have two parties, one in 1549 and the others in 1683, each claiming to have collated this document from the original, yet with a disparity of twelve, and in this case, crucial months. Each could have made a mistake, but it seems that it was the 17th-century copyists who mistranscribed the year as 1548. Indeed it is implicit in the document *viz.*: 'pour les causes contenues es lettres de Don et transport que luy en auons fait expedier...' Thus, this document was written after the 'Don du duché de Châtellerault' (February 1549); in other words in May 1549. Also see *Actes de Henri II*, vol., III (1549), p. 210 for further references: 'Enreg. à la Grande Chancellerie, AN, JJ 259, No. 281, fols., 205v-206r; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 8-10 is also cited, but no mention is made of the incorrect year of 1548 by the editors of the *Actes de Henri II*, vol., III (1549), p. 210.

302 BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols., 164v-165r; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 14-15.

303 AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fol., 249v.

304 AN, Reg. du Parlement X1A 8616, fol., 316v.

ennemis voulzissent entreprendre lempescher luy ou les siens descendans de luy par droicte ligne quilz vinsent a la paisible joyissance de la couronne du Royaume d'Escosse comme plus proche dicelle apres le trespas de la dicte Roynne. Que nous luy tiendrons la main et aux siens a lencontre de leurs ennemys quelzconques et les ayderons et supporterons en toutes sortes. Selon que requierent les anciennes alliances et confederations qui ont de tout temps este et sont encores de present entre nous nos Royaume et Pays et celluy d'Escosse. Et quant a l'article du traicte que auons fait avecques le dict Gouverneur par le quel sommes tenuz de le faire tenir quicte et descharge de ladministracion quil a eue et aura du dict Royaume durant la mynorite dicelle nostredicte seur et cousine sans quil en soit autrement comptable. Et du tout luy en faire bailler et deliurer lettres de descharge de ladicte dame par le consentement de nostredict filz son mary quant elle sera daage.³⁰⁵

These letters patent of 17 June 1549 revise and restate, in much more precise language, the letters patent issued at the Abbey of Vauluysant on 28 April 1548.³⁰⁶ The most important clause to note in this document is that in April 1548 Arran was to have the administration of 'ledict gouvernement [of Scotland] sa vie durant'. Now, in June 1549, it had been limited 'durant la mynorite' of Mary Queen of Scots, viz: 8 December 1554. It is therefore not surprising that Arran had a copy made of the April 1548 document, excluding the two politically unpalatable passages, in order to show anyone who questioned his authority as Governor, that he was to have the government of Scotland 'sa vie durant', and not merely during Mary's minority. It would appear that Henri II had deliberately deceived Arran. But it can be argued that the situation had greatly changed since April 1548, and that by June 1549 Henri II had obtained the overwhelming support of the other great Magnates of Scotland, both lay and ecclesiastical, and presumably their agreement that Arran's authority should extend only up until Mary had come of age. Thus, by 17 June 1549 all the legal mechanisms were in place for the administration of Scotland during the minority of the Queen of Scots. In 1558, this document formed the basis for the legal processes and *lettres patentes* in France, the most important of which were incorporated into the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, which took place both before and after the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin on 24 April 1558, formalizing the union of the crowns and kingdoms of Scotland and France.³⁰⁷ Finally, and also in June 1549, Paul

305 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, NRA (5) 2177, Bundle 2021, Original on parchment, signed 'Henry', with the Great Seal of Henri II still attached. I am grateful to his Grace, The Duke of Hamilton, for permission to photocopy this document from his archives at Lennoxlove. For an edited translation see, *HMC, 11th Report, Appendix part VI*, pp. 39-40.

306 *Supra*, note 118.

307 *APS*, vol., II, pp. 508-10; 'Lettres Patentes de la Reine Marie pour la décharge de Jacques duc de Chastellerault, du 15 avril 1558 à Paris', BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols., 166v-167r and Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 18-19; 'Lettres Patentes de Henri II en faveur de Jacques, duc de Chastellerault, pour la succession au Royaume d'Escosse, en cas que la Reine vint à deceder

III released the Papal Bull providing John Hamilton with Archbishopric of St. Andrews, even though he had held the temporals since the death of David Beaton on 29 May 1546.³⁰⁸

The last of the letters patent regarding the 'Don du Duché de Chastellerault' were issued by Henri II at Amiens on 12 August 1549,

aux sénéchaux de Poitou et Chastellerault, ou à leurs Lieutenans. Comme pour plusieurs bonnes et grandes causes, et considerations concernantes le Bien de Nous et de nostre Royaume, et pour plus fermement lier et établir l'ancienne amitié, qui de tout temps a esté entre les Royaumes de France et d'Escosse, lesquels de present Nous estimons une mesme chose, pour avoir fait alliance et mariage', and etc. 'Nous ayons fait don du Duché de Chastellerault à nostre tres-cher et tres-amé Cousin le Comte d'Arán', and etc. 'Vous mandons et enjoignons ... qu'iceluy nostredit Cousin, ou nostre tres-cher et grand amy l'Evesque de Rosse [David Paniter], ayant pouuoir et procuracion de luy, Vous mettiez en pleine et entiere possession et jouissance d'iceluy Duché et des autres choses évaluées, jusqu'à ladite somme de douze mille [12,000] livres de revenu annuel.³⁰⁹

Thus, Henri II reiterated once again what he had been saying in public and private since the arrival of the Queen of Scots in France in August 1548: that 'je m'y employeray comme pere et protecteur de cette qui en est la Royné';³¹⁰ that he now considered Scotland and France as one and the same kingdom, and specifically that Scotland was designated as the 'regno del Delfino'.³¹¹

Soon after the Earls of Huntly and Arran had been formally granted their rewards of Moray and Châtellerault, on 15 March 1549 at Edinburgh, 'subscribed by the Dowager and her sureties ... George, Lord Hume and Alexander maister of Hume be virtew of an contract maid betuix us, my lord gouverour, the lieutenant [-general, S^r d'Essé], ambassador of France

sans enfans, du 19 avril 1558 à Paris', *Ibid*, fols 167r&v and *Ibid*, pp. 19-20; 'Ratification of the previous letters patent by François Dauphin de France du 19 avril 1558 à Paris', *Ibid*, fols., 168r&v and *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

³⁰⁸ Watt, *Fasti*, p. 298.

³⁰⁹ BN, Coll. Clairambault 724, fols 165v-166; Hugier, *Titres et Pièces*, pp. 16-17. A recent Ph. D. thesis: D. Byrd Franklin, 'The Scottish Regency of the Earl of Arran: A Study in the failure of Anglo-Scottish Relations', Unpublished Ph. D thesis (University of Alabama, 1981), was researched, according to the abstract, in 'English and American Libraries' using only published documentary collections as the principal basis for the dissertation. Having avoided Scotland and the MS. collections, Franklin's thesis adds little to the subject and essentially offers a decidedly 19th-century Anglocentric view of Scottish history during Arran's Regency. Furthermore, published documents are faithfully reproduced; for example, Appendix IV, 'Beaton's secret band of 24 July 1543', was printed (1890) in the *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 630-32

³¹⁰ Baudouin-Matuszek, 'Mary Stewart's arrival, p. 95.

³¹¹ ASV, Principi vol., XIV, fol., 102r.

[Seigneur d'Oysel] ... the chancellor [Huntly] and lordis of secret counsaile ... hes promittit to deliver to us or ony utheris personis quhame we sall deput in our names thar hous and castell of Hume with the munitionis tharof to be surlie strenthit and keipit be us baith for resisting and persewing of our auld innymeis of Ingland ... and caus the King of France to gif ane yeirlie pensioun to the saidis lord and maister of Hume of tua thousand [2,000] merkis usual money of Scotland ... during all the tyme of the weiris betuix this realm and Ingland and thareftir of ane yeirlie pensioun of ane thousand [£1,000] pundis money forsaide ... for all the dayis of thar lives'.³¹² Even Patrick, Lord Gray who, since at least 1547, had aligned himself and received pensions from the English,³¹³ now made a Bond of Manrent on 26 March 1548, 'to ye Rycht excellente prencess Marie quene dowariere of Scotland and our souraine ladie her dearest dochter ... against our ald Innimmit of Ingland' for which he was to be paid, 'fywe hundreths [500] merkes wsual mone of Scotland ... my subscription [and] my propre scele of armes at Huntlie xxvj day off march ye zere of god M VC and fowrt y acht zeris [26 March 1548]'.³¹⁴

Patrick Hepburn, 3rd earl of Bothwell and Admiral of Scotland, was another Scottish noble who played a double game. Captured at Pinkie, he was liberated on the same night, 10 September 1547.³¹⁵ A few days later, on the 17th, Bothwell was welcomed and entertained by the Protector Somerset,³¹⁶ and on the 30th John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, reported to Somerset that Bothwell had said that 'if your grace would help him to a wife in England, he

312 *Acts of the Lords of Council*, pp. 589-90. The Master of Hume was to have command of 100 horsemen who were to be paid 5/- daily. Hume was to be paid £60, his lieutenant £30, and his ensiegn £15 monthly, *Ibid*, p. 590. On 25 February 1549, Marie de Guise had reported to Henri II that 'l'occasion de la levee des chevaux legiers Escossois et la contrainte qui estoit lors de leur accorder la soulede quilz demanderent', *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, p. 15. Also the king should know 'que le conte de Hontely [Huntly] cognoissant que le chateau de Humes estoit de service audit seigneur pour lendroit ou il est assis et scachant bien que cestoit l'intention de la Roynie de conduire le seigneur de Humes a ce point de si deument negotier avecques luy quil ly a fait condescendre moyennant deux mils [2,000] francz de pension pour le vieil Seigneur [George, Lord Hume] et cent [100] chevaux legiers au filz [Alexander Hume] et aussi que ladite place ly soit rendue apres la guerre', *Ibid*, p. 18.

313 On 30 September 1547, 3,548 crowns and £1,148 were to be delivered by Anthony Stonehouse 'to the Lord Grey of Scoteland as given to him in reward by the Kinges Majeste', *APC*, vol., II, p. 132; and on 3 April 1548, the Privy Council of England suggested to Sir Andrew Dudley and Mr. Lutterell that 'they shoulde make offer of M [1,000] crownes pencion unto the Lord Graye of Scotland ... so as he may take courage in respecte of the premisses to doe some notable service', *Ibid*, vol., II, p. 552.

314 NAS, Sp 13/56.

315 Patten, in his *Expedition into Scotland*, says that 'the Scottish Governor, when he once thought himself in some saftey, with all speed, caused the Earl of Bothwell to be let out of prison' by which action Patten thought that Arran had acted 'rather for some cause of fear than for any good will', Pollard, *Tudor Tracts*, pp. 135-36; Arran, it should be noted, made no such appeal on behalf of Huntly who had also been captured at Pinkie.

316 *Ibid*, p. 140. Patten says that Bothwell was 'a gentleman of a right comely port and stature; and hereto, of right honourable and just meaning and dealing towards the King's Majesty', *Ibid*, p. 140.

would deliver the Armytage [Hermitage].³¹⁷ However, Grey of Wilton reported to Somerset on 24 November 1547 that Bothwell 'had of the Scottish Queen an abbey and 2,000 marks Scots', and that 'the earl was declining from his promise to England'.³¹⁸ Bothwell arrived in London on 22 December, and on 7 January 1548 de Selve reported to Henri II that Bothwell was temporising with the Protector 'poir savoir si le roi de France est décidé à lui faire la pension de deux mille [2,000] écus qu'il dit lui avoir été promise au nom du roi par la reine d'Ecosse'.³¹⁹ In the meantime, however, Bothwell was successful with the English and informed de Selve that 'le protecteur quy luy baille III M [3,000] escuz de pension et cent lancez ... pourveu qu'il mette sa place de l'Hermitage entre lez mains de ce roy ... et outre ledict protecteur le met en esperance de luy faire espouzer la seur de monsieur de Clèves quy est par deca'.³²⁰ Bothwell returned to Scotland in October 1548,³²¹ and on 19 January 1549 he wrote to Marie de Guise reminding her that she 'gaiff in command to monsieur Dosell, ambassatour, to deliver to my servand in Frans twa thowsand [2,000] crownis of the sone', but he had 'ressavit na money as yitt in that behalf'.³²² Bothwell failed to sway the French, but on 25 August 1549 a warrent was issued by the English Privy Council for £376 'to Lord Bothwell in parte payement of his pencion'.³²³

According to M.L. Bush, Somerset's dealings with the Scottish magnates: the Earls of Angus, Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell and Lennox, Sir George Douglas and Lord Maxwell, 'despite their hatred of the Governor, met with almost complete failure'; the exception being Bothwell. Bush very correctly explains the reasons for Somerset's failure to attract the most powerful and influential of the Scottish magnates to the English cause, within the framework of Anglo-Scottish relations between 1547 and 1549.³²⁴

317 Bothwell suggested the widowed Duchess of Suffolk or 'my Lady Mary or my Lady Elizabeth', *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 22.

318 *Ibid*, p. 42.

319 *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, pp. 258 and 265.

320 *Ibid*, p. 306.

321 *Ibid*, pp. 458-59.

322 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 284. On 1 April 1549, Bothwell petitioned Henri II directly, claiming that Marie de Guise had: 1) 'promest faithfullie be hir hand writ at twa sindre tymis to tak the said erle in mariage; 2) scho gaif to the said erle the erledome of Fiff [Fife]; 3) scho gaif to the said erle the erledome of Orknay; 5) Alsua scho is awand to the said erle four thowsand [4,000] crownis'. Bothwell offered to meet Henri II in France or in Scotland 'to debait the samin with his body aganis all thaim will say in the contrair, ... at Armetage, the first day of Aprile the yere of God ane thowsand five hundreth fourtynyne yeris [1 April 1549]', *Ibid*, pp. 297-98. Ultimately, on 23 May 1550, 'the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour and Lordis of secreit Counsaile, haifand respect to the greit and hie attemptatus commitit and done be Patrick Erle of Bothuile ... thairfor it is divisit and ordanit ... that summondis of treason be rasit upoun the said Erle', *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 100.

323 *APC*, Vol. II, p. 318. Between October 1548 and June 1550, Bothwell received £1,225 from the English, Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 20, n. 99, cf. PRO, AO 1/283/1067. Bush also says that 'presumably Hales, Saltoun and Wroughton Castles fell to the English in Feb., 1548 because of an arrangement with him', *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

324 *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

However, he does not once mention France, Henri II or Marie de Guise within this context yet, as has been shown, French influence, especially that of Henri II, during this period upon the leading Scottish magnates: the Earls of Arran, Angus, Argyll and Huntly and Sir George Douglas, was not only powerful but also very persuasive. These four earls were deliberately targeted by Henri II for French largesse, precisely because they controlled by way of their clans of 'kin, freindis, allya and partakariss',³²⁵ the vast majority of Scots and Scottish lands, both secular and ecclesiastical which, together with those held by the crown for Mary Queen of Scots and those held by Marie de Guise, comprised the greater part of Scotland.³²⁶ Sir George Douglas, or the Master of Angus as he was also known, may not have had extensive lands at his disposal, but he was recognised by contemporary monarchs as one of the most influential political figures in Scotland. Hence, he received from Henri II on 26 June 1548, 'ane thousand [1,000] crounis of the sone in part payment of my pension bypast that I have of the maist cristin king of France', on the same day that his brother, Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, received his pension from Henri II.³²⁷ As for Lennox, Bush says that 'he was a willing [and paid] accomplice, but after a period of exile seemed to have lost his effective authority in Scotland', and that for a proposed raid against the Governor in February 1548, 'all the support he could muster came from six of his own servants'.³²⁸ Lennox, however, had lost most of his credibility and authority when he defected to, and became a subject of, Henry VIII in 1544, after which he was forfeited of all his offices and lands by the Parliament of Scotland. In France he was accused of *lèse-majesté*, and his brother, John, 5th Seigneur d'Aubigny, was thrown into the Bastille by François I on suspicion that he had collaborated with Lennox. Possibly the lack of local support for Lennox in the West was the same reason that Maxwell withdrew his support from the English at this time. The arrival of the French vanguard under Seigneur de la Chapelle at Dumbarton in December 1547, and the handing over of this fortress by Arran to Marie de Guise soon after, who immediately garrisoned it with French troops; alerted the Scots to the probable arrival not only of more French troops, but also of French gold as had occurred in 1543, and from which bounty many lesser Scottish lords had benefited. As it happened, Henri II's bounty arrived at Leith in June 1548, and was distributed only to those Scottish magnates specified by Henri II; unlike François I in 1543 who

325 For an excellent account of how this kinship network functioned, see Wormald, *Bonds of Manrent*, Chapter 5, pp. 76-90.

326 For maps of 'Hamilton secular influence' and 'Hamilton religious benefices' which were clustered mainly in central Scotland from East Lothian to Ayrshire, see Finnie, 'The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period', pp. 11 and 13; Huntly's lands were mainly in the North-East; Argyll's lands extended over most of the West, and the Douglasses controlled large tracts in Angus and much of the Borders.

327 NAS, E 34/14/6. This 1,000 crowns of the sun, or *écus d'or soleil* received by Sir George Douglas, was equal to the 2,500 francs (*livres tournois*) received by his brother, Angus, NAS, E 34/14/5. For an approximate equivalency 16th-century currency table, see Appendix No. 1, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents*, (forthcoming).

328 Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 20.

made no specific nominations, which Bothwell, who had fared well in 1543, soon discovered much to his chagrin.³²⁹ Thus, the only support from the Scottish magnates that Somerset was able to muster were those whom Bush identifies and whom Henri II had not targeted for rewards which, incidently, were of much greater amplitude and generosity than any that Somerset was prepared to offer; which reflected the parsimony of his dead master, Henry VIII.

Pensions for certain Scots were also included in the 'Estat des pensions gaiges et autres entretenemens ... que le Roy a ordonne estre paiees sur les deniers de son espargne' drawn up for Henri II by André Blondet, trésorier de l'Épargne, and signed by the king on 8 February 1549 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye for one year from 1 January to 31 December 1549.³³⁰ This lengthy document nominates and specifies the pensions to be paid, and the nominees are listed under the following headings and order: 1) Princes et Chevaliers de l'ordre;³³¹ 2) Capitaines de la Gendarmerie qui ne sont princes ne chevaliers de l'ordre; 3) Lieutenans de la Gendarmerie; 4) Capitaines Lieutenans et Portenseignes des gentilzhommes et gardes de l'hostel du Roy; which included Jehan Stuart lieutenant, (600 livres) Jehan Laing portenseigne (300 livres) et Georges Helphiston (300 livres) homme darmes, en la bende des archers Escossoys;³³² 5) Capitaines de Chevaux Legiers; 6) Capitaines des Places; 7) Autres Pensionnaires Francoys; which included Arthur d'Escoce le Bailly de Caulx, (1,000 livres) and Jacques Adam (200 livres); 8) Almans, headed by Le Conte Rhingrave (1,200 écus d'or soleil); 9) Truchemens et Interpretes en langue Germainique; 10) Escossoys Angloys et Pollonoys; which included Le Gouverneur d'Escoce (12,000 livres), Georges Douglez Escossoys (2,500 livres), Le Seigneur de Serue Jacques [?] noble aussi Escossoys (450 livres), Richart de la Poulle dyt le duc de Suffort Angloys (450 livres);³³³ 11)

329 On 25 Feb., 1549, Marie de Guise advised Henri II, 'qu'il est tres necessaire quil entretienne les seigneurs de ce pays en plus a luy faire service; et entre autres les trois chevaliers delordre quil a pardeca, et quelques autres des principaux contes et seigneurs qui sont apres eulx estiment que par le moyen ilz ly seront plus fideles et affectiones serviteurs', *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, p. 18.

330 BN, Fonds Français 3132, fols., 31r-46r.

331 This list does not include the recently dubbed Scottish Earls: Angus, Argyll and Huntly but does include Sir George Douglas, who received 500 *livres tournois* more than the others; they were paid 2,000 *livres tournois* in Scotland from 'les depences extraordinaires des guerres' BN, Fonds Français 18153, fol., 69r, for a full transcription see, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

332 These Scottish archers were not part of the *garde écossaise* and do not appear on those Muster Rolls for 1548 or 1549, see Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, pp. 144-47; also see Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century', p. 4.

333 Presumably this is Richard de la Pole, brother of Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who was executed by Henry VIII in May 1513. Richard, who was known as the 'White Rose', fled to France where Louis XII 'recognised him as King of England', Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 32. According to Scarisbrick, the 'White Rose (the earl of Suffolk)' was killed at Pavia on 14 February 1525, *Ibid*, p. 135. When Henry VIII heard the news, it is said that he cried, 'God have mercy on his soul, all the enemies of England are gone', *Ibid*, p. 136. But it would seem that a 'White Rose' (or an unknown son) survived Henry VIII and was still living in

Italiens, headed by Seigneur Horace Farnaiz³³⁴ (6,000 livres) and Seigneur Pierre Strozzi (2,000 livres); 12) Neapolitains; 13) Hespaignolz; 14) Commissaires de Reparacions et Fortificacions des villes et places de Frontiers; 15) Archetecteurs et Ingenieurs; 16) Princesses, there are only two: La Royne de Navarre (25,000 livres) and La Royne d'Escosse (20,000 livres); 17) Damoysselles; 18) Conseillers de conseil prive et Messires des Requestes extraordinaire; 19) Secretaires des finances; 20) Presidens advocatz et procureurs Parlement de Paris et de Rouen; 21) Presidens de la Chambre des Comptes; 23) Gardes de Forestz; 24) Lecteurs: 4 en Grec, 3 en Hebraie, 1 en Latin, 2 en Mathematique, 1 en Medecyne, et 1 en Philosophie; 25) Escolliers; 26) Le Inquisiteur General, Messire Mathieu Orry, Religieux Jacobin (300 livres);³³⁵ 27) Artisans; 27) Jardiniers; 28) Autres Gaiges et entretenemens, mainly François I's former servants.

Another important financial document from the reign of Henri II to have survived is the Budget Estimate for 1549: 'Estat par estimacon de la recepte et despence des finances du Roy. Pour lannee finissant M Vc quarente neuf', was signed by Henri II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 2 January 1549. It was anticipated that the 'Recepte Ordinaire' and 'Recepte Extraordinaire' would amount to 8, 301,718 Livres, 6 Sols, 10 Deniers Tournois; and that the 'Despence Ordinaire' and 'Despence Extraordinaire' would amount to 11,432,901 Livres, 6 Sols, 11 Deniers Tournois; and that because of the deficit, Henri II had no wish to pay the loans made at Lyon which amounted to 2,421,846 Livres Tournois; therefore, there would still remain a deficit of 709,336 Livres, 1 Denier Tournois. As far as Scotland was concerned, under the heading 'Despences Extraordinaires', 800,000 Livres Tournois had been estimated for the payment of 'gens de pied' and other Scottish affairs; and 300,000 Livres Tournois for reparations and fortifications.³³⁶ These two documents can but give an indication of Henri II's financial committment for the year 1549. The 'estat des pensions' appears to be a more or less permanent list of obligations drawn on the *épargne*,³³⁷ whereas the 'budget

France in 1549. At the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York there is a magnificent MS volume containing much of interest on Scotland as well as England: fol. 502: 'le Roy retenoit Richard de la Poule (communement appellé le Duc de Suffolk, et par autres surnommé la Rose blanche) ennemy mortel du Roy d'Angleterre et parquoy le Roy d'Angleterre dessirt celluy de France', 'Sommaires recueilz des querelles et pretentions anciennes des Anglois contre les François' dedicated to 'Monseigneur de Villeroy, conseiller du Roy en son prive conseil, secretaire d'estat et des finances, par Jehan Bernard à Saint Germain, 1 jan., 1573', Pierpont Morgan Library New York, MA 15.

334 Orazio Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III, was betrothed to Diane de France, Henri II's illegitimate daughter, in 1547 but the nuptials did not take place until Feb., 1553, Baumgartner, *Henry II*, pp. 70 and 158. In the meantime Farnese was maintained at the French court in much the same way that Mary Queen of Scots was, following her betrothal to the Dauphin.

335 On 6 Sept., 1555 his pension was doubled, AN, K 91, No. 33.

336 BN, Fonds Français 3127, fols., 91r-93v; for a full transcription of this document see Bonner, 'Henri II's Budget Estimate of 1549' (forthcoming).

337 'Des lettres patentes du 18 mars 1523 créèrent un "trésorier de l'Épargne et receveur général des parties casuelles et inopinées des finances", chargé de recevoir et de distribuer les recettes exceptionnelles, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui restait en dehors des finances ordinaires et

estimate' was an annual statement of the anticipated ordinary and extraordinary receipts and expenses drawn on the general finances of the realm.³³⁸

It would appear that in order to make up the deficit, the following month on 18 February 1549, Henri II ordered a mandate to be circulated to all the Bishoprics of France in which he outlined the enormous military costs of ensuring the security of France. Furthermore, this year 'eussions este chargez dautre grans fraiz et despences tant pour les obseques et funerailles de nostre dict feu pere et de noz freres et seur que pour nostre sacre et couronnement'. The major part of this substantial document, however, is devoted to Scotland. Henri informed the clergy 'eussions este sommez et requis de la parte de nostre treschere et tresamee seur et cousine la royne d'Escosse et nostre trescher et tresame cousin le conte d'Haran gouverneur du dict pais, aussi les autres Seigneurs et gens des estatz dicelluy de secourir le dict pais en son extreme besoing et necessite ... tant pour estre chose aquoy les traitez et anciennes alliances dentre le royaume de France et d'Escosse Inviolablement observez depuis le roy Charlemaigne'. Therefore, because of the danger of further invasion from England, 'Nous auons deux diuerses fois faict passer au dict pais ung bon nombre de gens de cheval et de pied artillerye pouldre boulettez et autres municions pour le secours de terre. Et pour celluy de la mer grant nombres de gaillaires et vaisseaux rondz.... Et pour ce que lentretenement des dictes forces et laugmacion dicelles ne se pourra faire sans tres grande despence'. Therefore, 'laquelle portion eust es[te]...hole in MS....es]tre a deux decymes du reuenu de leurs benefices ... et [les] gens deglise de vostre diocese sans aucuns en excepter ne exempter la somme de six mil ...hole in MS... quatre vingts dix [6,90] livres.... Et la dicte somme

extraordinaires comprises dans l'État général; c'était le produit des décimes ecclésiastiques, des emprunts, des ventes d'offices et autres expédients fiscaux. Ce Trésor de l'Épargne devait constituer une réserve de guerre ou être employé au rachat du domaine aliéné. *Le trésorier de l'Épargne* était un comptable, l'administration de sa caisse étant réservée au Conseil du roi, qui délivrait les ordonnances de recettes et de dépenses, sans que rien en fût mentionné à l'État général', Doucet, *Les Institutions*, tome I, p. 291.

338 This is not the place, nor is there space, to compare in detail the priority given to Henri II's permanent and transient expenses, but it is interesting to ponder the priorities in a couple of examples. Why is the 'Inquisiteur General, Mathieu Orry' listed on the 'estat des pensions', whilst the 'chambre des Lutheriens' is listed under the 'despenses ordinaire' in the 'budget estimate' (fol. 92r); or why are 'lecteurs' and 'escolliers' on the 'pensions' list, and the 'les chantes de musique et plain chant' and 'les viollons' are listed under 'despenses ordinaire' in the 'budget' (fol. 91v). There are many other such examples which give a social as well as an economic view of the court in 1549 and Dr. Mark Steele, with whom I discussed this and the 'budget' document in 1986, suggested that I should consider publishing them at some later stage. Dr. Steele was also able to confirm the 'budget estimate' figures which he had already established from sources other than these, (Letter, 7 August 1986). Finally, the 1549 'budget estimate' is not mentioned by Wolfe in his survey of 16th-century budgets; very few of which seem to have survived, *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, pp. 68, 206-13, 281-85; cf., R. Doucet, *L'état des finances de 1523* (Paris, 1923), and *L'état des finances de 1567* (Paris, 1929); also see M. Steele, 'International Financial Crises during the Reign of Philip II, 1556-1598', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (London, 1986), pp. 109-10.

faites oultre les fraiz du departement leuee et recepte dicelle. ... Et incontinant porter fournir et deliuerer au receueur general de nos finances estably en la ville de Caen ...hole in MS... en baillira ses quictances pour par le dict receueur general lenuoyer aussi incontinant au tresoriers de nostre Espargne'.³³⁹

Nor were the French clergy the only ones to be levied by reason of the defence of Scotland. At Fontainebleau on 31 December 1549, Henri II issued a mandate 'ordonné estre leué en l'année prochaine sur les Villes closes de nostre Royaume la somme de quatre cenx M [400,000] Livres Tournois' to assist in the payment of military expenses in his wars against the English at sea and in the 'Boulenois', and 'à la défence et conservation du Royaume d'Escosse en l'obéissance de nostre filz le Daulphin de Viennois; et aussi pour tenir nos ports et haures en seureté, et faire escorte et seur convoy aux nauires marchans de nostre Royaume, à ce que le Commerce se puisse continuer entre eux et les subjects de noz amis, alliez et bienveillants'.³⁴⁰ These letters of 'mandement' were sent to individual towns informing them of the general commission ordered by the King, and also informing them of how much they were to be levied: 'leur quote-part', which varied according to the size and wealth of the town. As many as one hundred or more of these 'mandements' would have been sent, but it appears that only twelve remain. For example: 'Mandement au sénéchal d'Agenais de départir, sur les villes closes de sa sénéchaussée, leur quote-part, fixée à 2,400 livres tournois de la somme de 400,000 livres levée pour l'année suivante pour la solde des gens de pied et pour le recouurement du Boulonnais et la défense et conservation du royaume d'Écosse, Fontainebleau, 29 décembre 1549'.³⁴¹

339 BL, Additional Charters 12476, Mandate of Henri II to the Bishop of Avranches 'pour secourir les Ecossois', given at Anet, 18 February 1549. For a full transcription of this document see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming). In France during the 16th century there were '114 French bishoprics and archbishoprics, organized into 14 provinces', M. Greengrass, *The French Reformation* (Oxford, 1987) p. 2. This mandate was sent to every French bishopric but it is impossible to calculate how much revenue was raised because the amounts varied according to the number of parishes in each bishopric. According to Greengrass, at this time 'no one knew how many parishes there really were in the realm, but the best contemporary estimates put it at about 32,000', *Ibid.*, p. 2.

340 BN, Coll. Dupuy 590, fols., 19r-20r, ? 17th or 18th-century copy. A search in the Archives Nationales for either the original or a registered copy of the original was unsuccessful. Transcribed in Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol., 1, pp. 205-06. Teulet, however, mistakenly cites this document as being in 'Dupuy [vol.,] 390'.

341 *Catalogue de Actes de Henri II*, vol., III (1549), pp. 445-46, cf. Arch. d'Agen, CC 47; ii) 'au bailli de Blois, pour leur quote-part fixée à 3,200 livres tournois, 29 déc., 1549', Arch. de Blois, II4, fol., 39; iii) 'au bailli de Caux pour leur quot-part fixée à 7,200 livres tournois', Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 21158, No. 56; iv) 'sur la ville et les faubourgs de Châlons-sur-Marne de leur quote-part fixée à 2,000 livres tournois', Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Châlons-sur-Marne, CC 32, fol., 1; v) 'sur la ville de Chalon-sur-Saône de sa quote-part fixée à 731 livres 10 sous tournois et du bailliage 504 livres tournois', 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Chalon-sur-Saône, BB 2, fol., 475; vi) 'au bailli de Dijon pour la quote-part fixée à 2,752 livres tournois', Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Dijon, L 21; vii) 'au sénéchal de Lyon pour la quote-part fixée à 24,000 livres tournois' Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Lyon, BB 70, fol., 188 et BB 71, fol. 132; viii) 'au

There are also a number of financial documents, concerning Henri II's military and financial commitment in Scotland during 1549 and 1550, which have been very loosely designated as 'Accounts'³⁴². In fact, they are a miscellany of royal 'estats':³⁴³ accounts of payment and two mandates for the payment of the military personnel and equipment and nobles, from various European states, who were in the French king's service in Scotland. These documents are few in number and can but give an indication of Henri II's overall commitment to Scotland at this time. Before proceeding to analyse briefly each document, some consideration of the Fonds should be undertaken, and there are also a number of general points to be made. More than half these documents are royal 'estats', and with exception of Account No. 8,³⁴⁴ the others, (Accounts No.s 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6) were recorded by Henri II's secretaries of state, Guillaume Bochetel and Claude de l'Aubespine in a register³⁴⁵ of the *conseil privé du roi*,³⁴⁶ which is one of the original

bailli de Mâcon pour la quote-part fixée à 1,200 livres tournois', Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Mâcon, BB 30; ix) 'à Jérôme Groslot, bailli d'Orléans, pour la quote-part fixée à 10,666 livres tournois' 29 déc., 1549, Arch. du Loiret, CC 199; x) 'au bailli de Rouen pour la quote-part fixée à 32,000 livres tournois', Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de Pont-Audemer, non coté; xi) 'au bailli de Vivarais pour la quote-part fixée à 400 livres tournois' Fontainebleau, 29 déc., 1549, Arch. de l'Ardèche, C 1007, No. 63.

342 For full transcriptions of all these documents from the Appendices of my Ph.D. thesis, see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

343 These documents, called 'estats', set out the allocation of royal funds and their purpose. The archaic French spelling of 'estat' has been preserved because of the particularity to the period of these 16th-century French financial documents. Wolfe says that 'historians as yet have hardly begun to exploit the existing Renaissance *états*; but the overall purpose of these instruments seems clear. They were primarily royal affirmations of how much, and in what manner, various districts, towns, officials, and tax farmers were obligated to pay the king'. *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 281; Wolfe also defines the *états* as having a 'secondary purpose of showing from which districts, or which revenues money would be taken to pay the king's charities, courtiers, soldiers, main officials, and others who had claims against him', *Ibid.*, p. 282. However, the 'estats' of Henri II's allocation of funds 'pour la garde et conservation' of Scotland from 1549 to 1550 do not fit either of these definitions but appear to be more closely aligned with the 'secondary purpose' that Wolfe describes.

344 BN, Fonds Français 3140, fols., 76r-77r; another copy in, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 7699, fols., 342r-344v.

345 BN, Fonds Français 18153, fols., 66v-67v, 69v-72v, 68r-69r, 91r-92r, 170r-171r. Madame Baudouin-Matuszek is of the opinion that this is an original and unique register which dates from the appointment of the four secretaries of state: Bochetel, de l'Aubespine, Clause and Duthier, by Henri II's ordonnance of 1 April 1547, *Catalogue des Actes de Henri II*, vol., I (1547), p. 3, *cf.* multiple references of MS. and printed copies of this ordonnance. According to Dr Niccola Sutherland, initially the four secretaries of state were present at the meetings of both the *conseil des affaires* and the *conseil privé*, but that later in the reign the 'secretaries were summoned to the council separately, each for the business of his own department', *French Secretaries of State*, pp. 39-40, and 43. Thus, the uniqueness of this register lies in the fact that it was recorded by all four secretaries of state up until 1553 and that, due to a change in policy, they each kept their own individual registers after that time.

346 Paradoxically, the *conseil privé* was the more general of Henri II's two advisory councils. 'The *conseil des affaires* was the smaller, inner council, sometimes known as *étroit* or *secret*. It was only held in the presence of the king and it discussed affairs of state and finance, questions of policy and all that was urgent, secret and important', Sutherland, *French Secretaries of State*, p. 39. The *conseil privé* 'was seldom attended by the king' and 'it was

registers of the *ancien régime* to have survived accidental fires and the archival pogroms of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune.³⁴⁷ Of the remaining documents the two mandates are originals on parchment, whilst the accounts of payment are copies which have been collated in various MS volumes. Three of the accounts of payment made in Scotland (Account No. 7, 9 and 10) have been collated in the MS volume entitled 'Guerre et Artillerie', tome 1,³⁴⁸ whilst another payment (Account No. 5) has been collated in 'Mémoire du Registre du Roy Henry 2';³⁴⁹ and two undated accounts of payment (Accounts No. 11 and 12) are to be found among the 'Dépenses de la Maison Royale' of Marie de Guise in the National Library of Scotland.³⁵⁰

Notwithstanding the disparate nature of these documents it is possible to match up some of these 'estats' and payments, although not precisely. For example, Account No. 6 is an 'estat' of 84,760 livres for the payment of military expenses in Scotland for the months of May, June, July, August, September and October 1550; and Account No. 7 records the payment of 63,612 livres for military personnel only for the months of May, June, July and August 1550. Account No. 8 is an 'estat' of 50,134 Livres for the months September, October, November and December 1550 which only partially accounts for the payments of Account No. 9 (52,032 Livres) and Account No. 10 (67,984 Livres) made for the corresponding months. Appended to Accounts No. 3 and 4 are supplementary mandates issued by Henri II which were to be drawn from the *épargne*. The mandate³⁵¹ appended to Account No. 3 (which is an 'estat' of 309,732 livres tournois) was issued on 22 April 1549 at Saint Germain-en-Laye, the same day and place as the 'estat'. It authorizes Messire Raoul Moreau to draw 77,130 livres tournois from the 'tresorier de nostre espargne Messire Andre Blondel [*sic*]' at Nantes; from there Moreau was to hurry to Brest and convey the money by sea to Scotland, in order to pay the French troops there under the command of the Seigneur de Termes. The mandate further states that 67,500 livres tournois is to be entered 'en la despence de voz comptes' and the remainder, 9,630 livres tournois is 'ung estat en papier' which is attached to this mandate under the contre seal of our 'Chancellerye', is to be used for payment 'des parties contenues en icelluy estat'. This latter document, on paper with the Chancellery seal for 9,630 livres tournois (which has not been located thus

composed of members of the *conseil des affaires*, together with the cardinals, bishops, dukes and one or two other persons. It dealt with all remaining business — affairs of state, administration, finance and justice', *Ibid*, p. 40.

347 Wolfe says that the famous and spectacular 'incendie de la Chambre des Comptes, le 27 octobre 1737 ... destroyed the greater part of what would have become an enormously wealthy source of documents on medieval and early modern government. The destruction of large batches of royal records during the French Revolution and the Paris Commune of 1871 further decimated the remnants', *Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, p. 280.

348 BN, Fonds Français 4552, fols., 31r&v, 48r-49v, and 50r-51v.

349 BN, Fonds Français 3124, fols., 17r-22v.

350 NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MSS. 29.2.5., fols., 63r-64v and 68r-69r.

351 Fisher Library, University of Sydney, Australia; MS. Autographs, Royalty, Vol., I, p. 15 (Original, parchment, signed, 'Henry, Par le Roy, Delaubespine').

far) appears to have been allocated for the payment of Seigneur de Termes (6,000 livres tournois); pensions for the Earls of Angus, Argyll and Huntly (1,000 livres tournois each for 6 months); and for an extra 'chevaucher descurie' (180 livres tournois); a total of 9,180 livres tournois. This is 450 livres tournois less than the allocated sum of 9,630 livres tournois, which deficit of 450 livres tournois, however, precisely balances the excess between the 77,130 livres tournois allocated in the mandate from the *épargne*, and the 76,680 livres tournois added to Account No. 3 which appears to have augmented Account No.1. The second mandate which is appended to Account No. 4, (which is an 'estat' of 211,503 livres, 4 sols tournois, made at Compiègne on 6 August 1549) is a mandate made by Henri II at Amiens on 12 August 1549,³⁵² for the payment of two companies each of 40 lances 'de noz ordonnances', in other words, part of Henri II's permanent army who are mentioned, but not included in the 'estat' in Account No. 4, and who were to be paid 16,725 livres tournois from the *épargne* by the 'tresoriers ordinaires de noz guerres': Nicolas de Troyes and Jacques Veau. Finally, appended to Account No. 12 is a list of some of the French captains who served in Scottish forts *circa* 1549-1550.³⁵³

Unfortunately, none of these financial documents can be matched with the Muster Rolls from Appendix No. 2 which cover the period 17 January 1548 to 17 March 1550 when a total of 15,243 livres, 11 sols, 8 deniers tournois was paid out by Messire Raoul Moreau and Messire Benoist le Grand, 'tresoriers de l'extraordinaires des guerres'; although the undated accounts of payment, No. 11 and 12 totaling 103,203 livres 10 sols tournois, can probably be attributed to the first few months after the arrival of the French contingent in June 1548.³⁵⁴ It is also difficult to reconcile the 'estats' made in 1549 between the 16 March and 6 August, or the 12 August if the second mandate is included, totalling 588,500 livres tournois;³⁵⁵ with the accounts of payments (Accounts No.s 5, 7, 9 and 10) which did not commence until 31 May 1550; by December 1550, 376,211 livres tournois had been paid out by Messire Benoist le Grand. Even though accounts of payment during 1549 seem not to have survived, it is not unreasonable to assume that a large proportion of the money allocated in 1549 was actually paid out.³⁵⁶ Indeed, had the register recorded by the secretaries of state not survived, Henri II's 'estats pour la

352 BN, Fonds Français 26857, Pièces Originales 373, dr. 81125, No. 6.

353 NLS, Adv. MSS. 29.2.5, fol., 70r. For a full transcription of this document and the following 'Accounts' from the Appendices of my Ph.D. thesis see, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

354 Account No. 12 (43,813 livres tournois) partially replicates some of the names and calculations in Account No. 11 (59,390 livres, 10 sols tournois), but it is not a copy and therefore deserves to be considered as a separate account of payment

355 This total includes the mandates and accounts No. 2, 3 and 4. Account No. 1 is not included in this amount as it appears to have been up-dated and augmented in Account No. 3 by the separate mandate of Henri II, given on 22 April 1549 at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

356 The money probably arrived towards the end of 1549 with the Seigneurs de Fourquevaux and Visque, *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, pp. 9-14.

garde et conservation' of Scotland during 1549 and 1550 would probably not now be known. A brief summary of each document follows:

Account No.1 (Estat) 16 March 1548/49 - Saint-Germain-en-Laye - 233,052 livres tournois: payment of 600 hommes de guerre and 300 pioneers; pensions for Marie de Guise-Lorraine (10,000 Livres) and James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran (6,000 Livres) for the previous year and up until 30 June 1549; and a retrospective payment (3,162 Livres) to Jehan Chollet 'contrerolleur des vivres et munitions du fort doultreau [near Boulogne]' for the 15 months from October 1545 to 31 December 1546, and who was later sent to Scotland in 1549.

Account No. 2 (Estat) 20 April 1548/49 - Saint-Germain-en-Laye - 54,540 livres tournois: for payment of 5,350 hommes de guerre; 1,500 Lansquenets commanded by the Rhingrave, 3,000 French under S^r de la Chappelle Byron (including 200 Scots under Captain Dogues [Dog]), 200 French and 300 Scots (under S^r de Humes) lighthorsemen and 350 pioneers; for one month only after the arrival of S^r de Termes in Scotland.

Account No. 3 (Estat) 22 April 1549 - Saint-Germain-en-Laye - 309,732 livres tournis: restates exactly all the payments which had been allocated in Account No. 1,³⁵⁷ and also augments it by 76,680 livres tournois which, apart from increasing the allocation for payment of French personnel, 67,500 Livres overall and specifically, 180 livres tournois for an extra 'chevaucheur descurie', 6,000 Livres for Seigneur de Termes and 3,000 Livres for six months for the three 'chevaliers de l'ordre qui son par dela': the Earls of Angus, Argyll and Huntly who were invested with the Order of Saint-Michel by letters patent of Henri II at Dijon on 6 July 1548. Attached to this 'estat' is an addendum which is a mandate of Henri II given at Saint Germain-en-Laye on 22 April 1549, (the same day and place as this 'estat') for 77,130 livres tournois to be drawn from the *épargne*, 67,500 livres tournois of which omission is for payment 'des gens de guerre a pied francois et lansquenetz', and 9,630 livres tournois specifically for the above-mentioned 'partyes', in Scotland by Messire Raoul Moreau.

Account No. 4 (Estat) 6 August 1549 - Compiègne - 211,503 livres, 4 sols tournois: the major part of this 'estat' is for payment of military personnel, but it also includes 14,401 livres, 6 sols tournois for 'les reparacions, parties inopinees et fraiz de ceulx', and a further 10,000 livres tournois pension for Marie de Guise-Lorraine for the period up until 31 December 1549. Attached to this 'estat' is an addendum which is a mandate of

³⁵⁷ According to my doctoral supervisor, Associate-Professor Sybil M. Jack, this 'estat' of Henri II is different from the other five 'estats' and 'is much more like an English 'state' in that it is an immediate survey'. She adds, 'I would guess its purpose is to make sure the actual money is in the right place. This means that there are four different types of French financial documents which are presented in this appendix'; comments made after checking all the transcriptions and calculations in Appendix No. 4, Feb., 1990, and for which I should like to add my thanks and appreciation, especially for her expertise in 16th-century financial documents.

Henri II's, given at Amiens on 12 August 1549, for 16,725 livres tournois to be paid to two companies each of 40 lances mentioned, but not nominated for payment in the total amount of the 'estat' in Account No. 4.

Account No. 5 (Payment) 31 May 1550 - Edinburgh - 192,583 livres, 6 sols, 10 deniers tournois: for 3 months from 1st February 1549/1550: payment made by Messire Benoist le Grand to 3,129 French 'hommes de guerre' under the Seigneur de la Chappelle Biron (including 200 Scots under Captain Doques [Dog]); 1,350 lanquenets under Jean-Philippe, Conte du Rhin for February and March, and 1,205 who remained under the same command for April 1550; 400 Scottish lighthorsemen under their Colonel, the Earl of Cassillis, and Captain Humes, Alexander and Patrick Humes, Andrew Ker and Jehan de Cambions; sundry officials in charge of 'reparacions et advittaillement' of Scotland, including Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, French ambassador in Scotland, who was paid for his service of keeping the register in place of a 'commissaire ordonnaire des guerres'.

Account No. 6 (Estat) 31 July 1550 - Saint-Germain-en-Laye - 84,760 livres tournois: for payment of 1,200 French and Gascon 'hommes de guerre a pic' for the six months from May to October 1550; as well as 10,000 livres tournois for 'reparacions et fortificacions des villes et places fortes' in Scotland.

Account No. 7 (Payment) 5 September 1550 - Scotland - 63,612 livres tournois: payment by Messire Benoist le Grand of 2,118 French and Gascon 'hommes a pied', including 50 garrisoned at Dunbar, 30 at Montrose and 30 at Blackness, as well as sundry 'gentilhommes' and French officials, for the months of May, June, July and August 1550. This account of payment appears to correspond with the 'estat' of Account No. 6, although only for four months instead of six. Perhaps this is due to the fact that 756 'hommes de garde' were scheduled to return to France, provision being made upon their landing at Dieppe for money to return to their homes (see endorsement at the end of Account No. 7).

Account No. 8 (Estat) 5 October 1550 - Vatieulle (?) 50,234 livres tournois: this is an 'estat' for the payment of 1,125 French 'hommes de guerre', including 45 at Dunbar and sundry French officials for the months of September, October, November and December 1550. This also includes 800 livres tournois for Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel 'pour son estat'.

Account No. 9 (Payment) 20 December 1550 - Edinburgh - 52,032 livres tournois: payment made by Messire Benoist le Grand on the orders of Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, who had recently (9 Nov.1550) been appointed by Henri II as his Lieutenant-General in Scotland *pro tem* (made permanent c.1552) as well as his ambassador there; for 1,239 French and Gascon 'hommes de guerre à pied', including 45 at Dunbar, 8 archiers and a prevost of justice, a surgeon, an engineer, George Hay as the interpreter of the Scottish language, Scots 'canoniers' at Dunbar, 12 Lanquenets 'pour la garde' of Seigneur d'Oysel and other French officials; for the months of October, November and December 1550. This document is further endorsed that it is

Henri II's wish that after the return to France of Seigneur de Termes, 10 ensigns each of 120 men and 45 at Dunbar,³⁵⁸ were to remain in Scotland under the command of Seigneur d'Oysel (later also Seigneur de Villeparisis et de St Aignan) who 'aient pouvoir d'ordonner a toutes choses' and who was to be paid 40 livres tournois per month to keep the register in addition to his stipend of 200 livres tournois per month as ambassador.

Account No. 10 (Payment) 1550 [? December] - Scotland - 67, 984 livres tournois: this account of payment is incomplete; and even though it covers the same period as Account No. 9, with the addition of September as well as October, November and December 1550, for the payment of 264 'soldatz' commanded by Seigneur des Ferriers, Colonel Chappelle Biron's lieutenant,³⁵⁹ they are not mentioned for payment in the previous account. Mention is made that the 10 ensigns, each of 120 French 'hommes de guerre' remaining in Scotland are also to be paid, but the account ends abruptly without further details, other than 'ny avoit point de Messire [secretart] de camp au dict pais'.

Account No. 11 (Payment) no date (c.1548) - Scotland - 59,390 livres tournois: there are no details of who made this payment or the precise location of the muster, although the inclusion of 25 French lighthorsemen commanded by the Seigneur d'Essé dates the document to 1548 or 1549.³⁶⁰ However, payment was made to 3,281 French 'gens de guerre', 182 French and 200 Scots garrisoned in the forts, 1,343 German lanquenets and 107 French and 746 Scottish lighthorsemen.

Account No. 12 (Payment) no date (c.1548) - Scotland - 43,813 livres tournois: there is also no details for this account of payment made to 3,463 French 'gens de guerre', 1,343 German lanquenets and 200 Scots. Appended to this account is a list of French captains of various forts in Scotland *circa* 1549/1550.

Following the successes on the Borders in and around Jedburgh in February 1549, the Seigneurs d'Essé and d'Oysel returned to Stirling where, together with Marie de Guise, Arran and Argyll, they made their depositions for Henri II to the Baron de Fourquevaux who, soon after, returned to France. In response to their requests for more money, men, munitions and 'dung chef de bonne et grosse estoffe', Henri II informed Marie de Guise from

³⁵⁸ It had been Henri II who, in his instructions to the Seigneur de Termes on 23 April 1549, 'ayent sceu le bon devoir que le cappitaine Carronen fait dedans le chateau de Dombarre, veult qu'il demeure cappitaine de ladite place', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, 1, fol. 9. These troops were under the command of Captain Carronant who was still at Dunbar in June 1553, the number of men under his command having increased to 100; some of whom had Scottish names. See Muster Roll, (ed) R.S. Rait, *Miscellany II*, Scottish History Society, 3rd series, XLIV (1904) pp.104-14.

³⁵⁹ See list of French captains, NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MSS. 29.2.5, fol., 70r.

³⁶⁰ The Seigneur d'Essé returned to France in the Summer of 1549, and it would appear that no payments were made until the end of that year. Thus, these two undated accounts of payment were probably made in the first few months after the arrival in Scotland of French troops in June 1548.

Chantilly on 30 March 1549, that 'Jay receu voz lettres par les seigneurs de Fourquevaux et Visque et deulx entendu ce que leur auez commande me dire' and also 'Je vous despescheray le Seigneur de Termes³⁶¹ si bien instruit et pourueu de toutes choses que vous aurez occasion de croire tousiours de plus en plus quelle est mon affection au bien et prosperite desdictes affaires'.³⁶² On 15 April the king further informed her that he had written a long letter in cypher to d'Oysel regarding his intention 'des affaires de dela', and that 'sur le tout prendre vne finale resolution suiuant mon intention laquelle ne tend a autre chose que au bien grandeur et repoz de vostre [sic] Royaume. Et vous assure bien que en cella il ne sera riens oublie de mon couste'.³⁶³ A few days later on the 19th, Henri II wrote again to Marie de Guise that he was 'renvoyant presentement le Seigneur de Fourquevaux par de la pour cappitaine du chasteau de Humes. En la compaignie du Seigneur de Termes que Je envoie lieutenant general ... et Jay baille ample instruction audict Seigneur de Termes qui vous rendra compte'.³⁶⁴

On 23 April 1549 Henri II issued his instructions 'au Sieur de Termes seneschal de Rouergue que le Roy envoie presentement son lieutenant general en Escosse'.³⁶⁵ Before embarking at Brest de Termes was instructed to 'fera faire monstres des deux compaignyes de gens darmes ... et aussi des deux compaignyes de cheualx legiers ... de soixante [60] chacune', as well as for 'chacun cheval legier embarque deulx cheualx de service'; and so that these forces 'ayent occasion de faire meiller devoir, le roy envoie presentement leur payement de deux quartiers'; the first payment to be made at embarkation

361 Letters patent issued by Henri II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 15 March 1549 for 'grandes et raisonnables causes et considerations a ce mouons Nous auons ... rappeler nostre ame et fealle Sr d'Essey Capne de 50 hommes darmes de noz ordonnances au retirer du pais d'Escosse ou Il est a present nostre Lieutenant General ... [et] pour passer audit pais et par succeder ala charge de nostre Lieutenant General ... nostre ame et feal le Sr de Termes seneschal Rouergue Capne de 50 hommes darmes de noz ordonnances', (copy collated from the original on 15 May 1549) BN, Fonds Français 3115, fols., 68v-70r. Paul de la Barthe, Seigneur de Termes, had served in Italy before taking command of the French forces in Scotland in 1549; he was subsequently ambassador at Rome (1551) and Governor of Corsica (1552-55); in 1558 he was made a Marshal of France and Lieutenant of Guyenne in 1560 and died in 1562, G. Dickinson, 'Instructions to the French Ambassador, 30 March 1550', *SHR*, XXVI (1947) p. 158, n. 7.

362 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.1 fol., 46; published in *Maitland Miscellany*, vol., II, pt. II, pp. 215-16.

363 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.1 fol., 47; published in *Maitland Miscellany*, vol., II, pt. II, pp. 216-17.

364 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.1 fol., 48; published in *Maitland Miscellany*, vol., II, pt. II, pp. 217-18. In Henri II's instructions to the Seigneur de Termes on 23 April 1549, the king 'a choisy ledit Seigneur de Fourquevaux pour cappitaine de Humes avecques la bende dont il veult qu'il ayt charge ou autant d'hommes que ledit Seigneur Termes verra estre necessaire, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fol. 9.

365 *Ibid*, fol. 1, (15 folios). On 3 July 1548 at Dijon by a 'mandement de Henri II au parlement de Toulouse de faire payer a Paul de Termes seigneur dudit lieu aiant charge de cinquante hommes darmes de noz ordonnances et capitaine de nostre ville de Sanillan ... et seneschal de Rouergue ... de le faire payer de ses gaiges et droictz dudit office', Archives Départementales de Haute-Garonne, Reg. du Parl. de Toulouse B 1904, fols., 54v-55r.

and the second in Scotland.³⁶⁶ This force of 1,020 men their officers and officials and 360 horses (a conservative estimate) were to be supplied in Normandy with 'seize [16] grosses pieces d'artillerie, quarente [40] milliers de pouldres VI^m V^c [6,500] boulletz, troys cens [300] pistolletz, L [50] hacquebutes a croc et double esquipage pour toutes les pieces, avecques une infinite de tous outillz pour ladite artillerie'. The king 'a este aussi envoye par le couste de Normandye cinq ou six cens [5-600] muys de Ble, mesure de Paris, convertiz en farines, pour mectre en reserve en lieu seur. Et pour auoir garde diceulx et des autres qui y seront envoyez si apres, le roy a deppute Jehan Chollet pour commissaire desditz vivres et troys clerz avecques luy, aussi Blaise Estienne pour contreroleur desditz vivres et un clerz avecques luy, lesquelz sont passez avecques les munitions et artillerie'. The King also 'fait passer pour servir en son lieu Camille Marin',³⁶⁷ an engineer who was to replace the unwell captain Mellorin. For 'le fait des finances', the King has chosen 'le general d'Apestigny'³⁶⁸ et lenvoye presentement par dela avecques ledit sieur de Termes pour auoir loeil et superintendance en ses finances'.³⁶⁹ In order to cover all these expenses and those of the 'gens de guerre qui sont par dela', the King is sending 267,500 livres tournois 'oultre toutes les sommes d'avance que ledit seigneur a fait faire a ceulx quil a envoyez par dela pour y faire service, ainsi quil se verra la marge dudit estat signe de la main du roy'.³⁷⁰ Marie de Guise is to receive 10,000 francs of her pension for six months and the Governor 6,000 for the same period 'qui ont este es mains du tresorier de l'extraordinaire [Raoul Moreau]',³⁷¹ and the King has 'accorde six mille [6,000] francs de pension pour le comte de Hentillay [Huntly] et les deux autres chevaliers de l'ordre [Angus and Argyll]'.³⁷² The

366 'Instructions...', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fol. 1; in the margin of this folio is added: 'semblablement il fera embarquer les six cens [600] hommes de pied que conduisent les cappitaines Le Cerf et Quentin apres en avoir faict faire la monstre, et les troys cens [300] pyonnyers desquelz est presentement envoye le payement dun moys, sans y embarquer aucun gougat [valet d'armée] ou le moins quil sera possible', *Ibid.*, fol., 1.

367 *Ibid.*, fols., 6-9; Camillo Marini was still in Scotland in March 1551 when he wrote to Marie de Guise regarding the construction of a fort on the Borders, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 93; later, in 1552, he served the duke of Guise at the siege of Metz, *Ibid.*, p. 93, n. 1, cf. De Bouillé, *Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, vol., I, p. 268.

368 Pierre d'Apestigny was appointed 'secrétaire entre 1515 et 1522; ... trésorier de la généralité d'Outre-Seine [en 1527]'; then in 1528 'il fut nommé général des finances en Bourgogne; ... à la fin de sa vie sans doute, en 1551, où il est aussi qualifié de maître d'hôtel de la Reine', Michaud, *La Grande Chancellerie*, pp. 124-25. Even though Michaud does not mention d'Apestigny's Scottish venture it is probable that this was the same man.

369 'Instructions ...', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fol. 8.

370 *Ibid.*, fol., 10. For full details of Henri II's allocation of funds to Scotland for this expedition, as well as the king's marginal comments, see Account No 2, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

371 Mandate of Henri II issued at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 22 April 1549 for 77,130 livres tournois to be drawn on the épargne by Messire Raoul Moreau, Fisher Library, University of Sydney, MS Autographs, Royalty, vol., I, p. 15; for a full transcription see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

372 'Instructions...', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fols., 10-11. For details and full transcriptions of the 'estats' concerning these finances see, Accounts No.s 1 and 3, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

King will also reimburse Marie de Guise for the 'deux petitz estatz envoiez par la royne, lun montant trente deux mille [32,000] livres ... et lautre de vingt cinq mille [25,000] livres ... pour les arreraiges de la paie des chevaulx legiers Escossoys'. After further consideration, Henri II decided 'fait venir sur leurs frontieres douze enseignes de lansquenetz et quelques chevaulx legiers Albanoyz qui font la guerre incroyable du couste de la mer. Il fait en dilligence achever lequipage de ses grans vaisseaux neufz et esquiper les autres, aussi achever six roberges neufves ... [pour] faire sortir une bonne grosse flotte a la mer esquippee de toutes choses'.³⁷³ Finally, 'le roy a envoye par le sieur de Monluc³⁷⁴ les bulles de nostre Saint Pere le Pape [Paul III] pour lever en Escosse deux decimes dont les denyers avyent este dediez pour employer qu faict de fortiffications'.³⁷⁵

'In this mene tyme, [June 1549] monsieur Tarmes, Frenchman, landit at Dunbartane³⁷⁶ with tua hundreth horssmen and viij^c [800] futemen the same tyme the Inglis schipps come to Inchekeith ... And thairefter monsieur Dasie [d'Essé] past out of Leith with all the galzeonis schippis and bottis of Leith, and past to Inchekeith, and lay thairat; the captain was slane thairof and iij^c [300] of his men, and shortlie wan it and tuk baith men and artailzerie thairin, and maid it mair strength nor it was, and Frenchmen thairin, and thairefter monsieur Dosie [d'Oysel] past into France, and left his men to monsieur Termes'.³⁷⁷ When Paget, who was in Brussels, having been sent there by Somerset to ask for the Emperor's help, received the news of French reinforcements going to Scotland, he told Sir William Petre on 23 June 1549 that 'I lyke not the sending for out of Scotland of such personages as be in autorite ther saying the[y] sende not only Thermes thither (which might be construed well inowgh) but also that he caryith with him his wief which

373 'Instructions', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fols., 14-15; on 23 June 1549, Henri II informed Marie de Guise that he had written to the 'Seigneur de Villegaignon qui est pardela vous luy ordonnerez que incontinent Il ayt a partir avec mes quatre gallaires dont Il a la charge', NLS, Adv. MSS. 29.2.1, fol., 52; *Maitland Miscellany*, p. 221; see also Henri II to 'Monsieur de Villegaignon cappitaine de mes gallaires, Paris, 23 juin 1549', *Ibid*, fol. 79, and *Ibid*, p. 222.

374 Jean de Monluc, bishop of Valence, (brother of Blaise de Monluc) had already been sent to Scotland in Jan., 1549, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 29, and would return again in 1550 en route to Ireland. He was one of the most trusted and valued ambassadors of the Valois monarchs from François I to Henri III.

375 'Instructions...', Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 279, No. 1, fol. 7; see ASV, Principi XIV, fols., 102r&v, paraphrased in French: *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 412.

376 The precise date of the arrival of the French force does not appear to be known, although Simon Renard, who had replaced St Mauris as Imperial ambassador at the French court in April 1549 (*C.S.P. Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 367), informed the Emperor on 9 June 1549 that 'it is certain that the Count of Termes is gone with 30 ships and about 2,000 men to Scotland, *Ibid*, p. 387.

377 *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 48. When d'Essé returned to France, Henri II rewarded him with '10,000 livres à prendre sur les biens confisqués des rebelles de Guyenne, en considération de ses services et de frais par lui engagés en Écosse, 20 sept., 1549', *Actes de Henri II*, vol., III, p. 346.

pretendith no short departure from Scotland, and also is accompanied of men lernid in the law personages syrvng for the gouernement of estate which hath an apparence of contynauce'.³⁷⁸ Unfortunately, nothing more is known of these learned men but perhaps these French lawyers and government men were sent by Henri II to investigate the setting up of a parlement in Scotland?

While the French forces were preparing for action in Scotland, revolts had broken out in Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Kent, Sussex, and Essex' in May, and 'troops meant for Scotland neutralized the rebels in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk'.³⁷⁹ According to Guy, 'the 1549 revolts were the closest thing Tudor England saw to a class war. No single cause was responsible: agrarian, fiscal, religious, and social grievances fused. It was a hot summer and the crops failed; prices rose and the Protector compounded the problem by fixing maximum prices at terrifyingly high metropolitan levels'. Furthermore, continues Guy, 'Somerset mishandled the revolts. He vacillated in the Spring of 1549, not wishing to disrupt his Scottish campaign' and 'in July he ordered military reprisals without scruple and cancelled his Scottish project'.³⁸⁰

In September 1549 the English abandoned Haddington.³⁸¹ On the 17th, Thomas Fisher reported to William Cecil from Enderwik, regarding 'the abandoning of the "evell taken towne" of Haddington, hitherto stoutly defended ... though his grace's [Somerset's] instructions to me run not to abandon it'. But, Fisher explains, 'the French are as strong and stronger in the field than we, and lie encamped near the passage, have been reinforced by 2,000 Scots in these two days, and the whole power of Scotland summoned to join them with 30 days victual by Saturday or Sunday next'.³⁸² On 23 September, Van Der Delft reported to the Emperor from London that 'it is certain that they will have to abandon Haddington which has cost this kingdom so dear, and all because they are harnessed to the Protector's fancy against the

378 Beer and Jack, *The Letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 34.

379 Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 208. The parliament, (24 November 1548 to 14 March 1549) had produced the First Book of Common Prayer, the first Act of Uniformity and a series of bills sponsored by John Hales 'to maintain tillage, to punish regraters of foodstuffs, and to improve meat, milk, butter and cheese supplies by making sheep farmers keep two cows and rear one calf for every 100 sheep they owned over 120'. Hales also attacked purveyance but his bills failed. However, 'a tax on sheep and woollen cloth was approved — the intention was to raise money for the Scottish war while discouraging sheep farming and thus enclosures', *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08, cf. Bush, *Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, pp. 40-83.

380 Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 208-10.

381 'Wpoun the xiiij [14 September 1549] the Inglismen past out of Haddington, and brunt it and Leidington, and past away without any battell, for the pest and hungar was rycht evill amangis tham in quha mycht remayne na langer thair', *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 48.

382 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 179; see *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, pp. 338-40, for sundry items for payment of messengers in Sept., 1549 to deliver to lords and lairds throughout Scotland, 'ane proclamation chargeing all maner of man to meit my lord governour at Egebuklingbray the fyft day of this instant moneth to pas fordwart witht his grace, etc.', *Ibid.*, p. 338.

opinion of the other Councillors, as they have often told me'.³⁸³ By the 29th, Marie de Guise was able to report to the duc d'Aumale that 'Dieu ne nous a voulu oublier, car nos ennemis ont abandonné Adynton par la sage conduite de monsieur de Termes, tant pour avoir faict le fort Aberlady, que s'estre toujours tenu campé au lieu. Il n'a esté possible à l'ennemy d'avitailler leur ville qu'avec une grosse armée de sept ou huit mil hommes, ne s'estant voule mettre en danger d'une bataille et n'ont rien demoly de la fortesse. Sy du commencement j'eusse eu un homme aussy prudent que celui-là, je n'eusse eu tant de maulx, ny le Roy tant de despence d'argent'.³⁸⁴ The remainder of the English occupation of Scotland is a litany of misery, sickness and hunger. One example of the many: on 25 November 1549, the Earl of Rutland [Henry Manners, 2nd earl] wrote to Lord St John from Alnwick that he had,

discharged all straungers and Englishe which were extraordinary, ... and because the souldiers which remayn in the fortes, for want of bedding and drie lodging, are in such miserie they do not only continually fall sick, but also ronne away daily as well to thennemy as otherwise. ... I am certaine it shalbe grete difficulty and travail thys wynter to vittell Lawther (Lauder) and Dunglas ... [and] it is necessary also that the thousand [1,000] English men for whom I wrote to you and the rest of my Lordes, should be sent hither with speed; ... both Lauder and Dunglas lack half of the numbers ... [and] Broughty and the other forts will besides "aske" a great supply of men'.³⁸⁵

Ultimately, 'wpoun the sext day of Februaire [6 February 1550] the Frenchmen wan the Forth of Brochtie. The Inglismen persaeuand this send to Monsieur Termes desyrand to pas out of the castell with bag and baggage and artailzerie, quhilck was denijt, bot that ilk man to pas with als meikill as he mycht beir. And finallie [efter] this, thaj depairtit, and past to thair schipis, quhilck was lyand besyd the castell: Thaj war blyth in hart that thaj escapit with thair lyffis'.³⁸⁶ The Seigneur de Termes's tactics appear to have been not only in complete contrast to Somerset's, but infinitely more successful and tempered with humanity.

³⁸³ *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 454.

³⁸⁴ *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 11. Perhaps the report on 26 January 1549 from St Mauris, who had written to the Emperor that 'M. de Thermes, who had lost credit and retired, it is said he does not get on well with the Queen (Dowager) of Scotland who complains bitterly of him, is being sent back to that country in a few days', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, pp. 331-32; was possibly de Termes's inability to function under d'Essé's command?

³⁸⁵ *HMC, 12th Report, Appendix, Part IV, Manuscripts of his Grace The Duke of Rutland* (London, 1888) pp. 51-52.

³⁸⁶ *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 49.

As mentioned previously, Somerset sent Paget to the Imperial court in June 1549,³⁸⁷ but the Emperor was unwilling to commit himself to aid the English.³⁸⁸ According to Dr Potter, by June-July 1549, 'French diplomats had realised that the emperor was not going to exert himself on behalf of the English and that, in effect, he was giving *carte blanche* to the French'. This, argues Potter, rather than the sudden outbreak of popular uprisings in England, governed the timing of the French attack, which was signalled by serious reinforcement in Scotland, commanded by Paul de Termes'. Henri II's instructions to the Seigneur de Termes for 'vng autre bon secours' of Scotland, however, was signed by the king on 23 April 1549, and this was before serious revolts had broken out in England. Potter also argues that the 'long-term aims of French policy' were 'the reconquest of Boulogne [which] was the primary consideration', but at the same time he allows that 'it was no less important to eliminate the English threat to Scotland and establish a position there which could regulate that kingdom's diplomatic position in the interests of France'. But Scotland was far more important to France than a mere diplomatic ally. As Potter himself asserts: Henri II regarded 'Scotland "comme Royaume qui est a ma protection et que j'estime comme mien"'.³⁸⁹ At every point in time since his accession Henri II had given precedence to Scotland over Boulogne, and not until he had completed all the legal, administrative, diplomatic, military and financial negotiations regarding the ultimate union of Scotland to France did he turn his attention to the recovery of Boulogne.

War was declared between England and France in the first week of August 1549. Potter says that 'a rapid campaign followed in which the French forces, under the king's personal command, though they acquired a decided advantage in taking most of the fortifications around Boulogne and effectively cutting the town off from Calais by land, failed to press home the campaign to take Boulogne itself'. This was due, says Potter, 'partly [as] a result of adverse weather conditions which bogged the French forces down and also, perhaps, the consequence of a certain improvization in the late planning of the campaign'.³⁹⁰ Potter argues that Somerset attempted to avoid open war with France and that 'it certainly seems that Somerset was about to open fresh negotiations with the French when the Protectorate collapsed and one of the

387 'Instructions for Sir William Paget sent to the Emperor Charles V', 2 June 1549, *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 36.

388 Beer and Jack, 'Paget Letters', pp. 33-75.

389 Potter, 'The Treaty of Boulogne and European Diplomacy, 1549-50', p. 53; 'the bishop of Arras said to Marillac that the emperor wished to give the French *carte blanche* to recover Boulogne since "ilz seroyent bien aise d'estre spectateurs a ce passetemps"', Marillac to Henri II, 27 April 1549', *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54, n. 21. and n. 23, cf. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, Correspondance Politique, Angleterre [hereafter, AMAE, Corresp. Pol., Ang.,] vol., VIII, fol., 103v.

390 Potter, 'Documents concerning the Negotiations of the Anglo-French Treaty of March 1550', Introduction, p. 59; cf. Renard to the Emperor, 8 August 1549, 'this enterprise [the Boulogne campaign] had been decided upon rather late', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 424.

criticisms levelled at him was precisely that he was preparing to abandon Boulogne to the French'.³⁹¹

Somerset's fall and imprisonment in the Tower in October 1549 as a result of the Earl of Warwick's (after 1551, duke of Northumberland) successful *coup* opened the way for Anglo-French peace negotiations. Potter points out that if 'Warwick betrayed the expectations of his supporters in religious matters, he did no less in his foreign policy. Though he made a show of preparing forces for a counter attack at Boulogne, it seems that, some time in November, even before his position was fully secure, he had been convinced by arguments already outlined by Paget that the abandonment of Boulogne was the best course to adopt both in the public and his own private interest'.³⁹² Soon after, negotiations began with the commissioners for both sides being appointed in the first week of January 1550. It took, however, until 24 March to finalize the treaty.³⁹³ As in the previous Anglo-French peace treaty [Ardres, 1546], the sticking point was Scotland. But, as Potter argues, the treaty of Boulogne could not settle the Scottish problem and was not expected to do so. It was the *rapprochement*', continues Potter, 'between England and France in the year after the treaty of Boulogne which dictated the settlement in Scotland after the treaty of Norham, 10 June 1551'.³⁹⁴

The basic terms of the Anglo-French treaty agreed that in return for Boulogne the French were to pay the English 400,000 *écus* in coin which, Potter says, 'constituted a *de facto* end to the financial obligations' and placed 'a store of coinage at the government's disposal [which] allowed it to initiate a reform of the currency'. The marriage of Edward VI to Elizabeth de Valois, Henri II's daughter, was also proposed; the marriage alliance being formally signed in the summer of 1551.³⁹⁵ Notwithstanding the finer points of the treaty of Boulogne, in broad terms it meant peace between England and Scotland. On 28 March 1550 there was an 'acceptacion of the comprehension by the Scottish Queene, according to a treatie betweene King Edward the sixt

391 Potter, 'Treaty of Boulogne', p. 52. The Earl of Warwick's *coup*, begun in Oct., 1549, was unplanned. But was implemented 'when he conspired against the Protectorate, took possession of Edward's person, arrested Somerset, and captured the privy chamber with Cranmer's help'. On 13 Oct., the Protectorate was dissolved and Somerset incarcerated in the Tower, Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 212-13. Somerset was released from the Tower following his submission to Parliament which was ratified on 14 Jan., 1550. 'Yet Somerset's re-admission to the council provoked clashes and, inevitably, a plot. From the moment of his release he challenged Warwick's authority, undermining his ability to govern' and ultimately, he was arrested, tried by his peers on 1 Dec., 1551: 'he was acquitted of treason but found guilty of felony under the terms of an act (3 and 4 Edward VI, c. 5) ... and beheaded on 22 Jan., 1552', *Ibid.*, pp. 213-15.

392 Potter, 'Treaty of Boulogne', p. 52 and n. 12 for the Privy Council's decisions to reinforce Boulogne.

393 Potter, 'Documents concerning the Anglo-French Treaty', p. 60.

394 Potter, 'Treaty of Boulogne', p. 63.

395 Potter, 'Documents concerning the Anglo-French Treaty', pp. 64-65.

and the French King',³⁹⁶ and on 20 April at Edinburgh a "Proclamatio Pacis".³⁹⁷

On 17 March 1550 a muster was held at Haddington of 246 'hommes de guerre a pied francois et Gascons estans des longtems pour la service du roy en ce pais et roiaulme d'Escosse ... soubz la charge et conduite de Pierre Longue leur capp^{ne}' and their 'colonel le Seigneur de la Chapelle Biron'; and who were paid 6,654 livres tournois by Messire Raoul Moreau, trésorier extraordinaire des guerres, for three months commencing 7 November 1549.³⁹⁸ Following the declaration of peace the French troops were paid off prior to their return to France in May, September and December 1550.³⁹⁹ Except those troops who were ordered by Henri II, after the return to France of the Seigneur de Termes, comprising 10 enseignes each of 120 men and 45 at Dunbar who were to remain in Scotland under the command of the Seigneur d'Oysel.⁴⁰⁰

Henri II's *politique* in Scotland had, thus far, been spectacularly successful due in no small degree to Somerset's equally spectacular fall from power and the abject failure of his Scottish policy. But Henri II's policy of 'peaceful persuasion' of the Scottish magnates as opposed to Somerset's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots was clearly the most decisive factor. In this regard, Henri II appears to have followed his father's methods when, in 1532, François I 'formally annexed [the duchy of Brittany] to the kingdom of France'.⁴⁰¹ Had Somerset, and Henry VIII before him, employed the same methods in Scotland, then they too might have been as successful. M.L. Bush argues that 'although Somerset's Scottish policy failed dismally ... England in this time was never subjected to the threat of invasion from the north'. This was not so much because Somerset's garrisons, as Bush claims, 'managed to

396 CSP, *Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 182; also see 'A copy of the articles [24 March 1550] mentioned in the treatye of peace as touche the Scottish quene and the realme of Scotland', (Latin, and some of the agreements subsequent to it in English ? Thomas Smith) BL, Cotton Coll., Caligula B VII, fols., 429r-431r.

397 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 85.

398 AN, Carton K 90, No. 19; there is a catalogue entry of this document in Teulet, *Inventaire Chronologique*, p. 95.

399 BN, Fonds Français 3124, fols., 17r-22v; Fonds Français 4552, fols 48r-49v, 50r-51v, and 31r&v; for full transcriptions of these documents see Accounts No. 5, 7, 9 and 10, in Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

400 *Ibid*, BN, Fonds Français 4552, fols 50r-51v, Account No. 9.

401 Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 241; 'In April 1515, Francis I had persuaded his first queen, Claude, who had inherited the duchy from her mother, to give him its administration during her lifetime. ... Then, in 1524, shortly before her death, Claude had made a will bequeathing the duchy to her eldest son, François, but, as he was a minor, the king had continued to administer it. When François came of age in 1532 it became necessary to regularize the duchy's status'. This was achieved by means of inducements and favours to influential Bretons, a pledge to uphold the duchy's rights and privileges in spite of its union with France, and by sending the Dauphin to Rennes: he was crowned Duke Francis III of Brittany on 14 August 1532. 'He was the last to hold the ducal title; when he died in 1536 Brittany became an ordinary French province', *Ibid*, pp. 242-43.

defend the English border',⁴⁰² but because Henri II's aim at this time was not to invade England but to rid the Scottish Borders and forts of the English, and to patrol the Borders to prevent any subsequent invasion by the English. Furthermore, within this complex and ancient tripartite relationship France never invaded Scotland. The only country to invade Scotland after the last Scottish-Norwegian clash at the battle of Largs on 2 October 1263,⁴⁰³ were the English who, under Edward I invaded Scotland some thirty years later; hence the Scottish appeal to France and the signing of the first formal Franco-Scottish alliance in 1295.

The reason that it is important to recall these facts is that throughout both periods of the 'Rough Wooing' a contemporary propaganda campaign was being waged which harked back to the reign of Edward I. This is implicit in Henry VIII's *Declaration* of 1542 which asserts in the title: '... the trewe and right title that the kinges most royall maiesty hath to the soveraynitie of Scotland',⁴⁰⁴ which propaganda was augmented in 1548 by *The Epistle [or Exhortacion] of the Lord Protector Somerset*.⁴⁰⁵ These and other tracts were refuted by Robert Wedderburn in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, (c.1550) which was dedicated to Marie de Guise, and which is an 'attack on tyranny, modelled on Chartier's *Quadriologue*, [and] is a political propaganda pamphlet in a literary framework',⁴⁰⁶ and by the contemporaneous tract *Ane Resonyng*, (1985) by William Lamb, which was never completed and has survived in manuscript form until recently.⁴⁰⁷ *The Complaynt*, says Stewart, 'is a document of resistance. It is written to combat a massive English propaganda campaign demanding Union, with threats,' which had been waged in Edward I's reign, and during the last years of Henry VIII's and in Edward VI's reigns. 'This ideological warfare' continues Stewart, 'was aimed at furtherance of England's hold over Scotland'. With regard to France, the Complayner urges 'a strengthening of the Auld Alliance. ... He advocates support for Mary of

402 Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 39.

403 Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times*, p. 62

404 Henry VIII's *Declaration* was published in London on 5 Nov., 1542, STC, No. 9179; also see, Bonner, 'Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing'', p. 51.

405 *The Complaynt of Scotland ... with an Appendix of Contemporary English Tracts*, ed., J.A.H. Murray, Early English Text Society (1872-73): 1) 'The Just Declaration of Henry VIII (1542)', pp.191-206; 2) 'The Exhortacion of James Harrysone, Scottishman (1547)', pp. 207-36; 3) 'The Epistle of the Lord Protector Somerset (1548)', pp. 237-46; 4) 'An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maistie of England hath to the soveriegnitie of Scotlande...(1548)' pp. 247-56; also see Merriman, Ph.D. Thesis, Ch. 8, pp. 236-57; 'War and Propaganda during the 'Rough Wooing'; and 'James Henrison and "Great Britain": British Union and the Scottish Commonweal', in *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, ed., R. Mason (Edinburgh, 1987) pp. 85-112; see also an original manuscript, signed 'James Henrison' entitled: 'List of things prejudicial to the war, if they not be remedied', (5 folios) BL, Cotton Coll., Caligula B VII, fols 494r-496r, which is not cited by Merriman in his thesis nor his essay on 'Henrison'.

406 *The Complaynt of Scotland (c.1550)*, editor and Introduction, A.M. Stewart, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh (1979), p. xxxiii.

407 BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B. VII, fols 354r-375v: *Ane Resonyng of Ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis*, editor and Introduction, R.J. Lyall (Aberdeen UP, 1985).

Lorraine, [and] a rejection of England's imperialist aims hidden in the guise of religion'.⁴⁰⁸

Whilst the 'Complayner is not interested in 'historical truth' but in 'poetic truth',⁴⁰⁹ Lamb's *Resonyng* is, according to Lyall, a work of 'considerable historical importance'. It gives an 'insight into the propaganda battle which accompanied the later stages of the Anglo-Scottish war of 1542-49'. It is also 'a well-informed Scotsman's view of the events of the previous half-century, conditioned of course by his desire to make the best of the Scottish case and to condemn the English'. Lyall asserts that 'the *Resonyng* is the earliest surviving prose dialogue in Scots, written by a man who was skilled in forensic rhetoric and who had a manifest awareness of the possibilities and limitations of historical evidence'.⁴¹⁰ The fundamental source for the *Resonyng*, its *raison d'être*, and the work to which it replies, is Henry VIII's *Declaration* of 1542. In his refutation of the *Declaration*, Lamb uses as his principal source the 1534 edition of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, whose 'account differs in very many particulars from that of the *Declaration*, and he [Polydore Vergil] is scarcely a witness who can be charged by the English with pro-Scottish bias'. According to Lyall, 'Lamb emerges as a careful critical reader of his source-material, and if he is over-reliant on the accuracy of Polydore Vergil's account ... he is much closer to the truth at several points than his English opponents'. It had been Lamb's intention to devote the unfinished and second part of the pamphlet 'to the countering of the Protector Somerset's *Exhortatioun*, the "vthir buik" of the *Resonyng*'s final phrase',⁴¹¹ but by this stage the Protector had fallen, the Complaynt had been published and the peace treaty of Boulogne had been signed.

In the final analysis, the English propaganda campaign had very little effect on the Scots and, it would seem, only a short-term effect of the English.⁴¹² In many respects, much of the campaign, especially the *Declaration* of Henry VIII and the Protector's *Exhortatioun*,⁴¹³ seemed designed primarily for domestic consumption in general, and possibly to stiffen the spines of MPs in particular when they were required to vote special subsidies in the House of Commons for the wars against Scotland. As M.L. Bush points out, 'James Henrison's work "The Godly and Golden Book for Concord of England and Scotland"[1548], which outlined a social programme of eliminating distress and of instituting agrarian reform in both countries,

⁴⁰⁸ *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed., Stewart, pp. xxxiv-xiv.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

⁴¹⁰ *Ane Resonyng*, p. xxxiii.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xxvii.

⁴¹² Merriman, 'War and Propaganda during the 'Rough Wooing'', pp. 26-28.

⁴¹³ The full title of Somerset's tract is: *An Epistle or exhortacion to unitie and peace, sent from the Lord Protector, and others the Kynges most honorable counsaill of England: To the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons and al others the inhabitants of the Realme of Scotlande*, Appendix No. III, *The Complaynt...*, ed., Murray, p. 237.

was so ignored by Somerset that in 1549 Henrison wrote him a bitter complaint and then produced a second tract which severely criticised Somerset's Scottish Policy'.⁴¹⁴

The subsequent effect of the propaganda, however, may well have been more profound. On 6 August 1559 it may have coloured Sir William Cecil's thinking when he penned 'A memoriall of certain pointes meet for restoring the realm of Scotland to the Ancient Weale'.⁴¹⁵ But it is among Tudor historians in the 20th century where the propaganda appears to have had its greatest effect. As Bush points out, 'the Scottish war did not rest upon a novel programme of political or social reform as A.F. Pollard and W.K. Jordan have suggested; [and] equally without foundation is Jordan's belief that, along with James Henrison, Somerset regarded the union of England and Scotland as an instrument of social reform'.⁴¹⁶ The novelty of Somerset's policy, asserts Bush, 'lay in the priority which he allowed the Scottish war and his obsession with garrisons, not in being the work of a dreamer, a pacifist or of an idealist totally unaware of reality, as Pollard originally asserted and Jordan and R.B. Wernham upheld'.⁴¹⁷ The propaganda has also masked for historians the role of France, the 'Auld Alliance' and Henri II's successful relationship with the great Scottish magnates. It would seem, however, that Somerset's failure to attract the great Scottish magnates to the English cause stemmed, like Henry VIII's, as much from a lack of understanding of the nature of the 'Auld Alliance', as a comprehension of the fact that the French were in Scotland at the behest of the Scots, and that Henri II's oft restated aim was 'pour la garde et conservation' of Scotland, although after 1548 there was the added impetus to preserve the 'Royaume du Dauphin' for the future as part of the kingdom of France. Therefore, it can only have been with great satisfaction that in April 1550 the jubilant Henri II received assurances from the Scottish magnates and the Privy Council that in the future it would be Marie de Guise and not the Governor who would rule Scotland when they informed him that 'sik ordour sall be takyn for executioun of justice and ordouring of the cuntre be the advise of the Quenis Grace ... quharewith the King sall have caus to be contentit'.⁴¹⁸

414 Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, pp. 10-11.

415 BL, Landsdowne Coll. vol., IV, fols 26r-27v; this was written three weeks after Henri II's death: Cecil noted that 'seing it is at the French king [François II] his commandement by reason of his wife [Mary Queen of Scots] it is to be considered for the weale of Scotland ... the best worldly felicitie that Scotland can have is either to contynew in a perpetuall peace with the kingdom of England or to be made one monarchie with England as they make but one Ile divided from the rest of the world', *Ibid*, fol. 26r; a full transcription of this document is published in the *Sadler Papers*, vol., I, pp. 375-77; recently reprinted again in Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge UP, 1998), Appendix No. I, pp. 223-24.

416 Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 10.

417 *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.

418 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 90.