

**Journal of the Sydney Society
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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
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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.