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The *Politique* of Henri II:
De Facto French Rule in Scotland, 1550-1554

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

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

INTRODUCTION

In the previous volume of the *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* (6) it was indicated that this volume (7) would publish chapter 3 of my 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). As mentioned in volume 6, these two issues have departed from the usual format of the *Journal* and, in this volume, by the introduction for the first time of illustrations. These clearly demonstrate iconographic evidence of Henri II's Imperialism: his plans to succeed Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor, which formed an important part of his *politique* in Scotland, by marrying his son and heir to Mary Queen of Scots and annexing Scotland to the kingdom of France as a first step in his ambition to bring the entire British Isles within the orbit of his power.

Once again, I would like to express my gratitude to the President of the Society, Malcolm Broun OAM,[1] QC, 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 chapter 3 in its original conception and unchanged from the text presented to my examiners. As mentioned previously, all of chapter 1 and parts of chapter 2 of my thesis have already been presented as research papers at local, national and international seminars and conferences, and later published in learned journals. Therefore, for those of you who would care to read the background of *The Politique of Henri II: De Facto French Rule in Scotland, 1550-1554* the references are listed below.[2] These publications, together with my 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

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[1] OAM: Medal of the Order of Australia, awarded to Malcolm for services to the Australian Scottish community and the Sydney Society for Scottish History.

[2] *The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol., VI, *Sydney Society for Scottish History;* '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., I (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.

publish the more than 100 pages of fully transcribed documents in the appendices of my Ph.D. thesis, will mean my entire thesis will then be in print.

This has been the principal objective of my postdoctoral research, although it has been partly achieved in this unorthodox manner due to my difficulty in raising sufficient research funding to publish my work in the accustomed way. These publications and the forthcoming edited volume of documents, concerning the French king's peaceful annexation of, and the parliamentary sanctioned French *de facto* rule in, Scotland during the mid-sixteenth century (c.1543 to 1560), historiographically speaking, will open up an entirely new area in French and Scottish history. There are no equivalent works in French sixteenth-century historiography and my work substantially re-interprets Scottish history in the period 1540-1560. Furthermore, this research adds an extra and important dimension to English history in the mid-Tudor period. The novelty of my approach is that I have chosen to look at Scotland from a French point of view, using original French manuscripts and documents. If, however, this corrective approach were to be applied to the entire sixteenth century a completely new view of French and Scottish history, and by implication the history of Tudor England as well, would emerge. In the 'Introduction' of my Ph.D. thesis, I argued that

> in 1944 Henri Noëll claimed that even though the reign of Henri II was short, it was 'un grand règne', and that under Henri 'une France nouvelle, une société nouvelle sont nées'.[3] This statement is somewhat exaggerated, according to Henri II's most recent biographer, Professor F.J. Baumgartner, who says that much of what Henri II did 'was to complete trends begun under his father'.[4] Nevertheless, Baumgartner, and Henri's other recent biographer, Ivan Cloulas,[5] have done much to rehabilitate the image depicted by Henri Lemonnier[6] of Henri II as a failure, who had accepted a disgraceful peace with Philip II in 1559 and pursued a shameful policy of persecution of the French Protestants.[7] Specific policies of Henri II have also been rehabilitated in the past two decades. With regard to foreign policy, especially with England and the Empire, Dr David Potter has has pioneered research in this area since the mid-1970s,[8] whilst Professor Michel Antoine has

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3 H. Noëll, *Henri II et la Naissance de la Société Moderne* (Paris, 1944), p. 324.

4 F.J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559* (Duke U.P., 1988), p. x.

5 I. Cloulas, *Henri II* (Paris, 1985); for an extensive and critical historiographical survey of Henri II and his reign see Baumgartner's 'Introduction' and Cloulas's 'Avant Propos'.

6 H. Lemonnier, *Henri II, la lutte contre la Maison d'Autriche, 1519-1559*, ce volume est la seconde partie du tome V de *L'Histoire de France des Origines à la Révolution*, dirigée par E. Lavisse (Paris, 1907) repr. (Paris, 1983).

7 Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. xi.

8 D.L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in Mid-Sixteenth Century: England and France, 1536-1550', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Cambridge, 1973); apart from articles on 'French involvement in the Schmalkaldic War...' (1977), 'The Treaty of Boulogne...' (1982) and (1984) and 'French

concentrated on the administration of government under Henri II.[9]
Together with the recent biographies, these studies are beginning to
overturn the nineteenth-century historiographical picture of abject
failure.

Failure is an inappropriate term for Henri II's policies towards
Scotland: on the contrary they were spectacularly successful. But
these successes have been covered by the historiographical dust of
hindsight. The Scottish Reformation and the outbreak of the 'Wars of
Religion' in France, after Henri II's sudden and unexpected death in
1559, together with an extraordinary number of deaths of European
secular and ecclesiastical rulers,[10] greatly altered the complexion of
international relations, politics and religion, and nullified all that
Henri had achieved.

Also to suffer from the mistaken benefit of hindsight is the
ancient tripartite relationship of England, France and Scotland prior
to 1560, which historians of sixteenth-century Europe, unlike their
colleagues of Medieval history, have relegated to virtual obscurity;
preferring to view this tripartite relationship more in terms of a
bipartite one (*viz:* Anglo-Scottish, Anglo-French or Franco-Scottish
relations) only adding the third party as a 'tack' in order to
incorporate the indisputable facts. There is no great surprise in this
relegation, given the almost simultaneous advent of the expanded
Habsburg Empire and the Reformation, which created the far more
important Anglo-Franco-Imperial relationship, to which historians
of the sixteenth century have directed almost all of their attention.
This does not mean, however, that the much older Anglo-Franco-
Scottish relationship was not considered very important by
contemporaries, as the opinions of Sir Thomas More and Thomas
Cromwell have shown, and which were reflected by Shakespeare
later in the century.[11] It is, therefore, to the importance accorded
contemporaneously to this relationship that this thesis has addressed
itself, especially to the least considered period of the 1550s.

The origins of the Anglo-Franco-Scottish relationship were
established in 1295 when the Scots formed the first

Intrigue in Ireland...' (1983), listed in the footnotes *Infra*, see 'The duc de Guise and the fall of
Calais, 1557-1558', *EHR* (1983); 'A Treason Trial in Sixteenth-Century France: the Fall of
Marshal du Biez, 1549-1551', *EHR* (1990).

9 M. Antoine, 'Institutions françaises en Italie sous le règne de Henri II: gouverneurs et
intendants (1547-1559)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Môyen Age, Temps
Modernes*, 94 (1982); 'Genèse de l'institution des intendants', *Journal des Savants* (1982);
Professor Antoine is also currently engaged in writing a book: 'Les Intendants de Henri II à
Louis XIV'.

10 Charles V, 21 Sept. 1558; Mary of Hungary, 18 Oct. 1558; Mary Tudor, 17 Nov. 1558;
Cardinal Pole, 18 Nov. 1558; Henri II, 10 July 1559; Pope Paul IV, 18 Aug.1559; Marie de
Guise, 11 June 1560; François II, 5 Dec. 1560. With the exception of Henri II, all died of old
age and/or disease.

11 For further elaboration see Bonner, 'The Genesis of Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the
Scots', pp. 37-38.

defensive/offensive alliance with France against England, in order to curtail the incursions and hegemonic ambitions of Edward I. The 'Auld Alliance', as the Scots referred to their relationship with France, was signed by every Scottish and French monarch (with the exception of Louis XI) from 1295 to the mid-sixteenth century.[12] But by this time fact had become enmeshed with the fable of the ancient Scottish kings, engendered by early Scottish historians. The fabulous story of the Scottish alliance with Charlemagne was shown to be without foundation in the eighteenth century by Father Thomas Innes, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Scots firmly believed in the antiquity of their alliance with Charlemagne. This belief was also readily accepted by the French and was used in preambles of documents of state, or as a justification for action,[13] in a number of not only sixteenth-century French documents, but also Scottish ones.

Henri II certainly exploited this propagandist tool after his accession but from at least 1543, when he was still the Dauphin, he conceived a plan for the union of the crowns of Scotland and France by taking advantage of Marie de Guise-Lorraine's position as Queen Dowager and mother of Mary Queen of Scots, to marry the young queen to his son and heir, François. This plan only became a real option after the devastating defeat of the Scots at the Battle of Pinkie (1547). During the 'Rough Wooings' (the term commonly used to describe the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1543-1550), Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset attempted to force the Scots to agree to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Henry VIII's son and heir, Edward. Henri II's strategy, by contrast, was to adopt a means of 'peaceful persuasion'.[14] The French king enriched Scottish nobles, lay and ecclesiastic, with gold, pensions, military orders, land and benefices, using much the same methods that his father had employed in 1532 for the union of Brittany with the Kingdom of France. Henri's first move was to secure a contract with James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran, and Governor of Scotland, who promised that in return for a French duchy and other *douceurs*, he would secure the consent of the Scottish Parliament to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin, the conveyance of the young queen to France, and the delivery of strongholds into French hands. Thus, as soon as Mary was betrothed to his son in 1548, Henri II deployed French

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12 For a table of 'Franco-Scottish Alliances, Treaties and Grants, 1295-1661', from Ch. 1 of my Ph. D. thesis, 'The 'Auld Alliance': Fact and Fable', see Bonner, 'French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Appendix No. 1, pp. 1102-03.
13 For a full transcription of Henri II's mandate to levy the French clergy in 1549, see Bonner, *French Financial and Military Documents* (forthcoming).
14 See Bonner, *The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol., VI, *Sydney Society for Scottish History*.

troops to Scotland to expel the English and secure the Borders to protect what he now considered to be the realm of the Dauphin.

Following a successful campaign in Boulogne, Henri II signed a peace treaty with England on 24 March 1550 in which he demanded the comprehension of Scotland. He purchased the compliance of the Scottish Magnates including Arran who, from the time that he accepted the Duchy of Châtellerault in 1549, had abrogated most of his power as Governor. Henri then sent instructions to Marie de Guise and to his ambassador, Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, whom he promoted soon after to Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and to the Scottish Council, outlining his polices for the governance of Scotland, of which furthermore he appointed himself the Protector. The fall of the Northumberland government and the accession of Mary Tudor, however, occasioned the re-appraisal of Henri II's Scottish policy: the Governor was to be deposed. In December 1553 the *Parlement* of Paris, following the King's instructions, gave its opinion that the young queen's 'perfect age' could be advanced by twelve months; and a few months later the Parliament of Scotland discharged the Governor and consented to the investiture of Marie de Guise as Regent for her daughter.

In researching this thesis an attempt has been made to visit as many of the depositories of the widely disbursed archive of Henri II as possible to establish a solid basis of documentary evidence on military and financial affairs. These would demonstrate Henri II's commitment to Scotland in financial terms, rather than relying solely on the views he expressed in somewhat exaggerated terms for political effect and propaganda, in the diplomatic *politesse* of the correspondence. Unfortunately, the surviving documents are few but certainly indicate Henri II's commitment to Scotland at this time. There is sufficient evidence to show that by 1550 he had poured more than 3,000,000 *livres tournois* into the defence of Scotland. Militarily speaking, it can be said that there was a continuous presence of French troops in Scotland from 1547 to 1560, which differed from the policy of previous French kings who had sent detachments of troops only occasionally and for short periods for the aid and succour of the Scots against their mutual enemy: England.

As with the previous volume of the *Journal* (6), no attempt has been made to translate or modernize the language in this text for the reasons stated therein. Nevertheless, despite its 'original' and very raw state of research, I hope that *The Politique of Henri II: De Facto French Rule in Scotland 1550-1554,* will provide an useful addition to the research of postgraduate students and scholars of the period.

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