

Journal of the Sydney Society
for Scottish History



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

Elizabeth Bonner

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The Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History

Volume 7 June 1999

JOURNAL OF THE SYDNEY SOCIETY FOR SCOTTISH HISTORY

Volume No. 7, June 1999.

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Printed by University of Sydney Printing Service
University of Sydney, N.S.W. 2006, AUSTRALIA.
ISSN: 1320-4246

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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 Scoticanæ 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>
<i>L & P</i>	<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 XVIIe 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 XVIIe 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

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

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 Noël 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 Lemonnier⁶ 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 pioneered research in this area since the mid-1970s,⁸ whilst Professor Michel Antoine has

3 H. Noël, *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, Moyen 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

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 Châtellerauld 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 policies 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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The *Politique* of Henri II: *De Facto* French Rule in Scotland, 1550-54

Although James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran and duke of Châtellerauld, was still nominally and legally Regent and Tutor for Mary Queen of Scots and Governor of Scotland, 'his continued tenure of the office of governor', says Professor Donaldson, 'became little more than camouflage'.¹ It was the Queen Dowager, Marie de Guise, assisted by Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, French ambassador and Henri II's Lieutenant-General in Scotland,² who was to govern Scotland after the Anglo-French peace treaty of Boulogne had been signed on 24 March 1550; in concert with the Governor and co-operation of the Privy Council which included those great Scottish magnates who had already been granted generous *douceurs* by Henri II: the Earls of Angus, Argyll, Huntly and Sir George Douglas.

Within days of the peace being signed, Henri II had instructions drawn up on 30 March 1550 for the 'Seigneur de Fumet'³ to deliver to the 'Seigneurs de Termes et d'Oysel', as well as a letter to 'la Royne d'Escosse [Marie de Guise], pour luy porter nouvelles de la paix quil a pleu Dieu faire entre le Roy d'Angleterre et luy'.⁴ In this document Henri II makes quite clear that Scotland and Boulogne had been linked in his overall plan to defeat the English and that of the two Scotland took precedence over Boulogne both in his own and in his military commitment and expenditure. Therefore, in order that,

ladicte dame et gouverneur et seigneurs dudict pays sachent la principale occasion qui a meu le Roy entendre ladicte paix [Henri II] leur dira que ce a este, *le respect dudict Royaume d'Escosse, pour*

1 Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p. 81. The late Dr T.I. Rae concurs and says that from the time that Arran 'accepted the French duchy of Châtellerauld in February 1549, his actual power was almost non-existent, although he retained the regency for the time being', *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603*, (Edinburgh 1966), p. 178.

2 Letters Patent of Henri II, issued at 'Maulny' [? Malauny, near Rouen] on 9 November 1550; BN, Fonds Français 27,258, Pièces Originales 774, Dossier 17,693, No. 2; contemporary copy on parchment collated from the original by M. Du Faultray at Edinburgh on 28 January 1551/1552. For a full transcription of this document see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

3 'Instruction au Sr de Fumet gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy de ce quil aura a dire et faire entendre en Escosse ou le Roy lennuoye presentement', BN, Fonds Français, Nouvelle Acquisitions 23148, fol., 1r, draft on paper; for a full transcription of this document see, G. Dickinson, 'Instructions to the French Ambassador 30 March 1550', *SHR*, XXVI (1947); Dickinson says that 'Fumet, or Funnell, [was] most likely Fumel, François de Segueville-Fumel, Seigneur de Thors, Knight of the Order [de Saint-Michel] and ambassador in Venice and Constantinople', *Ibid.*, p. 157; for a summary of this document translated into English, see Potter, 'Documents Concerning the Negotiation of the Anglo-French Treaty of March 1550', pp. 150-51. Notice of his imminent arrival in Scotland was sent to Marie de Guise by Jacques d'Albon, Sr de Saint-André, on 31 March 1550, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 62; Fumet's arrival was noted on 15 April 1550, *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 397.

4 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol., 1r.

donner moien aux subjects de rebrandre allayne apres tant de travaux et dommages par eulx receuz. ... Et pour cette seulle consideration, oultre les despens par luy supportes pour la deffence et protection dudict Royaume [Scotland] qui remontent a plus de troys millions [3,000,000]de francs, sest aller a promectre et accorder ausdicts Angloys la somme de quatre cens mille [400,000] escuz⁵ quil payera de ses propres deniers sans ce que ledict Royaulme d'Escosse se desbourse aucune chose.⁶

On the other hand, Henri II asserts, that the recovery of his town of Boulogne,

estoit sans difficulte reduicte en telz termes quil estoit impossible que les Angloys la peussent plus longuement garder ne dempescher ledict Seigneur lauoir par force ceste armee. Enquoy Il neust sceu faire gueres plus de despence que de lordinaire des gens de guerre quil tenoit aux enuirs. Mais Il congnoissoit bien que pour cella il ne metroit pas ledict Royaume d'Escosse en paix. Au moyen dequoy Il a myeulx ayme pour leur montrer combien les ayme et prefere leur repoz et soullaigement a son particulier y emploier ladicte somme et dautant sincommoder et retrancher ses autres affaires dailleurs.⁷

Henri II also declared that by the terms of 'ledit traicte Il est dict que la Roynne d'Escosse enuoyera audict Roy d'Angleterre dedans quarante [40] jours a compter du jour et dacte dicelluy, certification soubz le grand scel d'Escosse comme elle a eu et a pour agreable le comprehension faicte delle et du Royaume d'Escosse audict traicte'.⁸ The French king has also agreed that,

lesdicts Angloys rendent les places [forts] de Donglas [Dunglass]⁹ et Ladres [Lauder] retenans celles de Roxbourg et Aymond [Eyemouth] soubz toutesfois deux condicions. La premiere si auant la publicacion de la paix Il aduenoit que larmee qui est en Escosse eust reprins lesdictes places de Donglas et Ladres. En ce cas Ilz sont contans de faire abbatre ruynes et desmollir celles dudictes Roxbourg et Aymond. Ou bien si apres auoir rendu sesdictes places de Donglas et Ladres ladicte dame Roynne et son conseil trouue bon de les faire

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol., 3r; the passages in italics (mine) were inserted by a second hand in the margin; 3,000,000 'francs' or livres tournois, in 1550 equalled approximately £300,000 Sterling or £1,200,000 Punds Scottish; see 16th-century currency table, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

⁶ BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol., 3r.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fol., 3r.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fols., 1v-2r.

⁹ On 11 April 1550 letters were sent to 'Kingham, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Wemys, Anstruther, Craill, etc., charging all maner of man havand schippis and bottis to be in Leytht [Leith] upoun Setterday nixt [13th] to ressave the Quenys graces monitioun [munitions] to be careit be sey [sea] for the asseiging of the fort of Dunglas', *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 396; also on 13 April it was 'advertissand of the incuming of Monsieur De Fumet wiith the peax', *Ibid.*, p. 397.

raser quilz sont aussi contans de faire ruyner et demollir celles de Roxbourg et Aymond. Laissant cest aduentaige ausdicts Escossoys de rebastir et reediffier lesdictes deux places de Ladres et Donglas sans ce que eulx puissent jamais riens faire aux deux autres.¹⁰

In all of this, Henri II required Marie de Guise, with the advice of the Governor and other Lords of the Council, to act promptly so that he could reply to the English.

Aside from the treaty, Henri II took the opportunity to 'remonstrera ladicte dame et gouverneur les grans dommaiges que aucuns leur subjectz continuent a faire par mer a ceulx de Lempereur [Charles V]' in which the king was amazed that the Scots 'nayent mis en autre consideracion que seosto se prouocquer deux ennemys pour vng'.¹¹ Henri II was also annoyed to have received the unwelcome news, from a Scottish herald bearing a letter from the Governor, '*par la quelle il prie le Roy destre contant faire donner adresse vers Lempereur pour obtenir de luy consentement denuoyer quelques depputes deuers luy pour aduiser de composer amyablement les differens qui sont entre ledict Seigneur Empereur et les Escossoys*'. To this the King clearly and unambiguously informed the Scots that foreign relations, especially those with the Emperor, were to be left to him and that

*(la Royne [Mary Queen of Scots] et ¹²), ledict Royaulme d'Escosse [estant] en sa [Henri II's] protection que Ilz sont, et pour laquelle Il a tant despendu telles choses ne se deuoit faire sans son consentement et soubz son bon plaisir et voulloir au moyen dequoy Il na voullu faire aucune despesche audict herault mais les en aduertir affin que pour lauenir telles choses n'aduiegnent pas et quec silz jugent quil soit besoin pour le bien dudict pays, metre cella en auant vers ledict Empereur ilz en aduertissent le Roy et luy enuoyent ample mencion de ce quil fault faire en cest endroit dont il fera faire louverture par son ambassadeur lequel peult aussi bien manier lesdictes affaires d'Escosse que les siens puis que ce nest que vne mesme chose.*¹³

Not only did Henri II assume control of Scotland's negotiations with the Emperor at this time but he also replaced Scotland's 'Cardinal Protector' at

10 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fols., 2r&v. Concerning the Scottish forts, see Henri II's detailed instructions on 2 March 1550 to his negotiators at the treaty of Boulogne: François de Montmorency, Sr de La Rochepot, Gaspard de Coligny, Sr de Châtillon, André Guillart, Sr Du Mortier and Guillaume Bochetel, Sr de Sassy; for a full transcription of the king's instructions see, Potter, 'Anglo-French Treaty of March 1550', pp. 129-34.

11 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq., 23148, fol., 3v.

12 This phrase is inserted above the line, not deleted as claimed by Dickinson, 'Instructions to the French Ambassador', p. 163, n. d-d.

13 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol. 5r; this passage in italics (mine) forms part of a lengthy addendum written in the same second hand as the previous marginalia.

Rome.¹⁴ He notified Marie de Guise and the Governor that ‘comme voyant les mauuais offices que faisoit le Cardinal de Carpy¹⁵ au maneiement et protection des affaires d’Escosse a Rome. Le Roy luy a faict oster ceste charge et Icelle commise au cardinal de Trany¹⁶ qui est doyen du college des cardinaulx et tres digne et vertueux personnaige. Le quel en scaura tres bien faire son deuoir’.¹⁷ Even before the treaty of Boulogne had been signed Henri II had decided to remove Carpi. On 2 January 1550 he informed Hippolyte d’Este, Cardinal de Ferrare,¹⁸ that he had written to the Pope ‘d’oster la legation d’Escosse au Cardinal de Carpy que j’en ay fait priuer pour bonnes et justes causes, j’ay advisé de la faire tomber en vos mains, sçachant qu’elle ne sçauroit estre mieux exercée et administrée qu’elle sera par vous, ... d’auoir pour le deu et satisfaction de cette charge les affaires du royaume d’Escosse pour recommandez, et les embrasser et conduire avec toute la dexterité que vous auez’.¹⁹ What occurred between the College of Cardinals in Rome, the Papacy and French court between 2 January and 30 March 1550 to cause the change of Scotland’s new ‘Cardinal Protector’ from the Cardinal de Ferrare to the Cardinal de Trani is not known; however, the election of Pope Julius III on 8 February 1550 may have had some bearing on the matter.²⁰ Soon after, on 20 February 1550, Marie de Guise informed her brothers that the Governor had recently received letters from Rome ‘par lesquelles luy a esté mandé que le Roy auoit mis un nouveau protecteur des affaires d’Escosse, et que le dict Seigneur ne vouloit plus qu’on s’adressat à luy pour la donation des bénéfices’. The Governor was most upset when he received this news and complained to Marie de Guise ‘qu’il ne pensoit auoir

14 ‘La charge prestigieuse et profitable que désiraient tous les cardinaux était celle de “Protecteur en la Cour romaine”. De droit exclusif, le “Protecteur” proposait en consistoire la collation des bénéfices qui ressortissaient aux provinces de sa “Protection”. C’était une source de gros revenus’, Romier, *Les Origines*, vol., I, p. 90.

15 Cardinal Carpi was Rodolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza, who had been the papal nuncio at the French court during James V’s visit there in 1536, and who was recalled to Rome by Paul III because ‘Pio non fosse più così gradita alla corte francese’, P-G Baroni, *La Nunziatura in Francia de Rodolfo Pio, 1535-37* (Bologna, 1962), p. xxvi. In the early 1540s Charles V ‘lo aveva nominato protettore dei suoi regni e dell’impero’, *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii; and in 1547 he was invited ‘da Maria, regina di Scozia [i.e. by Arran as Governor]: “Reuemo Domino Cardinali de Carpis rerum regni nostri promotori”’, *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv. Henri II’s objections were probably based upon the fact that Carpi was an ‘impérialist’, *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, p. 101.

16 Cardinal Domenico Cupi, Bishop of Trani; ‘vieux seigneur de la France ... il mourut le 19 décembre 1553’, Romier, *Les Origines*, vol., I, p. 128.

17 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol. 3v.

18 ‘La “Protection des affaires de France en Cour de Rome” rapportait à son titulaire une rente d’à peu près cent vingt mille [120,000] livres, compris les bénéfices casuels. ... A l’avènement de Henri II, cette charge se trouvait en possession du Cardinal Trivulzio, [qui] mourut le 30 mars 1548. ... Grâce à son crédit personnel et à l’influence des Guises, Hippolyte d’Este obtint des lettres de provision, auant même que la mort de Trivulzio fut confirmée’, Romier, *Les Origines*, vol., I, pp. 90-91.

19 Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d’Estat*, vol., II, p. 187.

20 For the hostility and rivalry between the French and Imperial ecclesiastical factions at Rome see, P. Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559* (California, 1976), p. 41 ff.

offensé le Roy ... et s'il ne m'avoit pas obéy en toutes choses'.²¹ It would appear that in 1547 the Governor had chosen, in the name of Mary Queen of Scots, Rodolfo Pio, Cardinal de Carpi, as 'Cardinal Protector' of Scotland, possibly to enhance his preferred appointments to Scottish ecclesiastical benefices. Whether the Governor knew of Carpi's recent appointment as the Imperial 'Cardinal Protector' is not known, but he must have met Carpi and known of his recall to Rome for offending François I in 1536 as he was, at that time, at the French court with James V.²² Carpi may have been an ideal choice for the Governor but on both the above-mentioned counts he was an anathema to Henri II.

As has already been shown, Henri II delayed the confirmation of the Governor's half-brother, John Hamilton, to the archbishopric of St. Andrews until June 1549 so that all the legal mechanisms for the future union of Scotland and France could be put in place and the young Queen transported safely to France. Currently at stake, however, was the long vacant archbishopric of Glasgow which, Marie de Guise informed her brothers, 'le frère du comte de Hontelay [Alexander Gordon] a désiré faire escrire au Roy, pour le faire pourvoir de l'archevesché de Glasco', and which she also knows 'qu'elle estoit gardée par l'abbé d'Arbroch [James Beaton II, nephew of the late Cardinal Beaton] le quel donne son bénéfice pour en récompence plusieurs autres, quoy sy le dict protecteur [Cardinal di Carpi] n'est serviteur du Roy, [et] encore qu'il ayt le don du feu Roy mon Seigneur et mary [James V]'.²³ First to act was Alexander Gordon who wrote to Marie de Guise from Dumbarton on 8 October 1549 that 'efter my cummyng to France sall labour and obtyn wreittyngis of the Kyng yowr grace brether and my lord constabill with the report that I sall mak my self that thay salbe spwrrit (spurred) sic sort to serwe that the affaris and cummerris salbe fordair releyffit of your grace'.²⁴ Then from 'Off Lyonns' on 24 January [1550] Gordon notified her that he had 'departit on my voyage to Rome' and 'begs the Queen to stand his friend in the matter of Glasgow and not to oppose him, though the Governor desire it, for he has told the king [Henri II] that she has been a good mistress to him in that matter'. Furthermore, 'the king hes written to my lord governor for his consent of Glsasquha [Glasgow] to me, quhilk writingis I haif send to my brother, chancellor of Moray'.²⁵

21 *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 7.

22 The young James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, was one of James V's companions on his voyage to France in search of a French bride. According to a contemporary observer, 'the erillis of Ergyle, Rothas, Arrane, the lords Flemyng, Maxwell, the lairdis of Lochinvar, Drumlanrick, the abbot of Abbirbrothok, the pryour of Pettinweme, with vtheris' arrived at Dieppe on 10 September 1536, *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 21.

23 *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 7.

24 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 314.

25 *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, pp. 309-10; the 'chancellor of Moray' was Alexander's younger brother, James Gordon, *Ibid.*, p. 310, n. 1.

When the see of Glasgow fell vacant on the death of Gavin Dunbar on 30 April 1547 the Governor nominated his half-brother, James Hamilton, 'but this nomination was rejected in the summer of 1548, ostensibly because of his illegitimacy'.²⁶ The Governor then nominated Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar Angus, and approached the papal nuncio, Pietro Lippomano, bishop of Verona, when he arrived in Scotland, 'but the negotiations were broken off when the nuncio died on 9 August 1548'.²⁷ Alexander Gordon, who was still known to the French as the bishop of Caithness, was provided to the archbishopric of Glasgow on 5 March 1550,²⁸ after he had personally petitioned the French king²⁹ who informed Marie de Guise and the Governor on 25 April 1550 'quil a bien entendu ce quilz luy escript de Larcevesche de Glasco.³⁰ Et quilz nont jamais entendu quil tumbast es mains de leuesque de Cathenies. Surquoy II [Henri II] desire quilz sachent que arrivant ledict euesque de Cathenies deuers luy, Il aporta lettres deux par lesquelles Ilz prierent le Roy estre contant luy donner faueur a Rome pour estre pourueu dudict arceuesche.'³¹ Accordingly, Henri II had written to his ambassador with the Pope and other of his ministers in Rome to assist Gordon obtain the see of Glasgow. But, asserted Henri II, since this affair had been brought about by undue means, when the said bishop returns from Rome, he will endeavour to make him give it up. 'Et sil en fait reffuez nest pas dadius le Roy que lesdicts dame et gouverneur len laissent Joyr et dauntage si besoingest en escripra a sa saincte [Julius III] pour reuocquer ladictie prouision comme obtenue a faulx tiltre et soubz faulx donne a entendre'.³² In 1551 a compromise was reached.³³ Gordon resigned Glasgow into the hands of the

26 Watt, *Fasti*, p. 149, James Hamilton later obtained the Bishopric of Argyll in 1553, *Ibid*, pp. 27-28; see also Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 349; and Hannay, 'Papal Bulls in the Hamilton Family', p. 32.

27 Watt, *Fasti*, p. 149; Campbell was granted the temporalities of the Bishopric of Dunkeld on the transfer of John Hamilton on 23 June 1549, and had been nominated by the Governor before 22 April 1550, but due to litigation in the curia with Robert Crichton, Provost of St. Giles, Campbell lost Dunkeld to him probably soon before 12 April 1554, *Ibid*, p. 100.

28 *Ibid*, p. 150; see also Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 349.

29 'Maister Alexander Gordoun quha is, as your grace broder my lord cardinal of Guis, hes wretin to the kingis grace, to be heir haistely and is ellis (already) depertit of the court of Rome quhair, as is belevit heir, he hes obtenit the archbishoprik of Glasquo', James Beaton to the Queen Dowager, Paris, 12 April [1550], *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 323-24.

30 'I delyverit your grace wretingis Pais ewin Pascha [EasterDay, 6 April 1550] at Paris to the Kingis grace', same to same, *Ibid*, p. 323.

31 'Instruction au Sr de Bresze gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy de ce quil aura a faire en Escosse ou ledict seigneur lenuoye presentement', 25 April 1550, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fols., 3 r&v.

32 *Ibid*, fol., 3v.

33 On 13 May [1551] Huntly wrote to Marie de Guise 'prayand your grace remembyr to prowiyd sum way in the mater of Glasschow', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 349; John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, also wrote to her on 14 June [1551] that 'Huntlie and his broder, master Alexander Gordon, hes gottyn thar erandis and besines don, for the Kyngis mageste hes gevin to the said master Alexander the respeck to ane abbacy and hes relevit his pension and bankoris and hes don na thying on the wther toward Glasg[o]w;... And onder that promes be sic letteris gottyn be the Kygis mageste and your grace frendis be your letteris of commandatioun he is cumit and stollyng this benefice and tharfor declarit ane

Pope and on 4 September 1551 he received the title of 'Archbishop of Athens *in partibus*, together with the *commendam* of the monastery of Inchaffray, and leave to retain £500 Scots, out of the mensal revenues of the Bishopric of Caithness'.³⁴ In the consistory at Rome on the same day James Beaton was transferred from Abroath to Glasgow and John Hamilton, the Governor's second son, was provided to succeed Beaton at Arbroath.³⁵

Having imposed his will regarding Scotland's 'Cardinal Protector', Henri II sought to placate the Governor and 'le priant croire que ce quil en a fait nest point toucher riens au pourir [*sic ?* pouvoir] dudit Seigneur gouverneur ne pour prejudicier aux auctoritez qui deppendent de sa charge' but the Cardinal Carpi had 'experimente de bien long temps es affaires du feu Roy son pere [François I] et depuis aux siens les mauuais et malheureux offices quil y a faictz. Et [Henri II] sasseurant que nestans eulx d'Escosse et les siens plus que vne mesme chose'. Therefore, the King 'le prie estre contant faire despescher sur ce sa reuocacion dudit de Carpy et la prouision dudit de Trani audict estat de protecteur, le tous correspondant a la volunte du Roy, et les luy enuoyer affin de les faire incontinent tenir pardela de sorte que par cella lon congnoisse que sestans ces deux Royaumes vieuz ensemble comme ilz sont voluntez de ceulx qui y ont puissance sont si jointes que ce nest que vne mesme chose'.³⁶ Soon after, the Scots showed their willingness to co-operate with Henri II at the same time nominating their *quid pro quo*. In an unsigned letter to Henri II 'on demande du Roy qu'il luy plaise escrire et envoyer lestres supplicatoires, vallides et esficaces a Nostre Saint Pere le Pape, au cardinal de Trane, protecteur du royaume d'Escosse et son ambassadeur du court de Rome, ad ce que facultez de legation a latere, telles qu'elles ont este par cydevant concedees a plusieurs et nagueres predecesseurs de Jehan,

barratour in this cuntre', *Ibid*, p. 352; the editor, Annie Cameron, says that 'from 1363 to 1540 the Scottish Parliament had passed a series of enactments against 'barratry', that is, the unlicensed purchase of Scottish benefices at the Roman Court', *Ibid*, p. 352, n. 2.

³⁴ Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 349. On 12 July 1550 a summons was issued to 'Master Alexander Gordon who ... purchased at Rome without royal licence the Archbishopric of Glasgow. ... The lords decern Gordon, who was called on 60 days and did not compar, to have broken the acts of Parliament, and ordain him to be punished with all rigour, because he impetrated the benefice without authority of Queen, Governor or Council', *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 604. Gordon, however, had been taken prisoner by the English on 4 July 1550 having 'comme out of France without passeporte', *APC*, vol., III, p. 62; and despite Henri II's request to Edward VI on 23 August: 'le vouloir faire mettre en liberte', Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 241-42; Gordon was still being detained at Lambeth Palace on 30 April 1551, *APC*, vol., III, p. 268. On 1 September 1550, Jehan Scheyfve, the then recently appointed Imperial ambassador in England, had reported to the Emperor that 'the brother of the Earl of Huntly was found at Dover wearing his ecclesiastical habit, and was put under arrest. ... They say there is an ancient custom between the English and the Scots, that the subjects of neither country may set foot within the other without a passport and licence to do so, and this was the cause why he was arrested. Others say it was done because he was the brother of the Earl of Huntly, who found means to escape without paying his ransom during the last war', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 168.

³⁵ Hannay, 'Papal Bulls in the Hamilton family', p. 35.

³⁶ BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fols 3v-4r.

archevesque de Saint Andros, Primat d'Escosse'.³⁷ On 22 April 1550 the Privy Council requested the King to ask the Cardinal of Guise, presently in Rome, 'to mak instance to the Papis halynes for the Legacie off Scotland to be grantit to my Lord the Archbishop of Sanctandros, brother to my Lord Governor, ... sua that all benefices within the realme of Scotland, exceptand bishoprikis alanerle, be providit within the realme'.³⁸ Thus, Henri II would indirectly control, through Cardinal di Trani, Scotland's episcopal and archepiscopal appointments, while the remainder of future ecclesiastical vacancies would be in the hands of the Hamilton family.³⁹ Subsequently, the compromise in the consistory at Rome on 4 September 1551 would appear to have had Henri II's mark of approval upon it.

Legatine powers for the archbishop of St. Andrews was only one of the concerns of the Privy Council in their response, on 22 April 1550, to Henri II's 'memoriale ressavit fra Monsieur Funnell, gevin to Thomas, Maister of Erskine,⁴⁰... to be schawine to his Hienes'. Firstly, the Council 'giff maist humyl thankis thair of to his Majestie, quhilk hes preferrit the rest and eise of this realme to his awine particular proffett'. With regard to marauding Scottish ships, Erskine was instructed 'to putt inhibitioun to the capitanis, maisteris, and awaris of the samin, that nane of thame tak upon hand to mak were upoun the Empriouris subjectis. ... Furthermore, it is by the advice of 'Monsieur D'osell' who 'desyrand us to sek ane honorable peax of the Empriour, be the Kingis avise and myance, rather than to procure ferther were be ony oure occasioun. ... [Also] it is to be desyrit of the King that he will send his ambassadouris towart the Empriour to procure ane peax to the Quenis Grace oure Soverane Lady, hir realme and subjectis, in semblable maner as hes bene accustomat of befor.'⁴¹

Concerning the forts, the Council considered that Luffness and Inveresk should be kept 'and the fortis of Sanct Colmys Inche, Inchegarvie, the fort of

37 *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, p. 68. The Scots also requested the revocation of the appointment of Alexander Gordon to Glasgow and the appointment of Gavin Hamilton, Dean of Glasgow, as coadjutor to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, *Ibid*, pp. 67-68; Gavin Hamilton (c.1515-1571) was the son of James Hamilton of Raploch and became Commendator of Kilwinning in 1550, coadjutor of St. Andrews in 1551 and Lord of Session in 1555, Donaldson and Morpeth, *Dictionary of Scottish History*.

38 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 89.

39 'Commission of legacy from Julius III to Archbishop Hamilton, appointing and constituting him legate de latere at the pleasure of the Holy See [about 1552]' (Latin: copy, 13 pp.), *The Warrender Papers*, 2 vols (ed) Annie Cameron, Scottish History Society, 3rd series (Edinburgh, 1931-32), vol., I, pp. 25-9; the editor comments: 'on 3 September, 1552 [Hamilton] exercised authority as legate a *latere*. No relative papal deed has been discovered, and no writing shows why, after long delay, the dignity was conferred', *Ibid*, p. 29, *cf.* Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, vol., V, p. 68. For an evaluation of this document see, Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 43-45.

40 Thomas Erskine was the second son of John, 5th Lord Erskine, and he succeeded as Master of Erskine on the death of his elder brother at the battle of Pinkie [1547], *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 101.

41 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, pp. 86-89.

Brochty and Montrose, be cassin doun becaus tha serve na thing in tyme of pece; [that] sik garisonis in Dunbar, Blackness, Castell of Bruchty, and Inche Keith' be fortified, and that 'Lord Hume kepe the Castel of Hume, and the King to support him', because it is useful 'to kepe the samyn as ane hous of were so nere the Bordouris'. Finally, the 'fortis of Lauder, Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Aymouth be all cassin doun'. Regarding the French troops, 'it were neidfull that there war ane thousand [1,000] futemen left in this realme by thame that kepis the castellis and fortis, quhill the finale end and perfectioun of the peax, and douncasting of the fortis. ... Anent the prisoneris ... thai ar contentit for the part of Scotland, to deliver all the presoneris of Ingland now being in Scotland, frelie, aswele thame that hes aggreit upoun thair ranson ... and to ressave all presoneris and plegis being in Ingland semblable'.⁴²

The remainder of this lengthy document is devoted to future peace treaties between Scotland and the Emperor, and 'the Quene of Ungary, Regent of Flanderis', in which 'we desyre presentlie the maist Cristine King to trete ane peax'; and Erskine was 'to declair his Majestie the greit trubill, cruelte, and invasiounis, daylie maid upoun our Sovereane Lady and hir liegis be the tyranny of our saidis auld ynemeis ... and thairfor desyre and requir his Majeste, that he first of his gudness will endeavour him selff to procur ane honorabill peax of the King of Ingland, ... becaus he, of his imperiall dewite, is oblist to defend pupillis, that he will grant support of men, munitioun, and sic uthair reasonabill help as he may spair'.⁴³ It is doubtful if this dispatch reached Henri II before he had instructions drawn up on 25 April 1550 for the Seigneur de Bresze to return to Scotland to inform Marie de Guise of the death of her father, Claude, duc de Guise.⁴⁴ On the same day in a separate letter, Henri II informed her of the

Lennuy que je senty de la nouvelle que vous entendrez par le Seigneur de Bresze present porteur, sera cause que je ne vous en feray long discours me remectant sur luy de vous declar combien mest dure ceste perte et desplaisant le desplaisir et grande angoisse que je scay vous en receurez. Je luy donne charge vous

42 *Ibid*, pp. 90-91. On 16 May 1550, Sir George Douglas and Robert, Master of Semphill, registered a bond to 'John, Archbishop of St Andrews for £1,000 Scots' 'at the hands of James Dog of Dunrobin for the ransom of Schir Johne Leutrall, Knycht, Inglisman', *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 601.

43 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, pp. 91-93.

44 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fol. 1r; Claude de Lorraine, duc de Guise died on 12 April 1550, *cf.* Montmorency to Marie de Guise, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 24 April 1550, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 63. Seigneur de Brézé had accompanied Mary Queen of Scots to France in 1548; Mary wrote to her mother that 'le Roy vous envoye monsieur de Breize [et] il a commandement du Roy vous conter amplement de toutes nouvelles', *Lettres Instructions et Mémoires de Marie Stuart Reine d'Écosse*, ed., A. Labanoff (London, 1844), vol., I, p. 4; and Lord Livingston, who had accompanied Mary to France in 1548, wrote to Marie de Guise from Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 25 April [1550] that 'the king hes send this berar Monsieur Brase', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 311.

communiquer et faire entendre aussi plusieurs choses concernans nos affaires commungs dont je vous prieray le croire et adjoûter foy atout ce que vous dira de ma part.⁴⁵

The King also wished her to know that ‘cest ennuy pour la perte quil fait de son couste dun si bon parent et affectionne seruiteur’ and that he will always be ‘vng Roy qui luy sera pere, mary, parent, et le meilleur amy quelle sauroit desirer. Et qui luy aura elle et toute sa maison en sa protection et sauuegarde’.⁴⁶ Turning to Scottish affairs, Henri II informed her ‘et semblablement a monsieur le gouverneur, aux eigneurs de Termes et dOysel, quil estime quilz auront fait satisfaire enuers le Roy dAngleterre de la certifficacion quil demande de ladicte dame comme elle aura en agreable la comprehension d'elle et de son Royaume dEscosse [*sic*] au traicte de paix. ... Et parce moyen mis le royaume dEscosse en paix et transquillite comme le Roy se retrouue de present pardeca ayant ja en ses mains sa ville de Boullougne et forz de Boullenoyz ainsi quil luy auoit este promis par ledit traicte.’⁴⁷ As regards the French troops in Scotland, the King requires that ‘le Seigneur de Termes face entendre aux Lansquenetz qui sont pardela quilz regardent le plus aise moyen quilz auront deulx retirer en leurs maisons. ... Et estimant le Roy que le paiement de trois mois quil a dernièrement enuoye, et qui a fait voile de Brest depuis huit jours [17 April 1550] sera apropez pour satisfaire dautant que le paiement de tous les gens de guerre qui sont pardela y a este enuoye entier’.⁴⁸ The King also,

desire que lon casse les chevaux legiers tant Escossois que Francois, ... retenant pardela les deux compaignes de gens darmes qui y sont que ledict Seigneur fera tresbien paier avecques la creue qui a este ordonner a sa gendarmerie. ... Le Seigneur de Bresze avec ladite dame, les seigneurs dessusdicts et le Seigneur de la Chappelle du nombre de gens Francois quil sera besoing entretenir doresnauant dedans les places de dela pour la seurette dudict Royaume quil semble au Roy deuoir estre suffisans de mille [1,000] ou douze cens [1,200] hommes, ... pour tenir ledict Royaume en seurette comme dict est, et les subjectz en lobeissance quil appartient.⁴⁹

45 NAS, Sp 13/69 (original, on paper).

46 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fol., 1r.

47 *Ibid*, fol., 1v.

48 *Ibid*, fol. 1v; see Account No. 5, payment made on 31 May 1550 at Edinburgh of 192,583 livres, 6 sols, 10 deniers for three months from 1 February 1549/50, to 3,129 French ‘hommes de guerre’ under the Sr de la Chappelle Biron (including 200 Scots under Captain Doques [Dog]); 1,350 lansquenetz under Jean-Philippe, Conte de Rhin for February and March, and 1,205 who remained under his command during April; 400 Scottish lighthorsemen under their Colonel, the Earl of Cassillis and Captains Alexander and Patrick Humes, Andrew Ker and Jehan de Cambions, sundry officials in charge of ‘reparacions et advttaillement’ of Scotland, including the Sr d’Oysel, who was paid for his service of keeping the register in place of a ‘commissaire ordonnaire des guerres’, BN, Fonds Français 3124, fols 17r-22v; for a full transcription see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

49 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fols., 2r&v.

Furthermore, the King ‘prient ledit Seigneur d’Oysel vouloir prendre la charge pour doresnavant y donner lordre qui sera necessaire a tenir lesdictes places fournier de ce qui y sera besoing et quilz regardent par ensemble ce quil faudra pource faire. ... Saura aussi ledit Seigneur de Bresze lestat enquoy seront lesdictes places de dela et comme elles seroit fournies dartillerie pouldres et municions de guerre. ... Et que lon continue les fortifications plus necessaire pour oster tout moyen a lennemy dy pouoir jamais mal faire’. The King cautioned Marie de Guise and the Seigneurs de Termes and d’Oysel that they should ‘regardent a se tenir saisir le plus quilz pourront des places fortes ny metant dedans que Francois et gens de la fidellite desquelz Ilz ayent entiere asseurance y procedant toutesfois si dextremement et modestement que ledit Seigneur gouverneur nayt occasion de suspicion’. Finally, Henri II asks the Seigneur de Termes to remain a little longer ‘pour donner ordre a y establir toutes choses en la seurette quil les desire veoir. Et y acheminir la pollice et facon de faire delaquelle lon puisse a laduenir tenir le bien repoz et consolacion que le Roy y actend et pense auoir prepare a son filz qui en doit estre Roy’.⁵⁰

Finally, in a long addendum Henri II emphasised the importance of ‘ladicte dame et les Seigneurs de Termes et d’Oysel de fait dela justice et police, ... pour aduiser ensemble de moyen quil y auoyt de le publier telle quelle Raison soit fait,... et lobessiance mesme partout ayt quil appartient en vng Royaume quil lon veule faire fleurir et durer’.⁵¹ Concerning future relations with the Emperor, Henri II informed them that ‘Leuesque de Rosse [David Paniter]’ had recently been urging for the ‘herault enuoye par ledit Seigneur gouverneur pour aller deuers Lempereur obtenir saufconduit pour deux gentilzhommes peuyt passer de dela,’ which appears to the King not to be yet expedient, ‘quil desirant bien auoir Boullogne en ses mains auant’. Therefore, ‘ledit Seigneur de Bresze priera bien expresse ladicte dame faire seruir au Roy loccasion principale de le despescher dudict herault, et que ledit gouverneur le auroyt enuoye sans en communiquer a ladicte dame ny le conseil de dela. Par son voement a poursuyure ceste negociacion pour pacyfier Lempereur II [Henri II] desire bien que de ne se fait pas sans luy ny sans autres que Il est raisonnable’. Last of all, when d’Appestigny and Chapelle return to France the King will come to a ‘resolucion du nombre de gens a pied Francoys’ who are to remain in Scotland.⁵² On 20 December 1550 it was noted that the number of ‘gens de guerre que sa maistie voullut estre entretenez au dict pais d’Escosse apres le retour de France de Monseigneur de Termes qui sont 10 enseignes de 120 hommes chacune et 45 hommes au Chasteau de Dombarre [Dunbar] y aiant laisse Messire Doysel y apres nostre Messire des Villeparisis pour Ambassadeur et aiant pouuoir dordonner a

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fols., 2v - 3r.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol., 4r; the italics (mine) indicate that the addendum is written in the same second hand as the marginalia in the draft of Fumet’s instructions dated 30 March 1550.

⁵² *Ibid.*, fols., 4 r&v and 5r.

toutes choses en l'absence de ses lieutenants généraux'.⁵³ D'Oysel had only recently received lettres patentes from Henri II affirming his position as Lieutenant General *pro tem* (the post was made permanent in April 1552), as well as ambassador in Scotland. On 9 November 1550 at Maulny (? Malaunay, near Rouen) the King declared that,

Scavoir faisons que nous ayans este deuemens informez, et asseurez tant par le tesmoignage de plusieurs grans et notables personnaiges ayans reside au dict Royaume d'Escosse, que pour le rapport que nous en a faict nostre dicte seur, la Royne douairiere d'Escosse, a son arrivee par devers nous avecques quel soing, prudence et fidelite nostre ame et feal paniter ordinaire et nostre ambassadeur residant au dict pais d'Escosse, Henry Cleutin, Seigneur Doysel, sest acquicte en toutes choses qui ont deppendu, non seulement du faict de sa dicte charge d'ambassadeur mais aussi de la guerre au grant contentement de tous les princes, seigneurs et particulliers dicelluy pais, qui nous faict estimer que nous ne scaurions faire election de personnaige, sur lequel nous deuions auoir plus d'occasion de nous reposer de la dicte charge que sur luy ne qui soit plus agreable pour ces causes. Et pour l'entiere et parfaite confiance que nous auons de sa vertu, et de ses sens suffisance integritte vaillance, fidelitte, grande experience et bonne dilligence, icelluy Seigneur Doysel auons commis, ordonne et deppute, commectons, ordonnons et depputons, pour en l'absence de noz Lieutenans généraux au dict pais d'Escosse, auoir loeil superintendance et regard sur tout de qui y deppendra de nostre seruire. Et du bien seurete et conservation dicelluy par luy, donnons y plain puissance, autorite, commission et mandement especial, dasseoir et departir par laduis toutesfois et conseil de nostre trescher et tresame cousin, le duc de Chastellerault, chevallier de nostre ordre, gouverneur du dict pais et royaume d'Escosse, les gens de guerre, soit de cheval ou de pied, que nous y entretenons, et entretiendrons encores, cy apres ces places lieux et endroitz qui sera advise pour la seurete dicelluy pais'.⁵⁴

53 BN, Fonds Français 4552, fol. 51v; for a full transcription of this document see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming). Sir John Mason reported to the Council from Poissy on 3 August 1550 that 'Monsieur de Thermes cometh from Scotland in the company of the Queen [Marie de Guise]', 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. 1, p. 316.

54 BN, Fonds Français 27,258, Pièces Originales 774, Dossier 17,693, No. 2; 'Collacion a este faicte a l'original sain et entier par moy soubz signe contreleur extraordinaire de la guerre au dict Royaume de Escosse en default de notaires ou sectreaires Royaulx dont il ny aucune en ce dit pays, Lislebourg en Escosse, 28 janvier 1551/52, Du Faultray', *Ibid*; this contemporary copy on parchment is held under the name CLENTIN whilst the majority of Henri Cleutin's papers are held under CLEUTIN in BN, Fonds Français 27,270, Pièces Originales 786; however, Cleutin's papers held in the dossiers Bleus and Cabinet d'Hozier are held under CLUTIN, the family spelling of the name. There are two further copies (? XVIIe siècle) of this document: in BN, Fonds Français 3115, fols 71r-72r, and Coll. Clairambault 344, fol., 141;

It is not known precisely when the Seigneur de Brézé arrived in Scotland,⁵⁵ but the news that he brought of the death of Marie de Guise's father abruptly terminated the visit of her brother, Claude, Marquis de Mayenne.⁵⁶ On 1 May 1550, the English Privy Council had acceded to the request by the 'Marques du Mayne that, being one of the hostaiges for the first paiement of the Frenche, he might neverthelesse without retourneing to Calays immediately passe hense into Scotlande, affirmeng it to be the Frenche Kinges pleasour'.⁵⁷ D'Oysel, who was sent to the Borders to meet him, wrote to Marie de Guise on 14 May from 'Donglax' [Dunglass] that her brother had not yet arrived but that he was 'prest et ses haquenees pour le conduire a Tantalou'.⁵⁸ It appears that the Marquis arrived soon after and spent a week or two in Edinburgh being entertained at a 'banket to the Quennis brother', and on another occasion when 'tapesre [was brought] to the castell of Edinburgh fra my lord gouvernoures loeing',⁵⁹ before he returned to London on 7 June 1550.⁶⁰

In the meantime, on 11 May 1550, Thomas, 'Master of Erskyne, sent as Ambassadour of Scotlande, presented the ratification of the comprehension concluded in the Treatie made at Bulloigne under the Great Seale of Scotlande'.⁶¹ Several days later, on 16 May, he 'was dispatched with letters and an instrument of ratification of the comprehension asferreforthe as the Articles of the Treatie at Bulloigne did extende and no further',⁶² and soon after he departed for France.⁶³ The civility of Erskine's reception by the English was remarkable, particularly in comparison with the receptions of previous Scottish embassies sent to London during the last years of Henry VIII's reign. In this treaty, however, unlike those made between François I

both these copies were signed by Bertrand and both dated 4 mars 1551/52 and both omit Du Faultreys addendum, and were probably copied from the original register. For a full transcription of this document see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

55 He is mentioned in June 1550 'for sadillis left and tynt upoun hors hyrit to Monsieur Brasyis servandes, Franchemen', *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 417.

56 On the death of his father, Claude became duc d'Aumale when his elder brother François succeeded to the title of duc de Guise.

57 *APC*, vol., III, p. 22; on 23 June 1550, Richard Shelley was paid £40 'towards his charges, aswell in conveing the Marques du Mayne into Scotlande and backe againe', *Ibid*, p. 54.

58 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 64; the editor mistakenly refers to 'Donglax' as Dunbar, *Ibid*, p. 64; Tantalou was a stronghold of Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus.

59 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, pp. 416-17.

60 On 6 June 1550, five horses were hired to 'Maister Schelle, Inglisheman ... at the departing of [the] Marques', *Ibid*, vol., IX, p. 416; see also *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 100.

61 *APC*, vol., III, p. 29; 'Mary Queen of Scots, her ratification of the comprehension of Scotland in a treaty concluded between Henri II and Edward VI', signed: James G, Edinburgh, 13 May 1550, (in Latin) BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B VII, fol., 428 r&v.

62 *APC*, vol., III, p. 32.

63 Jehan Scheyfve and François Van Der Delft to the Emperor, London, 23 May 1550, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 91.

and Henry VIII, peace with Scotland was made an integral and an inalienable part of the negotiations and terms of the treaty by Henri II; this later paved the way for a formal Anglo-Scottish peace treaty the following year. Whilst the English seemed anxious to please and appease Henri II, they appeared equally anxious to keep this *rapprochement* from the Imperial ambassador. On 6 June 1550, Jehan Scheyfve informed the Emperor that he had 'enquired as carefully as possible whether my Lord Erskine, the Scottish ambassador, ... who came here recently and was to return (from France) within forty days, during which time the Queen of Scots was to declare herself on the inclusion of the Scots in the treaty between France and England, has returned here. ... I can get no private or public information on the subject; ... I was told at the same time that the Queen of Scots was dead'.⁶⁴

English appeasement of the French is also evident in their welcome of the French Ambassadors Extraordinary who arrived on 23 May 1550.⁶⁵ They were led by Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Châtillon, and included André Guillart, Seigneur Du Mortier, and Guillaume Bochetel, Seigneur de Sassy, three of the four French negotiators at Boulogne. The illustrious party of twenty-two also included Monseigneur de Chemault,⁶⁶ the new resident French ambassador, Monseigneur de Damville, filz du connestable, Monseigneur d'Andelot frere de Monseigneur de Chastillon, and Monseigneur le Rhingrave.⁶⁷ On 2 June the Council wrote to Sir John Mason, English ambassador in France,⁶⁸ describing in detail the receptions, banquets, hunting

64 *Ibid.*, vol., X, pp. 98-99; Scheyfve had only recently taken over from Van Der Delft, and this was his first dispatch from his new post to the Emperor; nevertheless it is difficult to credit that this misinformation was due to his incompetency rather than a deliberate deception by the English.

65 'Yesterday M. de Châtillon ... arrived here with six galleys, well equipped. Great preparations for their entertainment were made here in London', same to same, London, 23 May 1550, *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 91.

66 Jean Pot de Rhodes, Seigneur de Chemeaux (ou Chémault), fils cadet de Guy de Pot, tué à Pavie, qui fut le fils de Anne Pot, la dernière de la branche aînée, illustrée au service de la maison de Bourgogne, et Guillaume de Montmorency, père du Connétable; Jean s'attacha à cet illustre parent. Lorsqu'après la mort de François Ier, le Connétable revint aux affaires, et Jean Pot fait fonction de Maître des cérémonies au sacre de Henri II. En février 1547/48 il a porté à Rome la ratification de traité de ligue défensive conclue avec Paul III. En 1549 Jean Pot alla en Flandres pressentir Charles V à l'occasion de la guerre qu'Henri II venait de commencer contre les Anglais dans le Boulonnais. Enfin il fut envoyé ambassadeur à Londres le 23 mai 1550 et resta en Angleterre jusqu'en 1551 et le juillet il y assista comme Prévôt et Maître des cérémonies de l'Ordre à la remise solennelle du collier de Saint-Michel, faite à Édouard VI par le Maréchal de Saint-André', A. Hiver de Beauvois, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes, 1529-1648 avec une introduction et notes', *Mémoires de la Commission Historique du Cher* (Bourges, 1864), vol., II, pp. 78-79.

67 PRO, Sp 68/5/55; the list of names was annotated by Cecil ___ not always correctly; for example, besides Monsr Sassy's name he has written 'Mr de Requestes', but it was Monsr Du Mortier who had held that post, see Potter, 'Anglo-French treaty of March 1550', pp. 70-71.

68 Dr. Nicholas Wotton had been recalled in 1549 and on 15 October he was appointed 'one of his Majesties Princypall Secretaries in the lieu of Sir Thomas Smythe', *APC*, vol., II, p. 345.

and sporting activities undertaken for their entertainment.⁶⁹ The young King, Edward VI, received them at court on several occasions and on Whitsunday, 25 May 1550, according to his journal, 'the embassadours ... saw me take the oth for th'acceptation of the treaty, and afterward dined with me'.⁷⁰ On 29 May 1550, before the French ambassadors departed,⁷¹ Coligny, Du Mortier, Bochetel and Chémault issued a mémoire of their negotiations with the English Privy Council following the ratification of the treaty.⁷² The French ambassadors identified four points of importance: 1) 'prisonniers Francoys'; 2) 'prinses qui ont este faictes par mer ... tant sur les Francois que les Escossois'; 3) 'privileges, franchises et octroyes concedez aux habitans d'icelle ville [Boulogne] et autres papiers servans a leur commuanaute' (these archives were burnt by English soldiers in 1544); 4) 'touchant Donglas [Dunglass] Ladre [Lauder] Roxbourg et Aymond [Eyemouth]' to which the greater part of this mémoire is devoted and which reiterates Henri II's instructions mentioned previously concerning these forts.⁷³ Ultimately, on 11 June 1550 the 'artalzere of Donglas [was taken] to Dumbar, and pyonarres with pikis, spadis and schulis to caste down the fort and strenth of Donglas', and the 'artalzere of the fort of Lauder [was taken] to the castell of Hume witht pikis, schulis and mattokis to caste down the fort';⁷⁴ whilst Roxburgh and Eyemouth were not surrendered to the Scots until after the signing of the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Norham on 10 June 1551.⁷⁵

The disposition of these forts also occupied the greater part of the 'Memoire de ce que le cappitaine Valleron a de dire a la Roynie d'Escosse de la part du Seigneur de Chastillon',⁷⁶ and which had also recently occupied the Scottish Privy Council who complained on 22 May 1550 that 'forsamekill as in

69 Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, pp. 284-90; on Monday 26 May the French ambassadors invited the duke of Somerset and 'divers others to dine with them', *Ibid.*, p. 287.

70 J.G. Nichols, ed., *The Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, 2 vols., Roxburghe Club (London, 1857), repr. (New York, 1963-64), vol., II, p. 272; for details of Nichols' scholarship which makes this work such an excellent source on the young King, see 'Introduction' by W.K. Jordan, ed., *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI* (London, 1966) p. xv *et passim*.

71 *APC*, vol. III, p. 39.

72 Potter, 'Anglo-French treaty of March 1550', pp. 157-60 for a full transcription, *cf.* AMAE, Correspondence Politique, Angleterre, vol., II, fols., 366r-368v.

73 Potter, 'Anglo-French treaty of March 1550', p. 158; Montmorency also wrote to Marie de Guise on 20 May 1550 that 'vous verrez l'ordre qu'il [Henri II] donne pour faire vuyder et esclarcir en Angleterre le fait de la demolicion des places', *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, p. 71.

74 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., IX, p. 421; see also pp. 423-24.

75 'Instructions to the English Commissioners': the King is 'content to give up Roxburgh and Eyemouth', *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 185; see also Merriman and Summerson, 'The Scottish Border', *History of the King's Works*, vol., IV, part II, pp. 703 and 707, and Merriman, 'The Forts of Eyemouth', p. 150.

76 Potter, 'Anglo-French treaty of March 1550', pp. 160-62, for a full transcription; *cf.* AMAE, Corr. Pol., Angl., vol., II, fols., 370v-371v. The Sr Demorette also notified Marie de Guise on 19 May [1550] from Boulogne that 'M. de Chastillon vous despeschera aussy pour vous advertir de la resollucion qui se fera avec le Roy d'Angleterre', *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, p. 67.

the treaty of peax laitle takin betuix the maist Cristin King of France ... and the King of Ingland, our Sovereane Lady, hir realme, and subjectis ar comprehendit; into the quhilk pece, it is divisit and ordanit that the forts of Roxburch and Aymouth salbe randerit at ane certane day appoyntit thairto; nochttheles the personis Inglismen presentlie being in the saidis fortis daylie and continewalie makis incursionis upoun our Sovereane Ladyis liegis nixt adjacent unto thaim, reiffis, spulzeris, and oppressis thame, tending to do that is in thame to violate and brek the pece contrair the myndis of the Princis'. Therefore, a proclamation is to be nailed on Mercat Crosses declaring that 'quhen the forsaidis personis happynnis to cum furth of the saidis fortis without licence to the effect above written, and gif thai pretend to do ony hurt or harme to the cuntre or liegis thairof, that thai and every of thame tak and apprehend thame as presoneris'.⁷⁷ The Scots, it seems, were in no mood to extend any sympathy to the starving English garrisons abandoned to their fate in hostile territory.

The ratification of the peace treaty now enabled Marie de Guise to plan and undertake a long-awaited voyage to France. The purpose of her journey was both personal and political. There was a pressing need for her to attend to the affairs of her estates, for so long in the hands of others, visit her large and geographically dispersed family and, most of all, to spend time with her two surviving children: François, duc de Longueville, now in his fifteenth year whom she had not seen since 1538, and Mary Queen of Scots from whom she had been parted for two years. Apart from these happy reunions it was also an opportunity to apprise the King, Constable and her brothers, François, now duc de Guise and Charles, now Cardinal of Lorraine, of the details of matters of State and to discuss in depth the future government of Scotland. Although no evidence of these discussions appears to have survived, if indeed it ever had existed, some idea of the tenor of such discussions can be gained from a letter in cypher from d'Oysel to Marie de Guise in which he describes in detail the secret meeting he had with the King, Constable and Guise brothers, following another watershed in the government of Scotland which occurred when Mary Tudor ascended the English throne in 1553.⁷⁸

The Dowager's first consideration, however, was the wardrobe that she would take to France, not only for herself but also for her entourage. She was concerned, it seems, as to whether she should appear in full or semi-mourning out of respect for her father. In order to ascertain the current etiquette she consulted the arbiter of fashion and style at the French court, Diane de Poitiers, duchesse de Valentinois, who replied 'sy vous devez pouter le deul, a votre arrivee an sete compaignye, je an na vous parle', but here at court 'ils

⁷⁷ *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 99; on 8 November 1550 'the Governor and lords of the secret council having considered it expedient to build a fort "about the toun and castell of Dunbar for strenthning and fortificatioun of the same", *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 606.

⁷⁸ *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 302-06. This letter will be examined in detail later, see *Infra*, note 391.

son tout doupygnyon, que non; et que les Renns ne les pourtes james, que de leur marys par quoy vous feryes tout a votre dynyte [mais] vous le pouries fere a votre volunte'.⁷⁹ Although it is not known precisely what Marie de Guise took to France, Dr. Rosalind Marshall cites a list of dress materials (c.1551/2) which 'consists almost exclusively of black cloth: there is black velvet, black satin and black taffeta, all intended for dresses and for headdresses'.⁸⁰ This is included in a list partially transcribed and translated by Marguerite Wood⁸¹ from the 'Despences de la Maison Royale',⁸² which is an account of the 'clothing supplied for herself and her train' which included 'eight ladies, of whom four at least were Scots, pages and footmen'.⁸³

In May 1550, Marie de Guise received news from the Seigneur de Morette⁸⁴ concerning her voyage to France and that 'le Roy trouve tres bon de laisser M. l'ambassadeur [Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel] chef pardela en vostre absence et se dict fort content de luy et m'a promis que en bref il recognoistra les services qui luy a faitz et qu'il lui fera du bien. De Morette also said that he had told the king that d'Oysel, a 'bon gentilhomme, en avoit bon besoning car il avoit beaucoup despendu et qu'il dependoit ordinairement

79 *Analecta Scotia: Collections Illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland*, ed., James Maidment, Series 1 (Edinburgh, 1834), p. 348; this is one of four letters from Diane de Poitiers to Marie de Guise in this collection, *Ibid.*, pp. 347-52; none of which are mentioned in *Lettres inédites de Diane de Poitiers*, ed., G. Guiffrey (Paris, 1866), repr. (Genève, 1970).

80 Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, p. 184; for a more detailed account of the Dowager's wardrobe see R.K. Marshall, "'Hir Rob Ryall": the Costume of Mary of Guise', *Costume*, XII (1978).
81 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. xxvi-xxix.

82 These are included in the 'Household Books' of the Scottish crown and comprise the main series of 'Libri Domicilli' for the reign of James V and regency of Arran and miscellaneous items for James VI. Though the earlier volumes are lost, the 'Liber Domicilli' appears to have originated in the reign of James I. It comprises the daily record of provisions received and expended in the household, with subsidiary accounts for wine, spices and the avery (fodder). The miscellaneous items are similar, but less formal records, (NAS, Exchequer/ 31 and 32). Between 1554 and 1567 the household accounts are contained in the 'Despences de la Maison Royale'. This separate series of accounts of expenditure of the household of Marie de Guise became the principal expenditure record on her appointment to the regency in 1554 and continued as such during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots. It consists of an incomplete series of monthly accounts in French, (to which previous accounts from the years 1539-1554 have been added) of ordinary expenditure, with a few accounts of extraordinary expenses, the stable etc. (NAS, E/33 and 34), Volumes 1-5 (1539-1560) concern Marie de Guise. These five MS volumes at the NAS and the MS volume V of the Balcarres Papers at the NLS (Adv. MSS. 29.2.5) have received little attention from historians. They comprise hundreds of documents; volume V of the Balcarres Papers alone comprises 207 folios. The five volumes at the NAS contain a vast amount of material, and like most exchequer documents are difficult to decypher, but they certainly deserve a separate study which, augmented by further research in the French archives and libraries, should reveal a greater understanding of the Renaissance Courts of Marie de Guise and her daughter. The enormity of the task must have occurred to Marguerite Wood, and was probably the reason for only publishing selected items from vol., V of the Balcarres Papers when she published the first four volumes of Marie de Guise's foreign correspondence, (*Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. xxvi-xxix and li-iv).

83 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. xxvi.

84 Possibly Charles Du Solier, Chevalier, Sr de Morette, *Actes de Henri II, 1548*, vol., II, p. 12, or Hubertin Du Solier, Sr de Morette, panetier du roi, *Ibid.*, 1549, vol., III, p. 356.

et qu'il estoit vng des plus saiges et mieulx advise gentilhomme que je congneuz oncques et que sans luy je ne scay comment les affaires se feussent portees de pardela et qu'il estoit fort ayme de tout le pays [Scotland]'. The King said that he had repeated this glowing report of the Seigneur d'Oysel to 'M. le Connestable et a M. de Guise qui furent fort ayses d'entendre ce propos d'aultant que le Seigneur de Broseil est alle instruct et qu'il a porte resollucion sur les fors et cappitaines de pardela'.⁸⁵

The official preparations for Marie de Guise's voyage were initiated by Henri II who sent a letter to Edward VI, via his ambassador, the Seigneur de Chémault, on 23 July 1550 requesting a safe-conduct for Marie de Guise 'de venir faire un voyage par deca pour nous visiter et la reine d'Escosse nostre petite fille'.⁸⁶ Soon after, on 3 August the English sent a 'sauftcondit des gallères du Roy soit expédie une commission sous le seing et sceau du roi d'Angleterre, narrant comment, pour le passage de la royne d'Escosse en France, le Roy luy envoie ses gallères, les quelles pourront estre forcées de prendre terre et raffraichissement ès ports du dict roy d'Angleterre'.⁸⁷ On the same day 'par lettre patente ... le dict Seigneur roy [Edward VI] permett à ladicte Dame, et à suyte et compaignie, avec tel nombre de vaisseaux qu'elle aura et advouera siens et de sa suyte, de se pouuoir refraischir, reposer et prendre terre, si bon leur semble'.⁸⁸ A permit was also sought 'at the earnest request of the French King, when Edward "in respect of the amytie" desires to gratify and by advice and consent of the Council, whereby the Dowager "for the more esey conveyance" of her horses may send 200 through England, with 140 attendants in company "na men of estate nor capitans of were amangis thame"'.⁸⁹ All these requests were considered and agreed to by the English Privy Council at Windsor on 3 August 1550.⁹⁰

At the French court the English ambassador, Sir John Mason, reported to the Council on 26 August that 'great preparations are made for the reception of the Scottish Queen, for whose coming the christening has been deferred, the King desiring to have her as godmother;'⁹¹ M. de Guise, with

⁸⁵ *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁶ *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse conservées aux archives du département du Cher*, ed., M. le Baron de Giradot (Paris, 1846) p. 29; reprinted with Giradot's co-operation in Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 237. The archive of Jean Pot de Rhodes, Sr de Chemeaux, was deposited in the Archives Départementales du Cher at Bourges at the time of the French Revolution, and was unfortunately destroyed in a fire at the Archives on 13 April 1859. Fortunately, the major part of the collection had already been transcribed and published by the Baron de Giradot in 1846.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, Giradot, p. 30 and Teulet, p. 238.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, Giradot, p. 31 and Teulet, p. 239; 'Copy of safe conduct signed by Edward VI ... and given at the request of the French King for the Dowager going to France before All Saints Day', 11 August 1550, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, p. 605.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 606.

⁹⁰ *APC*, vol., III, p. 95.

⁹¹ On 23 February 1549, Wotton reported to the Protector the birth of Henri II's third son (Louis 1549-1550) and that 'I hear that the King of Portugal, the Duke of Ferrara and the

the flower of the nobility, has gone to Dieppe to meet her'. Leone Strozzi who had been commissioned by Henri II to command the fleet of galleys,⁹² before he departed was provided with '1,000 ells of white damask wherewith to apparel the slaves and mariners'.⁹³ On 4 September 1550 Henri II sent the Seigneur de Mandosse to Scotland to inform Marie de Guise that 'je luy ay donne charge vous dire de mes bonnes nouvelles et en quelle deuotion Jactendz vostre arrivee pardeca ou vous pouez estre seure madame, ma bonne seur, que vous serez la tresbien venue'.⁹⁴

Before the Dowager and her considerable entourage could depart, however, she convened a meeting with the Governor and 'Lordis of Secrete Counsale' on 5 September 1550 at which she elicited assurances from the Earl of Huntly on the one part, and the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maxwell, Sir George Douglas and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig on the other, that they and all their respective 'kyn, frendis, allya, adherentis,' *et al*, oblige themselves to abstain from injury to each other until 'all the saidis parteis retourne furth of the parttis of France in the realme of Scotland and xxiiij [24] dayis thairefter, ... and for the mair securite and performyng of all and sindry the premissis, all the saidis personis ... hes uthalden his hand to the Quenis Grace, moder to our Sovereane Lady, quahais Grace tuk every manis hand thairupoun'.⁹⁵ Two days later, 'forsamekill as the Quenis Grace is in redynes to depart to the parttis of France ... nane of our Soverane Ladyis legis forsaidis of qhatsumevir degre he be of, spiritual or temporal, commandit by my Lord Governor and passand actualte with hir Grace in hir service sall nocht be callit, adjourmyt, nor persewit to our Soverane Ladyis lawis befor qhatsumevir jugis or juge, sprituale [*sic*] or temporale, within this realme, nor na process sall be had nor led aganis thame'.⁹⁶

These acts, registered by the Privy Council, were necessary because during Marie de Guise's absence the Governor, supervised by d'Oysel who was to be left in charge,⁹⁷ was to carry out Henri II's instructions for 'lordre de la Justice et police et comme Il semblera a ladicte Dame et auxdessusdicts que lon y pourra pourveoir par cy apres pour maintenir les subjectz en

Queen Dowager of Scotland', shall be godparents, Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, p. 156.

92 Sir John Mason had reported to the Council on 3 August 1550 from Poissy, that Strozzi would 'depart within three or four days', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 53.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

94 NAS, Sp 13/70 (orig. on paper, autograph).

95 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 107. As far as I can see this document makes no reference to 'a violent quarrel [which] had suddenly flared up between the Earl of Huntly and the Earl of Cassillis over the arrest of a Highland chief', as claimed by Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, p. 185.

96 *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 108

97 The Sr Demorette informed Marie de Guise on 19 May [1550] that 'Le Roy trouve tresbon de laisser M. l'ambassadeur chef pardela en vostre absence', *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, p. 66.

obeissance et garder la raison a vng chacun'.⁹⁸ Evidence that the Governor was carrying out the French King's instructions comes from Camillo Marini who reported to Marie de Guise during her sojourn in France that 'nous sommes a Gedouart [Jedburgh] a faire compaignye a M. le gouverneur pour excutter quelque justice, auquel lieu eulx avec M. d'Oysel sont dedans'.⁹⁹ Marie de Guise had also prudently decided to take in her entourage most of those nobles and lairds who might cause trouble and destabilize the government of Scotland during her absence. Apart from those nobles and lords mentioned in the act of 5 September 1550, she was accompanied by the 'erlis of Merchell [Marischal], Sudderland, Menteith, lordis Home, Flemyng, the bischopis of Cathnes [Robert Stewart, Lennox's brother] and Galloway [Andrew Dury¹⁰⁰], the abbot of Dunfermling, the priour of Sanctandros, callit lord James, bastard sone to umquhile the kingis grace [James V]' and many others.¹⁰¹ By the Summer of 1551, Mathieu Strick, an Imperial envoy to Scotland, could report to the Emperor that the Governor 'is at present busy, as he was before the secretary arrived in Scotland, in arriving at a composition with the gentlemen who did not do their duty in the last war against the English, failing the performance of which duty they forfeit life and goods. The French are watching this process, and are delighted to see the Regent [James Hamilton, duke of Châtellerauld, and Governor] thus losing the devotion of most of the nobles of the land'.¹⁰²

Finally, Marie de Guise and her entourage, accompanied by the Seigneurs de Termes and Chappelle, departed. Jehan Scheyfve reported to the Emperor that she was sighted 'off Dover on 17 September with six galleys and two or three small vessels. She waited until certain Scottish nobles who had passed through England could embark too. On the 19th she was driven into the port of Rye by a storm,' where she landed and spent two or three hours. 'On the 22nd she sailed for France, [and] it is reported that a great concourse of the French nobility were waiting for her at Le Havre to escort her to Rouen',¹⁰³ where she arrived on 25th September 'being accompanied with a

98 Henri II's instructions to the Sr Fumet, 30 March 1550, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq., 23148, fol., 4r; reiterated in Henri II's instructions to the Sr de Brézé, 25 April 1550, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23147, fol., 4r.

99 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 93.

100 Watt, *Fasti*, p. 132.

101 *Diurnal of Occurents*, pp. 50-51.

102 *CSP, Spanish*, Vol. X, p. 340.

103 *Ibid*, vol., X, p. 177. Dr Marshall says that 'on 19 September her little fleet of galleys was sighted off Dieppe and she landed safely', *Mary of Guise*, pp. 185-86, cf, *CSP, Foreign, 1547-1553*, pp. 54-55, and Lesley, *History*, vol., II, pp. 333-35. As the *CSP, Foreign*, makes no reference to Marie de Guise's arrival on pp. 54-55, presumably Marshall's reference of her arrival at Dieppe on 19 September 1550 comes from Lesley's *History*. Sypher must have used the same reference because she says 'the Dowager landed at Dieppe on September 19', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 148. Antonia Fraser also says that 'Mary of Guise landed at Dieppe in September', but cites no reference, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 77. Sir John Mason's report of 26 August 1550 that 'the flower of the nobility has gone to Dieppe to meet her' has also confused the issue. Perhaps they did go to Dieppe in August, but due to the delay in Scotland the port of disembarkation was later changed to the more convenient port of Le Havre?

great company of Scottish gentlemen, ... and was received with much honour'.¹⁰⁴ Her safe arrival was noted by Montmorency who informed Moneigneur de Bassefontaine¹⁰⁵ from the 'abbaye de Bomport' on 27 September 1550 that 'la Royne d'Escosse est puis trois ou quatre jours arrivee au Havre de Grace [Le Havre] en bonne sante et tres bon equippage. Elle fit heir son entree a Rouen et dimanche prochain viendra trouuer le Roy al abbaye de bonnes nouvelles ou Il va demain coucher pour faire sa fest St Michel. Apres que ledict Seigneur l'aura veue et parle a elle ou vous fera entendre cequil sera requis sur les propos qui ont este entainez touchant le fait d'Escosse'.¹⁰⁶ A contemporary account of Henri II's Entry into Rouen records that,

La Royne douairiere d'Escosse ... vint en icelle ville de Rouen, le ieu dy xxv iour d'icelluy moys et an [25 September 1550], faire son entrée, ou icelle Dame fut honorablement et en grande magnificence receue de tous les estatz de la ville de Rouen, car tel estoit le bon plaisir du Roy. ... Le samedi xxvii [27] iour dudict moys de Septembre le Roy et la Royne accompagnez des Princes et Princesses de son sang [et] des seigneurs et dames de sa court, ... arriva au Prieuré de Bonne Nouvelles, aux faulxbourgs qui sont oultre le pont de Rouen. Auquel lieu icelle Royne douairiere d'Escosse, accompagnée de plusieurs princes et grans seigneurs d'Escosse, alla pour faire la reuerence au Roy et à la Royne, qui d'une benignité non moindre que d'alagresse la receurent.¹⁰⁷

Following this, or at a subsequent meeting with Marie de Guise, Henri II, as he stated in his letters patent on 9 November 1550, ('pour la rapport que nous en a fait nostre dicte seur, la Royne douiriere d'Escosse,') appointed Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel as his acting Lieutenant General in Scotland.¹⁰⁸

104 Sir John Mason to the Council, Rouen, 6 October 1550, Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, Vol. I, p. 327.

105 Sébastien de L'Aubespine, abbé de Bassefontaine, (en 1558, évêque de Limoges) was, at this time, French ambassador at the court of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries. He was also the brother of Claude de L'Aubespine, one of Henri II's four secretaries of state.

106 BL, Additional MSS 10012 (orig. on paper) endorsed in a second hand 'arrivée de Marie Stuart à Rouen'; this endorsement of the BL manuscript is incorrect. As mentioned previously, Marie de Guise was known informally as the Queen of Scotland whilst Mary Queen of Scots, during her minority, was usually known as 'la jeune reine d'Écosse' by the French. The arrival and 'Entree de la Royne d'Escosse' was recorded in the 'Registre Secret (1549-1556)' of the Parlement de Rouen, fol., 60v, Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen.

107 *Cest la dedvction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et manifiques theatres dressez, et exhibez par les citoiens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine du pays de Normandie, A la sacree Maistie du Treschristain Roy de France, Henry second leur souverain Seigneur, Et à Tresillustre dame, ma Dame Katherine de Medicis,...*, [hereafter, *La Deduction*] (Rouen, 1551) facsimile with an Introduction by M.M. Mc Gowan, *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam & New York, no date), p. Bv; cf, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, Normandie, 112 (6) et MS. Y 28 (1268).

108 For an analysis of Cleutin's letters patent see, *Supra*, note 54.

Plate No. 1: Soldiers carrying banners depicting Henri II's
victories in 1548-1549

Facsimile (1951) *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, 1550*,
ed., M.M. McGowan

La quarte bande.



Plate No. 2: Chariot portraying Henri II as an Emperor at his Entry into Rouen, 1550

Facsimile (1551) *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, 1550*,
ed., M.M. McGowan



Henri II also arrived 'very nigh the town of Roan, the 25th day of September', according to Sir John Mason who informed the Council that this 'was the day appointed for his entry', but because the town was not ready the King's Entry was to be made on 1st October and, in the meantime, he was to stay 'in an abbey prepared for him half a mile out of town'; although he did keep the feast of Saint-Michel [29 September] in town, returning to the abbey at night.¹⁰⁹ The anonymous author of *La Deduction*¹¹⁰ observed that

le dimanche ensuyuant vigile de Saint Michel, le Roy avec bonne partie des Princes et seigneurs de sa Court, se Retira en la maison Abbatiale de Saint Ouen de Rouen pour illec celebrer le chapitre de son ordre. ... Le lendemain iour et seste Saint Michelle le Roy, precedé des officiers et Cheualiers dudict ordre, ... fut oyr la messe enicelle eglise ou furent entirement obseruez les cerimonies [sic] ordinaires à l'offerte, [et] le Roy de son autorité Royale et grace speciale fit et nomma chevalier d'icelluy ordre Le sire Iehan Philippe Contesauage du Rhin et de Seine, Seigneur Fenestrange, capitaine pour le Roy en plusieurs de ses affaires, et dernièrement au pays d'Escosse en recognoissance des bons et loyaux services qu'il luy auoit faictz.¹¹¹

On Wednesday the 1st October 1550, Henri II made his triumphal Entry into Rouen — the ceremonies being repeated the following day for Catherine de Medici's Entry. According to Professor Roy Strong, the citizens of Rouen presented Henri II for his *entrée* 'a complete re-enactment of a Roman imperial triumph' which 'came at the apogee of the reign. The procession began with a chariot laden with trophies and bearing the figure of Death chained at the feet of Fame. Next came 57 of the king's ancestors crowned and wearing splendid robes, figures on horseback who were to act as *exempla* to the present monarch. There followed a chariot drawn by unicorns on which stood Vesta, the goddess of Religion, attended by royal Majesty, Virtuous Victory, Reverence and Fear. This alluded to the king's religious policy of restoring peace and unity;¹¹² ... an aim referred to in the church held aloft by Vesta. Next marched six bands of military men carrying models

109 Sir John Mason to the Council, Rouen, 6 October 1550, Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, p. 325. Mason says that 'this feast he [Henri II] kept very solemnly; the ambassadors being present ... and under the cloth of estate, on the left hand of him were the arms of the Emperor, and the Kings of Denmark, Sweden and Navarre', *Ibid*, p. 325.

110 Dr Mc Gowan suggests that it might have been Claude Chappuys who, outside the cathedral, delivered an harangue to the King, the text of which 'neatly sums up the entire series of shows and their significance', *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*, p. 47.

111 *Ibid*, facsimile of *La Deduction*, p. Bi r.

112 The Franco-Papal Alliance was negotiated principally by Charles de Lorraine, newly created Cardinal of Guise, who arrived in Rome on 22 October 1547, but the alliance was not signed until 2 January 1548, Romier, *Les Origines*, vol., I, pp. 187-191; *Correspondance des Nonces en France*, vol., VI, pp. 244-47; for reports of audiences between Pope Paul III and the Cardinal de Guise, Ribier, *Mémoires d'Estat*, vol., II, pp. 71-78.

of forts won by the King in the area of Boulogne and banners depicting landscapes of the Scottish lowlands won from the English'.¹¹³

Voilà Dondy [Dundee], Edimpton [Haddington],
 Portugray [Broughty Craig],
 Ou Termes prist et Essé le degré,
 Pour devenir chevalier de ton ordre [Saint-Michel]
 Tout le pays où avoit osé mordre
 Sur l'Escossois la nation Angloise
 Est recouvert par la force Française
 Après avoir enduré maintz travaulx
 Sire, voyez ceste Ysle des chevaux [Inchkeith],
 Voyez aussy le fort chasteau de Fargues [Fast]
 O quants assaulx, escarmouches et cargues
 On y a veu sans veoyr le François las!
 Voilà aussy le fort près de Donglas [Dunglass]
 Et plus deçà où est assis ce bourg
 Est le chasteau conquis de Rossebourg [Roxburgh].¹¹⁴

Following the bands of soldiers came the elephants and 'then figures in chains, alluding to the sad parade of prisoners that had taken place before the beleaguered Boulogne.¹¹⁵ Flora and her nymphs gaily scattering flowers ushered in the final chariot bearing "un beau et elegant personnage" representing Henri II with his four children at his feet, and to whom Fortune

113 R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1455-1650* (Suffolk, 1984) p. 47; Strong says that 'the Renaissance was in essence a revival of the antique world; so one of its quests was also to be the recreation of the lost festival forms of classical antiquity'. In the period 1450-1650, there were three main developments which, continues Strong, 'radically changed existing festival forms. The first was the transformation of the royal entry into an absolutist triumph in emulation of those of imperial Rome. This involved not only a change in its physical appearance, but also its ideological structures. ... The second was also a consequence of this general move towards autocratic dynastic rule, the revival of chivalry. Although the feudal realities of medieval chivalrous society had gone, the patterns of its behaviour and mythology lived on, and indeed were revitalised in the new court life evolved by Tudor, Valois and Habsberg. ... The third major thrust [was] the gradual creation of permanent court theatres', *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

114 M.M. McGowan, 'Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen', *Renaissance Drama*, New Series I (1968) pp. 213-14; see Plate No. 1, facsimile of 1551 publication in *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*. In a poem entitled 'Prophonematique av Roy Treschrestien Henry II', Joachim Du Bellay celebrated the king's victory over the English in Scotland: 'Je voy tomber soubz les fleches Françaises/ Le Leopard [the English], ton antiq' ennemy./ Qui souloit bruire aux forests Ecossoizes./ Le feu vanguer desja vole parmy/ La nef captive: au sang Anglois encore/ L'azur marin de pourpre se colore' (Lines 181-86), Joachim Du Bellay, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed., H. Chamard (Paris, 1912), vol., III, p. 72; 'Prophonematique': "ce tiltre est pris du grec, et signifie autant que *salutation*", *Ibid.*, p. 61; the 'leopard', alludes to the English coat-of-arms, *Ibid.*, p. 72.

115 On 5 October 1550, the Imperial ambassador at the French court, Simon Renard, sent a full and detailed description of the *Entrée* to the Emperor, noting that when the 'triumph of Boulogne' passed by, Sir John Mason was heard to say 'that if it cost them nothing they might have had a triumph with good reason', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 182-83.

proffered an imperial diadem'.¹¹⁶ After the procession had passed by 'the ceremony was opened,' Simon Renard informed the Emperor, 'by a sham combat illustrating the manner of fighting in Brazil.'¹¹⁷ Two ships, one of which was burnt, fought on the Seine near the bridge. There was a river-triumph with whales and sea-monsters, and a chariot representing Neptune on which stood a Triton. Three men jumped down from the bridge just under the cross into the water, and were supposed to be swallowed up by the whale; but this part of the show did not come off according to expectations. Guns were fired from the galleys and ships on the opposite side of the bridge, and twelve guns drawn up in the harbour were also let off'.¹¹⁸

These are but the highlights of Henri II's Entry into Rouen¹¹⁹ which may not have been the most spectacular of his reign; it is claimed that 'the ceremony at Lyon [September 1548] was matched or surpassed in splendor and significance only by his Parisian Entry [June 1549]'.¹²⁰ But the atmosphere of triumph and excitement, occasioned by the recent victory over the English, elevated Rouen's spectacle beyond the artistic endeavours and substantial financial investment of its citizens, to the most politically important of Henri II's reign from a propagandist point of view.¹²¹ On 27 September 1550, following his meeting with Marie de Guise the previous day at the Abbey outside Rouen, Henri II sent a secret letter to his ambassador in Constantinople, the Seigneur d'Aramon, outlining his plans for the coming winter now that Boulogne had been recaptured, in which he recognized that 'la commodité de la mer, et la force qu'auoient les Anglois, estoient le seul moyen pour empescher mes desseins et entreprises, ie fis construire en extrême diligence, et armes grand nombre de vasseaux ronds et subtils, qu'on appelle Roberges, qui vont de rame et de voile, fort propres à nauiger en la Mer de Ponant [the Atlantic Ocean]'. Describing some of the fortifications, supplies and munitions abandoned by the English in the Boullonnais, Henri II claimed that 'la somme de quatre cens mille [400,000] escus, qui n'est pas la dixiesme partie de ce qui leur a cousté pour lesdicts frais'. As regards the peace

116 Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 47; see Plate No. 2, in facsimile of 1551 publication of *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*.

117 Sir John Mason reported to the Council that 'the red-crossed ship had the worst, and was burned. Many thought, and so did I, at the beginning, the same had been made for an English ship; but it was afterwards known that it was a representation of a fight between the Portugals and the French about the old quarrel for the Isle of Brazil', Rouen, 6 October 1550, Tyler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol. 1, p. 326.

118 Renard to the Emperor, Rouen, 5 October 1550, *CSP, Spanish*, vol. X, p. 182.

119 For a full and detailed description and interpretation, see Mc Gowan's excellent article 'Form and Themes of in Henri II's Entry into Rouen'.

120 Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. 92; Baumgartner says that Henri II had made at least a dozen such entries before his Entry into Lyon, however, the greatest 'pageants were the entries into the three largest cities: Paris, Lyon and Rouen', *Ibid.*, p. 92.

121 The *entrée joyeuse* 'was a most effective form of royal propaganda. Neither royal proclamations nor official tracts could move the hearts of the people as deeply as ceremonies in which the king appeared in person amidst a *décor* carefully designed to project his personality and the nature of his rule'. Knecht, *Francis I*, p. 96

settlement, he had compris audict traité de paix le Royaumes et Subjets d'Escosse, les gens de guerre que lesdicts Anglois y auoient reuozquez, et quelques forts qu'ils y tenoient encore, rendus et restituez és mains de la Reyne [Marie de Guise], et de mon Lieutenant General pardelà [d'Oysel], et par ainsi faisant ladicte paix, j'ay pacifié ledict Royaume d'Escosse que ie tiens et possede avec tel commandement et obissance que j'ay en France, ausquels deux Royaumes, j'en ay joint et vny vn autre, qui est Angleterre, dont par vne perpetuelle vnion, alliance et confederation, ie puis disposer, comme de moy-mesme, du Roy, de ses Subjects, et de ses facultez; de sorte que lesdicts trois Royaumes ensemble se peuuent maintenant estimer vne mesme Monarchie.¹²²

Joachim Du Bellay who, as Cardinal Jean Du Bellay's brother, had access to the highest officials and members of the court circle, had already made allusions to the King's Imperial ambitions in his *Chant Trivmphal svr Le Voyage de Bovlongne, M.D.XLIX [1549] av moys D' Aovst*:

Mais à Henry, enfant de la Victoire,
 Le Ciel amy reservoir ceste gloire.
 Son nom fatal à l'Anglois familiar,
 Et le discours des astres regulier
 Luy peuvent bien donnes ferme assurance
 De joindre en bref l'Angleterre à la France.
 Alors sera des Roys plus orgueilleux
 Presqu' adoré son sceptre merveilleux:
 Et sera dict en la Françoisie terre
 Second du nom, neuvieme en Angleterre.¹²³ (Lines 35-44)

These plans and ambitions, the King instructed d'Aramon, 'vous presenterez au grand Seigneur [Suleiman, 'the Magnificent'] la lettre de creance sur vous, pour luy faire le discours du succez de mesdictes affaires telque dessus, afin qu'il en soit participant par le benefice de nostre parfaite amitié et bonne intelligence, au grand contentement et satisfaction que j'en reçoÿ'.¹²⁴ Additionally, the celebrated court poet Pierre de Ronsard added his voice in praise of the King, following the reconquest of Boulogne which also evoked imperial allusions:

¹²² Ribier, *Mémoires d'Etat*, vol., II, pp. 287-88.

¹²³ Joachim Du Bellay, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, vol., III, p. 77. In February 1549, d'Oysel informed the Seigneurs de Fourquvaux et Visque that 'il desire de tout son cuer le bien ed advancement des affaires du Roy sest enquis avec le conte de Honteley [Huntly] sil auroit veu quelque endroit en Angleterre qui se peut prendre du fortiffier contre les Anglois lequel lieu fut profitable audict seigneur Roy et a son entreprise'. Huntly suggested 'que lisle de Tenet [Thanet] sur lembouchure de la Tamise [Thames] seroit fort commode aux Francoys car est sur la Route d'Escosse et vng lieu qui nourrist Londres de bledz et tenant lequel seroit empecher ladicte riviere que navire nul sans danger ne passeroit pour aller audit Londres', *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Escosse, 1549*, pp. 34-35; see also *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 459 and 463-64.

¹²⁴ Ribier, *Mémoires d'Etat*, vol., II, p. 288.

Quand entre les les Césars j'aperçois ton image
 Découvrant tout le front le laurier revêtu,
 Voyez, ce dis-je lors, combien peut la vertu
 Qui fait d'un jeune roi un César avant l'âge...
 Ce signe te promet, grand roi victorieux,
 Puisque vif on t'élève au nombre des Augustes,
 Que mort tu seras mis entre les plus grands dieux.¹²⁵

Henri II's imperial ambitions, and those of his ancestors, were first examined in modern times by Gaston Zeller in 1934.¹²⁶ In a lengthy article, which essentially looks at the Franco-German relationship from Early Medieval times, 'notre point de départ', says Zeller, 'sera tout naturellement le moment où l'Empire est rétabli au profit d'Otton de Saxe et où la couronne impériale se fixe en Allemagne pour plus de huit cents [800] ans'.¹²⁷ In the sixteenth century, however, 'Henri II n'était que dauphin lorsque, en 1540, la possibilité de son élévation à l'Empire fut envisagée au cours des conversations secrètes qu'il entretenait avec les princes luthériens d'Allemagne'. Later, in the treaty of Lochau (October 1551) the 'promesses faites par les Allemands à leur allié [Henri II], en échange de son appui militaire et financier, figurait celle-ci: lors de la prochaine élection impériale, ils favoriseraient tel candidat qui lui serait agréable; et si lui-même voulait assumer l'Empire, ils s'emploieraient à le lui faire obtenir'. But the German princes never had any intention of honouring their word, asserts Zeller, 'lorsque en avril 1552, ils firent la paix avec Charles-Quint, sans s'être au préalable entendus avec le roi de France'.¹²⁸

More recently, Dr. Pariset claims that in 'les accords de Friedewald' (February 1552), that 'Henri II entendait ainsi affirmer sa supériorité sur la Ligue, en être chef suprême, détenir l'Imperium'. Pariset says that 'Maurice de Saxe et ses alliés ... s'engagent à donner le Vicariat d'Empire à faire élire un Nouvel Empereur; avec l'aide du Roi à restaurer les Privilèges et Libertés Germaniques' but the German Princes 'ne lui accordent qu'une voix dans le Conseil de la Ligue'. Nevertheless, Pariset admits that this German point of

125 Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres Complètes*, éd., G. Cohen (Paris, 1950); cited in, Cloulas, *Henri II*, p. 533; Cloulas says that this 'sonnet est écrit peu après la reconquête de Boulogne sur les Anglais', *Ibid*, p. 534.

126 G. Zeller, 'Les Rois de France candidats à l'Empire: essai sur l'idéologie impériale en France', *Revue Historique*, CLXXIII, (1934) part I, pp. 273-311, and part II, pp. 534-479; Zeller observes that this is a 'beau sujet d'étude, offrant matière à de profitables réflexions, pour le sociologue presque autant que pour l'historien'. On s'étonne qu'il ait été si complètement négligé jusqu'ici', *Ibid*, p. 273; also see a study of 16th-century Imperialism in: M. François, 'L'idée d'Empire à l'époque de Charles-Quint', *Charles-Quint en son temps (Actes du Colloque International du CNRS, Paris, 1958)* (Paris, 1959).

127 Zeller, 'Les Rois de France candidats à l'Empire', p. 274

128 *Ibid*, pp. 510-11, cf. G. Zeller, *La Réunion de Metz à la France (1552-1648)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1926), vol., I, pp. 172-73. For further details of 'le traité de Lochau-Chambord', see Pariset, *Les relations entre la France et L'Allemagne*, pp. 107-15.

view was very different from the French one, and that at the same time, 'Henri II est représenté par sa propagande officielle comme le nouvel Arminius, cet "empereur" germain qui restitua pour un temps bref la grandeur et les libertés, en détruisant les légions de Varus. Un seul exemple ne suffit pas;' continues Pariset, 'mais que dire lorsque chez les propagandistes, les historiens, les géographes officiels ou simplement les écrivains contemporains comme Rabutin, partout il est question de l'origine germanique des Francs. ... En fait,' concludes Pariset, 'il s'agit d'un retour aux sources de l'histoire de France, à la légende de Francus, que Ronsard popularisa peu après'.¹²⁹

These ideas were not only prevalent among the savants of the age, but were also exhibited at ceremonies at the French court. At the wedding, on 14 February 1553, of Duke Horatio Farnese and Diane de France¹³⁰ attended by a vast number of the international nobility, Sir Thomas Hoby observed at the wedding feast, which was held 'in the house of Burbon, not farr from the Lover [Louvre], in the which was a great halle hanged with faire tapistrie, upon the whiche were sett uppe sundrie scuttchions of the armes of France, Orleans, Farnese, and Urbin; and emong them were certain tables with these inscriptions in them in grete letters'. Of the nine mentioned by Hoby, two are significant here:

CHRISTIANISS. FRANCO REGI, HENRICO II
ITALICO GERMANICO BRITANNICO

and

OB RES IN ITALIA, GERMANIA ET BRITANNIA
FORTITER AC FOELICITER GESTAS¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

¹³⁰ Diane de France (1538-1619) was Henri II's illegitimate daughter by Filippa Duci. Farnese died later in 1553 and Diane married François de Montmorency, eldest son of the Constable in 1557.

¹³¹ *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, written by himself, 1547-1564*, ed., E. Powell (London, 1902), pp. 91-92, *cf.* BL, Egerton MSS 2148. Also see Plates No. 3 and 4: recto and verso of 'Henri II, victory medal 1552'; Plate No. 3, recto: Profile of Henri II wearing an imperial laurel wreath and the order of St. Michael with the following inscription around the edge of the medal: 'HENRICVS GALLIARVM REX INVICTISS. PP'. Plate No. 4, verso: A chariot drawn by four horses conveying two goddesses, one carrying a victory palm and the other a bouquet of flowers whilst an angel plays a trumpet adorned with a royal banner decorated with the three fleu-de-lys of France with the inscription under the chariot: 'EX VOTO PVB 1552' and around the edge of the medal: 'OB RES IN ITAL. GERM. ET GAL. FORTITER AC FOELIC. GESTAS', BN, Cabinet des Medailles, Série Royale, Henri II, Argent (1552), Arm. 6, tir. 5, No. 112.

Plate No. 3: Henri II, Victory Medal, 1552.

Recto: Profile of Henri II wearing a laurel wreath and the order of Saint-Michel

BN, Cabinet des Medailles, Série Royale, Henri II, Silver (1552)
Arm. 6, tir. 5, No. 112



Plate No. 4: Henri II, Victory Medal, 1552.

Verso: Chariot drawn by four horses conveying two goddesses, one carrying a victory palm and the other flowers whilst an angel plays a trumpet adorned by a royal banner with three fleur-de-lys of France.

B.N. Cabinet des Medailles, Série Royale, Henri II, Silver (1552)
Arm. 6, tir. 5, No. 112



Further evidence of Henri II's imperial ambitions encompassing England are revealed in a deposition by Thomas Stukeley, and English gentleman 'who had served the French King gallantly in his wars',¹³² made to Edward VI on 19 September 1552. Stukeley stated that 'the French King hymself utterid unto hym that he knewe Newnchambridge to be of no emportauce in strength, and therefore he ment for the enterprise ageinst Callise first to take it, and from thence to passe by the sandes to Risebanke, which the French Kinge accompted pregnable in iiij [4] howres'.¹³³ Stukeley said that Henri II reasoned that 'although he cold in short space recover Callise, yet to auenter the same was in wayne otherwise than to seke the whole realme, wherewith he might also have Calisse'. For the invasion of England Henri II would 'order that the Skottes shuld enter into Northumberland with all there power, alledging that he had hitherto used them with such libertye as he dowted not of there service. And then he hym self wold come to Fallmouth, and the duke of Guise with an other armye to land at Dartemouth with provision of victell from Brest, being vij [7] or viij [8] howres passage, at which place the duke of Guise shuld land without perill, for that there was no strength there'. Henri II planned that 'his owne armye shuld land at Hellforth [? Helford, Cornwall], for that there be certen bullwarkes at Fallmouth, stronge towards the water, but not to the land, as he esteemeth. This done', continues Stukeley, 'he intendeth to proclame and so restore the old masse, putting the people to there full libertye, as he dothe in Scotland; and, being answered that he shuld be wise or threse fought with all, and yet if he should have an overthrowe he meaneth to fortifye Falmouth and Dartmouth, and so to possesse it as we doo Callise'.¹³⁴ With the benefit of hindsight Henri II's plans seem somewhat far-fetched, but it should be born in mind that Henri II's strategy for the recovery of Calais in 1552 was successfully executed by the duc de Guise in 1558, and that in September 1552, Henri II's army had been

132 Henri II to Edward VI, Folambray, 3 August 1552, *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 218; Henri II recommended Stukeley to Edward VI's favour: who now returns to England 'which he had left without having obtained previous permission to do so', *Ibid.*, p. 218. 'Thomas Stukeley had been the King's standard-bearer to the men of arms or horsemen at Boulogne, before the surrender of that town, with the fee of vj [6] s and viij [8] a day', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 456.

133 PRO, Sp 68/10/145; Henri II's rationale was, as he explained to Stukeley, 'that there is in Risebank a mount which loketh into the markett place of Callise, by the which he wold annoyne Callise; and, notwithstanding he understandeth that there is in the castle of Callise an other mount overlooking it, yet the same is old and not of any moment to beare any ordnance, but is so weake the xij [12] shott of the cannon wold wyne it. Furder, to laye his ordnance and batterye at a wyndemill or sandhills towards Gravelinges to batter Callise towards the Lanternegate, and there meaneth he to laye his armye, notwithstanding the opinion of the English for the drowning of the country by sluses, which he nothing regardeth, esteeming it of no purpose', *Ibid.*, fol., 145; this appears to be the same strategy that Henri II devised for the duc de Guise's successful attack on Calais in 1558; see C.S.L. Davies, 'England and the French War, 1557-9', in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, 1540-1560*, eds., J. Loach and R. Titler (London, 1980) p.172.

134 PRO, Sp 68/10/146; the final folio concerns information of the Emperor and his current war with France, *Ibid.*, fol. 147; Stukeley's deposition is fully transcribed in, *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 445-46.

victorious in all their campaigns since 1547 in Scotland, Boulogne, Italy, and the recently captured Imperial Bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun. That the English took him seriously is shown in the 'letter sent in al hast to Mr. Morison [who was] his Majesties embassadour with th'emperour, the 24th of Septembre [1552]'.¹³⁵

Iconographic evidence of Henri II's imperial ambitions is suggested by M. Volker Hoffman in his articles, '*Donec totum impleat orbem*: symbolisme impérial au temps de Henri II' (1978), and 'Le Louvre de Henri II: un palais impérial' (1982), in which he examines the visual manifestations of the King's imperial ideology in contemporary art, sculpture and architecture. These explicit examples are supported by the evidence in which Hoffman cites both Henri II's letter to the Seigneur d'Aramon on 27 September 1550 and his negotiations, when he was still the Dauphin, with the German princes in 1540. There was also the idea, says Hoffman, and 'la plus ancienne, que le roi de France ne reconnaît aucun supérieur, pas même l'empereur. "Le roi est empereur dans son royaume" (Jean Ferrault, 1521)'. Lastly, 'le rêve d'une monarchie universelle, unifiant le monde, y compris les non-chrétiens: cette idée fut développée surtout par guillaume Postel dans ses *Raisons de la Monarchie* (1551) et son *Histoire Mémorable* (1552), tout en revendiquant cette *Monarchie Universelle* au profit du "Roi très chrétien"'.¹³⁶ Hoffman says that 'il semble bien que l'iconographie du Louvre de Henri II s'inscrive parfaitement dans le cadre de ce tableau'.¹³⁷ Nor is there any doubt that 'les allégories du Louvre — règne universel, paix universelle, félicité universelle — annoncent elles aussi le retour de l'âge d'or. Déjà, pour l'entrée solennelle de Henri II à Rouen en 1550, avait été érigé un arc de triomphe sur lequel deux Sibylles portaient un croissant (emblème de Henri II) surmonté par Saturne — l'*aetas aurea* étant l'âge de Saturne — tandis que les inscriptions dudit soulignaient clairement que le nouvel âge d'or annoncé par les Sibylles était revenu sous le règne de Henri II'.¹³⁸

It was possibly in 1536 'quand Henri devint dauphin fut retenue pour ce prince la devise *DONEC TOTUM IMPLEAT ORBEM*'¹³⁹ [Until it fills the whole world] avec le croissant comme emblème.¹⁴⁰ Le mot *Orbis* signifie entre autres *circulus, sphaera, globus, imperium, regnum*, et il ne fait pas

135 *Ibid.*, p. 456; this 'memorial' is printed in *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, vol., II, Records No. 57, cf. BL, Cotton Coll. Galba B XII, *Ibid.*, p. 457.

136 M. V. Hoffman, '*Donec totum impleat orbem*: symbolisme impérial au temps de Henri II', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1978) pp. 32-33; and 'Le Louvre de Henri II: un palais impérial', *Ibid.* (1982) p. 7.

137 Hoffman, 'Le Louvre de Henri II', p. 7.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

139 'Jusqu'à ce qu'elle emplisse tout le cercle', Cloulas, *Henri II*, p. 110.

140 'Puisque Henry second du nom à pris/ Pour sa devise un celeste croissant/ Sans riens choisir du terrestre pourpris/ C'est bien raison qu'en bon heur soit croissant/ Tant que tout lorbe ait soubz sa main compris', M.M. McGowan, 'Henri II's Entry into Rouen', p. 225.

doute que cette devise exprime l'aspiration à la suprématie'.¹⁴¹ Hoffman has chosen as a visual manifestation of Henri II's motto and emblem 'un panneau de vitrail conservé actuellement dans la chapelle du Lord Maire à Bristol,¹⁴² provient du château d'Écouen.¹⁴³

Il faisait partie d'une série de vitraux aux chiffres et aux devises d'Henri II et de Catherine de Médicis qui décoraient jadis soit la chambre du roi, soit la grande salle du château et qui sont dater "autour 1551". Au centre du panneau se trouve une couronne de fruits et de feuillages entourant trois croissants entrelacés, emblème d'Henri II, et la devise *DONEC TOTUM IMPLEAT ORBEM*. Quatre petits cartouches fixés à la couronne portent les chiffres d'Henri II: un 'H' entrelacée avec le 'C' de Catherine de Médicis (ou le 'D' de Diane de Poitiers?). Au-dessus de la couronne il y a un autre cartouche flanqué de deux angelots et contenant un globe, ou plus précisément une sphère céleste surmontée d'une fleur de lys: derrière apparaissent le sceptre royal et la main de justice et au-dessus — soutenue par deux génies ailés — la couronne royale "fermée à l'impériale". Le tout, bien entendu, est une allégorie

141 Hoffman, '*Donec totum impleat orbem*:', p. 32.

142 See Plate No. 5; the Chapel of St. Mark, or the Lord Mayor's Chapel, is the only building which remains of the medieval hospital of the Gaunts, founded before his death in 1230 by Maurice de Gaunt. The Hospital was further endowed by Henry de Gaunt who was the first master, and by Maurice's nephew and heir, Robert de Gournay, who made the Hospital a separate foundation, independent of the Abbey of St. Augustine; with a master, four chaplains and eight clerks. The Hospital lasted 300 years until its dissolution in 1539 by Henry VIII who sold it to the Corporation of Bristol in 1541 for £1,000; in whose possession it still remains, E. Ralph & H. Evans, *St. Mark's the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol* (Bristol, no date) repr. (1979) pp. 3-4.

143 St. Mark's Chapel is remarkable for its foreign painted glass, mainly of 16th-century French and Flemish origin which was, no doubt, plundered from châteaux and churches during the French Revolution. It was collected by William Beckford of Fonthill and Sir Paul Baghott of Lypiatt Park, Stroud, and purchased at their respective sales by the Corporation of Bristol in 1823. The most interesting portion, (both artistically and historically, came from the château of Écouen, one of the famous monuments of the French Renaissance, *Ibid*, p. 8. Le château d'Écouen, du manoir citadelle des Bouchard, vieux de dix siècles; le Connétable Anne de Montmorency fait, au XVI^e siècle, sa résidence de disgrâce. Il y travaillera de 1541 à 1547, entouré des plus grands artistes de son temps: Jean Bullant, Charles Baillard, Jean Goujon. Il y accueillit les captifs de Michel-Ange. C'est un modèle de château Renaissance: "Art Français et art Italien s'y affrontent, s'y mêlent et malgré tout s'harmonisent. Décor de l'antiquité gréco-romaine dû non seulement à Jean Bullant révenu émerveille de Rome ou à l'influence de Sébastien Sclio, mais Montmorency lui-même qui, à l'exemple de François 1^{er}, sacrifiait à la Renaissance Italienne"; F. Feugère, *Saint-Acceul d'Écouen: fief des Montmorency (XVI^e siècle)* (Châtillon-sous-Bagneux, 1970), p. 21, cf, M.C. Terrasse, *Le château d'Écouen*, H. Laurent (1925). Apparently, the château d'Écouen was 'protégé contre le vandalisme révolutionnaire par l'abbé Grégoire', although not entirely as the evidence of the glass panel at Bristol shows. In the post Revolutionary period it 'connut des fortunes diverses: prison d'Anglais, hôpital des défenseurs de la République, prison de suspects, il devint en 1870 une Maison d'Éducation de la Légion d'Honneur', *Ibid*, p. 22.

Plate No. 5:
 French glass made for Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France
 in 1550

(Second window on the north side of the Nave)
 St. Mark's, The Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol



Plate No. 6

Henri II with an Imperial crown, attributed to Clouet



L.I., 343 MUSÉE CONDÉ, CHANTILLY (260)
Henri II attribué à CLOUET (1510-1572)

politique que l'on pourrait interpréter comme "le règne universel du roi de France, Henri II".¹⁴⁴

There seems to be little doubt that Henri II entertained ambitions of succeeding Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor,¹⁴⁵ or at least contesting the election as his father had done in 1519.¹⁴⁶ To achieve his goal it was not only necessary to have large sums of money to bribe the German Princes, but also to have acquired suzerainty over as many lands, territories and states as possible, in order to magnify his claim.¹⁴⁷ The lynchpin of Henri II's proposed territorial acquisitions in Northwestern Europe was Scotland, not only because of its sovereign queen, but also because of her legitimate propinquity to the English crown. Moreover, following Henri II's victories over the English in Scotland and Boulogne, 'hopes were raised', says Dr Potter, 'of a transfer of sovereignty over the new kingdom of Ireland from

144 Hoffman, '*Donec totum impleat orbem*,' p. 29. Merriman also draws attention to Henri II's imperialist ambitions in 'Mary, Queen of France', *Innes Review*, XXXVIII, (1987) repr. in *Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms*, ed., M. Lynch (Oxford, 1988). In this essay, under the sub-heading '*Donec totum impleat orbem*', *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41 (the pagination is the same in both publications) in which Merriman also refers to Henri II's letter to the Seigneur d'Aramon of 27 September 1550 and the king's Entry into Rouen in 1550, he draws some similar conclusions concerning Henri II's motto and emblem as Hoffman, but refers to sources other than Hoffman; of whose work he is probably unaware. Incidentally, there are several errors in Merriman's essay: (1) Edward VI was born on 12 October 1537, not 1536 (p. 31); (2) Henri II spent 3,000,000 not 2,000,000 livres on Scotland between June 1548 and April 1550 (p. 39); see Dickinson, 'Instructions to the French ambassador 30 March 1550', p. 161, n. c; (3) BN, Fonds François [*sic*] 18513 (note 27, p. 50) should read BN, Fonds Français 18153 see Dickinson, *Ibid.*, p. 161, n. 4; also see Accounts No. 1, 2, 4 and 6, in Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming); 5) finally, it is highly unlikely that 'the just born Charles' (p. 38) rode with Elisabeth, Claude and Louis on the chariot during Henri II's Entry into Rouen. The contemporary account says 'deux petites filles' and 'deux petitz filz'; Henri's four children were probably François (Dauphin), Elisabeth, Claude and Louis. In the procession, the Dauphin, like the King, had 'cestuy representant la noble personne de Monsieur le d'Aulphin de France', facsimile (1551) in McGowan, *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen*; this work is also not cited in Merriman's essay.

145 The Scots referred to his imperial status on 22 April 1550: 'because he, of his imperial dewtie, is oblist to defend pupillis [Mary Queen of Scots]', *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 93.

146 In June 1553, following his victories against Charles V, Henri II sent a letter 'aux ordres de l'Empire assemblez pour l'élection d'un Empereur: "Henricus dei gratia Francorum rex & etc. Universis et singulis sacri romani Imperii ordinibus conventum nunc habentibus, consanguineis, foederatis et amicis charissimis, salutem. Renunciatum est nobis vos comitia nunc habere, in quibus cum de romani Imperii et Germaniae rebus gravissimis consilia inire statueritis, visum est nobis pro mutua nostra observatione ac studio in rem germanicam perpetuo, legatos aliquot a consiliis nobis proximos ac primarios deligere, ut illi mentem nostram vobis aperire, et consilia communicare facilius possint, quae cum omnia rationibus vestris commodent amplissimum illis pro jure gentium securitatem, ac pro mutua amicitia dicendi facultatem concedi optamus.....', *Mémoires de Guise*, p. 181.

147 See full-length portrait of *HENRICVS SECVNDVS REX FRANCORVM CHRISTIANISSIMVS* (Plate No. 6) attributed to Clouet, adorned by an imperial-style closed crown which is surmounted on three fleur-de-lys, symbol of France, and surrounded by the chain of coquilles of the Military Order of Saint-Michel; and in the left-hand corner, Henri II's emblem of three entwined crescent moons, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

England to France'.¹⁴⁸ In 1549, Joachim Du Bellay expounded the same theme in his *Chant Triumphal svr le Voyage de Bovlongne*:

Et sera dict le temple de Victoire.
Là je peindray comme il aura donté
Calaiz, Boulongne, et l'Anglois surmonté,
Puis l'Hibernie, et tout ce qui attouche
L'humide lict ou le soleil se couche. (Lines 188-192)¹⁴⁹

According to Potter, 'occasionally, Irish magnates had appealed to Continental rulers, usually with little result, but nothing like the protracted dealings between the court of Henri II and the dissident Irish had been seen before'.¹⁵⁰

In the mid-sixteenth century the Gaelic Earls in particular, resented the increased judicial and administrative authority embodied in Thomas Cromwell's reforms of English government in Ireland in the 1530s, and in general, the implication that English power extended to all of Ireland beyond the Pale by Henry VIII's assumption of the title King of Ireland in 1541.¹⁵¹ Most of the petitions for foreign aid came from those Earls who had had their lands confiscated by Henry VIII. Notably, Gerald Fitzgerald, 11th earl of Kildare who, following the Kildare Rebellion in 1536 for which his father, 'Silken Thomas', had been executed, managed to avoid capture and eventually escape to the Continent in 1540; where he was acclaimed in France and Italy as the rightful King of Ireland whose crown had been usurped by Henry VIII.¹⁵² Following the accession of Henri II and his swift intervention on behalf of the Scottish government to recover the Castle of St Andrews in July 1547, petitions from Irish magnates were received at the French court. Rumours abounded in England. On 19 January 1548, it was reported that Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare had arrived the previous month at Dumbarton with seven French ships and proposed to marry the Scottish Queen and unite Ireland and Scotland against England,¹⁵³ and in November it was reported that 'the French king intends to send young Gerald Fitzgerald into Ireland

148 D.L. Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland during the Reign of Henri II, 1547-1559', *International History Review*, 2 (1983) p. 159.

149 Joachim Du Bellay, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, vol., 3, p. 85; 'l'humide lict' c'était 'l'océan britannique, ou les poètes feignent que le soleil se va baigner à l'heure qu'il decline de nostre orizon', *Ibid*, p. 85, n. 2.

150 Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland', pp. 159-160.

151 B. Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), *passim*; for a partial critique of Bradshaw's position, see S.G. Ellis, 'The Government of Tudor Ireland', Chapter 6, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470-1603* (London, 1985), pp. 151-182.

152 R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, 3 vols (London, 1885), vol., I, pp. 218-19.

153 Examinations of John Ladweke and Thomas Werdon, Pensance, 19 January 1548, PRO, Sp 10/3/11. Presumably this report refers to the vanguard of French troops, led by the Seigneur de la Chappelle, who arrived at Dumbarton in December 1547, although there is no mention in the Scottish correspondence or in any of the surviving French muster rolls of the arrival of the Earl of Kildare.

with an army.¹⁵⁴ In France, St Mauris informed the Emperor on 11 March 1549 that 'at the instigation of the King he [Kildare] came here to court where everything is being done constantly to try and persuade him to go back to Ireland and raise a revolt of the people against the King of England'.¹⁵⁵

Whilst Henri II was urging the reluctant Kildare to return to Ireland,¹⁵⁶ the 4th earl of Argyll was cogently arguing the case to the 'Monsieur de Fourquevaux et le conte de Visque', for a combined Franco-Scottish force to aid the dissident Irish Magnates to overthrow the English in Ireland. The French envoys reported to Henri II that, if subsidized, Argyll could 'fournira cinq mils [5,000] hommes pour vng mois apres leur descente en Hirland advittaillez et embarquez a ses despences. ... Et quil ly [Henri II] plaise envoyer avec ses capitaines commissaires et tresoriers pour en faire le payement'. Argyll also 'demande quil plaise au Roy pour luy supporter ly envoyer deux mile cinq cens [2,500] homes cest a dire mile [1,000] haquebusiers et mil Vc [1,500] picquiers avecques vng double cannon et deux simples canons deux bastardes deux moyenes et deux double falcons et quatre faulconneaulx avecques pouldres bouulletz munitions et cannoniers, suffisamment fournys avecques poles, pioches et autres manoeuvres et picz pour pionniers'. Additionally, Argyll requested that four galleys and a sufficient number of ships were needed, not only to transport the forces to Ireland, but also to lie off shore to ensure that the English could not escape, nor be reinforced by sea. Finally, Argyll 'demande que le jeune conte de Quildar [Kildare] soit envoye avec le secours desusdicts pour se joindre avecque luy pour myeux servir le Roy'.¹⁵⁷

Potter says that the Seigneur d'Oysel not only came to the conclusion that 'Argyll's plan was feasible, but went on to suggest a grand strategy to divide the English forces in Ireland: Argyll was to attack in the north, while the French and the exiled Kildare were to land at Waterford. D'Oysel', continues Potter, 'drew up detailed military requirements for the Irish and called attention to what was to become an important issue: the question of

154 Lord Chancellor Alen to the Protector, Dublin, 21 November 1548, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1509-1573*, ed., H.C. Hamilton (London, 1860), vol., I, p. 92.

155 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., IX, p. 348.

156 Kildare, who had spent much of his exile in the care of Cardinal Pole at Rome, resisted these attempts and chose to remain abroad until the reign of Mary Tudor. He arrived in England in 1554 where he fought with distinction for the queen in Wyatt's Rebellion, and was rewarded with the Bishopric of Kildare, Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, vol., I, p. 225.

157 *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, pp. 30-31; d'Oysel observed that 'ledict pays [Ireland] porte grand deuotion au conte Quildar', *Ibid*, p. 33.

Papal suzerainty in Ireland.¹⁵⁸ This was to be the pretext', concludes Potter, 'and in Ireland a powerful one, for intervention'.¹⁵⁹ D'Oysel argued that

Hirlande a este de toute ancienete de leglise et Saint Siege apostolique et donne par icelle aux Roys dAngleterre par condition que ou ils violeroient et contreviendroyent aucunement aux droictz et authorities de ladicte eglise ledict Royaulme retourneroit a son obeysance et subiection.¹⁶⁰ Du depuis est advenu par deux fois que lesdicts Roys dAngleterre sans cette derniere se sont allieez de la dicte obeysance toutesfoys finalement leur a este ledict Royaume confirme par ledict Saint Siege apostoliq avecques la susdicte condition et encores plus expresse. Laquelle ayant aujourdhuy en fraincte comme chacun scayt et est a croire que les gens dudict pays dHirlande servans a leur prince plus par force ou tirannie que de bonne volunte et estantz deulx-mesmes et de leur naturel devotz et fideles chrestiens.¹⁶¹

After Fourquevaux had delivered his report to Henri II he returned to Scotland and, together with Jean de Monluc who had arrived earlier in the year,¹⁶² set out for Ireland sometime in October 1549. Potter says that although 'no instructions from the king have survived ... their main instruction was "pour traicter avec les princes Hirois, et les attirer a sa devotion et obeissance, et les faire declarer ennemis de ses ennemis"'.¹⁶³ Sir James Melville of Halhill, who was only fourteen years of age in 1549, accompanied Monluc to Ireland before returning with the bishop-elect to France. At the end of his long life, Melville was to record in his *Memoirs*

158 The Irish had often claimed that the Pope was the true King of Ireland, as indeed did Pope Paul IV, who in 1555 declared himself to be *Rex Hiberniae*, Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, vol., I, pp. 393-94.

159 Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland', p. 162. In this excellent article Potter thoroughly examines and analyses not only the historiography and published sources, but also most of the available MS. material, mainly from the English, French and Scottish archives and libraries; placing his argument within the context of mid-16th century internal Irish politics, and contemporary Anglo-Franco-Scottish relations. Central to his argument is the dispersed Fourquevaux archive, parts of which are to found at NLS, MS. 2991, which includes *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, published by Dickinson (1948) and sundry correspondence, some of which Potter has transcribed and published in 'Anglo-French treaty of 1550', pp. 174-75; as well as correspondence between Irish Magnates and Henri II: BL, Stowe MS. 154, fol., 1, BN, Fonds Français 10751, pp. 8-10; and Vienna H —, H — u. St. A., Frankreich, Varia, fasz. 7, fols 14-5, *Ibid*, pp. 172-76. Finally, the main surviving parts of Fourquevaux's archive are to found in BN, Fonds Français 23175 (papers of 1557-1569) and in the AN, Archives privées 159.

160 'The Irish object to the King's [Henry VIII's] heresy, and dispute his title to the land', Cowley to Cromwell, Dublin, 8 September 1539, *CSP, relating to Ireland*, vol., I, p. 50.

161 *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Écosse, 1549*, p. 32.

162 '... vous fera plusamment entendre le seigneur de Monluc, maistre des requestes de l'hostel, present porteur', Montmorency to Marie de Guise, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 28 January 1548, *Balcarras Papers*, vol., II, p. 29. Monluc was confirmed as Bishop of Valence in 1553, Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate*, p. 228.

163 Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland', p. 165; *cf.* BN, Fonds Français 10751, p. 8.

that the object of the voyage was to 'knew mair particularly the motion and lyklyhead of the offers maid be Onell [O'Neill], Odonell [O'Donnell], Odocart [O'Dogherty], and Caloch [Calough O'Donnell], willing to cast off the yok of England and becom subiect to the King of France, provyding that he wald procure the Paipes gift of Yreland, and then send to ther help 2,000 hacbuters 200 leicht horse men and four canons'.¹⁶⁴ Melville says little about the negotiations but according to Potter's evidence it was a "voyage assés chatouilleux, tant a cause du commerce et alliance que ce peuple barbare et sans raison avoit avec les Anglois; que pour y tenir desja ceste nation maintes fortresses".¹⁶⁵ 'This document', says Potter, 'represents only a qualified set of proposals [and], in view of the fact that for several years afterwards the Irish were making propositions of this kind, it would seem that no formal agreement was ever reached'.¹⁶⁶

Fourquevaux and Monluc returned to Scotland in January 1550 and the plans envisaged at this time, says Potter, 'were clearly grandiose in conception: in execution they proved less impressive. As in all diplomatic negotiations', concludes Potter, 'each side was concerned only with its own interests'.¹⁶⁷ Marie de Guise had been sceptical from the outset. On the 12 November 1549 she had informed her brothers that 'je croy se voyage ne leur a guiere profite'.¹⁶⁸ By the time that the treaty of Boulogne had been signed on 24 March 1550, Henri II seems to have lost his enthusiasm for intervention in Ireland. A few days later he instructed the Seigneur de Fumet to inform the 'Seigneurs de Monluc et Fourquevaux qui sont allez en Hirlande quilz ayent a eulx retirer sans passer oultre ou fait et execucion de leur voyage'.¹⁶⁹ Ireland was, so to speak, put on the 'back-burner', although the Scots in Marie de Guise's entourage at the French court were of the opinion that 'Ireland is theirs whenever the King shall give them a signal [and] that Calais is not a seven nights' work'.¹⁷⁰ Irish contacts with the French court, however, continued throughout Henri II's reign, which was always a cause for English concern. On 9 March 1551, Simon Renard reported to the Emperor that 'the English are aware of the good understanding between the Irish and the King of France, and the intrigues he is carrying on there; and so they are sending an army of 10,000 men to Ireland to shatter the King's hopes and

164 *Memoirs of his own life by Sir James Melville of Halhill, M.D.XLIX—M.D.XCIII*, from original manuscripts, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1927) [hereafter, Melville, *Memoirs*], p. 9.

165 Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland', p. 165; cf, BN, Fonds Français 10571, p. 8.

166 *Ibid.*, p. 165; cf, *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

167 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

168 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 221r.

169 BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol., 4v.

170 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 58; on 4 December 1550 an Irish envoy 'has told his "friends that he doubteth not to see the French King shortly to bear the crown of Ireland";' *Ibid.*, p. 63. The prediction for the recovery of Calais proved to be remarkably accurate in Dec. and Jan. 1557-58.

plans and make themselves safe against his intrigues'.¹⁷¹ As Dr Potter points out, 'Henri II probably did hope to achieve a kind of hegemony [in Ireland] ... but by February 1551, the French court was already well advanced in its negotiations with the German Protestants for a renewal of the struggle against the Emperor. In all their dealings with the English at this time', Potter asserts, 'the French were anxious to remain correct: a renewal of conflict with England would have been an anomaly in the general context of French policy'.¹⁷² Therefore, as far as Henri II's imperial ambitions were concerned, his negotiations with the German Princes took absolute precedence over those with the Irish Magnates. Besides, should Henri II ever fulfil Joachim Du Bellay's prediction and become 'Henri IXme en Angleterre', then Ireland would not be able to resist being drawn into the emergent Valois Empire.

In the meantime, following Henri II's Entry into Rouen in October 1550, Marie de Guise commenced her triumphant tour of France. As Marguerite Wood points out, 'the "Dépenses de la Maison Royale" for July 1551 give some idea of the amount of travelling which she must have done, for in that one month, save for two days spent at Blois and ten days at Joinville, she was journeying constantly, and spending no more than one night in each stopping-place'.¹⁷³ A series of quittances, or receipts, in the "Dépenses" also show that she made a number of gifts and loans of varying amounts to some of her large Scottish entourage. The money which enabled Marie de Guise to make these loans and gifts was supplied by Henri II. On 18 March 1551, Sir John Mason informed the Council that 'the Quene sythen her cominge hither hath [been] well provyded for, herself and her friends, and hath optayned fiftye thousande franckes [50,000 livres tournois] by yere for the mayntenance of her estate and fyfitye thousande [50,000] more to bestow as she shall see cause'.¹⁷⁴

The largest of these loans was made to the clergy: on 7 August 1551, Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning, received 9,600 livres tournois, giving an assurance that he would 'bien payer et prometiz en acquitter Icelle dame envers lesdits Seigneurs gouverneur et archevesque de St Andre';¹⁷⁵ and James Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose borrowed 3,000 écus d'or soleil (7,500 livres tournois) 'lesquelz et ladicte Dame nous faict fournir comptant par deca par son tresorier et receueur general de ses finances aux

171 CSP, *Spanish*, vol., X, p. 244; see also Sir William Pickering (Mason's successor in France) to the Council 25 February 1552: 'the French King hath a practyse in Ireland', Potter, 'French Intrigue in Ireland', pp. 176-7; cf. BL, Harleian Coll. 1582, fol., 2r.

172 *Ibid*, p. 175

173 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. xxvi.

174 PRO, Sp 68/6/146.

175 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.5, fol., 148 (Volume 5 is part of the unpublished Balcarres Papers MSS and comprises part of the "Dépenses de la Maison Royale"). On 4 Sept. 1551, 'Gavin Hamilton became coadjutor and successor of St. Andrews', Hannay, 'Papal Bulls in the Hamilton Papers', p. 35.

termes de St Jehan et Noel prochaines par les fermiers de mesdits abbayes'.¹⁷⁶ Of the secular nobles, Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd earl of Cassillis, borrowed the largest sum of 6,600 livres tournois on 3 April 1551, which he 'prometz rendre aladictie dame quit solute et acquicter vingt [20] jours apres que jay arrive audit pays d'Escosse'.¹⁷⁷

During the same period, Marie de Guise made a payment to Alexander Cunningham, 5th earl of Glencairn, of 2,400 livres tournois on the 24 March 1551.¹⁷⁸ Two days later, Glencairn informed the Dowager that 'I haif ressavit in Paris ij thousand iijcc frankis [2,400 livres tournois] in compleit payement of the pencion I haif of your grace for your part of all termes bygane and thankis your grace therof ... [and] quhat service your grace plesis command me vith in Scotland let me be advertyst and it salbe redy don vith sic gud vill as I am able to do'.¹⁷⁹ The following day, on 27 March 1551, Patrick (later 3rd Lord Ruthven), received 1,200 livres tournois on behalf of his father, William;¹⁸⁰ on his own behalf a few weeks earlier, on 2 March, Ruthven had written to Marie de Guise from Paris that 'I resavit your wretingis fra the lord Hwme desyryng me to resaife four hundreth crownis [400 écus d'or soleil or 1,000 livres tournois] fra Monsieur Weilmoir', but he 'wald deliver na thing bot ane certane of testanis with ewill solus that is cryit doun in this cuntre'.¹⁸¹ Ruthven was in dire straits with his landlord to whom he owed 200 crowns, therefore he begs Marie de Guise 'to send wretingis to monsieur Weilmoir to deliver gud money: or uthirways I am satefeit to want it sa lang as it ples your grace, for I haif evir bene and salbe at your grace

176 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.5, fol., 136; the loan was made on 23 May 1551 at 'Fonstrevaulx', (?Abbaye Fontevraud, near Saumur). For a table of the fiscal exchange rates in 1550-51 see Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents*, Appendix No. 1 (forthcoming). His half-brother, John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham, (also an illegitimate son of James V by Katherine, daughter of Sir John Carmichael) was nominated to the Abbey of Flavigny en Auxois, in the diocese of Autun. On 14 February 1551 he wrote to Marie de Guise from Paris, informing her that 'I was nominat to the abbacie of Flawengy be the Kingis grace', but he could not afford the great sum 'for bullis of the said benefice'. Therefore, 'I beseik your grace to labour affectuoulsie at this tyme that I may have ane commission of the kyngis grace to put me in possessioun, otherways I will gett na credett of na bancqueir for the expeditioun of my bullis', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 343.

177 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.5, fol., 143; earlier, on 16 March 1551, Cassillis had received a gift of 138 livres tournois, *Ibid*, fol., 146. Extant evidence of the only other loans during this period remains for loans of 100 écus d'or soleil (250 livres tournois) each to James, 4th Lord Fleming, *Ibid*, fol., 138, and William Keith, earl Marishal, made at Joinville on 7 August 1551, *Ibid*, fol., 142.

178 *Ibid*, fol., 131; the NLS catalogue says that this is an 'unsigned receipt, 24 March 1550/1'. But on the right-hand side of the document, written in a second hand, is 'conte de Glincon', and on the reverse is a signature which Professor Donaldson has kindly verified for me in a letter, 21 Aug. 1985, as being that of 'Glencairn'.

179 *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 347-48.

180 NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.5, fol., 134. Patrick succeeded as 3rd Lord Ruthven in Dec. 1552, *Ibid*, p. 347, n. 3.

181 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 346. The testoun was a silver coin, originally struck in Milan, but minted for circulation in France by François I. In 1547 it was worth 1 livre, 15 sous (sols) tournois, *Ibid*, p. 346, notes 4 & 5.

commandement.¹⁸² Finally, on 14 June [1551] Robert, 6th Lord Maxwell, informed Marie de Guise that 'the maister of Erskine hes schawne me at his departing from your grace ye delverit him xij hunder frankis [1,200 livres tournois] the quhilk ye appontid to gewe me. Moreover he schew me ye had providit me sekirnes of viij frankis [800 livres tournois] mair, swa my ... attait suld be twam frankis [2,000 livres tournois] and I to be ane gentilmen in the [ki]ngis [Henri II's] chalmer'. Therefore the grateful Maxwell assured Marie de Guise that 'I salbe redy to serve at the uttermost of my lytell power quhair it sall pleis the King or you to command me'.¹⁸³

From the start, the presence of Marie de Guise and her Scottish entourage at the French court had been a source of aggravation and concern to Sir John Mason, who informed the Council from Blois on 23 February 1551 that 'the Quene of Skottes and her house [the Guises] beareth in this Courte the hole swynge'. Furthermore, she 'desyreth as muche our subuersyon yf it laye in her power, as she desyreth the preseruacion of her self, whose service in Skotlande is so highlye taken here, as she is in this Courte made a goddessse. Monseigneur de Guise and Monseigneur D'aumal and the Cardynall of Lorraine, partelye at her egging and partelye uppon an ambitious desire to make their house greate, be no hynderanes of her malitious desyre'.¹⁸⁴ In his opinion, Mason continues, the Constable 'wolde be content thinges proceded otherwise, but he woll not dare to stande againste the reste. And in dede he is not at all tymes called to suche kynde of communicacion'; the credit of the House of Guise, asserted Mason, 'in this Courte passeth all others. For albiet the Constable hath the owtward administracion of all thinges being for that service suche a man as harde it were to fynde the lyke, yet have suche as I have before written as muc[h] credite as he with whome he is constraigned to sayle, and many tymes to take that course that he lyketh never a whitt'.¹⁸⁵ Even though Mason did little to hide his dislike and contempt for the Scots, this did not deter him from employing Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who offered the English ambassador his services as a spy, and 'who has promised to communicate to Mason all that he can learn' of the Scots. Mason informed the Council on 26 February 1551 that 'in future correspondence Lord Grange will be named *Coraxe*'.¹⁸⁶

182 *Ibid*, pp. 346-47; 'Bartholomew de Villemore, at this time was attached to the establishment of Mary Queen of Scots in France, and afterwards Comptroller of the Scottish Exchequer, under the regency of Mary of Lorraine', *Ibid*, p. 346, n. 2.

183 *Ibid*, pp. 349-50. During the same period smaller sums were granted to: Captain James Dog, 250 écus d'or soleil (625 livres tournois) on 2 May 1551, NLS, Adv. MSS 29.2.5, fol., 155; Jehanne de la Riville de Criq, 100 livres tournois on 7 August 1551 at Joinville, *Ibid*, fol., 151; James Ogilvy of Finlatier, 40 écus d'or soleil (100 livres tournois) for services rendered to Marie de Guise at Amiens on 5 September 1551, *Ibid*, fol., 150; and finally, George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly, was given 200 écus d'or soleil (500 livres tournois) and William Keith, earl Marishal, 300 écus d'or soleil (750 livres tournois), *Ibid*, fol., 140.

184 PRO, Sp 68/6/85.

185 *Ibid*, fol., 86.

186 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 77. Kirkcaldy, who had been one of the 'Castillians' captured in 1547 by Leone Strozzi and imprisoned in France for his association with the

Marie de Guise's voyage to France was not the only progress of nobles and men-of-state to take place during 1551. Henri II's great victory over the English in Scotland and Boulogne — the most significant against England since Charles VII's victories during the Hundred Years War in the previous century — occasioned a period of great diplomatic activity on both sides of the Channel in the aftermath of the treaty of Boulogne. The focus for the diplomatic negotiations, which were orchestrated by Henri II, was the French court; whilst the attendant celebrations of banquets, balls, hunting, jousting and other sporting activities took place,¹⁸⁷ not only in France but also in England and Scotland at the time of the ratifications of the associated treaties. In these negotiations Henri II's priority, as it had been for his military objectives, was Scotland; negotiations in which he took advantage of Marie de Guise's presence in France to consult her. On 7 March 1551, Sir John Mason informed the Council that after Henri II had received their report on Scotland, the King 'hadde caused the Skottyshe Quene to repaire immediatlye unto the Courte, who before was at her howse called Chasteaudun. This same day he [Henri II] wolde speake wth her, and as shortely as might be, we shoulde have a resolute answer'.¹⁸⁸ It would appear that Henri II intended settling the Scottish problem with England before concluding the specific details of agreements made with England in the treaty of Boulogne.

The priority of the Governor of Scotland, however, was a peace treaty with the Emperor, and as soon as the Anglo-French peace was announced the Governor sent a herald to Henri II requesting an audience with the Emperor be arranged for the Scots.¹⁸⁹ Then, a few weeks later on 22 April 1550, the Scottish Privy Council asked Henri II to brief their ambassadors who 'first suld cumin to the King for his avise and informatioun, and thairefter to have departit to the Emprour for the said peax and the Kingis ambassadouris with thame to that effect'.¹⁹⁰ The French king, however, first wanted Scotland comprehended in the treaty of Boulogne. Therefore, as soon as he had concluded the ratifications of the comprehension of Scotland, Thomas, Master

murderers of Cardinal Beaton, had only recently been released from incarceration at the behest of Marie de Guise, soon after she had arrived in France at the end of 1550. Several years later he served in the French army in Henri II's wars against Charles V, see Melville, *Memoirs*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁸⁷ From Blois, on 7 February 1551, Sir John Masone wrote to the Council giving 'an account of the King's courtiers' tilting, the processions and masks, to which the Ambassadors were invited ... and of the grand banquet made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, at which the King himself was the steward of the feast, and the Constable the clerk of the kitchen; ... He "never saw a more goodly or a richer sight. A man would have thought that all the jewels in Christendom had been assembled together, so gorgeously were the dames beset with great numbers of them, both their heads and bodies", *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁸⁸ PRO, Sp 68/6/125.

¹⁸⁹ *Supra*, notes 10-12.

¹⁹⁰ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 89.

of Erskine,¹⁹¹ having received letters patent from 'Mary, Queen Dowager of Scots, and the Earl of Arran ... to conclude a truce or peace with the Emperor, the Queen Dowager of Hungary, or their delegates', at Edinburgh on 8 September 1550;¹⁹² set out for the French court, arriving there on 12 October 1550.¹⁹³ After he had received his instructions from Henri II, Erskine travelled to the court of the Dowager, Queen Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries, at Binche where, in concert with the French ambassador, Sébastien de L'Aubespine, Monseigneur de Bassefontaine, the treaty was signed on 15 December 1550;¹⁹⁴ which 'treatie with the Emperour, is specialie reservit and inclusit and comprehendit the maist Cristin King of Frans, his realmes and dominionis, efter the form of the treatys past betuix his maist nobill forbearis and the Quenis Grace maist nobill forebearis Kingis of Scotland.'¹⁹⁵ The treaty, however, was settled not without certain difficulties concerning Scottish pirates.¹⁹⁶ The following day, Sébastien de L'Aubespine wrote to M. de Chémault (French ambassador in England) from Binche, that,

moy, et de Monsieur d'Asquyn [Erskine] de ce que nous ne vous avons aucunement escript depuis six semaines; mais, attendant d'heure à aultre vous escripe bonnes et mauvoises nouvelles de nostre paix, j'ay tousjours retardé; et vous diray en somme que, le jour d'heir, elle fut conclue et arrestée, et ont l'Empereur et lesdicts Escossois, dudict jour, paix par ensemble, qui sera incontinent publiée, dont Dieu scait si l'ambassadeur Anglois,¹⁹⁷ qui est par

191 'Accepta Comprehensionis Scotiae in Tractatu Pacie inter Reges Angliae et Francorum'. signed James G, and Great Seal of Scotland, Edinburgh, 13 May 1550, *Foedera*, vol., VI, Parts I and II, p. 199.

192 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 174; *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 185.

193 Sir John Mason to the Council, Dieppe, 19 October 1550, *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 58.

194 'Copie of the treatie betwene Charles the Emperour and Queene Marie of Scotlande', (signed 'Johannes Skene, cl. Rege') BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B VII, fols., 440r-444r. 'Articles du Traité de paix d'entre l'Empereur et les Escossis, faits par les députz dudict Empereur et le Seigneur d'Asquyn [Erskine]', sans date, Teulet, *Papiers d'état*, vol., I, pp. 239-48; also see *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 197 and *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 185. It should be noted that the treaty of Binche is not published in the *Foedera*.

195 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 120.

196 See letters of Mary of Hungary to Count Van Buren (Count Maximilien de Bourgogne, Admiral of Flanders), Binche, 8 and 11 Dec. 1550, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 193-94. Van Buren immediately replied to Mary of Hungary and begged her 'to consider that the Scots have had their staple for trading, their conservator, and other privileges granted to that nation by your most noble predecessors and confirmed by your Majesty, some forty or fifty years in the town of Veere'. But 'since the outbreak of hostilities the town has lost quite one quarter of its former wealth, and were the Scots to be removed it would lose all ... [and] M. Van Buren has been informed that the Scots wish to return to Veere, now there is to be peace, and to remain there', *Ibid.*, p. 194.

197 Sir Thomas Chamberlain, 'Ambassador with the Ladie Regent in Flaunders', *APC*, vol., III, p. 190.

deçà, se fasche; car, l'ayent présentement mandé à son maistre par homme exprès.¹⁹⁸

At the same time, Bassefontaine must have sent a dispatch to Henri II, who informed Chémault on 21 December 1550 from Blois, that,

je vous advise que, entre l'Empereur et les Escossois, s'est accordé le différend qui estoit, et les choses si bien passées entre la royne de Hongrye et les députez de la royne d'Escosse qui estoient allé par delà avecques mon ambassadeur que, grâce à Dieu, la paix est faite et establie entre eulx, ainsi que le seigneur de Bassefontaine, mon ambassadeur en Flandres, vous aura adverty; et pour autant qu'il est necessaire que mon cousin le Gouverneur d'Escosse et mon ambassadeur qui est auprès de luy [d'Oysel], le sachent, pour pourvoir à faire cesser les depprédations de leur costé. ... [Aussi], advertissant le dict roy d'Angleterre et son conseil, si voyez que bon soit, de l'occasion de sadicte dépesche, de laquelle ils ne devront estre que très contens'.¹⁹⁹

Although evidence of Chamberlain's angry report to the English Privy Council appears not to have survived, the essence of it can be deduced from Jehan Scheyfve's dispatch to the Emperor on 21 January 1551, which he sent after his meeting with Warwick, Somerset, Parr, Clinton and others of the Council; and which he had arranged in response to Mary of Hungary's commands in her letters to Scheyfve of 19 December 1550, concerning the Imperial-Scottish treaty of Binche. In this lengthy dispatch to the Emperor, Scheyfve explained that he had informed the English that, 'after several conferences, the peace had been concluded and the King of England included in it by your Majesty's initiative, according to the perpetual amity and confederation between your Majesty and the said King and his dominions. To this they made no reply', said Scheyfve, 'nor did they utter a word'.²⁰⁰ The major part of this dispatch, however, concerned the necessity 'to have prompt restitution', continued Scheyfve, 'made of certain ships, belonging to your Majesty's subjects, that had been seized by the Scots and pirates, together with payment of all damages caused thereby; and this in spite of the lively solicitations of the French ambassador [Sébastien de L'Aubespine] that the said

198 Girardot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, pp. 31-32. It should be noted that A. Teulet did not include this document when he published Girardot's transcriptions in his *Relations Politiques* as he did with most of the others, however, it appears in, J.A.B. Teulet, *Papiers d'état*, vol., I, pp. 237-39.

199 Girardot, *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; Teulet, *Ibid.*, vol., I, p. 250.

200 *CSP, Spanish*, Vol. X, p. 198. This was the first time (as far as I am aware) and probably the only time, that England was comprehended in a treaty between Scotland and a foreign power, and more particularly when England was neither consulted nor represented at the negotiations. Little wonder that the Privy Council were speechless, although they possibly had some inkling, as they had attended an urgent meeting with the French ambassador, M. de Chémault, two days previously, *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Scots and their ships should be freed from arrest [by the English²⁰¹] and released'.²⁰² A long discussion, essentially a circular argument, ensued with the English at first denying responsibility, then blaming the Scots and finally, making threats to bring the case before the Court of Admiralty; an option which Lord Edward Clinton, the Lord High Admiral, particularly supported. This option was eschewed by Scheyfve who eventually extracted a promise, he informed the Emperor, 'to have certain decisions that had been given in favour of your Majesty's subjects executed'.²⁰³

Erskine had returned directly to the French court at Blois from Binche on 30 December 1550;²⁰⁴ returning to Scotland via London where he was 'received by the King and Council and much caressed', in early April 1551.²⁰⁵ In Brussels, following the Emperor's ratification of the treaty at Augsburg on 1 April 1551,²⁰⁶ the Emperor's Council of State appointed Matthew Strick to deliver the Imperial ratification to Scotland and collect the Scottish one.²⁰⁷ According to John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Strick arrived 'to end [complete] the pece heir and it was nocht endit thar for certen small differens quhilk wilbe mendit the xxij day of this moneth [22 June] quharto the nobill men of this realm ar warmit to be. And this is all the differens thair stand on: to haif the peex ratifit be every stait be thair selfis and ondir thair selis and sic lik be my lord governor in speciall, and the Kyngis mageste [Henri II's] imbassadour now in Flanderis [Sébastien de L'Aubespine] hes grantit tharto'.²⁰⁸ David Paniter, bishop of Ross, explained to Strick that the Scottish Council had decided that 'you were to have two ratifications of the peace: one in the Queen's name to which that Lady's great seal alone should be affixed; the other with the Queen's seals in the first place, and then the Regent's [Governor's] together with those of the Great Council and

201 Scheyfve to the Emperor, London, 21 January 1551: '...my Lord of Warwick talking most, and he of Somerset sometimes putting a word, that the property in question had been taken at a time when your Majesty [Charles V] was still at war with the Scots, and since the Scots had ventured to approach the ports of this kingdom, and land without letters of safe-conduct, everything found in their possession ought, according to their ancient custom, to be confiscated', *Ibid.*, p. 199. It should be noted that the period referred to by Warwick occurred after the ratification by England of the comprehension of Scotland in the treaty of Boulogne; hence de L'Aubespine's 'lively solicitations' on behalf of the Scots. On 30 January 1551, Warwick wrote to Chémault from Granville apologising that he could not keep his appointment with him in London, but 'je confesse' continues Warwick, 'qu'il était ma part et mon devoir de venir à vous et de n'en vous mettre à telle peine', Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes', p. 129

202 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 199.

203 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

204 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 65.

205 'Advices sent by Jehan Scheyfve', London, 9 April 1551, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 265.

206 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., 1, p. 184.

207 The Council of State to Mary of Hungary, Brussels, 14 April 1551, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 271-72.

208 Archbishop Hamilton to Marie de Guise, Peebles, 14 June [1551], *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 354.

Estates'.²⁰⁹ The Emperor's Great Council in Brussels was puzzled by this dual-ratification but they did 'not wish to incur the odium of letting it be believed that the men who had signed the ratification and appended their seals to it alongside of those of Queen Mary of Scotland, the Regent [Governor], and other prelates and nobles were practicing deceit, acting in a capacity that was not theirs, or were the least important members of the Estates'.²¹⁰

There does not appear to be any surviving evidence or logical rationale for two ratifications which were identical, except for the seals and signatures, although it should be noted that the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, is wanting from 24 February to 30 August 1551. As we have already seen, the Governor was anxious to sign a separate peace treaty, independent of Henri II, with the Emperor, even before the Anglo-French ratifications of the treaty of Boulogne had been signed; much less the comprehension of Scotland into that treaty. But, having been forestalled by Henri II in the treaty negotiations, the Governor, at the instance of David Paniter, bishop of Ross,²¹¹ and in the absence of Marie de Guise, decided on this dual-ratification solution, which appears to have been of dubious legality in international law, as expressed by the Emperor's Great Council in Brussels. It can only be supposed that the Governor made a distinction between himself and the Estates of Scotland, and the Kingdom of Scotland as embodied in the sovereign, Mary Queen of Scots, in an attempt to prevent the Scottish government's involvement in future wars between the Emperor and Henri II.

Perhaps it was this action which prompted support for the Governor by the Three Estates of Parliament on 1st February 1552, on which day they 'ratifeit and appreuit' the agreement made at Stirling on 18 November 1544, rescinding Marie de Guise's attempt to overthrow the Governor whereby 'my Lord Governour and the Quenis grace and the haill counsall hes dischargeit, cassit and annullit ... all acts and ordinances at Striuling or quhatsumeuer vther place suspendand my Lord Governour fra administratioun of his office

209 Bishop of Ross to Mathieu Strick, no place, no time (? July, 1551, Scotland), *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 337.

210 'Memoir concerning the Treaty between the Emperor and the Scots (? July 1551), *Ibid*, p. 338.

211 Paniter had spent several months at the Imperial court in 1545 unsuccessfully trying to have Scotland comprehended in the treaty of Crépy; his close association with the Governor as his procurator in France during 1548 and 1549 and subsequently in Scotland, seem to have precluded him from further ambassadorial duties. At the end of 1548 and early 1549 there was much discussion at the French court concerning Scotland's position vis-à-vis the Emperor, *Ibid*, vol., IX, pp. 315, 316, 322 and 323. Finally, on 1 February 1549 the Emperor instructed St Mauris that in 'referring to the Constable's repeated assertion when speaking about the inclusion of the Scots in the peace, that the King [Henri II] his master is King of Scotland and must make Scottish interests his own'; that, continued the Emperor "nous remectons a ce que peult estre de ce tiltre", ... while standing firmly by our treaties with England, especially reserved in the Treaty of Crépy; and, according to this last, the King of France may not assist the Scots against us as they were our enemies at the time the treaty was signed, and besides have continued in war and enmity towards us since', *Ibid*, p. 335.

of government and tutorie'.²¹² On the same day, however, this act was prefaced by a 'remembrance to my Lord Gouvernouris grace and the three Estatis being present in Parliament how that Monsieure Dosel the maist Christin Kingis Lieutennent and Ambaxatour was haistelie to depart of this Realme to his maister and that his gude service done in thir partis baith in tyme of peax and weir sould be written to the said maist Christin King not allanerlie thankand his grace of the samin bot alswa suppleand to thank and reward the said Monsieure Dosell'.²¹³ As far as loyalty to the 'Auld Alliance' was concerned there was no question that it lay with France. Marie de Guise and the 'Lordis of the Greit Counsel' concluded on 20 March 1552 that 'quhat incommodite may cum to this realm, gif the peax with the Emperour beis broken', an attempt should be made to persuade the 'Kingis Majestie [Henri II]' otherwise.

Bot gif always his Majestie persistis and abidis at that poynt, that he will haif declaratioun of weir maid to the Emperour in naim and behalf of this realm, in that cais thair salbe send to the Emperour ane sufficient personaig to gyf up the samyn peax, and declair unto him that this realme can nocht remane at freyndschip with him, he standand at inmyte with the said maist Cristin King of France, maist anciant and maist speciale freynd unto the Queenis Grace our Sovereane Lady, and this hir realme.²¹⁴

The peace between Scotland and the Emperor having been settled, Henri II turned his attention to England. He informed M. de Chémault on 23 January 1551 that he had commissioned the 'Seigneur de Lansac'²¹⁵ ...

212 *APS*, vol., II, p. 489.

213 *Ibid.*, p. 489; in April 1552 d'Oysel's appointment as Lieutenant General in Scotland was made permanent and at the same time he was also made 'un gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy', with appropriate pensions, see Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Cleutin: an Historical Document' (forthcoming).

214 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 120.

215 'Louis de Saint-Gelais qui, né en 1512, devint Seigneur de Lanssac, Saint-Savin, Précysur-Oise, Vernoux, Cornefou, Ardilleux et Basses-Vergnes, baron de la Mothe-Saint-Héray, capitaine de Bourg-sur-Gironde et de Blaye, gentilhomme de la chambre du Roi Henri II, gouverneur des princes devenus plus tard François II et Charles IX, chambellan du roi, Chevalier des ordres de Saint-Michel et du Saint-Esprit, capitaine de la seconde compagnie des 100 gentilshommes de la maison du roi, chevalier d'honneur de la reine Catherine de Médicis [1577] et surintendant de ses finances, conseiller du roi en son conseil d'état et privé', *Correspondance Politique de M. de Lanssac (Louis de Saint-Gelais) 1548-1557*, ed., Ch. Sauzé, in *Archives Historiques de Poitou*, XXXIII (Poitiers, 1904), p. iv. In an article published in 1940, M. Ch. Sauzé de Lhoumeau claims that Lansac was an illegitimate son of François I, (cf. 'reputé frère naturel de Henri II', Romier, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 323). Lhoumeau says that his parents, Alexandre de Saint-Gelais and 'Jacquette de Lanssac, sa jeune femme, durant les longues absences de son mari,' and who was 'riche, belle et élégante devait habiter, la plupart du temps, la ville de Cognac, où la cour de la comtesse d'Angoulême, Louise de Savoie [François I's mother]; ... [et] Mme de Saint-Gelais ne tarda pas à devenir une des dames les plus en vue de la petite cour où séjournait, en de brefs déplacements, le jeune prince. ... [En 1512] elle mit du monde un fils qui, jusqu'à sa mort ne cessa de jouir d'une enviable faveur auprès de François Ier et de ses descendants'... Après cet événement,

l'envoye par delà, qui tend seulement à pacifier les différends qui sont entre les Anglois et les Escossoys, dont je désire bien veoir la fin et que la royne d'Escosse puisse avoir net ce qui luy appartient'.²¹⁶ Lansac arrived in London at the end of January and on 1st February 1551 he and Chémault presented Henri II's proposals for the Anglo-Scottish peace to the English Privy Council. In the preamble the French King asserted that 'forasmuche as he had taken the protection of the Scottishe Quene, considering that Scotlande was comprehended, he could no lesse do then to desire the King his goode brother to restore Edrington,²¹⁷ the fyssheng in Twede and other lymittes, with the newtrall estate of the Debatable Grounde, in like maner as every thing was before the beginneng of the last warres'. Secondly, certain English prisoners, who had been released by the Scots, had failed to pay their agreed ransoms, therefore, 'he prayed order might be taken that thei shulde paie it accordinglie'. Thirdly, now that England was at peace with Scotland the French King 'prayed thentercourse betwene bothe realmes might be open, and that restitution might be made of v [5] shippes of Scotlande staid there syns the Peace'. Finally, regarding the hostages still in England since Solway Moss (1542); 'the Frenche King desireth the Kinges Majestie to deliver them, like as at his request thei of Seint Andrewes have been delyvered in Fraunce'. The French envoys were asked by the Council to 'have pacience for a fewe daies' while the Council deliberated the French King's proposals.²¹⁸

On 14 February the Council recalled Lansac and Chémault 'for aunswere to the poinctes proponed'. Firstly, where Henri II 'desyred full restitution of Edrington²¹⁹ and other thinges belonging to the realme of

Alexandre de Saint-Gelais, ignorant sans doute sa conjugale infortune, quitta la cour de Navarre "fut retiré au service de Louis XII", and died in 1522. Then 'à la mort de sa mère, [Lansac] avait pris le nom d'une de ses seigneuries: Lansac, située près de Bourg, sous le quel il fut connu toute sa vie', Ch. Sauzé de Lhoumeau, 'Un fils naturel de François Ier, Louis de Saint-Gelais, baron de la Mothe-Saint-Héray', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, vol., XVI (1940), pp. 6-7 and 10.

216 Giradot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, p. 3; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 251; Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, vol., I, pp. 207-24; Teulet incorrectly dates these letters as January & etc. 1550 instead of 1551, and which Sypher uses as evidence in her thesis (pp. 147-48) citing the events as 1550, resulting in a distortion of twelve months in the interpretation of this part of her thesis. Sir John Mason also notified the Council on 23 January 1551 that 'Monsr de Lansac natif of Guyenne ... whome the ffrenche king sendeth presently to the Kinges Mate to treat for the appeasinge of such quarrelles as at my last being at the Courte were declared unto me touching Skotlande', PRO, Sp 68/6/275.

217 'The English having, in the course of the war, seized the house of Edrington and the mill belonging to it, commonly called Cawmills, as also its lands, fishings and other dependences', Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 393.

218 APC, vol., III, pp. 204-05; for the French version see: 'Remonstrances et demandes faictes par les seigneurs de Chémault ... et de Lansac', Giradot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, pp. 4-7; Teulet, *Relations Politique*, vol., I, pp. 251-54, incorrectly dated by Teulet as the 14th not 1st Feb. 1551; also see *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 300-01.

219 For further background on Edrington (near Berwick) see an 'Indenture, London, May 12, 1534, *Foedera*, vol., XIV, p. 538: 'it is agreed between the bishop of Aberdeen, Sir Adam Otterburn, and the commissioners of Henry [VIII] that the said King Henry to show his

Scotlande ... albiet that by the Treatie last made²²⁰ it was lafull for the Kinges Majestie to enyoie and keepe not only Edrington, with other thinges that he keepeth not within that realme, having had the same in his possession long before the last treatie;' (this is curious because by the Indenture of 1534 it was supposed to have been returned to the Scots). But Edward VI, 'for the more perficte declaracion of his desire to the contynuanche of the amytie, wolde send a gentleman of his owne very shortly to the French King'.²²¹ Secondly, regarding the unpaid English ransoms, 'it was agreed that what prisoner so ever was free of prison before the Treatie, and indebted for his ransoun, he shulde paie the debt,' and visa versa regarding the Scots. Thirdly, Edward VI, in order 'to gratifie his goode brother, the Frenche King, was contented that those Scottishe shippes wiche remaine stayed here salbe sett a lybertie, except such as are priates'. Concerning future safe haven for Scottish ships: this was to be granted in times of tempest and necessity 'according to the Treatie made betwene King Edward the iijth [IV] and King James the iijde [III]. Finally, the question of hostages²²² was to be discussed with the French King by 'the saied gentleman appointed'.²²³ Sir William Pickering and Sir John Mason were instructed 'to treat upon a peace propounded by the French King betwixt Scotland and us, whereby Roxborough, Aymouthe, Ederington, and the fisshinge of the water of Twede, are required to be rendered to the Scottes, and the prisoners to be discharged taken since the last warre.'²²⁴

Two days later, on 16 February 1551, the Council informed Sir John Mason of the details of these meetings,²²⁵ and on 7 March, following the arrival of Sir William Pickering, the English responses were presented to Henri II, who consulted Marie de Guise before giving his answer to the

goodwill and affection will restore within 20 days the house of Eddrington or Cawmyllis, with lands and pertinents, acquired by him in the last war and now to be peaceably held without molestation on the part of England or the inhabitants of Berwick', *Letters of James V*, p. 269. Teulet asserts, incorrectly, that Edrington: 'Adryton' or 'Heringthon' is 'Harrington dans le comté de Cumberland, à 4 kil. s. de Workington', *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 243, n. 1, and p. 252.

²²⁰ The previous peace treaty between England and Scotland was the Treaty of Greenwich, 1 July 1543, which was never ratified by Henry VIII, see Elizabeth Bonner, *The French Reactions to the Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots*, Part I: *Henry VIII and François Ier*, *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, vol., VI (1998).

²²¹ Sir William Pickering who shortly after replaced Masone as the English ambassador resident in France.

²²² Lansac's 'liste des otages: ce sont les hostages pour les prisonniers prins à Solem Most [Solway Moss, 1542]; les deux filz du comte de Glenearne', et les filz du Sr d'Oliphant, M. Carst, Sr de Somervaiill et M. Craggy. A second list, says Lansac, 'ce sont les hostages donnez depuis aux gardiens des frontières': les hostages du Srs de Garleis, Wamfray. Lochinvar, et Drummaillarde; du Messrs Cloysbrun, d'Elphinstonn, et Hempfield, du tuteur de Vombe, de l'abbé de Salsatte et du capitaine Craufurde', Girardot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, p. 7; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 255.

²²³ APC, vol., III, pp. 211-12; *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 303-04.

²²⁴ BL, Harleian Coll. 353, fol., 86, cf. *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, p. 304 and note.

²²⁵ PRO, Sp 68/6/25-29.

English ambassadors.²²⁶ On the same day Henri II wrote to Edward VI acknowledging his letters delivered by Sir William Pickering, and agreeing to the remonstrances made by the Seigneur de Lansac, who had also returned to France in the interim, that 'vous auez accorde les pointz qui resterent a parfaire et accomplir pour le regard du Royaume d'Escosse choses qui cederont au grant bien et repos tant de voz subjectz que ceux dudict Royaume d'Escosse. Et en la bonne et parfaicte amytye qui est entre nous deplus en plus assuree et fermement establie ainsi que lauons plusamment dict et declare audict Seigneur de Pickerin'.²²⁷ On 17 March 1551, Mason informed the Council that Lansac and Thomas, Master of Erskine, would be in England within two days, and that 'these men [Henri II's Councillors] sithen this last commission seem much altered in disposition towards us, and in all men's opinions we are like this year as the last to be friends'.²²⁸ On 21 March, Henri II confirmed Lansac's credentials in a letter to Edward VI, asking him to have 'le croyre et adjouster foy ace quil vous dira de par nous tant ainsi que feriez nostre propre personne'.²²⁹

Lansac and Chémault met with the English Privy Council on 5 April 1551 and, after deliberating some further points, a general agreement was made that negotiations could now begin on a peace treaty between Scotland and England.²³⁰ The following day the Council appointed the English commissioners: 'The Busshop of Lichefild or Norwiche, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonarde Bekwith [and] Sir Thomas Challoner' to negotiate 'by Treatie of suche differences as yet remaine in question betwene us and the Scottes it hath been condescended betwene us and them that certain Commissioners, to the nombre of fowre [4] of either partie, shall note upon the frountiers of both realmes for that purpose by a certayn daie prefixed to treat and conclude upon the saied differences'.²³¹ On 11 April 1551 instructions were given by Edward VI to 'Sir William Pickering taking with hym our letters of credence to our very good brother the French King and all such other writings as ar prepared for his depeche'. He nominated the English commissioners 'who by goddes grace shall be redy to mete with those for Scotland vpon the frontiers about the begyin of May next with ample commission to conclude vpon all matters'. Finally, Sir William Pickering was appointed 'as our ambassador resident there' at the departure of Sir John Mason.²³²

226 PRO, Sp 68/6/119-27.

227 Henri II to Edward VI, Blois, 7 March 1551, PRO, Sp 68/6/137.

228 PRO, Sp 68/6/138; see also four undated memoirs of discussions held by Lansac with various members of the Council: Paget, Cobham, Arundel, Clinton, Somerset and Warwick. In the fourth memoir Lansac says that Warwick 'm'a demandé si le Roy appelloit la petite royne d'Escosse sa fille; et m'a dist, qu'après avoir mangé les choux, nous voulderions avoir le jardin', Girardot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, pp. 16-20; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 242-46.

229 PRO, Sp 68/6/161.

230 APC, vol., III, pp. 250-51; *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 311-12.

231 APC, vol., III, pp. 252-53.

232 P.R.O. Sp 68/6/257-63.

Lansac and Erskine departed for Scotland soon after to join the other commissioners for Scotland: Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and Robert, Lord Maxwell; and on 8 May at Edinburgh and 10 May 1551 at Greenwich, the commissioners of Mary Queen of Scots and Edward VI signed the report for the treaty of Norham.²³³ Edward VI informed Henri II on [c.20-21] May 1551 that 'le Seigneur de Lansac touchant le parfaire et reduire a bonne fin par commission dung coste et daultre les choses que auparavant nous avons proposez par nostre ambassadeur resident lez vous et ce porteur [Pickering] touchant'.²³⁴ On 29 May Lansac informed Chémault from Edinburgh the 'Messieurs les depputez de la royne d'Escosse et moy receues vne lettre des commissaires depputez du roy d'Angleterre qui sont à Barvic [Berwick], par laquelle ils nous mandent qu'ils ont heu response des seigneurs de leur conseil sur les différens en quoy nous estions demeurez: pourquoy nous avons arresté de nous retrouver ensemble lundi prochain qui sera le premier jour de juing, pour continuer ce que nous avons commancé'.²³⁵ Henri II was pleased with the progress of the negotiations as he informed Chémault on 6 June: that he had received his letter of 24 May 'par où j'ai entendu comme le roy d'Angleterre, mon bon frère, et les seigneurs de son conseil ont satisfait à tous les pointcs que ces commissaires, estants assemblez avecques ceulx d'Escosse, n'avoient voullu passer;²³⁶ dont vous avez adverty le seigneur de Lansac. De quoy et de tant de démonstrations d'amitié que faict ledict roy d'Angleterre en mon endroit, je remetz à le faire mercyer par mon cousin le maréchal de Saint André'.²³⁷ Finally, on 10 June 1551 at Norham Church, a

233 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 186; report signed by 'Thomas Norwicij, Robert Bowis, Leoneyd Beckwyth [and] Thomas Chaloner' of their proceedings with the Scottish commissioners at Norham Castle, 14 May 1551, BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B VII, fols., 449r-456r; Instructions from Edward VI and the Lords of the Council to their Commissioners on the borders, Greenwich, 19 May 1551, *Ibid.*, fols., 432r-435r; and empowering them to use their own discretion, same to same, Greenwich, 22 May 1551, *Ibid.*, fols., 436r-437v.

234 PRO, Sp 68/7/501.

235 *Correspondance Politique de M. de Lansac*, pp. 3-4; Girardot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, p. 26; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 271. Lansac also mentions that 'après avoir longuement attendu, l'argent pour le payement des gens de guerre qui sont de par deçà est venu', *Ibid.*, Lansac, p. 4; Girardot, p. 27; Teulet, p. 271.

236 The points that they 'n'avoient voullu passer', mainly concerned the division of the 'Debatable Lands', situated between the Scottish and English West Marches, to establish the Border limits between the two kingdoms. A separate commission was to be set up later to deal with this ancient and vexatious problem.

237 Girardot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, p. 27; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 272. In this same letter Henri II also informed Chémault 'que j'ay receu la confession faicte à Calais par ce malheureux Escossois, lequel est arrivé depuis deux jours [4 June], et espère que bientost nous saurons de lui la verité de la méchante et malheureuse conspiration', *Ibid.*, Girardot, p. 29; Teulet, p. 273. The Scot and the conspiracy to which Henri II refers was the attempt by a 'Robert Stuart' to gain the support of the Earl of Warwick for his scheme to poison Mary Queen of Scots. (see Chémault's report, 14 May 1551, to Henri II and the Constable, *Ibid.*, Girardot, pp. 34-44; Teulet, pp. 260-70). Stuart then approached a fellow-Scot, James Henrisoun, who at that time was exiled and destitute in England, with his plan. Henrisoun grasped the opportunity and reported Stuart's plan to Chémault who had him arrested and, as we have seen, Stuart was extradited to France. (For

'treaty of peace between Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots [was] concluded by Thomas, bishop of Norwich, & etc., commissioners of Edward VI, and Robert, bishop of Orkney, Robert, Lord Maxwell, Thomas, Master of Erskine, and Sir Louis de St Gelasius, Lord of Lanssac, knight, commissioners of the Queen of Scots'.²³⁸

During the Spring and Summer of 1551, conviviality and co-operation between the French and English courts reached new heights the like of which would not be seen again in Valois France or Tudor England. Each kingdom exchanged large retinues of nobles and gentlemen accompanied by their servants and retainers: the English, who were first, to present the Order of the Garter to Henri II,²³⁹ followed by the French who reciprocated with the Order of Saint-Michel to Edward VI.²⁴⁰ Although neither of these events compared with the opulence of the 'Field of Cloth of Gold' (1520), the basis

Henrisoun's letter to Marie de Guise, 9 May; Stuart's confession, 13 May; Henri II to Chémault, 15 May, praising the 'très-valeureusement comporté de Comte de Warwick'; and Marie de Guise's and the Constable's letters to Chémault 26 May and 13 June 1551, see Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes', pp. 130-44; also Henri II to Edward VI and Masone to the Council, PRO, Sp 68/6/361 and 365, concerning this affair.) For a colourful and dramatic account see Merriman, 'James Henrisoun and "Great Britain"', pp. 100-01. Exactly who Stuart was and what happened to him is not known. Merriman says that 'he was almost certainly a member of the Scots Guard by 1551', *Ibid.*, p. 100. If he was then he is not mentioned on the Muster Rolls of the *garde écossaise* for the years 1548, 1549, 1550 or 1551, in Forbes-Leith, *Scots Men-at-Arms*, vol., II, pp. 144-150. There is, however, a Robert Stuart, Archer, in James Hamilton, 3rd earl of Arran's 60 Lances 'des ordonnances du Roy', mentioned in a Muster Roll taken on 27 July 1550, BN Coll. Clairambault 255, No. 1377. Merriman assumes that Stuart 'suffered the barbarous fate of the traitor', (p. 101) whilst Antonia Fraser says, without evidence, that he was 'hanged drawn and quartered', *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 78. It is therefore surprising to find two Robert Stuarts 'le jeune et l'aisné' listed among Arran's Lances on 26 April 1552, BN, Coll. Clairambault 256, No. 1427, see Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 33-34; all of which seems to prove only that 'Robert Stuart' was a name commonly found among sixteenth-century Scots in France. Apart from Stuart, the affair ended happily with plaudits and commendations all round and, according to Merriman, resulted in Henrisoun's rehabilitation by a grateful Marie de Guise.

²³⁸Peace treaty, Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots, Norham, 10 June 1551, (Latin) BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B VII, fols., 462r-464r; NLS, Adv. MSS. Advocates Charters Ch. A. 26; *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 186; *Foedera*, vol., VI, parts I & II, pp. 203-06.

²³⁹On 1 May 1551, Edward VI sent letters to Henri II and the Council to Sir John Mason informing him that 'on last St George's Day [23 April] the French King had been elected Knight of the Garter', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, pp. 98-99; *APC*, vol., III, p. 268; on 10 May, to Sir Gilbert Dethuick, 'Garter Kinge at Armes, for provision of a helme garnished with fine golde, a crowne of copper gilten, an arming girdell to the same, and a plate of mettall with tharmes of the French King engraven for his installation, xlii [£20]', *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

²⁴⁰On 6 June 1551, Henri II wrote to Edward VI: 'Treshault et trespuissant prince [& etc] ... Tout ce que nous auons le plus desire cheureulx bien de pair quil a pleu a dieu donner a nous noz Royaulmes pays et subgetz. Ce a este quil souffist moyen de fortifier et augmenter la bonne et fraternelle amytie que nous auons ensemble, et pour ceste cause ayant considere que lon ny pourroit donner meilleur commencement que en vous appellant et assocyant en la compaignye de chevaliers de nostre ordre, monseigneur Sainct Michel, comme prince tresvertueulx et plain de louables merites', PRO, Sp 68/7/565; Edward wrote in his journal: 'I accepted the order of monseigneur Michel by promise to the French embassadour [Chémault]', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 323.

of this accord had far greater substance in that peace with Scotland had been included.²⁴¹ The prime object of these embassies, however, was to settle the final agreements of the treaty of Boulogne; chiefly, the negotiations for the marriage of Henri II's daughter, Elizabeth, to Edward VI.

The English embassy to France was led by William Parr, earl of Essex and Marquis of Northampton who, with the Bishop of Ely, Thomas Goodrich, Sir John Masone, Sir William Pickering, Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Oliver were sent to invest Henri II with the insignia of the Order of the Garter, and to negotiate the marriage.²⁴² According to Sir Thomas Hoby, 'the hole number of the noblemen and gentlemen with their traynes was two hundredthe and lx [240]',²⁴³ all of whom travelled from Calais to Boulogne on 29 May 1551, and where they were 'received right honorable with gunshott and other triumphes'; and met by 'Monseigneur di Mendosta'²⁴⁴ who had been appointed by Henri II to conduct the English party to the court.²⁴⁵ They travelled overland via Montreuil, Abbeville, Amiens, Paris²⁴⁶ and Chartres to Orléans²⁴⁷ where they were transported by boats down the Loire River to Nantes,²⁴⁸ alighting there to join Henri II and his court at Châteaubriant²⁴⁹ on 19 June 1551.²⁵⁰ They were met at the town gate by

241 For an account of the 'Field of Cloth of Gold', see Knecht, *Francis I*, pp. 77-82.

242 'Instructions given by the Kinges Matie to his right trustie and right welbelovéd cousen and councellore the Marques of Northampton [et al] ... with order that if the French Kinge will not deliver the yonge Scottish Queene for his wife then to conclud a marriage for him with Elizabeth the said frenche kings daughter, BL, Additional MS. 4149, fols., 29r-34v. The English first draft of the treaty (in Latin), PRO, Sp 68/7/451-8.

243 *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, p. 67; Hoby names 54 of the 240, including his brother Philip, recently English ambassador at the Emperor's court, *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

244 Diego de Mendoza [M. de Mandosse]: 'a Spaniard evermore trayned and brought uppe in Fraunce, and of the French King's Privie Chambre', *Ibid*, p. 67.

245 On 26 May, Henri II had written to 'Monsr Le Marquis, Ayent sceu vostre prochine arrivee en mon Royaume pour venir deuers moy. Jay advise denuoyer audeuant de vous le Sr de Mandosse gentilhomme de ma chambre present porteur', PRO, Sp 68/7/523.

246 From Paris, Northampton informed the Council and Sir John Mason, who was awaiting the arrival of the English party in Angers, of their safe arrival and cordial reception, PRO, Sp 68/7/555-8 and 559-62; and *C.S.P. Foreign, Edward VI*, pp. 118, 121-3.

247 On 7 June 1551, Northampton informed the Council that 'I have been wonders well entreigned all the waie and speciallie here at this Citie of Orleans', PRO, Sp 68/7/587.

248 From Nantes on 16 June, Northampton recounted some of his journey to the Council: 'When I came to Bloys Monsr de Mandosse demanded wheather I wolde see the Dolphyn and the rest of the Kinges children that were then in the Castell which being offered by him I thought no convenient to refuse. ... We were received by the Governor with great ceremonies and being brought to the Dolphyns presence were embraced of him of the Duke of Orleans [later Charles IX] and the two yonge Ladies their sisters [Elizabeth, (b.1546) and Claude (b.1547)] as amyable as coude be ymaged', PRO, Sp 68/7/643.

249 'Monsr Chastillon, who not only made us a great supper the night before our departure out of Nantes, but also feasted us all the way to the court, making us such cheer (at his own charges) as was not to be looked for in Bretagne', Northampton *et al* to the Council, Châteaubriant, 20 June 1551, PRO, Sp 68/7/671-86; published in Tyler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol. 1, p. 385.

250 'The Castile of Chasteaubriant standeth upon the hill full of pleasant wooddes, delectable walkes, faire springs of freshe water, freshe gardines and orchards replenished with all sorts

Jean, comte d'Enghien, with 30 or 40 horse and Claude, duc d'Aumale, with several other nobles who conducted them into the 'Chambre of Presence' where the King, accompanied by the Cardinal of Lorraine, duc de Guise and their brothers, the Cardinal de Châtillon, the Constable and other nobles awaited them.²⁵¹ That same evening, according to Northampton, the king 'brought us and all the company to the Queen's chamber, where we found her, with the old and young Scottish Queens, and a great company of ladies, at whose hands we had also such good welcome as might be had; and so the King fell to dancing, and drove forth the night to bed-time'.²⁵²

On 21 June 1551, the Marquis of Northampton and Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, donned their robes of the Garter and the Marquis 'delivered the George, Garter, robes and collar unto the French King', which was followed by an oration by the Bishop of Ely, and responded to by the Cardinal of Lorraine.²⁵³ The whole company then processed to the 'chappell, where was song a solemn mass after the French fashion, with holie water and holie bread & etc.', after which the King and his Nobles dined with the English Nobles in the great 'chamber of estate'.²⁵⁴ Later the same day, Henri II summoned Northampton and his colleagues who were 'conveyed unto him by the Prior of Capua²⁵⁵ and Monsieur de Chastillon; and finding him in his bed-chamber, accompanied with the Cardinals Lorrain and Chastillion, Monsieur de Guise, d'Aumale and the Constable, I the Marquis ... delivered the King my master's letter of credence informing the French King of 'my master's inclination and affection towards him, his great desire of the continuance of the increase of the amity, and finally the devise of some good mean for the perpetual establishment of the same'. Then, Sir Philip Hoby, 'whom for that purpose we thought all (for divers considerations) most meetest', expanded and elaborated this opening statement in a long oration.²⁵⁶

After he, with very many words, had said unto us the effect hereof, I the Lord Marquis entered into the first branch of my commission. ...

of savorie fruts, bewtiful prospect all abowt, and verie helthsom aere. It belongethe to the Cunstable of Fraunce', *Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, p. 70.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

²⁵² Northampton to the Council, Châteaubriant, 20 June 1551, Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., 1, p. 388.

²⁵³ *Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, p. 69; 'delivered unto Mr Garter [Sir Gilbert Dethuick] was the French King's gowne of his backe, which was black satin with xlviij [48] paire of agletts of gold sett full with pearles, esteemed worth 1 pounds [£50], and a chaine of gold of two hundreth French crownes [200 écus d'or soleil]', *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁵⁵ Northampton confused Léon Strozzi, Prieur de Capua, with François de Lorraine, Grand Prieur General of the Galleys (younger brother of François, duc de Guise) who attended the Châteaubriant conferences with his brothers. Tytler was also mistaken in thinking it was Strozzi: Northampton to the Council, Châteaubriant, 20 June 1551, in *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., 1, p. 390.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 391-93.

I made the overture of the Queen of Scots,²⁵⁷ setting forth unto him how far the Scots had therein proceeded with us; being ready, if it so liked him, to show presently the authentical records thereof; declaring unto him how thereby all controversies might be taken away, so as the amity between them, being builded upon a most sure foundation, might, by the aid of God, last and continue for ever: the most earnest desire whereof on the King my Master's behalf caused him this to require at this present, and to use this kind of frank proceeding with him'.²⁵⁸

According to Northampton, Henri II 'made no direct answer' but appreciating the frankness said that he would 'appoint certain commissioners to treat with us' and that 'we should not have any reason to be discontented. ... That same evening the King, the Queens and all the ladies supt in the park'.²⁵⁹ Northampton was impressed with 'the entertainment that we have had at the King's own hands [which] hath been very great; for at all times of our access unto his presence, in all places and in all companies, he hath used us so familiarly and friendly, that it is impossible for him to show us in his own person greater demonstrations of love and amity than he hath showed openly'.²⁶⁰

The next day, 22 June 1551, Claude de L'Aubespine, one of the King's secretaries of state, conducted the English commissioners to the place of assembly where the Cardinal of Lorraine and Châtillon, the duc de Guise, the Constable, the Bishop of Soissons, M. Bertrandi (President of the Parlement of Paris and Garde de Sceau) and 'Monseigneur de Chenee one of the iiij [4] Generalles',²⁶¹ were waiting for them. Northampton reiterated the English overture of the previous day to which the Constable, who was the French spokesman, replied: "By my troth, to be plain and frank with you, seeing you require us so to be, the matter [the Scottish marriage] hath cost us both much riches and no little blood, and so much doth the honour of France hang hereupon as we cannot tell how to talk with you therein, the marriage being

257 *Ibid.*, p. 393; Northampton's instructions were 'to demand the Queen of Scots in marriage with the King of England; and in the event of that being refused, to solicit the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the French monarch', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 109.

258 Northampton to the Council, Châteaubriant, 20 June 1551, in Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, pp. 393-94.

259 *Ibid.*, pp. 394-95; according to Sir Thomas Hoby, 'at Chasteaubriant the French King shewed my Lord marquess great plesure and disport, sometime plaing at tenice', shooting, hunting bore, palla malla, 'and sometime with his great boisterlie Britons wrastling with my lordes yemen of Cornwall, ... and everie night ther was dancing in the great hall, and sometime musike in the King's Privie Chamber. He shewed him the like at Nantz with skirmisshes sometime uppon the river with bottes and vesselles furnisshes warlike', *Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, p. 72.

260 Northampton to the Council, Châteaubriant, 20 June 1551, in Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, p. 395.

261 PRO, Sp 68/7/678-9; Northampton probably meant Marshal not General of France, the other three Marshals at this time were: St. André, Brissac and Piero Strozzi.

already concluded between her and the Dauphin; and, therefore, we would be glad to hear no more thereof".²⁶² Northampton replied that for the Scottish marriage England had also spent 'both blood and riches' but 'I had commission, forasmuch as the other overture pleased not, to demand in marriage the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to this King'. The Constable replied at length, concluding that 'the King his master most heartily thanked the King our master; and that they would most gladly, according unto his commandment, treat with us in this matter'.²⁶³

Northampton continues, that 'here we fell to the particularities of the commission; first, touching no contract to be made before the gentlewoman came to the age of twelve years [1558]'. Next came the dowry. 'We demanded', says Northampton, 'xvCm crowns [1,500,000 écus d'or soleil or 3,750,000 livres tournois]. "Frankly demanded" quoth they, laughing'.²⁶⁴ On 26 June the English, 'after long discussion reduced their original demand of 1,500,000 crowns to 800,000; and the French raised their offer of 100,000 to 200,000 crowns'.²⁶⁵ Then on 30 June the Council sent a second set of Instructions to Northampton and his colleagues, saying that 'they may accept 600,000 crowns, but no less', and on 2 July a third set: 'they shall ask 400,000 crowns, and may agree to take 200,000, with transportation charges of the French King, rather than break off the treaty'.²⁶⁶ In the midst of the negotiations Henri II moved the court near to Nantes and, on 12 July 1551, made his Entry into the town. The Entry was not so splendid as the one in Rouen and took the form of a military parade, in which the King and the French and English nobles participated. They were preceded by 1,000 soldiers in four bands, 60 townsmen on horseback, 60 'redd cotes' on foot, the provost of Nantes accompanied by 50 mounted men, a great number of friars and priests in the manner of a procession, 20 mounted garde écossaise and 'Gard Swisers' on foot, 27 great French Nobles and the King, followed by the English and 40 other 'French lordes and gentlemen', and finally, 52 mounted garde écossaise. An hour later Catherine di Medici made her Entry in a similar manner. Hoby noted that 'the old and yong Quenes of Scottes cam not with the Cowrt to Nantz, but remayned behinde at Chasteaubriant to go an other waye'.²⁶⁷

From Nantes on 17 July, Northampton informed the Council that 'the French would not consent to more than their original proposition of 200,000

262 Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, p. 398.

263 *Ibid*, pp. 398-400; Elizabeth de Valois (b.1546) married Philip II of Spain in 1559 as part of the settlement of the Habsburg-Valois peace treaty of Câteau Cambrésis.

264 *Ibid*, p. 400.

265 Northampton *et al* to the Council, Châteaubriant, 26 June 1551, PRO, Sp 68/7/699-700; *cf.* CSP, *Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 133.

266 CSP, *Foreign, Edward VI*, pp. 139-40.

267 *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, pp. 70-71; From Nantes the King went to Angers where he went 'on Pilgromag a foote to a place called Nostredam de Clery, which he dothe accustomed use onse a yere', *Ibid*, p. 72.

crowns ... and “the books of this treaty be now a-penning”.²⁶⁸ The English followed the court when it moved from Nantes to Angers where, on 20 July 1551, ‘the treaty was signed and sealed’.²⁶⁹ On the same day from Beaufort, Henri II informed Edward VI that ‘combien est sain et prudent vostre jugement dstant Icelluy nostredit cousin [le marquis de Noranthon] faire bien et dignement acquicte dela charge que luy aviez particulièrement baillee que nous en demourons tressatisfaitz et contans. Et encores plus de ce quil apresent adieu faire son voiage si heureux que la conclusion dune chose tant vttille ala perpetuacion de nostre mutuelle amytie se soit ensuiuie telle que nous laouns de long temps respectuiement [*sic*] esperee et desiree’.²⁷⁰ The English party revisited Orléans and on 25 July set out to make their return journey by a similar route. At Paris on 1 August, Sir Thomas Hoby noted that Monseigneur de Mandosse presented Northampton with ‘a cupbord of plate, on the French King’s behalf, of the value of two thousand Crownes [2,000 écus d’or soleil]’; and for Sir Philip Hoby, plate worth 600 écus d’or soleil; Thomas Smith received 300 écus and Dr Oliver 200 écus. ‘Mr Mason’s was reserved untill his cumming, which was a chaine of xij hundrethe crownes [1,200 écus d’or soleil]; and of that value was my Lord of Elie’s cupbord of plate’.²⁷¹

In the meantime, the French had also planned an extravagant embassy to England. On 11 June 1551, Sir John Masone reported to the Council from Châteaubriant that the Marshal St. André²⁷² left this day with very great train’, and that ‘they who accompany him to England are many and of right good sort ... who are men of very great livings and of no mean estimation in this Court. He “carrieth with him divers kinds of instruments and men skilful in the handling of them; he hath also with him the best musicians that appertain unto this King”’.²⁷³ In England, the Council had received news from the French ambassador that ‘the suite of the Marquis de St André had been ordered to take shipping at Boulogne, and on the 1st or 2nd of July the Marquis himself would embark at Dieppe’.²⁷⁴ St André had also asked Chémault ‘s’ils [the English] vous offrent de nous aider de leurs pilotes pour

268 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 146.

269 *PRO*, Sp 68/8/867-94; *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 150.

270 *PRO*, Sp 68/8/897; for Edward VI’s comments on the English embassy and the treaty, including the French refusal to relinquish Mary Queen of Scots and details of the dowry negotiations, see *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 323-27.

271 *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, p. 73; Northampton ‘arrived at Boulaign the x of August, where shortlie after he took shippe’ arriving at Dover between 3am and 4am, after a ‘long and troblsom passag. From thense he tooke horse and arrived the next day at the Cowrt’, *Ibid*, p. 74.

272 Jacques d’Albon, Sr de Saint-André, Chevalier de l’Ordre de Saint-Michel, Maréchal de France et Gouverneur du Lyonnais.

273 *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 128; Mason encloses a list of 17 of ‘the names of the French gentlemen’, *Ibid*, p. 129; For a more complete list of 43 names, see *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 326-27. On 13 June 1551, Northampton, who was in Saumur that day, ‘was visited by St André’, *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 129.

274 Council to Northampton, Greenwich, 30 June 1551, *Ibid*, p. 139.

nous piloter quand nous serons en la Tamise [Thames] ... qui nous pussent seruir pour la commodité et facilité de nostre arrivée audict Londres où je pense bien qu'ils auront pourvu à nos logis'.²⁷⁵

On 6 July 1551, the Imperial ambassador in London, Jehan Scheyfve, informed Mary of Hungary that 'ten or twelve of the best English ships had been manned to serve as escort for the French lords. ... Several lords and gentlemen have gone to meet and welcome them; first among these is Lord Warwick, who seems anxious to make a display of his singular affection for the French, as he has been the chief instrument of this alliance. Great preparations have been made for giving them a magnificent reception; and it seems that a thousand diversions are to take place'.²⁷⁶ On 25 July 1551, Scheyfve reported to the Emperor that 'the French ambassadors arrived in London on 11 July accompanied by several English gentlemen [and] when they came up the Thames great guns were fired, particularly from London Tower'. The same day, Edward VI retired to Hampton Court with his Council 'because of the sweating sickness, which had attacked a great number of people in London the day before, among whom were three gentlemen of the King's chamber'.²⁷⁷

Because of the danger of infection, the reception of the French embassy had to be curtailed. Nevertheless, on the 14 July, Scheyfve says that the 'French lords were received and caressed at Hampton Court by the King and his Council as the occasion demanded', but 'the feasts and entertainments have

²⁷⁵ Maréchal de Saint-André à Monsr de Chémault, Rouen, 27 juin [1551], Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes', p. 145. Chémault's replacement, Claude de Laval, Sr de Boisdauphin et de Theligny, Baron de Marsilly, Gouverneur de Nantes, Maître d'hotel et depuis gentilhomme de la chambre du Roi, also informed him of his anticipated arrival with St André, *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²⁷⁶ *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 326; Scheyfve includes a list of 43 'French lords and gentlemen', chief among whom were: 'M. de Gyé, Knight of the Order; the Bishop of Périgueux (de la Salle); M. de Boisdauphin, new ambassador to reside in England; M. de Morvillers, Master of Requests; M. Bordin, Secretary of Finances; M. le Comte de la Rochefoucauld and M. de Jamac, Captain of 50 men-at-arms', *Ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 332; 'the Duke of Suffolk [Henry Brandon] was so badly afflicted with the sweating sickness that he died of it, and his brother [Lord Charles Brandon] also', *Ibid.*, p. 333. Scheyfve says that 'this sickness came down very rapidly from the north-west; but, thank God, it is much abated now. Terror-stricken inhabitants of London were flying in all directions; wherefore it was prohibited, under dire penalties, for all men to go to court, excepting for a few lords whose names were expressly given', *Ibid.*, p. 332. Edward VI noted in his journal that 'at this time cam the sweat into London, wich was more vehemten then the old sweat. For if one toke cold he died within 3 heures, and if he skaped it held him but 9 heures, or 10 at the most. Also if he slept the first 6 heures, as he should be very desirous to doe, then he raved, and should die raving. It grue so much, for in London the 10 day [of July 1551] ther died 70 in the liberties, and this day [13 July] 120, and also one of my gentlemen, another of my gromes, fell sick and died, that I removed to Ampton court with very few with me', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 329-330; see notes on these pages of contemporary writings on the sweating sickness: e.g. *A boke or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweating sicknessse. Made by John Caius doctour in physicke*, printed by Richard Grafton (London, 1552).

been rather meagre, except for some banquets, which seem to have been fairly rich'. Two days later, St André and several deputies invested Edward VI, 'in obedience to the King of France's express commands, with the French order with all due solemnities and ceremonies'.²⁷⁸ One of these deputies was M. de Chémault who left among his papers an account of the 'Cérémonial de la remise à Édouard VI du collier de l'ordre de Saint-Michel', dated 16 July 1551;²⁷⁹ according to which Monseigneur le Maréchal de Saint-André 'accompagne de Monseigneur de Gyé²⁸⁰ Chevalier de l'Ordre, des Prévôt et Héraut d'icelui, avec les Gentilshommes de sa troupe, se trouva à Antournes [Hampton (Court)] environ les neuf heures du matin'. After they had donned their 'manteaux et colliers de l'Ordre, et les Prévôt et Héraut de leurs habits blanc', they formed in procession behind St André; 'le Héraut de l'Ordre portant la saye et manteau de l'Ordre enveloppés d'une toilette de velours vert bordée de passement d'argent; après lui le Seigneur de Chémault, Prévôt de l'Ordre, qui portait le collier de l'Ordre paressus un oreiller de toile d'argent enrichi de houppes et franges d'or'; and were led by Lord Cobham to where Edward VI awaited. Following the orations which, 'admonestement et exhortation à la conservation de la paix et amitié d'entre lesdits Seigneurs Rois', St André, assisted by Chémault, 'prit la saye de toile d'argent dont il le [Edward VI] revetit, puis du manteau de l'Ordre, ... puis lui mit le collier dudit Ordre au col, disant les paroles accoutumées en pareille action'. After the presentation they formed a procession, the young King directing St André to walk on his right and the Seigneur de Gyé on his left, to the Chapel. 'A l'entrée du choeur de ladite Chapelle à main dextre y avait un dias sous lequel était planté l'écu du Roi [Henri II] et son siege préparé comme s'il eut du être present; de l'autre coté à main gauche était le siege du Roi d'Angleterre où l'on avait planté un autre dias plus grand que celui du Roi, et son écu planté comme de coutume'.²⁸¹ Unfortunately, no mention is made in this account of who performed the religious service and what form it took. After the service they all adjourned for dinner after which, when Edward had disrobed, St André 'lui mit au col le petit Ordre pendu à une chaine enrichie de diamants et turquoises'.²⁸²

Edward VI recorded that 'the sam night mons. mareschal St Andrew supped with me [and] the next morning he came to see mine arraying, and saw my bedchamber, and went a hunting with hundes, and saw me shotte, and saw al my garde shot together. He dined with me, herd me play on the lute, ride, came to me in my study, supped with me and soe departed to Richemond'.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ CSP, *Spanish*, vol., X, p. 332; also see *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 331-32.

²⁷⁹ Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes', pp. 146-48.

²⁸⁰ François de Rohan, Sr de Gyé, Lieutenant de Bretagne et ambassadeur à Rome en 1548.

²⁸¹ Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Papiers des Pot de Rhodes', pp. 147-48; whoever transcribed this document says that the French party were staying at 'Portsmouth', *Ibid*, p. 146, however, this should read 'Richmond'.

²⁸² *Ibid*, p. 148.

²⁸³ *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 332-33

The French party did not tarry long in England. On 25 July, Scheyfve reported to the Emperor that 'certain of the Marshal's gentlemen have already left for France [and] the Marshal himself and the other deputies are on the point of departure, and it seems the English have lent fifteen to twenty ships to convey them'.²⁸⁴ Scheyfve also reported that 'the King of England is to make the Marshall a present of plate to the value of 300 pounds sterling of old money, and will present the others with gifts according to their rank'.²⁸⁵ In the end St André received £3,000 and a diamond ring from Edward's finger,²⁸⁶ Gyé £1,000, Chémault £1,000, and Morvillers, Bordin and the Bishop of Périgueux £500 each.²⁸⁷

As soon as the French had departed the Council hastened to give assurances to Charles V. On 5 August 1551 Scheyfve informed the Emperor that 'on the first day of this month Secretary Armiger²⁸⁸ came to see me, and, by the Council's express orders, told me of the marriage (arranged) between the King their master, and the daughter of France. He added that the marriage had been negotiated without prejudice to the treaties and friendly relations existing between your Majesty and the King of England, and the countries and subjects of the same; for the King was minded to observe and continue the treaties in all respects'. This was the limit that the English were prepared to reveal. Scheyfve, however, says he had it 'from a good source that one of the treaty's provisions is that the marriage is to be solemnised at the expiration of six years'. Of greater concern was 'the treaty of closer alliance' which is 'being kept more secret', and that I have it from someone likely to know, that certain English gentlemen have said in secret "see how the world is changed, for now we must assist the King of France with 2,000 men".²⁸⁹ On 25 August Scheyfve reported that 'I have done my very utmost, since then, to discover more particulars, but have learnt nothing beyond that the English and

284 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 333; on 21 July 1551 the Council sent 'letters to the Lord Admyrall advertiseng him that the Marshall St. Androwe woll pass by lande to Dovour, and from thens cutt over to Bulloigne, requireng, therfore, him to prepare ij [2] roweng pinasses and two other great shippes to waite him, and also ij [2] or iij [3] crayers for the transportacion of his baggaige', *APC*, vol., III, p. 320.

285 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 333.

286 'At his [St André's] departure I gave him a dyamant from my finger worth by estimacion 150 li. [£150]', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, p. 335.

287 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 346; on 25 August, Scheyfve reported that when the English ambassadors returned from France they were dissatisfied with their gifts: according to Scheyfve, Northampton received £500, the Bishop of Ely £200, Hoby £150 and 'the rest a mere scantling', which in no way compared with those gifts given by the English. It seems 'the king of France afterwards gave Mason to understand that the man who had been entrusted with the presents for the English [? Mandosse] had filled his own pockets and was to be punished, but apparently nothing was done to make up the difference to Northampton and his colleagues', *Ibid.*, p. 346. It might be argued, however, that being lavishly entertained for three months in France in comparison to the French party's fortnight or so in England in the midst of an epidemic of the sweating sickness, more than made up the difference.

288 Armigill Wade, clerk of the English Privy Council.

289 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 341-42.

French become greater friends with each day that passes, and that it is believed so close a confederation exists that it could not be closer'.²⁹⁰

In his monograph on Warwick, Professor Beer says that 'the continued courtship of France was a more positive policy of Warwick's government'. However, 'it is not clear to what extent he was personally responsible for the French alliance. Warwick,' asserts Beer, 'was an opportunist in foreign policy. He formulated no long range plans and was generally concerned only with the problems of the hour. Before 1549 there is every reason to believe that he accepted and supported the totally different policies of Henry VIII and Somerset'.²⁹¹ There is a great deal of merit in Beer's emphasis of viewing the contemporary situation without resorting to an over-simplistic conclusion, too easily reached with the benefit of hindsight. When the evidence of Henri II's hegemony in, and defence of, Scotland is also taken into consideration following the treaty of Boulogne, the English government had little option, at this time, other than to recognize and submit to the French King's demands. England was in no position, militarily or financially, to take on the 'Auld Alliance' of both Scotland and France simultaneously which was precisely the same dilemma that England faced in the fourteenth century during the Hundred Years War;²⁹² only now there was the additional problem of Ireland. For England, it was a time for consolidation and repair; for biding time, much could (and did, as it happens) occur in the next six years before Edward VI could be married to Elizabeth de Valois.²⁹³ From a French point of view, the

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 346; this closer friendship is seen in Pickering's letter to the Council on 4 September 1551, describing his recent felicitous audience with Henri II. After exchanging mutual commendations of their recent respective embassies, Pickering informed Henri II that he was 'now and at all other times at his Majesty's commandment, and ready to obey his will and pleasure according to my duty, and to the charge I have in that behalf from the King my master'. Pickering then showed Henri II letters 'from a friend of mine that lately came out of Italy; the effect whereof I have already opened to Monsieur Constable, which I am sure you have long before now'; (he is enclosing them for the Council) 'for, though they were of no great importance ... the King took them very thankfully at my hands, and showed me that he had received some part of them five days before ... and for my good will, declared at large herein, he gave me hearty thanks', Tyler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, pp. 412-13.

²⁹¹ B.L. Beer, *Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland*, (Kent State UP, 1973) p. 113.

²⁹² The value of the 'Auld Alliance' in preserving the independence of both France and Scotland can be seen in what were, in fact, Edward III's pyrrhic victories over both the Scots and the French in the years 1331-56. Despite the victories and the capture of both French and Scottish monarchs (Jean II and David II), Edward found that he could not simultaneously conquer both France and Scotland.... Bonner, 'Auld Alliance', p. 13.

²⁹³ Northumberland's arguable pro-French policy, or indeed his foreign policy in general has received little detailed examination from historians. For example, Dale Hoak claims that Northumberland's fiscal policy was so efficient that 'he liquidated the whole overseas debt', D. Hoak, 'Rehabilitating the Duke of Northumberland: Politics and Political Control, 1549-1553', in J. Loach & R. Tittler, eds *The Mid-Tudor Policy, 1540-1560* (London, 1980), p. 42. A claim he might not have made had he examined the crown's foreign debt. One of Mary Tudor's first duties on her accession had been to accept responsibility for the £61,000 owed to foreign bankers in Antwerp, D.M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (London, 1979), p. 183 and n. 10: 'that her highness' letters may be written to the merchantes to observe the promises

treaties of Boulogne, Norham and Angers not only secured a compliant England before Henri II confronted Charles V, but also furthered Henri II's imperialistic ambitions which, as we have seen, were running high in 1551.

Earlier that year, Marie de Guise, who was still in France and using her influence on behalf of Scotland, found this continuing rise of Anglo-French amity somewhat prejudicial to her cause. This change in French policy seemed to please Sir John Mason who had reported to the Council on 10 May that 'the dougiere of Scotland maketh all this court wery of her from the high to the low suche an importune beggar is she for herself and her chosen frendes.²⁹⁴ The Kyng wold fayne be rydde of her and she, as she pretendeth, wolde as fayne be gon[e]. Mary the hucking²⁹⁵ ys aboute mony matters the King beyng desirous that she shulde depart vppon promesse of the sendyng therof to her and she desyryng to have the same with her. The summes ar two hundreth thousand frankes [200,000 livres tournois] of old debtes which is in maner all payed and besides that summe fyfty thousande [50,000] for her owne pension for this yere and fyfty thousande [50,000] more partly for the payment other pensions accorded emonges the Scottes and partly to remayne at her disposicon as she shall se[e] cause'. Mason also says that he had been

talking yesterdaye with the receyuour generall of Brettagne of Scottishe matters; he tolde me, wissing that Scotlande were in a fysshe poole, that out of his receyte and of the receyte of Guyenne there hadd ben sent thither sith the begynnyng of the warres nynetene hundreth thousande franckes [1,900,000 livres tournois] how muche hadd passed otherwyse he knew not. If these expenses contynewe, as of necessite they must, Scotlande will be to them as commodious a peyst as Boullogne was to vs.²⁹⁶

Mason continued his criticisms of Marie de Guise and the Scots from Angers, while he was waiting for the English embassy en route to Châteaubriant. He

made with the king's highness that ded is, and to promise repayment of the same within iij [3] months', PRO, Sp 11/1/4.

²⁹⁴ D'Oysel had informed the duc de Guise on 11 March 1551 from Jedburgh, that he was sending 'a sa mageste lestat de la despenses ... quil a pleu a Icelle enuoyer pardeca pour le paiement de ses gens de pied. Vous scaura sil vous plaist rendre si bon compte des occurences de deca que pour ne faire tort a sa suffisance [et] aussi Monseigneur que jescryptz si amplement a la Roynne madame vostre seur', BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 273r.

²⁹⁵ *Huck*: (v. Obs. exc. dial. M.E.) to haggle in trading; to chaffer, bargain, *Shorter OED on Historical Principles* (1973). In the *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, vol., X, p. 103, 'hucking' has been transcribed as 'trucking', but the MS. is quite clear that 'hucking' is correct, PRO, Sp 68/7/404.

²⁹⁶ PRO, Sp 68/7/404-5. It is not known whether Marie de Guise succeeded in extracting further funds from Henri II at this stage, although Jehan Scheyfve reported on 16 November 1551 that she 'brought 200,000 or 300,000 crowns [500,000 or 750,000 livres tournois] to England; some say to pay the garrisons in Scotland, others to be sent by sea to Ostland [North Germany] in order that foot soldiers may be raised for France early next season', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 392.

reported to the Council on 6 June that 'the Skottyshe quene semeth to make as though she wolde gladly be in Skotlande, butt I believe she will not make so muche hast being desirous if itt may be don by any possibilitie to bring all the fortes of Skotlande in to these mennes handes which as hitherto can by no meane be opteyned so if these noble men wer out ageyne in theyr house she knoweth there wolde be no possibilitie in the matter'.²⁹⁷ Following her attendance with her daughter and brothers at the court at Châteaubriant during the negotiations of the treaty of Angers, Marie de Guise prepared for her return to Scotland. On 4 September 1551, Sir William Pickering informed the Council 'that he required the King's Majesty very gently, that if the Scottish Queen (whom he thought almost ready towards her passage) were driven by adventure of tempest or otherwise either that for her pleasure she did take landing in England, that it would please his good brother [Henri II] she might be well entreated'.²⁹⁸

Marie de Guise's last few months in France appear to have been in complete contrast with the triumph with which she was greeted on her arrival; and news of this reduction of French priorities appears to have reached Scotland. On 15 September 1551, d'Oysel informed the duc de Guise that he knew of,

la dilligence qui se fait pour lemarquement de la Roynie Madame vostre seur et son retour pardeca ... [et] je nay voulu faillir ayant trouue ceste commodite dadvertir Le Roy et vous aussi monseigneur de la necessite en nous sommes reduictz attendant sa viene que este telle que Il est den aux pauvres soldatz cinq moys et sont en danger doutres bientost dedans le sixme si madicte Dame tarde encores quelque temps de venir quelle congnoist aussi bien que personne du monde extremite ou nous pouons estre de present.²⁹⁹

Apart from her financial woes and the worry and illness she had suffered at the time of the threats to Mary Queen of Scots' life, her only remaining son, François d'Orléans, duc de Longueville, died at Amiens on 22 September 1551 in his sixteenth year, and was buried in the Sainte-Chappelle of Dunois, the burial-place of his family.³⁰⁰ Soon after the funeral, Marie de Guise departed from France, arriving at Portsmouth on 22 October 'being conducted thither

²⁹⁷ PRO, Sp 68/7/577-78: Mason was obviously ignorant of the settlement reached at Norham whereby the remaining forts occupied by the English were returned to the Scots.

²⁹⁸ Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol., I, pp. 415-16. The following month, on 10 October 1551, Scheyfve reported to the Emperor that the Queen of France had given birth to a son and that Edward VI was invited 'to stand sponsor at the infant's christening, to which the King consented gladly, deputing the Admiral [Clinton] to go abroad for the ceremony', *CSP, Foreign, Edward VI*, vol., X, p. 380. The infant was christened Edouard Alexandre in honour of Edward VI, and in 1574 he acceded to the French crown as Henri III.

²⁹⁹ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 277r.

³⁰⁰ *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 99, n. 1.

by Baron de la Gard[e]³⁰¹ having tenne shippes of warr for the same purpose'.³⁰²

On the 26th the Seigneur de Boisdauphin (now French ambassador in England) wrote to her from London 'pour vous faire entendre comme j'espere estre ce jourdhuy estre adverty de la conclusion qui aura este faicte par le Roy d'Angleterre et les gens de son conseil sur l'ordre de vostre passage pour incontinant aprez aller au dauant de vous, Madame, et ce pendant vous puy dire quilz ont bien envie de vous recevoir et recueillir honorablement'.³⁰³ From Portsmouth she was taken,

to Southwick [to] a house of one Mr White where hir grace remaind ij [2] dayes; the next to Warblington, Mr Cotton's house where she lodged; next daye to dynner at the Erle of Arundell's house called Stanstead and to hir lodging at Cowdraye, Sir Anthony Browne's house; the next day to Guilford to which severall places hir grace was conducted with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrees in grete [...MS. torn...] and with costly faire and entertainment. At Guilford the Lord Wiliam Howard with the noblemen and gentlemen of Surreye mett hir grace and conducted her to Hampton Court.³⁰⁴

Edward VI recorded in his journal that she was brought to her lodging 'on the queene's side, wich was al hanged with arrase, and so was the hale, and al the other logings of mine in the house, very finely dressed. And for this night and next day al was spent in dauncing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither'.³⁰⁵

On 2 November she went to 'London by water accompanied with great number of barges and was lodged at the B[ishop] of Londones pallace'.³⁰⁶

301 Antoine Escalin des Aimars, Baron de la Garde, dit le capitaine Paulin; général des galères de France, 1544-47, 1551-57, et 1566-78, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve*, p. 499.

302 The Council to Sir William Pickering, 5 Nov. 1551, (draft) PRO, Sp 68/9/1299; see also *APC*, vol., III, pp. 397, 399-400.

303 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 103.

304 PRO, Sp 68/9/1301. A mile and half from there she was met by the Marquis of Northampton, 'accompanied with th'erl of Wiltshier soone and heir to the lord hie treasourour marcus of Winchester, the lord Fizwater soone to th'erl of Sussex, the lord Yvers, the lord Bray, the lord Robert Dudley, the lord Garet, sir Nicolas Throckmerton, sir Edward Rogers and divers other gentlemen, besides al the gentlemen pensioners, men of armes, and usshers, sewers and carvers, to the nombre of 120 gentlemen, and so she was brought to Ampton court. At the gate therof met her the lady marcus Northampton, the countess of Penbroke, and divers other ladies and gentlewomen to the number of threscore', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 359.

305 *Ibid*, p. 359, and n. 2; the editor, J.G. Nichols suggests: 'such a court as usually assembled on the great feasts of the year'.

306 PRO, Sp 68/9/1302; 'on the queen's arrival at the palace of the bishop of London "there were sent to her many great gifts by the mayor and aldermen, such as beeves, muttons, veales,

The following day, Marie de Guise was visited by Suffolk, Warwick, Wiltshire and other lords and gentlemen; and on the 4th they returned with their wives as well as Lady Margaret Douglas,³⁰⁷ the duchess of Northumberland and others who 'brought her through London to Westmyster', where Edward VI greeted her. The young King recorded that 'she dined under the same cloth of estate, at my left hand' and 'at mine [table] sate the French embassadour [Boisdauphin]. ... After dinner', he concludes, 'when she had hard soome musike, I brought her to the halle, and so she went away'.³⁰⁸ As a parting gesture, says Edward VI, the next day 'the Duke of Northumberland,³⁰⁹ the lord treasurer, the lord Marquis of Northampton, the lord prive seal, and divers others went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamont³¹⁰ and tow [2] nagges as a token from me'.³¹¹ On 6 November 1551, Marie de Guise was given a 'right royal' farewell by a great party of the English nobility,³¹² who 'brought the quene to Shordech throw Chepeside and Cornehil, and there met her gentlemen of Midelsex 100 hors, and so she was conveyed out of the realme, met in every shere with gentlemen'.³¹³ During the next ten days Marie de Guise travelled through the English countryside conducted by Mr. Shellye who had been appointed to 'attend on the quene dowager from London to the borders'.³¹⁴ Whilst she was en route north, Boisdauphin informed the duc de Guise on 9 November of his sister's grand reception in England: 'suyuant le commandement quilz en auoyent de cedit Roy' at Hampton Court, Westminster and elsewhere. 'Vous assureant monseigneur', Boisdauphin continues, 'que cedit Roy et les

swines, bread, wild fowl, wine, beer, spices and all things, and quails, sturgeon, wood and coals, and salmon by divers men. ... At her departure out of Bishop's gate the queen received of the chamberlain of London a C [100] markes out of the chamber", (*Machyn's Diary*, pp. 11-12)', *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 360, n. 2.

307 Daughter of Margaret Tudor and her second husband, Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus; in 1544 she married Mathew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, and their eldest son, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, became Mary Queen of Scots' second husband.

308 *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 360, 362-63; also see PRO, Sp 68/9/1302-3.

309 On 11 October 1551, John Dudley, Viscount Lisle and Earl of Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland. At the same ceremony Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was created Duke of Suffolk, William Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire became Marquis of Winchester, and William Herbert, Baron of Cardiff (since 10 October 1551) became Earl of Pembroke; and on the same day Edward VI knighted William Cecil, Henry Sidney, Henry Neville and John Cheke, *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 350-52; cf, account by William Colborne, York herald, BL, MSS. Add. 6113, fol., 129.

310 Jehan Scheyfve says it was 'a flat diamond worth £1,000 sterling', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 392.

311 *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 363.

312 'The Duke of Northumberland with his band of hundred [100], of wich 40 were in black velvet with wight and blacke sleeves, 60 in cloth; th'erl of Penbroke with his band and 50 more, th'erl of Wiltshier with 58 of his father's band, al the pensioners, men of armes, and the euyrey [equerry], with divers ladies, as my cousen Marget [Douglas], the duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland', *Ibid*, p. 364.

313 *Ibid*, p. 364, n. 1: cf, 'For the conveying the Quene Northward', BL, Harleian Coll. 290, fol. 7.

314 *Ibid*, p. 364, n. 1: cf, several letters concerning her travels and entertainment in England, *Ibid*, p. 365.

Seigneurs de son conseil ly ont receue auec grand honneur bon recueil et meilleur traictement. Dequoy ma commande a son partement de vouloir aduertir le Roy [Henri II] par le gentilhomme present porteur qui luy en scaura et a vous aussi monseigneur rendre particulièrement tresbon compte'.³¹⁵ On 15 November letters were sent to 'certane baronis of eist Lothiane charging thame meit the Quene at Berwik, at hir hayme cuming furth of England'; guns having been brought from 'Leith to the castell of Edinburght, to be schott at the Quenis returnyng furth of France'.³¹⁶

During her fourteen-month absence, as noted previously, the Governor, accompanied by d'Oysel, carried out a number of 'Justice Ayres'³¹⁷ in line with Henri II's instructions. These also included a tightening up and a more stringent control of expenses with greater financial accountability, following d'Essé's disastrous term as Lieutenant-General. The French King demanded that, 'comme se gouvernement les affaires de Royaume, tant en la despenche du revenu, finances, prouision doffices et benefices, que toutes autres choses deppendans du gouvernement dicelluy, dont Il rapportera vng estat dresse par ladvis de ladicte dame et desdicts Seigneurs de Termes et d'Oysel'.³¹⁸ Additionally, towards the end of 1550, it appears that a Captain Ronaut³¹⁹ was commissioned to report on affaires in Scotland. According to his letter to the duc de Guise on 11 March 1551, Ronaut had already sent reports on 16 December 1550 and 12 January 1551 (which seem not to have survived); and that 'vous aduertir du soing et dilligence que vse le Seigneur d'Oysel au fait des monstres de vivres faictes de deca pour eviter quil ne si conuist aucun abus enuers sa mageste auec tel et si bon mesnage quil a plus espargne monstre pour monstre quil na este precedentes. Comme vous cognoistre sil vous plaist par lestat au vray qui en est presentement audict Seigneur [Henri II]. Furthermore, continues Ronaut, 'lesdites affaires de deca sont regies en tel estat et tranquillite que le peuple se tient fort content et oblige a sadite mageste et a ceulx qui en ont le gouvernement et administracion'.³²⁰

In the Summer of 1551, the Imperial envoy, Mathieu Strick, who had been sent to Scotland to have the treaty of Binche ratified, reported that in front of the gates of Edinburgh Castle 'a bulwark has lately been erected upon

315 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 279r.

316 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., X, pp. 32-33.

317 *Supra*, notes 97-102; *Ayre/Aire*: 'a circuit court held by itinerant judges or officers' (15th-17th c.), *Concise Scots Dictionary* (1985). The Stewart monarchs often held 'ayres' themselves, as did Marie de Guise after she was made Regent in 1554, and so did Mary Queen of Scots after 1561, see T.I. Rae 'Some Aspects of Border Administration in the 16th Century', *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1958), pp. 6-9.

318 Henri II's instructions to the Seigneur Fumet, 30 March 1550, BN, Fonds Français, Nouv. Acq. 23148, fol., 4r.

319 Ronaut (his signature) or Ronault was also, according to Marguerite Wood, 'cappitaine Ironault', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 27, 50, 154 and 306; in fact, 'Ironault' was 'Carronant', who had been appointed Captain of Dunbar in 1549.

320 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 275r; signed: 'Ronaut'.

which the arms of France are carved'.³²¹ Strick also says that he has 'heard indirectly that the Regent [Governor] is a strong partisan of the French and of M. d'Oisel, lieutenant in Scotland for the King of France, who wields almost sovereign authority in matters of state and justice, and has a provost of his own who arrests and executes criminals'. Strick also observed that 'some private individuals and all the common people dislike the great authority the French enjoy in the country', and that the Governor 'had a pact with the King of France, according to which he was to give up his post when a certain period, which was to expire within eighteen months, came to an end'. Regarding the treaty of Binche, d'Oisel said to him that, 'soon after the peace had been concluded at Binche between the Emperor and the Scots, he [had] received letters from his master [Henri II] commanding him to do his utmost to see that the treaty should be observed in every detail, and that injured foreigners should obtain redress'. Strick concluded that 'in fact the King seemed solicitous as if the matter had touched his own dominions'.³²²

Soon after Marie de Guise returned to Scotland the settlement of the ancient Anglo-Scottish Border dispute of the 'Debateable Land'³²³ was taken up once again. On 26 November 1551 a proclamation was sent to 'Selkirk and Roxburgh charging the inhabitantis of thai schiris convene in Hawik viij [8] December, bodin in feir of weyre, to pas upoune the thevis of the Debateable ground with the Lord Maxwell, and speciale writtingis of my lord governouris to the lardis of Bukleuch, Cesfurd, and Farnehirst to this samin effect'.³²⁴ This latest action was taken as a result of the treaty of Norham (10 June 1551), the first article of which 'provided that the boundaries of the kingdom were to be those existing before the beginning of the war; the second that the "Debateable Ground" should be restored to its old condition according to usage, that therefore all subjects of either realm living in it or having houses there were to remove with wives, children, goods and cattle by the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel [29 September] next, any found there after that date to be expelled by the Wardens and punished according to law'.³²⁵

321 'Certain things heard by Secretary Mathieu Strick during his recent journey to Scotland', ? July 1551, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 340.

322 *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.

323 'The word appears on record as Debateable, Debatable or Batable', W.M. Mackenzie, 'The Debateable Land', *SHR*, XXX (1951), p. 109; according to Mackenzie 'on every March there was some land "in traverse between realmes" ... but the greatest portion of such "Threaplands", that is lands in dispute or 'Debeatable', was in the West March, between the rivers Esk and Sark, which, "beying off greatt quantyte" and keenly disputed, was known specifically as "The Debateable Land"', *Ibid.*, p. 109; see Plate No. 7.

324 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., X, p. 34; see also *Register of the Privy Council*, vol., I, p. 117.

325 Mackenzie, 'The Debateable Land', p. 124, *cf.* *Foedera*, vol., XV, pp. 265-66; for a brief history of the 'Debateable Land' from the reign of Robert the Bruce (1306-1329), see Mackenzie, pp. 111-115; see also 'An abstract of a letter sent from the counsall of Skotlande to the f[rench] Ambassador [December 1551]', BL, Cotton Coll. Caligula B VII, fols., 502r-505v; concerning the alledged murder of four Englishmen by the Scots during Maxwell's raid.

Defining the limits of the Anglo-Scottish Border had been a French imperative since the comprehension of the Scots in the treaty of Boulogne, particularly the settlement of the 'Debateable Land'. On 23 August 1550, Henri II had written to M. de Chémault acknowledging receipt of a dispatch from Scotland, 'par où j'ai entendu l'occasion pourquoy la Reine, mon cousin le Gouverneur d'Écosse et le seigneur de Termes faisoient marcher vers la terre débatable quatre enseignes de gens de pied. ... Et, pour autant que, parce que vous en écrit de cette affaire ledict seigneur de Termes et le seigneur d'Oysel, vous avez pu entendre qui les a muez de faire marcher ladict force de ce côté là, qui n'est pas pour faire invasion sur chose du monde appartenant audict roi d'Angleterre, mais pour chasser de là quelques brigands qui troublent et empêchent la neutralité de tout temps gardée en ladict terre débatable'.³²⁶ According to P.G. Boscher, the English government 'claimed that since there had been no mention of the Debateable in the Treaty of Boulogne, then the English were to remain in peaceful possession'.³²⁷ Therefore, Henri II made settlement of the Borders a priority in the negotiations for the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, appointing M. de Lansac in January 1551 to lead the Scottish commissioners. But, as has been shown, there was no resolution of the 'Debateable Land' problem in the treaty of Norham, which territorially 'restored the *status quo* as between Henry VIII and James V, ... but the fact that the problem of the 'Debateable Land' had not been settled was to prove a major drawback to a firm peace'.³²⁸

As well as establishing a lasting peace Marie de Guise and d'Oysel embarked upon a programme of re-organizing and centralizing administration in Scotland. The effects of their policies and the Governor's abrogation of power is most clearly seen in the administration of the Borders. The fact that the Governor was not in charge is seen in the negotiations during 1552 over the 'Debateable Land' which were controlled by Marie de Guise through Maxwell and Cassillis;³²⁹ the Governor only being made privy to the agreement grudgingly.³³⁰ 'The most important feature of the French

Also that 'no reason wer itt that the lorde Maxwell sholde rase Armstronges towne unless my lord Coniers sholde commandement to the lyke with Gremes [Graham's] towne', *Ibid*, 505r.

³²⁶ Giradot, *Pièces inédites relatives à l'histoire d'Écosse*, pp. 13-14; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 239-40.

³²⁷ P.G. Boscher, 'Politics, Administration and Diplomacy: the Anglo-Scottish Border, 1550-1560', Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Durham, 1985), p. 122, n. 70; Boscher's primary sources here: Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 246-47 and *APC*, vol., III, p. 119, however, do not support this statement which must have come from his third source: J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777), vol., I, pp. lxxv, lxxvii, lxxix-lxxx, who may, however, have used a primary source.

³²⁸ Boshier, Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 131-32.

³²⁹ Maxwell and Cassillis had only recently received substantial gifts of French gold from Marie de Guise; also see *Scottish Correspondence*, pp. 344-45, 349-51, 356-60.

³³⁰ Rae, *Administration of the Scottish Frontier*, p. 179; Cassillis wrote to Marie de Guise from Dumfries on 8 May 1552: 'Madame, as for wr procedingis heir, as al was divin afoir

domination of Scotland', says Rae, 'was a new accent on administration, ... [and] the emphasis on administrative action by the Scottish central government led at this time to a completely new development: direct negotiation on Border affairs between countries, not by wardens nor commissioners but through ambassadors'.³³¹ Thus Cassillis informed Marie de Guise on 8 May 1552 that 'I thocht gwd to adwertys monsieur Beauldolphin [the then French ambassador in England] and monsieur Doisel of the present pointcis of defference amangis ws cuming to your grace; qwhilk master pamer twik on hand to delywer to monsieur Beauldolphin and is passit in post to London'.³³²

It had been Boisdauphin who had approached the English Privy Council in mid-January 1552, 'whereupon [it] was concluded [by them] that, if the Scottis will agree [to] it, the [Debateable] ground shalbe divided'.³³³ On 28 February the English Council answered two articles delivered to 'Monsieur Boysdolphin, Ambassador at London for the moste Christen King, anempst the Debatable Land on the West Borders betwixt Scotland and England'. Therefore, Marie de Guise, the Governor and the Scottish Council were to be approached to 'the contynuance of the amytye and peace betwixt the realmes, [and] therefore it is agreyd to the devysion equally of the Debatable Landes'.³³⁴ It was proposed by the English that the Scottish commissioners should be 'led by Monsieur Doysell Lieutenant and Ambassador for the most Cristen King in Scotland, if he be here present for the tyme'.³³⁵ Finally, the English Council concluded that, 'perceiving by the Kinges Majestie [Edward VI] what annswer his Majestie made to the said Monsieur Doysell thother day touching the devision of the said Debatable', that it was for peaceful and equal division. The English Council set out the terms, timetable, instructions, draft of a map of the area, appointment of commissioners, adding that if Monsieur d'Oysel 'shall require to know the names of such as shalbe appoynted in Commission, they shalbe therle of Westmorland, the lorde Wharton, Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Sir Thomas Palmer'.³³⁶

In Scotland, on 20 March 1552 'the Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and the Lordis of the Secret Counsel' appointed Gilbert, Erle of Cassillis, Robert, Lord Maxwell, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig and John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, as, 'commissioneris speciale direct for the divisioun of the

Monwnday at nycht [I] wryt to my lord governour, qwhilk I wat ws at your grace on Woddnesday', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 358.

331 Rae, *Administration of the Scottish Frontier*, pp. 179 and 185; also see 'Instructions for Ross Herald to be shawin to Monsieur Nowellis [Noailles] Ambassador for the maist Cristin King in Londoun'. The instructions start: 'schaw him quhow the Bordowris of Inland dayly ridis in Scotland', 18 Sept. 1553, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., 1, pp. 148-51.

332 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 359.

333 *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, pp. 389-90.

334 *APC*, vol., III, pp. 491-92.

335 *Ibid.*, p. 492; d'Oysel was en route to France at that time so did not take part in the negotiations.

336 *Ibid.*, p. 492-93.

debatabill land of the West Marches, with uthairis commissioneris of Ingland'. They were instructed to

proceid to the divisiou of the samyn in ane equale maner or thairby, as ye can aggre be your awin discretioun; that ane half to pertene severlie to Scotland, and that uthair to Ingland, in tymes cuming, and to mak ane perfynt endent betuix yow and the saidis commissioneris of Ingland'; in such manner that there will be no further disputes between present or future princes of either country.³³⁷

Initially, the negotiations were proceeding so well that on 25 May 1552, Marie de Guise reported to the duc de Guise that 'les commissionaires de ces deux Royaumes [had] assemblez pour partager la terre debatable ... ensemble le moyen plus expedient pour par faire ceste diuision. Aquoy si les seigneurs de conseil d'Angleterre se monstrent enclins Il sera tresfacille de bien tost y mettre vne fyn'.³³⁸ However, the negotiations appear to have become bogged down to such a degree that the English Council decided on 22 May to send the Duke of Northumberland to the 'Kinges Majesties frontiers, ... as well for that he is Warden Generall of all the Marches foreanempst Scotland,³³⁹ as for that his wysdome and ripe experience is well knownen to be most fytted for such a weighty charge'.³⁴⁰ On 21 June Northumberland informed the Council that he had reviewed the commissioners' negotiations concerning the 'Debateable Lands', and made various recommendations.³⁴¹ He then visited the entire Border and on 30 July advised the Council that it was in 'his good opinion to have a deputie generall over all thre marches ... the none more mete then the Lord Wharton'.³⁴² Northumberland's presence appears to have propelled forward the previously flagging negotiations because, soon after, 'Claude de Laval lord Boysdauphin, French ambassador to England, attests that on 16 August 1552, in the King's House at Southampton, after frequent sittings, with William, Marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer of England and other of the Privy council, it was concluded that the litigious territory commonly called "the Debatable land, la terre Debatable" on the West Border of England, should be divided as the Queen Dowager and Governor of Scotland have

³³⁷ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 120-22.

³³⁸ BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 243.

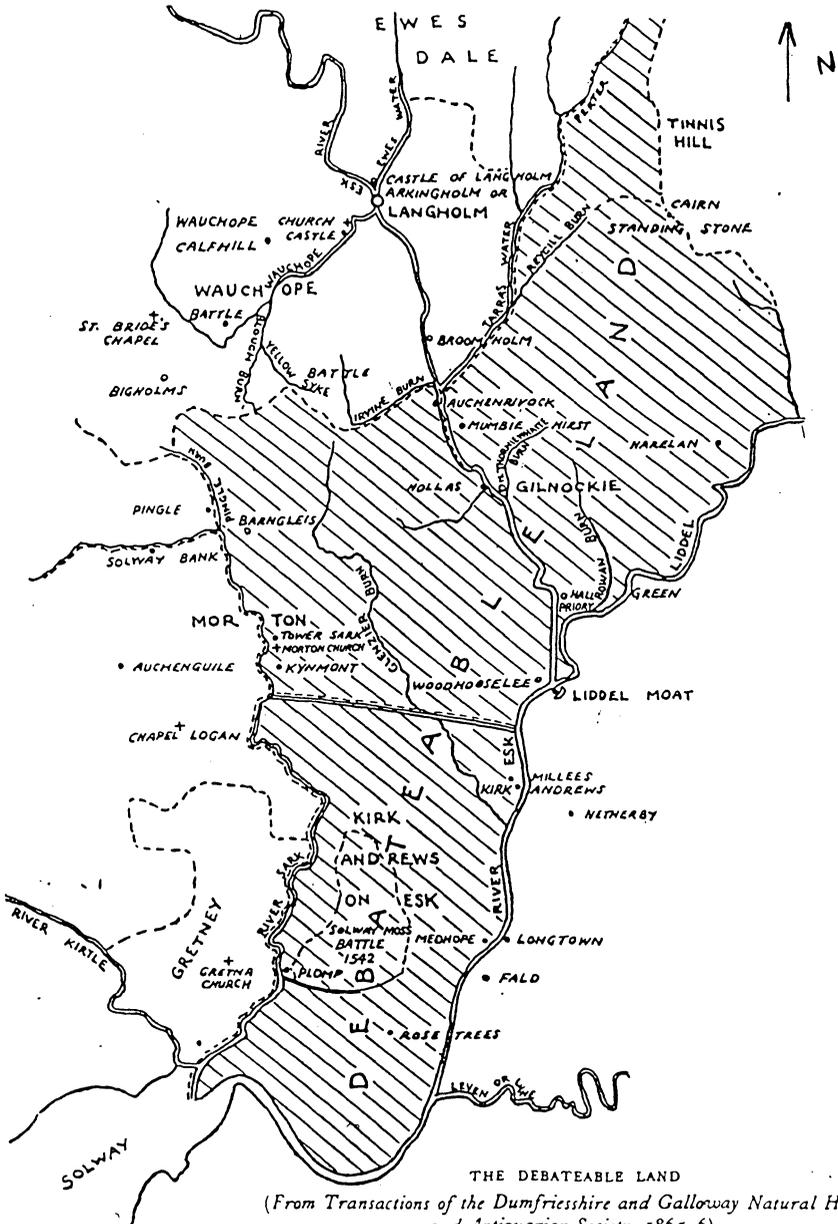
³³⁹ Northumberland had held this position previously; on 8 November 1542 he had been appointed to the post by Henry VIII, *Hamilton Papers*, vol., I, p. 300; more recently on 20 April 1550 he was appointed 'Lorde Wardeigne of theast and Middell Marches, with a fee of one thousande pounde [£1,000]', *APC*, vol., III, p. 6; but he was unable to commit himself to leave the South at the time and the Marquis of Dorset was appointed in his stead. On 4 October 1551, Northumberland was re-appointed as Lord Warden of all three English Marches, *Ibid.*, p. 379.

³⁴⁰ *APC*, vol, IV, p. 55.

³⁴¹ *A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, 1542-1570*, ed., S. Haynes (London, 1740), pp. 120-21.

³⁴² *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, p. 439, n. 1; Wharton had been dismissed in 1549 by Somerset as Warden of the West March where he had served during the reign of Henry VIII; for further details on Wharton's career see, Boscher, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 150.

The Debateable Land



THE DEBATEABLE LAND
 (From Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1865-6).

marked it by a line drawn from the water of Sark to the Esk on a chart'.³⁴³ In the formal treaty, signed on 24 September 1552, 'the frontier line was marked by a "furrow" or shallow ditch drawn between these points: "*trames linearis rectus transversim ab Esk ad Sark fluvium ducatur, fossa vel sulco vestigium ipsius denotante*", marked at each end by a dressed stone having the arms of England on the side of that country and those of Scotland on the other'.³⁴⁴ According to Boscher, 'the division of the Debatable Land brought to an end a long intractable problem. ... Throughout,' continues Boscher, 'the proceedings were dominated by the French ambassador and, despite the fact that commissioners were appointed to meet on the spot, the issue was eventually decided between the ambassador [Boisdauphin] and the [English] council. However', Boscher concludes, 'it would be wrong to view the division of the Debatable Land as a product of Anglo-Scottish co-operation: it came about chiefly as a result of French pressure to resolve the controversy once and for all'.³⁴⁵ It can also be seen as part of Henri II's resolve to define legally the frontiers of his kingdom, lands and dominions of which he now considered Scotland to be a part. When the negotiations started to flag the English Council, having experienced the protracted negotiations over the boundaries in the Boulonnais, sent Northumberland to the Borders. As Lord Warden of the Marches, Lord Great Master and Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Northumberland, by his personal intervention, confirmed the fact that the 'Debateable Land' negotiations were being conducted an international level. On a domestic level it marked the beginning of French centralization of administration and government in Scotland by Henri II's proctors: Marie de Guise and Henri Cleutin Seigneur d'Oysel.³⁴⁶

As noted previously, d'Oysel had been the English Council's first choice to head the Scottish commissioners in the 'Debateable Land' negotiations, but

343 *CSP, Scotland*, ed., Bain, vol., I, p. 190; see also *APC*, vol., IV, pp. 113 and 118.

344 Mackenzie, 'The Debateable Land', p. 125, *cf.* *Foedera*, vol., XV, pp. 325-26; Mackenzie says that 'the stones have disappeared, but a slight earthen mound between a shallow ditch on each side still in parts marks (or did mark in 1951) the line of division in the 'Scots Dyke', *Ibid.*, p. 125.

345 P.G. Boscher, Ph. D. Thesis, p. 141. Rae points out that there were minor areas of debateable ground on the East and Middle Marches which remained unresolved despite commissions in 1556 and 1564, and that 'the union [of the crowns] of the kingdoms took place in 1603 without exact boundaries being fixed', Rae, *Administration of the Scottish Frontier*, p. 22; but as Mackenzie concludes the long international debate over the 'Debateable Land' had been 'brought to a sensible settlement, leaving only a reminiscence in the name', Mackenzie, 'The Debateable Land', p. 125.

346 Henri II chose less demanding tasks for the Governor, who had not been appointed to the 'Debateable Land' commission. On 5 January 1552 he informed Arran that 'je vous enuoye [...hole...] requeste qui ma este presentee en mon conseil par aucuns marchans de [...hole...] [v]ille de Nantes desnommez par ou vous verez quilz se pleignent [...hole...] [gra]ndement du mauuais traitement en Iustice quilz ont eu par dela pour raison des prises et deppredacions qui leur ont este faictes par deux cappitaines Escossoys nommez Andre Roberson et lautre Calin'; Henri II asks that the Governor make restitution and compensation for the French merchants' losses, NLS, Deposit 368/16. I am grateful to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II's Keeper of Manuscripts at Holyrood House for his permission to photocopy and cite this document.

d'Oysel, at that time, was en route to France. On 14 February 1552, Marie de Guise had written to Edward VI that 'sen allant par dela Seigneur Doysel Lieutenant pour Le Roy treschrestien en ce pays, ... et vous faire scauoir de mes nouvelles sil vous plaist en entendre desquelles vous faisant bien longue lettre. Il ma semble que je fairais tort a la suffiance dudict Seigneur Doysel, present porteur, auquel je vous prie donner credit de ce quil vous dire de ma part comme si ces joit moymesmes'.³⁴⁷ D'Oysel's presence in London was noted by Jehan Scheyfve, who informed the Emperor on 6 March, that 'M. d'Oisel, French ambassador in Scotland, passed through England towards France accompanied by certain French captains and soldiers, to the number of twenty or thirty, from Scottish garrisons. Others,' continues Scheyfve, 'are said to have gone by way of Ireland, so that there are not above 400 or 500 Frenchmen left in Scotland'.³⁴⁸

The French troops were being recalled for Henri II's Spring offensive against the Emperor. In February 1552, Edward VI had recorded in his journal that a 'proclamacion was made in Paris that the bandis of the dolphin, the duke of Vendosme, the conte d'Anguien, the constable of Fraunce, the duc de Guyse, and d'Aumale, the conte de Sancerres, the mareschal S[t] Andrieu, mons[eigneurs] de Jarnac's and Tavennes, shuld the 15 day of March, assemble at Troyes in Champagne, to resist th'emperour. Also that the French King wold goe thither in person with 200 gentilmen of his household, and 400 archiers of his gard'.³⁴⁹ According to Pariset, 'la première guerre d'Henri II contre Charles-Quint débute officiellement en septembre 1551; ... seule la prise d'Apremont en décembre 1551 retient l'attention'.³⁵⁰ On 15 January 1552, Henri II signed the treaty of Chambord with the German Princes. The campaign proper commenced on 2 April, Henri II having mustered at Châlons a vast army of over 37,000 men: '17,400 French infantrymen, 13,500 landsknechts, 1,260 lances (1,260 gens d'armes with 1,890 mounted archers), 2,200 light cavalrymen, and 500 mounted arquebusmen', as well as the King's 200 gentlemen and 400 garde écossaise.³⁵¹

Henri II divided the army, almost half of which comprised the vanguard commanded by Montmorency who crossed the Meuse to Toul. Not until they reached the Abbey of Gorze, which had a small Spanish garrison, near Metz, did the army meet any resistance; the fortress of the Abbey was taken by

347 PRO, Sp 50/5/170.

348 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 468. Unfortunately, these figures cannot be verified at this time as the surviving evidence, French Muster Rolls or Accounts for 1552, seem not to have survived.

349 *Literary Remains of Edward VI*, vol., II, p. 401; the English ambassador, Sir William Pickering, was also invited by Henri II 'to take peines to go with him, and to be a witnes of his doings', *Ibid.*, p. 401.

350 Pariset, *Les Relations entre la France et l'Allemagne*, p. 127; for details of the campaign see *Ibid.*, 127-164.

351 Baumgartner, *Henry II*, p. 150; for further details of the campaign in 1552, *Ibid.*, pp. 146-159.

assault and burned. Montmorency then moved his army to the walled city of Metz and demanded that they open the gates. A small force, accompanied by the Constable, was granted entry, and once inside they seized the centre of town and a gate. Henri II, with the remainder of the army, had moved eastward to Nancy, and on 17 April 1552 made his entry into Metz. Several days later the King departed for the Rhine; Hagenau submitted peaceably, but the city of Strasbourg resisted, and as it was a well-defended city Henri II decided against an attack. Then “having watered his horses in the Rhine” as he had pledged, the King turned back on 13 May 1552. On 12 June he entered Verdun and later that month returned to France. On 26 July he discharged about half of the troops, sending most of those still in service, under the command of Antoine de Bourbon (duc de Vendôme), to attack Hesdin, an important fort in Artois in Imperial hands.³⁵²

It was, however, the defence of Metz by the duc de Guise from November 1552 to February 1553 against Charles V, which ‘was one of the great feats in the annals of the 16th century’.³⁵³ The King had appointed the duc de Guise as his lieutenant-general in Metz in August 1552, and a few days later Piero Strozzi arrived to serve as the chief engineer. In October the Imperial army of nearly 80,000 men moved into Lorraine, which Henri II countered with 50,000 men under the command of the Constable, in an attempt to prevent it reaching Metz or Verdun; the defence of the latter having been entrusted to the Marshall St André. At the same time, the Emperor sent an army into Picardy to lay siege to the fortress of Hesdin.³⁵⁴ The successful defence of Metz was due to a well-planned strategy of the duc de Guise, and in the appalling weather in the last two months of 1552. Charles V did not order a retreat until 1 January despite the vast numbers of sick, dying and dead from disease, who greatly outnumbered those injured in battle. The news of the retreat reached Henri II soon after the good news from Hesdin, which Antoine de Bourbon had taken after a two-day assault on 19 December. Additionally, there had been several small victories in Piedmont in late 1552, which resulted in almost continuous celebrations at the French court during the first months of the New Year.

It had been during Henri II's brief visit to Metz from 17 to 20 April that d'Oysel was appointed as the French King's permanent Lieutenant General in Scotland. Claude de l'Aubespine informed Marie de Guise from Condé on 16 April of the successes of the war and that the King ‘s'en va lundy coucher a Metz et de la prent son chemin sur le Rhin pour favoriser les princes et ne veult point perde la belle occasion quil s'offre’. Also ‘le Roy a vullu aussi que Monsieur d'Oysel allast jusques a Metz d'ou il le vouldra renvoyer si bien honnorablement expedie qu'il servira d'exemple a tous les bons serviteurs de

³⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 150-53.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 157; Romier says that ‘ce grand triomphe de Metz [was] la plus grande victoire française du XVI^e siècle’, *Origines Politiques*, vol., I, p. 343.

³⁵⁴ Baumgartner, *Henry II*, pp. 155-56.

faire son lieutenant general par dela, gentilhomme de sa chambre, donne mille escuz [1,000 écus d'or soleil] contant et mis son estat a vj cens [600] par mois outre sa pension et au bout de cella sa bonne grace'.³⁵⁵ On 27 May de l'Aubespine again wrote to Marie de Guise from the Camp at Melun that 'M. d'Oysel s'en est alle satisfaict ainsi que vous desirez, pourveu d'estat de gentilhomme de la chambre, etabli lieutenant general du Roy par dela, present de deux mille [2,000] escuz et de six cens [600] francz par moys pour son estat, outre sa pension et, qui est myeulx, avecques la tres bonne grace du Roy comme aussi en est il tres digne'.³⁵⁶ These appointments elevated d'Oysel into the upper ranks of the French nobility with added administrative responsibilities as well. Thus, de l'Aubespine, from the Camp near Domvilliers on 4 June, informed d'Oysel of urgent dispatches and that 'depuis l'autre paquet ferme [sealed] Monseigneur le Constable a advise que le meilleur estoit vous envoyer le herault d'Escosse avecques le porteur' and that 'vous despeschiez le dict herault en tout diligence devers la Roynie et M. le gouverneur pour les faire entendre le contenu afin qu'ilz ne se mectent point en despense de faire preparitifz pour ceste declaracion de guerre, comme ilz pourroient faire actendant votre arrivee'.³⁵⁷ Before leaving Paris, d'Oysel wrote to the duc de Guise on 11 June that he was 'en esperance a l'arrivee de la despesche quil a pleu au Roy menvoyer pour mon retour en Escosse y trouuer lettres de vous pour la Roynie, madame vostre seur, syuuant ce quil vous auoyr pleu me promettre auant mon partement du camp'.³⁵⁸ D'Oysel remained in France a few more weeks, because from London, Jehan Scheyfve reported to Mary of Hungary on 9 July 1552, that 'M. d'Oysel arrived here three or four days ago, and left for Scotland yesterday without having been at Court'.³⁵⁹

Not long after his return, according to a 'memoir' dated 6 October 1552,³⁶⁰ from Marie de Guise and d'Oysel to Henri II, 'the Duke of

355 NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MSS. 29.2.3, fol., 90; published in *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 112.

356 NLS, Balcarres papers, Adv. MSS. 29.2.3, fol., 91r; published in *Ibid*, p. 115; de l'Aubespine added that d'Oysel 'doit seiourner quelques jours a Paris pour donner ordre a ses affaires et la je luy envoie toute sa despesche', *Ibid*, p. 115. Apparently the King awarded d'Oysel twice as much for his pension than de l'Aubespine had anticipated on 16 April 1552, see *Ibid*, p. 112.

357 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 120; de l'Aubespine had informed Marie de Guise the previous day from the Camp d'Ornes that 's'en retournant M. d'Oysel je ne pourrois vous faire longue lettres sans m'oublier en son endroit estant si bien instruit de toutes choses que se ne seroit que reddicte', *Ibid*, p. 119.

358 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 283r. Whilst in Paris, d'Oysel was probably staying in his family's home in the rue Saint-Anthoine with his elder brother, Charles, Seigneur de Villeparisis, see Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Cleutin' (forthcoming).

359 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 549.

360 'A duplicate of a memoir sent by the Queen of Scotland and the King of France's lieutenant there, to the King of France', Mary of Hungary to the Emperor, 11 November 1552, *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 585; this is one of large number of letters and dispatches sent from Scotland to France, and intercepted by three Englishmen in the pay of the Emperor, 'at a village in the Boulonnais, two leagues inside the French frontier'. The courier escaped, but his mail-

Chastelherault, Regent of Scotland, has informed the Queen Dowager and M. d'Oysel, since the latter's return from France, that he intends soon to send the Abbé de Villouin [Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning³⁶¹] towards his Majesty to ascertain his intentions regarding the administration of the country after the Queen's minority expires'.³⁶² The Governor claimed that 'among his familiars of this nation that while he lived there should be no other Regent in Scotland than he, and that things should always continue to be managed as they were then. It is true that', the 'memoir' continues, 'at the Bishop of Ross' request, his Majesty conceded to the Regent that he should remain at his post as long as he lived;³⁶³ but it was not specified under what conditions, and the article that mentions this point does not say that the Regent shall do so with the enjoyment of any part or parcel of the authority that belongs to the Queen. It still lies in his Majesty's power, therefore', the 'memoir' concludes, 'to define how it shall be; and it is quite certain that the Regent will want great state and the means to take for himself and his supporters'.³⁶⁴

The Governor had apparently shown Marie de Guise and d'Oysel the letters patent from Henri II of 28 April 1548 which state that the Governor was to have the government and administration of Scotland 'sa vie durant'.³⁶⁵ He obviously did not show them the amended version of 17 June 1549 which states quite clearly and unambiguously that James Hamilton, duc de Châtellerauld was to have the administration 'dudict Royaume durant la mynorite' of Mary Queen of Scots.³⁶⁶ Furthermore, Marie de Guise and d'Oysel have been told by the Earls of Argyll and Cassillis 'and other respectable personages that the Governor intends to ask his Majesty for all the casualties of superiority, together with the presentation to bishoprics, abbeys and all other elective benefices of the Kingdom, for his maintenance as Governor, and that he shall be allowed to have the Queen's property and domain administered by his nominees'. To this demand they begged Henri II to consider that the Queen Dowager has some of the royal domains as part of her dower, but the 'casualties are incomparably larger, more profitable and important, for they alone, with the right of presentation and nomination to benefices, have enabled the Queen to do something for her good servants and maintain her authority'.³⁶⁷ They are also of the opinion that 'there are few persons of quality in Scotland (and not many others, except for the Regent's

bag was taken to Gravelines, and the most important of the letters sent to Mary of Hungary was this 'memoir', same to same, *Ibid.*, p. 596.

361 Although the Abbot of Kilwinning may have been asked by the Governor to plead his case to Henri II, he was actually sent to France 'in our Sovereane Ladyis service' in December 1552, *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., X, p. 44; he had also been the greatest beneficiary of Marie de Guise's disbursement of French gold during her sojourn in France in 1551, *Supra*, note 175.

362 'Copy of this memoir made in April 1557', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, pp. 585-88.

363 David Paniter, bishop of Ross, was the Scottish ambassador in France and the Governor's procurator during these negotiations with Henri II during 1548 and 1549.

364 *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 586.

365 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, NRA (5) 2177, Bundle 2021 (orig., parch., seal missing).

366 NAS, same bundle, (orig., parch., great seal attached).

367 'Memoir', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., X, p. 586.

relatives and retainers) who desire his continuation at the head of affairs. The reason is that justice is not as well and duly administered as it once was; and the Governor notably made many enemies during the last sessions [Justice Ayres] held in the North'. This situation, they assure Henri II, will improve 'once the Queen, his daughter, has come of age; for he will have the assistance and good-will of all the best elements and foremost men of the country'. The Queen Dowager, in the meantime, 'makes no secret to the Governor the impartial administration of justice, alike for all. In this M. d'Oysel follows her, according to the instructions he has always had from his Majesty, and as he knows the Kingdom's welfare requires'.³⁶⁸

Charles V appears to have ignored this 'memoir' and other dispatches from Mary of Hungary concerning the stolen mail-bag, although at this time, the Emperor, who was afflicted by gout and camped in freezing rain outside Metz, may have been disinclined to bother with his sister's intrigues. But Mary of Hungary seemed determined to create as much diplomatic embarrassment as possible, and to make the most of the windfall of a mail-bag full of letters from the French. In November 1552 she informed the Duke of Châtellerauld that 'I thought it my duty as your good friend and neighbour to summon the Governor [the Scottish Court-Master, Mr. George Gordon] of your nation here resident, and communicate to him certain important schemes that are being laid against the ancient liberties of Scotland, and concern the authority of your government'.³⁶⁹ She then summoned the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Chamberlain, and the newly arrived English agent in Antwerp, Thomas Gresham, and gave them access to the letters and allowed the latter to make duplicates for the English Privy Council. Finally, she treated Marie de Guise's envoy, Francesco de Busso, with haughty disdain when he requested that the letters 'should be returned and reparation made, as the deed constituted a breach of the treaty [of Binche]'.³⁷⁰ Eventually, on 23 December 1552, she sarcastically informed Marie de Guise that when she had received the letters 'most of them were already open and I therefore had them examined. These people found in M. d'Oysel's letters frequent references to letters of yours, and as these last were opened, they showed by several remarks that you were doing little to observe the true and sincere friendship to which you were bound if you desired to benefit by the treaty. In fact, in order to display your devotion to his Majesty's [Charles V's] enemies, you expressed joy over destruction and servitude of your own house'.³⁷¹ As a

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 587; the remainder of this long 'memoir' concerns the intrigues of the Irish lords and their sometime agent, George Paris, *Ibid.*, pp. 587-88. The only other letter from the stolen mail-bag to survive is a copy of a letter of Marie de Guise to the Cardinal of Lorraine, dated 3 Oct. 1552, which adds little more than the 'memoir' except for the antics of Lady Fleming, who had been repatriated to Scotland following the birth of her son by Henri II (Henri d'Angoulême) in 1551, and who now wanted to return to France, *Ibid.*, p. 588.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 595

³⁷⁰ Mary of Hungary to the Emperor, Brussels, 9 December 1552, *Ibid.*, p. 596.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 608; the house of Guise was a cadet branch of the house of Lorraine, which had been ruled by the pro-Habsburg, Duchess Christina, as regent for her young son, Charles II.

final shot, Mary of Hungary asserted that ‘even had there been any infringement of the treaty (which there was not), its text provides how and by whom a demand ought to be made; and as the person [Busso] sent by you to me had no power from him who, during the minority of the Queen your daughter, is Governor of Scotland, I find I am under no further obligation’.³⁷² With this letter the whole affair appears to have drifted off into the ether. Mary of Hungary’s politico-diplomatic meddling seems not to have changed any policy in Scotland, England, France, or with the Emperor; a fact which he probably pointed out to his sister when he limped back to Brussels a few weeks later, defeated and in full retreat from Metz. From the point of view of modern scholarship, however, is the loss of a vast quantity of ‘letters, artillery accounts, memoirs, inventories, etc. for the previous two years, statements of expenditure of the king of France’s money, and private correspondence of Frenchmen,’ which Mary of Hungary says she found in the mail-bag intercepted en route to the French court, and which apparently have just disappeared.³⁷³

In Scotland, Mary of Hungary’s letter to the Governor, however, did not affect his and the Lords of the Secret Council’s decision on 30 November 1552, that,

an certane number of fitmen be resit and uplittit of this realme, to be send in France for the support of the maist Christinet Kyng, conform to the awld liegis, bandis, amitie and alyansse quhilk hes stand of long tyme betwix the realmes of Scotland and France, renewit and confermit be everie king and princes sen the tyme of Achaus kyng of Scotland and Chairlis the Maine King of France; and laitlie in thir dayis be our Soverane Laydie, and Fransis last kyng of France, as he hes requerit be his speciall lettres as the samyn at mair lenth proportis.³⁷⁴

It was further established that the ‘fitmen, [should be] weil furnischt, cled in new hoise, and ane new doublett of canves at the lest, with a jack of plett, steilbonet, splent slevis, of mailie or plait, withe ane speir of six elne lang or thairby’. Letters were sent to ‘everie Scheref and Bailie within this realme’³⁷⁵ to convene between now and 20 December, ‘considering it standis upon the

In the recent campaign in Lorraine, Henri II had deposed the regent and taken Charles to the French court where he was later married to Henri II’s second daughter, Claude, in 1558.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 608-09; this letter from one Queen Dowager to another of equal rank is, in my experience, the most discourteous letter to have survived in north-western European diplomatic correspondence of the mid-16th century.

³⁷³ Mary of Hungary to the Emperor, Brussels, 9 December 1552, *Ibid.*, p. 597.

³⁷⁴ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 129; ‘it is devysit and ordanit that thair be resait of the hail borrows of this realme ane ansaingie [enseign] of fitmen, extending to thrie hunderthe [300] men’, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130; between 5 and 19 Dec. 1552, 25 letters were dispatched, *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., X, pp. 148-150.

hie plesour to the said maist Cristinit Kyng and honor of his [*sic*] realme'. This meeting was to be held to arrange that all the lands within the shires and bounds of their offices, as well as the royal domains, 'special and temporall landis, terce and conjunct fie landis, and landis in nonnentres; and, conforme to the samyn, charge all the frie halderis thairof, that everie xl [40] merk land of auld extent, they mak and furneis ane sufficient man weill bodin'.³⁷⁶ On 6 December 1552 the 'Quenis Grace, my Lord Governour, and Lordis of Secreit Counsale', confirmed that iijc [300] futmen were to be raised, 'and all thai to be [supplied with] hagbutteris, weill furnist with pulder flask, morsing horne, and all uthair geir belangand thairto', and provided with the said uniform 'to pas to France for the support of the maist Cristin King in his weiris'.³⁷⁷ On the same day an 'Act of the Commissaris', was made appointing commissioners throughout the length and breadth of Scotland.³⁷⁸ Two days later, the Council decided that the Kerrs and 'all utheris thair kin, freyndis (sa mony as will tak thair part within the boundis of the wardenrie of the Middle Merchis of this realme) [will provide] ane hundreth [100] horsemen, weill furnist, to depart to the partis of France, with the Generall, as utheris that ar to be rasit of this realme dois'.³⁷⁹

General enthusiasm for the expedition increased and on 12 December the Council decided that 'thair salbe certane horsemen rasit upoun the Bordouris and lawland of this realme to the nowmer of iijj [400] men to pas in France ... [and that] Prelattis and Kirkmen, Erlis, Lordis, and Baronis, hes convenit at this present Conventioun, and of fre will and benevolence hes grantit certane horsmen to the support of the said maist Cristin King upoun his expenssis'.³⁸⁰ Command of the expedition was given to 'Gilbert Erle of Cassillis, Lieutenant Generall of the army divisit to pas into France, and Patrik Lord Ruthven, Coronet of the futmen, ... with thair kin and freyndis, ar to pas to the saidis partis of France for obeying of sik chargeis as the maist Cristin King thairof will imput thaim'.³⁸¹ The next day the Council decided that 'thair suld be reasit of the hieland pairtis of this realme, within the boundis of my Lord Huntleis lieeutenantrie, tua ansaigyeis [2 enseigns ? 600 men] of fitmen, to pass with the rest of the ansaigyeis to France, to support the maist Cristinit Kyng of France in his weiris'.³⁸² Thus from the initial 300 soldiers proposed by the Council on 30 November 1552, the number had increased to 900 footmen and 500 horsemen twelve days later. However, on 16 January 1553 letters were sent to all the Sheriffs 'to discharge the futemen that war

³⁷⁶ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, p. 130.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132; the Act lists all the commissioners and their shires.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134; Argyll encountered a few problems but Cassillis assured Marie de Guise on 17 Dec. 1552 that 'your grace wil know the affection he hais to set forward is the Kingis serwis', *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 364.

³⁸¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, p. 135; for the names of 54 of the Scots soldiers to be sent to France, *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 136

ordanit to be rasit of thai Sherefdomes to have bene send in France'.³⁸³ Given the general enthusiasm for the expedition, the Scots were no doubt disappointed. The prospect of joining the successful French army under the banner of the 'Auld Alliance' with the regular pay and bounty their ancestors had enjoyed, must have been appealing. By mid-January 1553, however, the French had had marvellous victories in Piedmont, Hesdin, Toul, Verdun, and greatest of all, at Metz, and Henri II was discharging the greater part of his army, therefore the Scots were no longer required. When the news of the duc de Guise's great victory at Metz reached Scotland,³⁸⁴ d'Oysel wrote to him on 7 February 1553 that 'jay prins la hardiesse de vous faire la reverence par la presente', placing the Duke among the 'Immortel que vous monseigneur auez rapporte et justement merite ceste annee pour estant chose si comment que tout le monde en bruiet'. D'Oysel assured the Duke that he did not have a 'serviteur qui ayt receu plus de plaisir et contentement que moy, entendant les choses estre ainsi bien et heureusement succedees, tant au bien aduantaige des affaires du Roy que a laugmentacion et accroissement de vostre honneur et repputacion'.³⁸⁵

In this period following the 'amicable division of the 'Debateable Land', ... [which] had been taken out of the hands of the Governor',³⁸⁶ Marie de Guise and d'Oysel moved cautiously towards reforming and centralizing the administration of government in Scotland. The extent to which they, and not the Governor, were in control of events is revealed, according to Annie Cameron, in his deference to Marie de Guise in his letter to her on 7 October 1552. 'Not only did he "luk for haisty answer of your grace", in matters of state, but the very meeting-place of the Council could not be determined until he knew "gif it may stand with your pleasour"'.³⁸⁷ This gradual, and for the most part peaceful build-up of French power in Scotland, was interrupted by Edward VI's death, Northumberland's failure to secure Lady Jane Grey's successful accession to the English throne,³⁸⁸ and by Mary Tudor's triumphant claim in July 1553. Mary had not even established herself in London before d'Oysel arrived there en route to France. Accompanied by the

383 *Treasurers Accounts*, vol., X, p. 154.

384 From Paris on 14 January 1553, Claude de l'Aubespine informed Marie de Guise that 'l'on actend icy Monseigneur de Guise dedans dix ou douze jours en tres grande devotion, et que le Roy et tout son peuple le sanctifient du bien qu'il a faict a ce royaume', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 136; 'the duke of Guise left his army on 26 January to come to Court. On 20 February he was solemnly thanked by the Parlement of Paris for his services during the defence of Metz', *Ibid.*, p. 136, n. 1.

385 BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 285r; on 30 March d'Oysel replied to the duc de Guise's letter of 26 February in a similar vein: 'vous supplie treshumblement monseigneur voulloir croyre que entre tous voz serviteurs Il ny en a vng seul qui plus participe de layse et contentement quilz scauroient auoir que moy', *Ibid.*, fol., 287r.

386 *Scottish Correspondence*, p. 334.

387 *Ibid.*, pp. 334 and 361.

388 For details of Northumberland's fall see, Beer, *Northumberland*, Ch. 7, pp. 147-166; Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 373-75; Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 226; and S.T. Bindoff, 'A Kingdom at Stake, 1553', *History Today* (September, 1953), *passim*.

recently appointed French ambassador, Antoine de Noailles,³⁸⁹ he travelled to New Hall (also known as Beaulieu) in Essex to kiss the new queen's hand. Noailles explained the circumstances to Henri II on 29 July 1553:

M. d'Oysel a beaucoup favorise depuis quinze jours qu'il est en ce lieu, pour le retardiment que l'on luy a fait de son passeport et pourra encores faire d'avantage pour deux ou trois autres que j'ay este d'avis qu'il demeurast attendant la venue de ceste Royne, de laquelle nous desirons tous deux qu'il vous puisse porter tesmoignage de nous avoir fait quelque bon recueil a son Entree de ceste ville, estans resoubz de luy aller baiser la main a quinze ou vingt mille d'icy avant son arrivee en ce lieu.³⁹⁰

D'Oysel wasted little further time in carrying out the main purpose of his journey, as he disclosed in his letter to Marie de Guise, written from the French court at Offémont (near Compiègne) on 8 August 1553.³⁹¹ D'Oysel informed the Queen Dowager that 'he had arrived at the Court on the 7th and informed the King of the state of English affairs, and the fortunate accession of Queen Mary and the willingness for peace and friendship which she professes. Passing by Amiens, he saw the Constable but he had not time to inform him of the Queen's [de voz] affairs, as he was ordered to take his news [susdictes] at once to the King'. When arrived at Court the Cardinal of Lorraine and duc de Guise 'did him the honour to present him to the King, who was very glad of the news of England'. D'Oysel then explained (in cypher) that '*the next day he was summoned [by Henri II] and the discussion lasted more than three hours*': he assured Marie de Guise that he saw, '*such goodwill toward the management of Scots affairs that the Queen need not doubt that they lose no occasion, for he found both the King and the Queen's brothers rather too much zeal to carry through and advance the work in question than to accuse them of neglect. In fact the Cardinal argued in opposition [to d'Oysel] that the Queen of Scots should take up her rights at the age of eleven years et un jour [9 December 1553], and since they had found clearly the ill-will towards her by the Governor, that it seemed best to depose him as once before he could provide himself with friends and make an*

389 Antoine de Noailles served as French ambassador in England from April 1553 to June 1556. He was notified of his appointment by Montmorency on 23 December 1552: 'Monsieur de Noailles, Par ce que le Roy veult revocquer M. de Boisdauphin d'Angleterre, et qu'il vous faire es honneur que de vous eslire en sa place pour le service d'Ambassadeur', Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, [hereafter, AMAE] Dispatches of Antoine, François and Gilles de Noailles, 1552-1561; Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, vols., IX-XX, vol., XII, fol., 1.

390 AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., XII, fol., 66.

391 This letter is included as 'Appendix A' in *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 302-06. It is partly written in cypher and was not deciphered until the editor, Marguerite Wood, traced another letter in the same cypher (BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 299), which then enabled her to decipher, transcribe and translate this letter. In 'Appendix A' the editor has placed those passages previously in cypher in italics, which procedure will be followed here; and as she has fully translated the letter, the English version is given.

understanding withblank..... orblank.....,³⁹² a matter worthy of consideration'. D'Oysel asks Marie de Guise 'to think of it and inform them of the said Governor's progress and of his brother [the Archbishop of St. Andrews], so that they can better decide what should be done to assist the Queen with men and money.'³⁹³ The King will make his decision after the first letter from the Queen after communication with the Constable, who, [d'Oysel] believes, will say the same as the others. He concludes the letter with his instructions. 'He has the King's command to communicate with the English ambassadors, and then he goes to the Queen and the Queen of Scots at Saint Germain to give news of the Queen Dowager. Afterwards he returns to the King to follow him on his campaign; ... he will get the money [that Marie de Guise] owes him, and the matter of the pension will be settled when he returns with the Constable'.³⁹⁴ Henri II's swift action to depose the Governor, following the death of Edward VI, the fall of the pro-French government of Northumberland and the accession of Mary Tudor, Charles V's cousin, indicate the French King's profound mistrust of the Governor whose actions, regarding foreign relations with Emperor in 1550, his dual-ratification of the treaty of Binche in 1551, and his opportunistic manoeuvring on behalf of himself and the house of Hamilton, must have given Henri II cause for alarm. He had expended much time and money in securing Scotland for France, he was not about to take any chances with the dubious loyalty of the self-serving Governor.

D'Oysel set out for Paris soon after, as he informed Noailles on 19 August, on his arrival at the Constable's Camp de hem [? near Amiens]. He recounts that 'je suis alle par commandement du Roy a Saint Germain en Laye devers la Roynne et passe a mon retour par Paris pour m'equiper d'armes, tentes et autres choses necessaires pour la suite de cette armee ... et quant aux Escossois qui sont par dela, le Roy trouve tres bon de les tenir en esperance, attendant autre saison et que sa Majeste moyennera leur pardon envers la Roynne sa fille leur souveraine et sera tresaise que en la reconnoissant'.³⁹⁵ A

392 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 302-03; the editor notes that it is impossible to tell from the context to what the cipher refers, but she thinks they are states rather than noblemen. She adds that 'it is tempting to consider them as representing England and the Empire, the support of which would have been useful to the Governor, *Ibid.*, p. 304, n. 2.

393 On 28 December 1553, Wotton reported to the Council that Henri II 'is sending thither [Scotland] the Vidame of Chartres with a number of soldiers; ... it would seem either that the French stand in fear of war [with England], or make use of this occasion to occupy the forts in Scotland', *CSP, Foreign, Mary (1553-1558)*, ed., W.B. Turnbull (London, 1861), p. 43; Dr Wotton had been re-appointed ambassador at the French court on 16 August 1553, soon after the accession of Mary Tudor, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

394 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 303.

395 AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., IX, fols., 99-100; d'Oysel is probably referring to the Scots, accused of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and captured and imprisoned in France following the recovery of St Andrews Castle in 1547. D'Oysel comments that 'du sens et bon esprit du sieur de Granges [William Kirkcaldy of Grange], estant bien d'avis toutesfois que l'on entretienne les aultres en semble esperance', *Ibid.*, fol., 100. It is not known whether Grange continued also to serve as an English spy under the code name of *Coraxe*, see *Supra*, note 186.

few days later on 22 August from Amiens, d'Oysel informed Marie de Guise that Henri II would soon join the army. Also he had 'veiz hier monseigneur le Cardinal [de Lorraine] auquel je feiz dez l'heure mesme ung petit d'ouverture de voz deniers' and that 'je trouveray que monseigneur de Guyse avoyt faict pourveoir de la place de Dobarre [Dunbar] et de la compaignie du pauvre feu cappitaine Ironnaut³⁹⁶ vng aultre cappitaine gascon, nomme Salarbos'.³⁹⁷ From the Camp at Solesmes on 17 September, d'Oysel informed Marie de Guise of the latest and favourable news from the battlefield and progress of the French army in Italy.³⁹⁸ A few days later d'Oysel followed the Court to St. Quentin from where he informed Marie de Guise on 23 September of the scandalous behaviour of several Scots captains, in particular Jimmy Dog who he describes as being 'froict et pusillanime comme le congnoissez; toutesfoys il se rend mieux cappable de conseil et se resoult honnestement'. But the brother of Alexander Cunningham, 5th earl of Glencairn, 'se monstre certainement fort vollage, oppinaistre et terriblement legier en tout ce qu'il faict et pense', and both Scots are accused that 'ne sont si bien instruitz de ce qu'il appartient a l'office de voz cappitaines et entretenement de leurs compaignyes qu'ilz debvroient estre; dequoy il est desia sorty vng telle scandalle'. Notwithstanding this behaviour, d'Oysel assured her, Henri II 'ne laisse pour ce la demeurer content des cappitaines et avoir envye de se servir de la nation et l'honneur'.³⁹⁹

In October, d'Oysel was once again in Paris where he received, on behalf of Marie de Guise 'les douze mil [12,000] livres, que demandez en v mil ij cens [5,200] escuz soleil et xvij [18] [?sous], ... faicte pour faire avancer ladicte somme en attendant le mois de janvier pour surplus de vostre pension'.⁴⁰⁰ Whilst in Paris, d'Oysel had met a lady of noble birth whom he

396 Marguerite Wood speculates that 'Ironnaut' and 'Ronault' were one and the same man, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 7, 50, 154 and 306; it is far more likely, however, that 'Ironnaut' was in fact 'le cappitaine Carronant' who had been appointed Captain of Dunbar by the Sr de Termes in 1549, and was still at Dunbar in June 1553, according to the Muster Roll: R. S. Rait, ed., *Miscellany II*, Scottish History Society, 3rd Series (1904).

397 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 153-54; 'probably Baron Sarlabous mentioned as recruiting companies of Gascons for the Duke of Guise, and as Governor of Le Havre after his death', *Ibid*, p. 154, n. 2; and the protagonist in, E. Forestié, *Un capitain Gascon au XVIe siècle, Corbeyran de Cadaillac-Sarlabous, Gouverneur de Dunbar (Écosse)*... (Paris, 1897).

398 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 158-163; 'this account of the fighting after the capture of Hesdin by the Imperialists inclines to favour the French side', *Ibid*, p. 159, n. 1.

399 *Ibid*, pp. 164-68; Cunningham's misbehaviour was particularly embarrassing: both d'Oysel (BN, Fonds Français 20457, fol., 289r), and Marie de Guise (*Mémoires de Guise*, pp. 176-77) had written to the duc de Guise in May 1553, recommending Cunningham to his service.

400 Jacques Girard to Marie de Guise, Paris, 22 Oct. 1553, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 172. Jacques Girard was Marie de Guise's treasurer in France. Aside from her pension, Girard informed her that the Cardinal of Lorraine 'm'a commande me trouver a Noel la part qu'il sera pour regarder a dresser la maison de la Roynie, vostre fille, mais il me semble, Madame, soubz vostre meiller advis que cella sera mal aise si je ne vois aultre fons de deniers. ... Mondict Seigneur Cardinal faict estat de xxxij mil [32,000] livres de tous les deniers provenans de la maison de Longueville sur quoy Monseigneur de Nemours [Philippe de Savoie, duc de Nemours, his late wife, Charlotte d'Orléans, (d.1549) was Marie de Guise's sister-in-law from

intended to marry, as he informed Marie de Guise 31 October 1553. Madame, 'je suys sur le point de mener une damoysselle ... fille de M. et Madame de Thouars,⁴⁰¹ en son mesnage avecques bonne compagnie de dames et gentilshommes, pour incontinant cela faict m'en aller retrouver le Roy et mondict Seigneur le Cardinal et le adviser avec ce qui sera digne des affaires de voz Magestes; delibere me randre devers vous, Madame, avecques notre compagnie le plus tost apres cela que je pourray. ... Vous suppliant tres humblement, Madame, ne faire tant d'honneur que de ne vous ennuyer de l'envy et volonte que jay et veulx garder toute ma vie a vous faire tres humble service'.⁴⁰² In September 1553, Marie de Guise had written to d'Oysel on 20th, 25th, 26th and 27th, regarding not only her personal financial affairs, but also Henri II's deliberations concerning the advancement of the Queen of Scots' 'perfect age', and the proposed deposition of the Governor of Scotland. From Villers-Cotterêts on 6 November, d'Oysel informed her that he had just received the last two letters and 'je les ay faict incontinent deschiffre et translater le memoire et les ay icy apportez ... [et] je feiz voir le tout a messeigneurs voz freres et a ce matin le Roy en verra autant, encores que je communiquasse le contenu a sa Mageste hier a son soupper. Je ne vous scauroys encores dire, Madame, comment l'en recepvrà le discours que je trouve fort de grands esperance, et Dieu veut que nous

her first marriage] en doit iij mil [3,000] livres, qui n'est argent prest, plus y aura de passe oultre mon estat de l'annee presente de iij mil [3,000] livres tournois plus xij mil [12,000] que vous pretiez, v mil [5,000] et tant livres qu'il faudra paier a Coullaudy pour le banquier d'Escosse, xij cens [1,200] et tant aures a ung autre qui n'a pas este assigne a ladicte annee. ... Voilla desja xxv mil [25,000] livres et encores vij mil [7,000] livres me sont doubz par mon compte de l'annee passee, qui est en tout les dictz xxxij mil [32,000] frans [livres tournois]', *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁰¹ Marie-Jeanne 'de Thouars de pais de Mayne dame de Saint Agnan au dict pais', Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, MS 1354; Marguerite Wood says that d'Oysel 'married Jeanne Chasteigner', *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 175, n. 1; which he did, but not in 1553; she was his second wife (b.1543) whom he married c. 1561; see genealogical table of the Clutin family in Bonner, 'The Tomb of Henri Clutin', (forthcoming).

⁴⁰² *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, p. 175; d'Oysel was 43 years old at the time and was obviously enchanted with his intended bride. He further observed that he had 'choysi vng compaignon bien nourry, ce me semble, dedans la maison d'une saige et vertueuse dame de mere et de bien fort bonne maison et bien et grandement apparente, qui este la chose du monde que j'ay plus considere, et d'avantage que les biens, encorez que il y en ai beaucoup au lieu dont elle est', *Ibid.*, p. 175. Henri Cleutin and Jeanne-Marie Thouars had three children, all of whom were born in Scotland, and for whom it was necessary to establish their French nationality; for further details see, Bonner, 'Naturalization', pp. 1096-97. This is formalized in a document entitled 'Habilitation pour enfance nais en Escosse': 'Henry, A tous presens par nostre ame et feal gentilhomme ordinaire de nostre chambre et nostre Lieutenant General en Escosse, Henri Cleutin Sr Doisel et de Villeparesis. Nous a faict dire et remonstrer que, depuis quil est demeurant et residant audit pays d'Escosse pour nostre service, il a eu de dame Jeanne de Touars, sa femme, trois enfans nomminees James, Henry et Marie Cleutin les quilz sont nais au dit pays d'Escosse....', (no date, c. 1558-59) BN, Fonds Français 4588, fols 13v-15r, (copy ? 17th/18th C), for a full transcription of this document see, *Ibid.*, Appendix No. 7, pp. 1113-15.

facions pour le service de vostre Mageste et de la Royne votre fille tout qui est requis en cest endroit'.⁴⁰³

Evidently, the discussions following d'Oysel's delivery of Marie de Guise's correspondence, which took place in November at the French court at Villers-Cotterêts between her brothers and the King, reached the conclusion that the Governor of Scotland was to be deposed and the young queen's 'perfect age' advanced by one year. This decision was submitted to the Parlement of Paris in December 1553, and whose 'principaux officiers'⁴⁰⁴ were of the opinion that Mary Queen of Scots, having attained the age of eleven years and one day, was now of age to dispose of the Regency.⁴⁰⁵ The officers of the Parlement were requested to deliberate,

sur le fait du gouvernement et administration du Royaume d'Escosse mis en deliberation par ordonnance du Roy par ses lettres du treiziesme de ce mois [13 December 1553] en assemblée de Messieurs les premier, second et quart presidens en l'absence au tiers Estat⁴⁰⁶ par ce quil est curateur de la Royne d'Escosse. ... A scavoir si l'Administration et gouvernement du Royaume doit estre soubz le nom et tiltre dela Royne d'Escosse esant entrée au douzieme an de son aage tellement que le gouvernement et administration dudict

403 *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 176-77; the remainder of the letter elaborates the difficulties he is experiencing with the 'controlleurs des finances' and that 'deniers me sont icy fort courtz ... et feray s'il vous plaist de voz deniers ainsi qu'il vous avoyt pleu me commander auparavant partir d'Escosse', *Ibid*, p. 177; also see a letter from M. de Puiguiillon [Gilbert de Beaucaire, Seigneur de Peguillon] to Marie de Guise, Paris, 12 Nov. 1553, regarding her financial problems, *Ibid*, pp. 178-79.

404 'Ce que este advise par les Principaux officiers de la cour de Parlement de Paris sur le fait de l'administration du Royaume d'Escosse, 1552 [*sic*]', AN, KK 1382, fols., 174r-178r, (copy ?18th C) signed: 'Messires de St Andre, Denier, Abot, Boete de Lion, Le Corier Prevost, Potier, Dedormans, Chambon, Tiraqueau, Faye, Seguiet, Brulart et Riant', *Ibid*, fol., 178r; another copy BN, Coll. Dupuy, 33, fols., 295r-297v: published in Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, pp. 274-78; Teulet has added two extra names to the officers of the Parlement: 'Maistre' and 'Prévost', *Ibid*, p. 278; these appear as titles in AN, KK 1382, fol., 178r.

405 'Partant demeure la faveur pour la Royne ores que les dites douze ans ne soient parfaite et ne pouroit estre alleguee raison valable au contraire qui ne fut facile a denier et est la dite deliberacion', *Ibid*, fols., 177v-178r.

406 AN, KK 1382, fol., 174r; Teulet omits the word 'Estat', *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 274. By omitting 'Estat' the sense is that the third president was absent, but the 'Tiers Estat' was, according to Doucet, another name for 'les États généraux'. In making a distinction between 'lois fondamentales et lois royales', Doucet says of the former that 'c'étaient seulement quelques principes de droit public qu'invoquaient couramment les juristes, auxquels se référaient les États généraux, sans s'accorder toujours, ni sur l'énumération de ces principes, ni sur leur interprétation', *Les Institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, vol., I, p. 66. As the États Généraux were the theoretical equivalent of the Scottish Three Estates of Parliament, perhaps they were covering themselves from any challenge which might come from Scotland? A point which the parlementaires make in their summary: 'y a plusieurs exemples pour monstret que les trois Estats ont toujours conclu', AN, KK 1382, fol., 177v.

Royaume soit a present expire sans attendre la perfection de 12 ans.⁴⁰⁷

The first point to be established by the parlementaires, who appear to have been familiar with Scottish law, was:

car es Royaumes hereditaires comme Escosse transitoires au plus prochain par la loy du pais, sans distinction de sexe masculin ou feminin, nest requis laage legitime et parfaict comme es Empires Royaumes et Monarchies Electives non transmissibles a heriter que les anciens Romains ont aucuns fois defini a vingt ans et apres vingt cinq, les republicques greques et autres chacun en son endroit. ... Mais les Royaumes et monarchies hereditaires a l'heriter du sang leur acquises par les loix a l'heriter du Royaume encore que fut postume. Et au regard de l'Administration souvent est sous le nom du Roy et sans distinction daage de pupilarite ou puberte. Encores que jusques ala puberte put le prochain de la couronne prefere par la loy d'Escosse au gouvernement du Royaume toutesfois n'est requis la perfection de quatorze ans aux mailles et douze a la femelle combien que pour finir une tutelle d'un Prince soit requis la perfection de l'an dernier.⁴⁰⁸

The parlementaires then develop a long and complex argument⁴⁰⁹ on the laws of royal authority during minorities as elaborated by 'les anciens' and interpretations 'des saintcs docteurs de l'Eglise', as well as 'Aristotes'. As an example, they argue, one could take 'les Roys de France tant pour l'ancienne alliance d'entres les Roys de France et d'Escosse que pour l'excellence dela Couronne et maison de France y en a plusieurs qui sont certaines et manifestes'. There follows a history of the law as it applied during minorities of the French crown from Pépin to Charles 'huictiesme [VIII]';⁴¹⁰ and 'les dictz exemples peuvent bien servir pour l'interpretation de la loy d'Escosse'. They concluded this subject by asserting that 'souvent a esté veu que durant la minorite et pupilarite des Roys le Royaume a esté heureusement administre sous le nom et auctorite des roys par la prudence vertu et probite des seigneurs qui estoient pres et au Conseil des Roys.⁴¹¹

Their final verdict was that it was 'chose bien favorable que la reine ayant unze ans accomplis et entrée au douzieme an au ladministration de son Royaume hereditaire que nest point acquerir nouuel droit car Il est radique en la personne en pleine seigneurie et par continuation de pere a fille: ... auquel cas la perfection et accomplissement de temps nest Requis comme estant

407 AN, KK 1382, fol., 174r.

408 *Ibid.*, fol., 174v.

409 *Ibid.*, fols., 175r&v.

410 *Ibid.*, fol., 176r; Teulet says it was 'Charles VII', *Relations Politiques*, vol., I, p. 277.

411 AN, KK 1382, fols., 176v-77r.

favorable en la personne de la fille au Royaume paternelle'. As far as the Governor of Scotland was concerned it was a question

d'une part le bien public et l'autre le droit prive qui est le gouverneur qui doit estre postpose au public et en ce faisant delaisser l'administration a la Roynne dame naturelle du pais sous le nom tiltre et auctorite et majeste de la quelle sera mieux le Royaume auctorize et le peuple plus devost et obeissant qu'a un gouverneur qui nest que pour certain temps dautant que l'homme est tousjours plus encline a lobeissance et seigneurie naturelle qu'a celle qui est empruntee a certain temps. ... Et a ce propos y a plusieurs exemples pour monstrier que les trois Estats ont toujours conclu que les Royaumes doivent estre plustost gouvernez sous le nom et tiltre de Roy.⁴¹²

The result of the Parlement's deliberation 'sur le fait de l'administration de Royaume d'Escosse', appears to have been confined to a select few. Certainly, foreign ambssadors were not made privy to it. On 23 December 1553, Wotton informed the Council that 'the Scots say that the Governor of Scotland is at last content to meddle no further in the management of that country than shall be appointed to him by the young Queen when she has attained the age of 12 [i.e. 8 December 1554]'.⁴¹³ D'Oysel remained in France to await the outcome of the Parlement's deliberation and receive instructions from the king; and on 28 December, Wotton informed the Council that the King has already dispatched M. d'Oysel to Scotland with renewed commission'.⁴¹⁴ From Boulogne on 29 December, d'Oysel informed Noailles that he had been delayed due to bad weather: 'la mer si grosse et si fort tourmentee, et pour mieulx me favoriser avecques vent contraire qui auttant en luy je ne trouve autre expedient que de retourner d'ou

412 *Ibid.*, fol., 178r.

413 *CSP, Foreign, Mary*, p. 41. The recently appointed Imperial ambassador in England, Simon Renard, was even more misinformed. On 7 January 1554 he notified the Bishop of Arras (Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle) that 'the Queen Dowager of Scotland is at odds with the Governor who is established in that country, and intends to take the reins of government out of his hands to give them to another Scotsman in whom the King of France has more confidence. But the Governor has summoned a number of the nobility and foremost men, and has decided not to give up his post but to hold out; and he has sent a certain bishop [he probably means Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning] to the King of France to expose to him that he recognised him as governor and issued letters patent declaring that his authority might not be taken away from him until the young Queen were married or returned to Scotland. Also that the declaration was not made as mere favour bestowed on the Governor, but at the request of the Estates of Scotland in order to insure the country's freedom and guarantee that no foreigners should be allowed to encroach on the government', *CSP, Spanish*, vol., XII, p. 16.

414 *CSP, Foreign, Mary*, p. 43. D'Oysel carried among his dispatches a letter, in her own hand, from Mary Queen of Scots to Mary Tudor: 'Ma dame ma bonne seur s'en retournant le Sr d'Oysel Lieutenant de Roy en Escosse, ie l'ay prié passant par votre Royaume vous visiter de ma part et vous mercier, comme ie fais tres affectueusement de l'affectionnée amitié, dont vous me données assurance par votre dernière lettre', PRO, Sp 51/1/14. Montmorency informed Noailles on 14 Dec. 1553 that le Seigneur Doisel sen retourne en Escosse et passera par vous', AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., IX, fol., 181.

j'estoire party non sans grand hazard et dangier et beaucoup de peyne et travail que y receut un[e] pauvre damoiselle que je mene avec moy'.⁴¹⁵

D'Oysel and his bride arrived in London soon after New Year 1554, and following his departure for Scotland, Noailles informed Henri II on 15 January that 'je lui ai fait entendre voi et toucher a l'oeil et au doigt, en huit jours qu'il a sejourne icy toutes les pratiques et menu qui se font pardeca, et l'ai fait parler aux principaux auteurs et conducteurs d'icelles'.⁴¹⁶ E.H. Harbison, using the same evidence, accuses d'Oysel of complicity with Noailles in the plots which prefaced Wyatt's Rebellion. 'There is every reason to believe', says Harbison, 'that he, rather than Noailles took the lead in dealing with the plotters'.⁴¹⁷ It would seem that Harbison is drawing a rather long bow here, although d'Oysel did inform Henri II on 14 January of the 'murmurs en Angleterre contre le mariage de La Reine d'Angleterre et projets de rebellion'.⁴¹⁸ In fact, d'Oysel had far more weighty concerns on his mind as he informed the duc de Guise on 11 January 1554 from Edinburgh.⁴¹⁹ D'Oysel wanted to tell the Duke that he had 'mis ce jours passez en considération que l'avancement du mariage de monseigneur et de la royne d'Escosse madame vostre niepce ne sçauroit nuire aux affaires du Roy et bien du service de Sa Majesté, mais au contraire de grande utilité, j'ay pris la hardisse, après en avoir communiquer avec la Roynne madame vostre soeur, qui s'en est contentée, d'en escrire présentement au Roy'. After informing the Duke of the financial burdens Marie de Guise was bearing, he confessed that 'je voudrois bien que la dicte dame fust assez riche et opulent qu'au lieu de demander au Roy, elle eut moyen de l'assister en ses affaires; mais je n'en vois encore le temps. Il fault premièrement faire valloir ce royaume, en mines,⁴²⁰ pescheries et autres commoditez, en quoy on ne peut rien avancer sans l'obéissance des subjects envers leur souveraine ... car ce peuple ne demande et

415 AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., IX, fol., 199.

416 *Ibid.*, vol., XII, fol., 271.

417 E.H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940), p. 120; see also 'French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary', *American Historical Association*, XLV (1940).

418 AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., XII, fols., 269-70.

419 This date of 11 January 1554 (from Edinburgh) appears to be defective. According to a letter from Mary Tudor to Marie de Guise from the English court, d'Oysel was still in the south of England on 12 January 1554. The English queen declared: 'whereas this bearer Monsr doysel coming at this present from our good brother the French King to passe in to Scotland hath by way visited vs thassured good mynde of our said good brother firmly given to continue the peax and good amitie betwene vs'. Turning to their concerns Mary Tudor assured the Dowager that 'as for thalfaires betwixte this our realme and Scotland forasmuche as by the last meeting of commissioners of both sides occasions of pike and contention have been well removed and taken away we doubt not but suche good order shalbe vsed of either side as the good peax and leagues betwixte vs', PRO, Sp. 51/1/9 (much amended draft) dated 12 Jan. 1554.

420 Fourquevaux and Visque's report to Henri II included a request from Marie de Guise who, on 27 Feb. 1549 suggested that 'qu'il sera bon que le Roy envoyast par deca des mineurs bien experimentez aux mines dor et dargent affin que lon congneust bien au vray le profit qui en peult sortir', *Mission ... de Fourquevaux en Ecosse, 1549*, p. 20.

ne désire que repos et justice. Mais il y a en toutes nos frontières des cheffz des races et maisons que je ne sçairois mieux appeller que Bandouliers qui ne vivent que de proye, soit des Anglois ou des Escossois mesmes'. He also wanted, 'avec le congé du Roy', to visit the many 'isles qui sont belles, bonnes et grandes, lesquelles sont en très mauvais estat' of justice and police; with 'quelques seigneurs de ce pays et une troupe de nos arquebuziers et aultres de nos soldatz armez legerement de jaques d'Escossois, espérant y faire quelque service au Roy et aus dictes dames les roynes avant revenir'. Finally, regarding the fortifications; 'nous n'avons encore aucune forteresse sur nos frontières où nous puissions faire arrester une heure nostre ennemy s'il venoit, de façon qu'il peut aller de tous costz de plain pied s'il a des vivres. J'ay bien souvent escrit et dict de bouche toutes ses choses depuis que j'ai eu l'honneur de commander en ce pays; mais il n'a esté rien ordonné à cause des affaires qui sont survenues au Roy'.⁴²¹

Some of d'Oysel's duties and responsibilities as the 'commander en ce pays' of Scotland are elaborated in an account of payment made by,

Messire Benoist le Grant, conseiller du Roy et tresorier l'extraordinaire de ses guerres de lordonnance et commandement de Messire Henry Cleutin, chevalier, Seigneur d'Oysel, de Villeparesis et de Saint Prius, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roy, et son lieutenant general au pais et Royaume d'Escosse, tant pour voyages, remboursements, recompenses, port de voicture de quelque quantite de farines, mises au chateau de l'hermitaige pour la munition et advitaillement dicelle, que pour plusieurs autres parties extraordinaires et linoppinees quil a convenu et este necessaire payer pour le seruice du dict Seigneur depuys le [7 February 1553] jusques et comprins le [6 September 1554].⁴²²

During this period, Captain Salleine, an enseign in Captain Lussinguet's company, for example, was paid ten livres per month, 'pour les voyages qui luy a convenu faire par mer en lisle dieu aurement dicte aux chevaux [Inchkeith] ... faisant porter viures aux soldatz de la dicte compaignie y estans en garnison pour la garde et seurete icelle Isle'. For five voyages made between Stirling, Edinburgh and Leith during February 1554, 'Robin Scot, homme de pied Escossoys ... portant lettres dedict Seigneur d'Oysel au cappitaines Sarlabos et Lussainguet touchant aucuns affaires dimportance toutefois ledict Seigneur d'Oysel ne veulx cy plus ample mention', was paid 100 sols [or 5 livres] tournois. On 28 February 'Rene Mahiel commis en ce dict pays du garde general des munitions de lartillerie de France', was paid 74 sols 8 deniers by d'Oysel, of which sum 46 sols 8 deniers comprised the wages for ten men 'qui ont travaille au chateau de Dombarre [Dunbar] durant vng

⁴²¹ *Mémoires de Guise*, pp. 222-23.

⁴²² BN, Fonds Français, Pièces Originales 786, fols., 5r-7v; for a full transcription of this document see, Bonner, *French Military and Financial Documents* (forthcoming).

jour [20 February] et compter toutes les munitions et lartillerie estans audict chasteau dont il failion faire nouveau inventaire affin de charge le cappitaine Sarlabos puis nagues pourveu par le Roy de la garde dudict Chasteau'; and at Broughty Craig 28 sols tournois was paid to eight men for performing the same function 'en charger le cappitaine Courtery puis nagues pourvent par le Roy de la garde desdicts fortz'. Also, on 28 February, 'vng gentilhomme Escossoys de la frontiere, le nom duquel ledict Seigneur dOysel ne veult estre cy declare ny quittance prise de luy', for 40 écus d'or soleil [92 livres] which d'Oysel paid him,

pour vng voiage par luy fait a Londres, tant pour porter vng paquet de la Royne douariere dEscosse et dudict dOysel, au Seigneur de Noailles, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Angleterre, pour le tenir adverty des affaires qui se presentent lors audict Escosse, comme aussi pour rapporter nouvelles de lestat ou se retrouement eulx dudict Angleterre, dont lon ne y pouuoir auoir aucunes les passaiges tous fermes au moyen des emotions et troubles y survenuz pour les quelz Il naurion laisser de passer rapporter sadicte response.⁴²³

This packet of highly confidential letters and dispatches, conveyed by a young nobleman of the Borders, to Noailles, and probably destined for the French court, possibly included the details of the Governor's terms of agreement to his deposition, as set down in 'the particular articulis appoyntit betuix the quenis grace and my lord gouverour allanerly', signed by Marie de Guise at Stirling on 19 February 1554.⁴²⁴ The first article (fol., 1r), demands that the 'quenes grace dowerar sall obtene to the said noble prince [the Governor] his airis and assignais ... the castell of Dumbartane with all lands fees custimes and dewites pertenyng to the samyn' for the next 19 years. The second (fol., 1r), demands that the Dowager 'sall gif plane discharge and exonoration ... off all actionn aganis his grace as tutor for ony guds movable, sowmes of money, jewells falling and perteyng ... of vmquale our souerane lord hir husband [James V] intrometting not be the said noble prince his officers, ministres and factors'. The third (fol., 1v), demands that the dowager shall 'cause our soueraine with consent of hir curators in the parliamentt to be haldin eftir xij [12] ziers of age ... at the instance of Sir James Hammiltoun of Crawford Johne Kny[gh]t, reduce and the proces for forfeiture led and gevin aganis vmquale Schir James Hammiltoun of fynnerit [Finnart]', his father. The fourth (fol., 1v), demands that the Dowager shall

423 *Ibid*, fols., 5r&v; on 8 March 1554, Captain Randome, lieutenant of Captain Gailliard's company, was paid 14 livres, 13 sols, 8 deniers, 'pour le port et voicture de douze bolles de farine depuys la maison du Sr de Boucloud [Bucleuch] ... jusques audict Chasteau de lhermitage', a distance of 16 miles, *Ibid*, fols., 5v-6r.

424 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, G.D. 406/M1/3; I am grateful to his grace, The Duke of Hamilton, for his permission to photocopy this document. An edited version is published in *HMC, 11th Report, Part VI*, pp. 40-41.

cause Mary Queen of Scots in the next parliament to be held at Edinburgh in April 1554 'with answer of the thre Estatis of this realm all infestments maid and gevin be hir hienes ... to David Hammiltoun, sone Naturale to the said noble prince, off the lands of Grange, Tyrie and vtheris. And siclike infestments gevin to Robartt Carnegy of Kynnaird of the lands of Murdocarny'. The fifth (fol., 2r), demands that the Dowager shall 'cause our souerane Lady ... [to] renounce discharge and overgeve to James, Lord Flemyng, his aires, exeutors and assignays, the reuersioun maid be vmquale Malcolme, Lord Flemyng his father, to vmquale James, erle of Morton, menis the Redemptioun of the lands of Kilbotho with all ry[gh]t title of ry[gh]t clame'. The sixth (fol., 2r), demands that the Dowager shall 'cause our said souerane, with answer of her curators and regents of this realme, quhen scho salhappin to be prouiditt therof, grant and consent, that all maner of sowmes of money, detts, dewities or proffitts, other of properte or casualite, taxts and contributions awand and falling to our said souerane Lady in ony tymes bypast sen the decis of hir hienes fader and resting as yitt vnpayit or uptakin be the said noble prince', it should be ceded to him.

Finally, the seventh and longest article (fols., 2v-3r) is the one which most concerns the *politique* of Henri II in Scotland. In it the Governor demands that the Dowager,

sall obtene ane commission of lieutenandrie generale throucht all parts of this realme and dominiones thereof or subiect therto. Maid be oure souerane [Mary Queen of Scots] with all consents, clausses and solemnities necesshe to the said noble prince [the Governor], to be vsit under the charge and obedience of our said souerainis Regents of this realm quhatsoever for sik tyme and space as sall ples the maist cristine King of France. And albeitt ane noble gentillman Henry Cleutene, Seigneur Doysell, now lieutenant generall for the maist cristine King in this realme, his followand the command and charge of his said souerainis maiestie; and of our soueraine forsaid have offeritt to the said noble prince the sovm of six thousand frankes [6,000 livres tournois] zeirlye for his attait, in the showing and using the said cure of Lieutenandrye, notheles the said noble and m[igh]ty princes, quene dowerar [Marie de Guise] forsaid, that zeirlye proffit and dewite to be gevin to him for his payne, laubors and attait, in the said office of lieutenandrye, be referritt to the destretioun of the said maist cristin King quhilk is done according to his said desere. And siclyke the desyre of the said noble prince, anents the having of the dispensation of ane part of the benefices and casualities that salhappin to fall vaik within this realme, pertenyng to the despentionis and provisionis of our said soueraine, during his said office of lieutenandre for supporting of his office and ministaires in the said office, is referritt to the plesor discrecioun and vill of the said quenis dowarer; and vill, gyf his maistie thinkes expedientt to

commit the said office and cure of lieutenantre to the said noble princes eldest sone and air [James Hamilton, 3rd Earl of Arran], in cais him self becum unhable be infirmities laubor or vtherways to indure the curis pains and charge of the said office.⁴²⁵

This was the only time that d'Oysel was challenged for his position as the French King's Lieutenant-General in Scotland; a position which he held, as well as that of French ambassador, until he departed for France following the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty of Edinburgh in July 1560. Not only did the Governor fail to acquire the office of Lieutenant-General, but also his petitions to Henri II via the Abbot of Kilwinning and Paniter apparently fell on deaf ears. David Paniter, bishop of Ross, had been sent to France in January 1554,⁴²⁶ and soon after took up his appointment as Abbot of Absie, which is not too far distant from Châtelherault, and from where he continued to be active in the Duke's affairs and those of his son, who lived at Châtelherault when he was not engaged as a captain of 60 Lances in Henri II's wars against the Emperor. During the Spring and Summer of 1554 Paniter attempted, unsuccessfully, to arrange a suitable marriage for young Arran; when he discovered that the eldest daughter of the duc de Montpensier, promised to Arran in Henri II's contract of January 1548, was now betrothed to another.⁴²⁷ According to a contemporary chronicler, Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie,⁴²⁸ 'at this tyme thair was gret pace and quyetness in Scotland [for] the space of thrie zeiris and all because of ye troubill and discord and evil weir that was in England'. The Governor, however, was very unpopular so

425 NAS, Hamilton Muniments, G.D. 406/M1/3, fols 1r-3r.

426 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol., I, pp. 151-52; unfortunately, this is almost the last document to be registered before 23 January 1554, the documents from which period to 3 September 1561, are wanting from the *Register*. As these years comprise the Regency of Marie de Guise, I have often wondered, when the French troops capitulated to the English in 1560, whether d'Oysel removed the Privy Council's deliberations recorded during the six years of French rule in Scotland in much the same way that James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, removed the charters, deeds etc. of Glasgow when he too fled to France in 1560? D'Oysel's only surviving heir, Marie, married Claude de l'Aubespine III, Seigneur d'Hauterive, Baron Châteauneuf, who received his father's position as secretary of state, following the death of Jacques Bourdin, Seigneur de Villaines, in July 1567, Fauvelet Du-Toc, *Histoire des Secretaires d'Etat* (Paris, 1668), p. 58. It is possible that Marie received her father's papers when he died in 1566, which would have been useful to her husband; if so then these may now be in the de l'Aubespine archive at the Château de Villebon. Unfortunately, the present Marquis will not allow anyone to examine the château's archive. Apart from the de l'Aubespine archive, there are 13 cartons of uncatalogued documents for the reign of Henri II, and much else of interest concerning the 16th century, Des Forts, *Le Château de Villebon, (Eure-et-Loire): Étude Historique et Archéologique* (Paris, 1913), No. 52, Henri II, Cartons F à R.

427 Paniter to Marie de Guise, Absie and Châtelherault, 1 & 31 October 1554, *Balcarres Papers*, vol., II, pp. 245-48 and 256-58; also see Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century', p. 33.

428 It is thought that Master Robert Lindesay was born about 1532, 'and he died probably soon after 1578, certainly before 1592. He was a 16th-century Scotsman resident in Fife, of a good family and moderate means', *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland...*, ed., MacKay, vol., I, p. xxxv.

that when Marie de Guise, 'seand the gredie proceidingis of the governor and his brother quhairthrough he tint all the hairtis of the nobilitie and commons of Scotland for sic extortioun and oppressioun as was vused on thame at that tyme be the said governour and his broder, and not alennerlie thame bot the hail Hamiltournis become so awaricius and gredie seand thair tyme was schort they wald mak thair hand nocht cuirand the oppressioun of thair nichtbouris'.⁴²⁹

The process of deposing the Governor commenced on 20 February 1554. At the Convention held at Stirling, 74 Lords of the Council, secular and ecclesiastical, registered a bond to, 'James, Duke of Châtelherault, because upon divers considerations concerning the common and public weal of the realm and quietness thereof it is agreed between the Dowager and him that she shall before next Parliament (Edinburgh, April 10) obtain full discharge for his intromissions with the Queen's goods since the death of James V ... and ratification by the Estates, declaring it to be made for "ressonable trew" causes and considerations, to the utility of the Queen and weal of the realm: ... shall obtain from the Queen and her curators a new discharge or ratification "eftir hir hienes haif completit hiraige of tuell [12] yeiris" with confirmation in the Parliament ... [that] in the April Parliament and in the Parliament after her twelfth year ... give declarator that the Duke has "dewlie, detfullie, lauchfullie and diligentlie" discharged the office of tutory, and has "observit ane trew, afawld and just part" toward the Queen, realm and lieges, "without cryme or fault": shall in the said Parliaments cause the whole three Estates "specialie to be nemmit" to warrant the Duke and his heirs etc at the hands of the Queen anet the aforesaid goods: therefore the granters bind themselves that the Dowager shall obtain and fulfil the above on pain of £500,000 Scots'. On the same day another bond was registered 'by the Dowager and "Harie Cleutine, Knycht, seigneur Doysell", lieutenant-general for the King of France, ... undertaking to fulfil the specified articles and relieve them, and obtain a bond of relief from the Queen and the King of France, and consenting to registration for execution in the books of Parliament and Council'.⁴³⁰

On 1 March 1554, articles agreed on 19 February between the Dowager and the Duke of Châtelherault were registered for execution by the Lords of the Council. These articles agreed to by the 74 Lords of Council, however, bear little resemblance to those previously stated articles of the same date, which were signed by Marie de Guise, but in essence really amounted to a 'wish list' by the Duke. The first six articles, registered by the Lords of Council, required the Dowager:

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol., II, pp. 112-13.

⁴³⁰ *Acts of the Lords of Council*, pp. 629-30; the granters were to 'give pledges to be kept as the Dukes thinks expedient', viz sons or brothers of the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Cassillis, Glencairn and Erroll, consenting all to registration for execution in the books of Council and Parliament, *Ibid.*, p. 630.

1) 'to procure from the King of France his bond "that this realme with all dominiounis and possessiounis tharof or subject tharto and lieges of the samin sall brouke and jois the awld liberteis and privilegeis tharof, and salbe onlie governit ... be the lawis ... and consuetudis of this said realme ... without ony alteratioun or innovatioun".' This article is to be ratified by Mary Queen of Scots in the next Parliament (10 April) and the one to be held after she has attained her twelfth year, by her husband, and both are to ratify it again after their 25th year;

2) 'to procure a bond from the King of France to the Duke that, in case the Queen die without heirs to her body, he will render to the Duke or his heirs any castles or forts, and support their title to the crown;'

3) 'to procure before the Parliament (10 April) a full discharge from the Queen to the Duke anent all her goods intromitted since December 1542';⁴³¹

4) 'to produce this discharge in Parliament, and cause the Estates declare it made "for ressonable trew caussis and consideratiounis" to the utility of the Queen and realm';

5) She will cause the Queen in both the said Parliaments discern that the Duke 'has faithfully performed his office of tutory and government, and is "unaccusable of ony maner of cryme of quhatsumevir grines";

6) 'to have the three Estates in these Parliaments bound *nominatim* to warrant the Duke and his heirs anent the Queen's goods'. The next three articles require the Duke:

7) "of his awin fre motive will" at the desire of the Queen, and the King of France, and the dowager, binds himself to renounce the tutory and government in Parliament (10 April) ... consenting to the making of an act that the Queen "entir to the full admynistratioun of hir realme";

8) 'undertakes that no nobleman, earl, baron, gentleman, friend or servant of them, present with the Dowager "at this conventioun", shall be accused on life or heritage till next Parliament;

9) 'shall deliver Edinburgh Castle on 24 February 1554 to John, Lord Erskine, for behoof of the Dowager till the Parliament to be held after the Queen's twelfth year complete'.

The Dowager and Duke produced supplications to the lords desiring them to be registered and to have the effect of a decret: the Dowager (19 February) narrated the above agreement 'made upon consideration of the service, expenses, and the dangers of the Duke and his friends against England and intestine sedition ... and requesting the lords to appoint a curator to the Queen for the discharge by the Duke (Edinburgh, 1 March), desiring the appointment of curators, whereupon the lords chose William, bishop of Dunblane, Robert, bishop of Orkney, and Master John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, who made faith

431 'No particulars are to be gathered from the discharge and exoneration granted to him on the transfer of the regency to Mary of Guise, and signed by the young Queen Mary at Meudon, near Paris, on 22 March 1554. The sum and substance of that document is, that the Lord Governor had expended the whole of the revenues in the conduct of the war', *Exchequer Rolls*, vol., XVIII, p. lxiiii.

verbo professionis for just administration to the above effect only ... at the special desire of the Dowager and Duke'.⁴³²

The Governor had not submitted easily to the decision of the Lords of Council, as d'Oysel informed Noailles on 21 February 1554: 'il y a eu plusieurs choses en debat et grande dispute auparavant que pouvoir faire venir ce Gouverneur au point que nous desirons et encores y a il [*sic*]; deux jours passez que je n'estois en esperance d'y veoir prendre resolution approchant de l'intention du Roy. Toutesfois avecques l'ayde de Dieu, la conduite de cette Princesse jointt aussy que ledict Gouverneur a veu et congneu quasi tous les Seigneurs de ce Royaulme, tant spirituels que temporels, accompagner nostre opinion et y demeurer fermes et constans. Nous en avons finalement obtenu la victoire au grand regret dudict Gouverneur'.⁴³³ Thus in the Parliament held at Edinburgh in April 1554, 'Marie quene drowriere of Scotland ressautt la auctorite fra my lord duke ... and that becaus all the lordis of Scotland wer aganis him in the said Parliament'.⁴³⁴ On the same day, according to Pitscottie, 'the governor and his lordis and heraldis raid wpe the gait [the Canongate] frome the abbay to the tolbutth witht septer suord and croune borne before him', they were followed soon after by Marie de Guise and d'Oysel⁴³⁵ who were by themselves. Then 'the order was proceidit', says Pitscottie, 'the parlieament and court fenceit',⁴³⁶ the governor dischargit, and the quene ressauwit and the crown cepture and sword deluyuerit unto hir', after which she 'raid doune the gait triumphantlie and the same scepter suord and croune borne befor hir witht the lordis of Scotland'.⁴³⁷

On 15 April 1554, d'Oysel informed Noailles with a degree of relief and pride, that 'la negociation dont il avoit pleu au Roy me donner charge et le qui s'estoit conclu et accordé la dessus entre cette Roynie et M. le duc de Chastellerault, dequoy l'effect s'en est ensuivy, ayant este ladicte Dame investie de la regente jedy dernier 12e de ce mois et mise en l'administration et entiere autorité de ce Royaulme, au grand contentement de tout le peuple, qui en espere et attend le traitement, la police et bonne justice qui leur est tres necessaire'.⁴³⁸ Therefore, d'Oysel having successfully fulfilled Henri II's

⁴³² *Acts of the Lords of Council*, pp. 630-32.

⁴³³ AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., XII, fols 321-22.

⁴³⁴ *Diurnal of Occurents*, p. 51.

⁴³⁵ Pitscottie describes d'Oysel as 'ane man of singular goode iudgement and ane weill experimentit in weiris and weill estemmitt in France' and that in Scotland he represented 'the King of France awin body at all consall and convensieouns', *Historie and Cronicles*, ed., MacKay, vol., II, p. 113.

⁴³⁶ *Fence, fens, & etc.*, Law: open the proceedings of (a court 15th C) or Parliament (16th-17th C) by uttering a formula forbidding interruption, *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (1985).

⁴³⁷ Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles*, ed., A.J.G. MacKay, vol., II, p. 114.

⁴³⁸ AMAE, Corr. Pol., Ang., vol., XII, fol., 379; the same day 'Sr de Picon gentilhomme dudict Sr d'Oysel' was paid 100 'escuz soleil vallans 230 livres ... pour vng voiage par luy fait devers le Roy porter lettres auidict Seigneur de la Roynie douariere Regente d'Escosse et dudict d'Oysel par les quelles Ilz luy donneront advis de la reception de ladicte Dame au gouvernement

commission, culminating in the investiture of Marie de Guise as Regent of Scotland for her daughter, and with the administration and government secure in their hands, and all the legal requirements prepared for the ultimate union of the crowns of France and Scotland, the first phase of Henri II's *politique* in Scotland came to an auspicious end.

With the advent of Marie de Guise as Regent for her daughter, and Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel and de Villeparesis as his Lieutenant-General in Scotland, Henri II could now confidently leave the administration and government of the kingdom in their hands and devote his full attention to his great adversary, the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. The *politique* of Henri II in Scotland had, thus far, been an outstanding success politically, diplomatically and militarily. From at least 1543 Scotland had formed a central plank in Henri's thinking and forward-planning of foreign policy, and within a few days of his accession in 1547 he discussed certain parts of this policy with the Scottish ambassador, David Paniter. However, it was after his decisive victories over the English in Scotland and at Boulogne that it became apparent that Scotland was also the lynchpin for his imperialistic ambitions, which included Ireland and England, although it is possible that these ambitions may have also had a similar early naissance well before his accession.

As far as his *politique* in Scotland is concerned, at every step along the way, legally, administratively and militarily, there is copious evidence of Henri II's meticulous long-range planning. The most conspicuous example of which is the well-oiled political machinery which rolled into place and smoothly engineered the 'Palace Revolution' at the time of his accession; his policy for Scotland, no less, received the same scrupulous attention. Legally and administratively the surviving contracts and letters patent demonstrate particular care and attention to detail, and where conflicting circumstances arose, new methods were instituted to incorporate and correct the problem. This is seen most clearly in the virtual portfolio of legal documents concerning Henri II's grant of the duchy of Châtellerauld to James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, which created the first Scottish duke in the sixteenth century.⁴³⁹ Alternatively, it is seen more succinctly perhaps in Henri II's letters patent to Arran as Governor of Scotland on 17 June 1549 which formed the basis for the legal processes in France, the most important of

et administracion dudict Royaume d'Escoce', BN, Fonds Français 27270, Pièces Originales 786, No. 5, fol., 6r.

⁴³⁹ Archibald Douglas, 4th earl of Douglas 'the Tyneman' (1372-1424) was granted the Duchy of Touraine by Charles VII on 14 April 1424, but he died soon after at the battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424), during the Hundred Years War. Apparently in the 1440s, 'the duchy of Touraine with other [Douglas] lands in France lapsed to the French crown in default of heirs male in the direct line', R. Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 331. The only other 16th-century Scottish duke, John Stewart, Duke of Albany (d. 1536) was born in France and had succeeded to the title following the death of his father, Alexander (James III's brother) in 1485.

which were later 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, François, on 24 April 1558, formalizing the union of the crowns of the kingdoms of Scotland and France. Or it may also be seen in the deliberations of the Parlement of Paris in December 1553 who, acting on Henri II's instructions, justified the deposition of the Governor which were enacted by the Scottish Parliament a few months later.

Militarily speaking, there is evidence of forward planning: for example, there are Henri II's tactics for the recovery of St. Andrews Castle for the Scottish government in 1547. This was the first overt military action of his reign and had all the hallmarks of long and careful planning which were demonstrated in the swift and successful execution of his instructions by Leone Strozzi.⁴⁴⁰ In 1552 there is also the evidence of Henri II's plans for the recovery of Calais; tactics which were to be employed by the duc de Guise in his successful campaign and brilliant victory over the English in 1558. Much of Henri II's success, administratively and militarily in Scotland can be attributed to his appointment in 1550 of Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel, as Lieutenant-General. Marie de Guise was the longest serving and most highly regarded of all the Queen Dowagers who served as Regents of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but evidence from the correspondence, dispatches instructions and other surviving documents shows that d'Oysel was, at the least, an equal partner in the administration and government of Scotland; a fact which has been practically ignored by historians who have tended to dismiss d'Oysel as a mere ambassador and envoy relegated to a political outpost in Europe. It is true to say, however, that this was the position assigned to d'Oysel by François I in 1546, but his situation changed dramatically by the end of the following year, due to the much greater importance and priority, militarily and administratively, given to Scotland by Henri II. There are many misconceptions on both these counts, but both d'Oysel and Scotland played important parts in the international relations and politics of the day.

The success of Henri II's *politique* in Scotland was due, almost entirely, to the millions of livres tournois (3,000,000 by the end of 1549)⁴⁴¹ which he poured, not only into 'la garde et conservation' of Scotland, but also into the pockets of the great Scottish magnates, ecclesiastical and secular, in the form of gold, pensions, military orders, lands and benefices. These sums of money actually expended by Henri II in Scotland were, by the end of 1549 alone, at least three times more than those invested in Scotland by his father during his

⁴⁴⁰ For a detailed examination see, Bonner, 'The Recovery of St Andrews Castle in 1547'.

⁴⁴¹ By 10 May 1551, the 'Receiver-General' of Brittany informed Sir John Mason that 1,900,000 livres tournois from the 'receipts' of Brittany and Guyenne alone had been expended on Scotland since 1548.

entire reign from 1515 to 1547.⁴⁴² Although Henri II continued in the time-honoured path of his ancestors and upheld the traditions of the 'Auld Alliance' which he, as well as all contemporary French and Scots, firmly believed was established during the reign of Charlemagne, his commitment to Scotland was greater than any other French monarch who signed, reconfirmed or ratified the 'Auld Alliance' with Scotland after 1295.⁴⁴³ Apart from his purely financial commitments, he granted special privileges and naturalization to his garde écossaise in 1548, and to all Scottish subjects following the union of the crowns in 1558, to which the Scots reciprocated with like general letters of naturalization to all French subjects the same year ; and in February 1554, as an incentive to the Scots to replace Arran and invest Marie de Guise with the Regency, Henri II granted special privileges to Scottish merchants.⁴⁴⁴

Throughout his reign, French troops numbering between several hundred and six or seven thousand were stationed in Scotland, firstly to expel the English and afterwards to patrol the borders in order to preserve, what Henri II considered from 1548, as the 'Royaume du Dauphin'. This policy was in complete contrast to his predecessors who, as in case of ambassadors, had sent *ad hoc* envoys or compagnies of troops for limited periods to assist the Scots against their 'Auld Enemmes': the English. Henri II, by his successful *politique* in Scotland following the treaty of Boulogne, had placed the English in a position whereby they had no option other than to submit to the French King's demands. England was in no position at this time, militarily or financially, to take on both Scotland and France simultaneously. But a compliant England lasted only as long as did the Northumberland Regime. Thus, the death of Edward VI meant an urgent visit to France by d'Oysel in order to discuss privately with the King, the duc de Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Montmorency, the deposition of the Governor of Scotland. Arran, in his attempt to align Scotland with the Empire in 1550, simply could not be trusted, especially when Charles V's cousin had just triumphantly claimed the English crown. The accession of Mary Tudor, England's reversion to catholicism and the queen's marriage to Prince Philip of Spain, changed Anglo-Franco-Scottish relations, eventually drawing both Scotland and England into the Habsburg-Valois struggle during the 1550s.

With the assent of the Scottish Parliament, Henri II had negotiated the Regency of Marie de Guise and the union of the French and Scottish crowns, which was later to create his son and heir, François II, as the first and last king of both France and Scotland. All these policies had been initiated during the first phase of the *politique* of Henri II in Scotland and, up until 1557, his

442 These expenses included the Duke of Albany's wars in the 1520s, the dowries of James V's two French brides, the pensions for Scots nobles in 1543 and the expenses of the French expeditionary forces sent to Scotland in 1545.

443 For a summary of Ch. I, 'The 'Auld Alliance': Fact and Fable', of my Ph.D. thesis see, Bonner, 'Auld Alliance'.

444 For French naturalization of the Scots see, Bonner, 'Naturalization'.

plans were manifestly successful. But the resumption of Habsburg-Valois hostilities following the rupture of the truce of Vaucelles,⁴⁴⁵ forces for religious change in Europe, particularly those in France, Scotland and England, and the collapse of the international money market, coupled with an extraordinary number of deaths of European secular and ecclesiastical rulers (including his own),⁴⁴⁶ greatly altered the complexion of international relations and politics which nullified French aims in Scotland and ultimately led to the end of the military 'Auld Alliance' in 1560.

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⁴⁴⁵ The truce was signed by Henri II and Philip II on 1 February 1556 and was meant to last five years, but it was broken on 31 January 1557.

⁴⁴⁶ See *Supra*, note 9.