

The 'Auld Alliance' and the Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots: Fact and Fable¹

On the 23 October 1995, 700 years had elapsed since the Scots signed their first formal alliance with France. The origins of the Anglo-Franco-Scottish relationship were established in 1295 when the Scots formed the first defensive/offensive alliance with France against England, in order to curtail the incursions and hegemonic ambitions of the English king, Edward I. The

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Sydney Society for Scottish History on 15 February 1996 on the occasion of the Geoffrey Ferrow Memorial Lecture. This was the first time it had been presented in Sydney but its genesis was conceived during my tenure as a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh University 1994-95, during which time I was invited to join the French Consul, Monsieur Jean-Claude Richard's Committee to co-ordinate the French celebrations in Scotland of the 700th Anniversary of the signing of the 'Auld Alliance' at Paris on 23 October 1295. In December 1994 I presented a paper, 'The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots', to the Marie Stuart Society, Edinburgh Branch. This led to invitation by the Local History Society and the Reverend Clifford Hughes, Minister of St. Mary's, Haddington, to present a programme in May 1995 of historic, literary and cultural items illustrating the 'Auld Alliance' entitled, 'The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots at the 'Abbay of Hadingtoun' on 7 July 1548', not only in honour of the visit to Haddington by visitors from Aubigny-sur-Nère (Haddington's twin-town in France), but also for local and other Scots to participate in the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of the signing of the 'Auld Alliance' (see the appendix of this paper for a copy of the programme). In July 1995, during a research trip to France, I was invited by local dignitaries in Aubigny-sur-Nère to help them to set up the 'Centre de la Recherche de l'Auld Alliance' and the 'Société de l'Ancienne Alliance', with a proposed list for a Franco-Scottish committee of academics to administer it. At this time various interviews with me and with my French friends and colleagues were conducted for a radio programme which I called, 'In Search of the 'Auld Alliance', by Hugh Taylor, a BBC Radio-Journalist, who had accompanied me on my scheduled research trip to France. These interviews were broadcast as a 4-part radio series on four consecutive evenings from 23 to 26 October 1995 on BBC Radio-Scotland. In November the *Scots Magazine* acknowledged the 700th Anniversary with the publication of an interview which I gave on the 'Auld Alliance' to Jim Gracie. In January 1996, I was invited by the Barrhead and Neilston Historical Association (near Glasgow), to present a paper, 'The 'Auld Alliance' and the Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots'. A few weeks later my paper, 'The Origins of the Scottish 'Auld Alliance' with France: Fact Fable', was presented at the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Queensland, Brisbane. Due to the fact that I was unavoidably delayed in London my colleague, Associate-Professor Sybil M. Jack, very kindly read the paper in my absence. On my return to Sydney in February 1996 I was asked to approach the French consul in Sydney, M. Thierry Viteau, with a view to setting up a local 'Auld Alliance' Society along the lines of the 18th and 19th-century dining societies in Edinburgh and Oxbridge. M. Viteau was delighted with the idea and the French, Scots, Australian descendants of Scots and other interested Australians have enthusiastically embraced the bi-annual dinners. It was my pleasure to accept an invitation to give an address in French and English on the 'History of the 'Auld Alliance' at the inaugural dinner of the Sydney 'Auld Alliance' Society held at the University and Schools Club, Sydney, on the 701st Anniversary of the signing of the first Franco-Scottish treaty of alliance against England, at Paris on 23 October 1295. The second successful dinner of the Society took place on 23rd February 1996 on the 701st Anniversary of the Scottish ratification of the treaty at Dunfermline

'Auld Alliance',² 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. 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, in a number of not only sixteenth-century French documents, but also in Scottish ones.

The first Franco-Scottish treaty of which there remains documentary evidence is the one contracted between John Balliol, king of Scots, and Philippe IV (le Bel) which was signed at Paris on 23 October 1295. It was a defensive and offensive alliance directed against England and the incursions of Edward I who was pressing his claims to overlordship of the Scots. By the terms of the alliance neither the French nor the Scots would make a separate peace with England. It was further strengthened by the proposed marriage of John Balliol's son, Edward, to Philippe IV's niece; and also by the French request that the treaty should be ratified not only by King John but also by the Scottish prelates, barons, knights and communities of the towns. Professor Nicholson says that: 'the Scottish burgesses made their entry into high affairs of state when the seals of their six burghs³ were attached to the Scottish ratification at Dunfermline on 23 February 1296'.

The 'Auld Alliance', as the Scots have always referred to their relationship with France, has generally been held to have ended with the death on 5 December 1560 of François II, the first and last king of both France and Scotland. But from its very shaky beginnings in 1295 as a mutually offensive/defensive military alliance against England, the 'Auld Alliance' gradually developed other familial, personal, social and cultural associations which did not die with François II, nor entirely ever really disappear. The expansion of the 'Auld Alliance' from its military origins accelerated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries during the Hundred Years War, gradually expanding thereafter and reaching its *apogée* in 1558 with the union of the French and Scottish crowns. It fell into abeyance during the second half of the sixteenth century only to be picked up with renewed vigour during the reigns of Henri IV and James VI; then slowly to decline after the union of the

² A study of the 'Auld Alliance' was fundamental to my doctoral 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, 1992. The first chapter, 'The 'Auld Alliance': Fact and Fable' has therefore been the basis of all the papers I have presented, written and published, or am in the process of publishing, since then; in particular, 'The Scottish 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560' (forthcoming).

³ The six burghs were: Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick.

Scottish and English crowns in 1603, the decline becoming more rapid following the parliamentary union of those two kingdoms in 1707. Notwithstanding the end of formal treaties between Scotland and France, there has persisted to the present day a sense of understanding, of friendship and comradeship, of shared cultural and social links which do not exist with the remainder of Great Britain, especially with the 'Auld Ennemis': England.

It is true to say that all historical phenomena, to a greater or lesser degree, have their realities and myths, their facts and fables which surround them and are inherent within them. The 'Auld Alliance', however, is more than usually endowed with fable, whilst the facts have often been obscured, selectively refined, or omitted altogether. In the seventeenth century the French historiographer Godefroy was so inspired with the fabulous story of the alliance formed between 'Achaius 65th king of Scots and Charlemagne', that he chose to include it in his collection of royal treaties. Godefroy also cites Hector Boece and the latter's authorities in his 'Discours'. Boece or Boethius was born in Dundee and studied and obtained an M.A. degree at the University of Paris in 1494. His *History* of the Scots was first published in 1526 and dedicated to James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews and Chancellor during the minority of James V. Boece wished to present models of virtuous kings to the young king of Scots, and these then became the main source for the myths elaborated by the sixteenth and seventeenth-century authors. Among the sources which Boece used were the 'Chronicle of Inch-Colm', bishop William Elphinston's, 'History', also that of Turgot, bishop of St. Andrews, but chiefly those of Veremundus, John Campbell and of Cornelius Hybernicus. Subsequently, it was from the Scottish translation of Boece's *History* from the Latin by archdeacon Bellenden that the English annalist Holinshed appropriated certain passages for his *Chronicles of England*, in which Shakespeare found the nucleus for *Macbeth*. It gained a wider audience when it was also translated by the royal cosmographer of France. Thus Boece, who relates the lives and fortunes of successive kings of Scots whose portraits adorn the walls of Holyrood, and his narrative materially helped to convey the impression, long prevalent on the Continent, that the Scottish monarchy was the oldest in Europe. The myths, according to Dr. Jenny Wormald, 'which asserted that the Scots were descendants of the Greek Prince Gathelos and his Egyptian wife Scota, gave grounds for scoring off the English with their Trojan descent, for everyone knew that the Greeks beat the Trojans'. As for the fabulous alliance, James MacKinnon, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh University at the turn of the century, says 'there was neither a France nor a Scotland in the national sense to enter into a treaty with each other at the end of the eighth century, even if there had been a Scottish King Achaius who was willing to do so. At this period the term "Scotia" was applied to Ireland, and what after became Scotland was then designated Alban or Albania'.

George Buchanan⁴ also took up the whole fabulous story of the ancient 'forty kings' in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, first published in 1582. Earlier, in 1558, he had referred to it in his poem, *Epithalamium*, composed to celebrate the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin:

And old descent
Is hers; a hundred ancestors have sent
Her crown to her; and twice a thousand years
Stretches the line of those august compeers.

This fable, created by early Scottish historians, however, was very convincingly overturned in 1729 by Father Thomas Innes, vice-principle of the Scots College in Paris. H.R. Trevor-Roper argues that Innes's *Critical Essay* ..., 'was a brilliant work, the beginning of true historical scholarship in Scotland'; and in it 'he showed that Buchanan's sole source for these 700 years and for the forty kings who were said to have reigned in them, was the *Scotorum Historiae* of Hector Boece'. Dr. T.I. Rae says that Innes, with the exception of Buchanan, 'regards earlier Scottish historical writers highly as far as their reputation is concerned. ... "Buchanan", Innes asserted, "deliberately distorted the past against all reason to support the tenets of his past political philosophy", an opinion which Innes supports by rational argument'. Rae says that Innes concluded that 'Boethius's sources, especially Veremundus, could not have come from the twelfth century, but were fifteenth-century forgeries which Boethius had accepted in good faith'. Rae concludes that 'if Veremundus was a forgery (and no manuscript had survived for Innes to analyse) then not only Boethius's history of the period but also Buchanan's fell utterly to the ground, and the whole history of the early kings of Scotland, including the democratic principles on which their rule was conducted, was exposed as a myth'.

Myths, however, are not easy to dispel. Francisque Michel's, *Les Écossais en France et Les Français en Écosse*, fundamental to any examination of the 'Auld Alliance', is packed with seemingly every literary, chronicled and secondary source and some documentary evidence, available in France up to the middle of the nineteenth century and much from Scotland and England as well: a veritable treasure-trove of Franco-Scottish fact, fable and trivia in one glorious *mélange*. It is, without doubt, an ideal text for novelists, poets, fiction writers and storytellers. Thus, extreme caution should be exercised in referring to it in any historiographical work. To extract fact from fable in Michel's *opus* would be an immense undertaking, and one from which most

⁴ For Buchanan's sojourn in France see Elizabeth Bonner, 'George Buchanan: Subject of the King of France and Priest of the Catholic Church?', *The Innes Review* (forthcoming). Earlier versions of this paper were given at the Australasian Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe Conference at the University of Auckland, New Zealand in August 1987; and the Departments of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh in January, 1994 and at Glasgow in February 1995.

historians would shirk; indeed, it is probably best left in its nineteenth-century aspic. Similarly, J.H. Burton's *The Scot Abroad*, cannot be ignored. This title was originally designated as Volume II and the first volume was to have been entitled, *The Ancient League with France*, but owing to constraints on the author's time the two volumes were amalgamated and published in 1864, two years after Michel's work which Burton praises highly, but which adds little to Michel's account.

The firm belief by sixteenth and seventeenth-century Scots in the antiquity of their alliance with Charlemagne, notwithstanding their attitude to it, especially after the institution of the Scottish Reformation in 1560, was shown by Innes in the eighteenth century to have absolutely no foundation. But it was eagerly taken up by Scots and French alike in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Professor Donaldson points out, 'history is the story not only of what happened but of what men believed: the point is that people believed in the antiquity of the Franco-Scottish alliance and such a belief added to its force from a propagandist angle'.

The 'Auld Alliance' was first and foremost a military alliance and its value can be seen in what were, in fact, Edward III's pyrrhic victories over both the Scots and the French in the years 1331-1356. Despite the victories and the capture of both the French and Scottish monarchs, (David II 1324-71 and Jean II (le bon) 1350-64) Edward found that he could not simultaneously conquer both France and Scotland. The 'Auld Alliance' had therefore preserved the independence of both countries. As Professor MacKinnon points out; 'had Edward III conquered Scotland and France the history of Europe would have been vastly different. Europe would, for a time at least, have passed under English hegemony and its world-empire would have been anticipated in a medieval domination which, in view of the weakness of the medieval empire, would have made it practically invincible against all possible rivals'.

With respect to the military aspects of the 'Auld Alliance', much has been written about the Scottish soldier in France during the Hundred Years War:⁵ the glorious victory at Baugé (22 March 1421); the ignominious defeat in the greatest and bloodiest battle of the Hundred Years War at Verneuil (17 August 1424) of the Scots and their 'Auld Allies', the French, by the 'Auld Enemeis', the English; or the rôle played by the Scots in the triumphal entry of Jeanne d'Arc into Orléans on 30 April 1429, which changed dramatically the tide of the war. Less well-known, however, is what happened to those considerable numbers of Scots who remained in, or later went to France, in

⁵ See Elizabeth Bonner, 'Continuing the 'Auld Alliance' in the Sixteenth Century: Scots in France and French in Scotland', in *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247-1967*, ed., Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 31-46. In September 1990 I accepted an invitation to present an earlier version of this paper at the Mackie Seminar, *The Scottish Soldier Abroad, 1247-1967*, at King's College, University of Aberdeen.

order to serve loyally French kings during succeeding centuries after the Hundred Years War. The answer to this question lies within several barely examined themes in the history of Franco-Scottish relations.

Firstly, there is the 'Auld Alliance' which was the basis of the recruitment of Scottish soldiers to serve in the Hundred Years War. Secondly, there was the establishment of the *garde écossaise* by Charles VII in 1445 in recognition for the service rendered by the Scots, in the expulsion of the English and the reduction of the kingdom of France to his obedience.⁶ Claud Seyssel, Master of Requests of Louis XII and later Archbishop of Turin, elaborates the function and duties of the *garde écossaise* in his *History of Louis XII*. Of the hundred life-guards, twenty-four are first guards and their commander is the First Gendarme of France: these twenty-five were often called '*Gardes de Manche*'. They mounted guard each night and kept the keys of the king's apartments. Two of them assisted at mass, sermon, vespers and ordinary meals; on high holidays at the ceremony of the royal touch, and the elevation of knights of the king's order, at the reception of extraordinary ambassadors, and at public entries into cities, there were to be six in attendance: three on each side of the king's person. The captain of the guard always received the keys to the cities where the king entered and he had the privilege of waiting at coronations, marriages, funerals of kings, and baptisms and marriages of their children. Up until the mid-sixteenth century the guards were composed only of Scotsmen. But by the 1590s only seventy-five percent of the guards were Scots, even though Henri IV made special provisions for them, but by degrees during the seventeenth century the company became filled with French. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the *garde écossaise* continued to provide openings for Scots of gentle blood who were attracted to the well-paid service of the French king even though the days were past when huge contingents of Scots fought alongside the French armies.

Thirdly, there is the establishment of the *Compagnie Ecossaise de Gendarmerie* which also took place during the reign of Charles VII (1422-1461) at the time of the institution of the fifteen ancient companies of ordonnance; the Scots being considered *la première* of all the *Gendarmerie*. During the reign of Louis XII, (1498-1515) however, they were seconded to the *garde écossaise*; both companies at that time being under the captaincy of the 2nd Earl of Lennox's brother, Robert Stuart, 4th Seigneur d'Aubigny, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel and Maréchal de France. But from the beginning of François I's reign (1515), according to Maréchal de Fleuranges' *Mémoires*, the King's one hundred Scots Body Guards were no longer included

⁶ See Elizabeth Bonner, 'The Dynastic Policy of Charles VII and the 'Auld Alliance': the Marriage of James II and Marie de Gueldres Revisited' (forthcoming). An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Eighth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature held at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, in August 1996

in the *Compagnie Ecossoise de Gendarmerie*; which formerly has led to much confusion writers and commentators between these two distinct corps of Scottish soldiers to serve the kings of France.⁷

Finally, there is French naturalization⁸ accorded to the Scots, by certain French monarchs from Charles VII to Louis XIV, the origins of which were firmly rooted in the 'Auld Alliance' and the *garde écossaise*; and a distinction should be made between individual grants, and those accorded to all the subjects of the king of Scots resident in France. The earliest extant individual letters patent of naturalization following the establishment of the *garde écossaise* appear to have been granted to Robert Petillot, of the kingdom of Scotland who was in charge of the king's stable, by Charles VII at Tours on 4 March 1453. These individual letters of naturalization were, almost certainly, granted as a reward and for recognition of military service to the kingdom of France, and were probably accompanied by a pension and/or lands. The first General Letters of Naturalization were granted to the Scots resident in France by Louis XII in 1513; they were later granted by Henri II in 1558, (special privileges were also granted to the *garde écossaise* by him in November 1547) by Henri IV in 1599, and there were those granted in the name of Louis XIII in 1612, and those by the Act of the Council of State in the name of Louis XIV in 1646.

As mentioned previously, the *apogée* of the 'Auld Alliance' was the union of the French and Scottish crowns by the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to François on 24 April 1558 at Notre Dame, Paris — precisely the same dynastic policy had been previously held by the English. Much has been written the 'Rough Wooing' the term commonly used to describe the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1543-1550, whereby 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. Whereas almost nothing has been written about the French king, Henri II's, victory in actually betrothing and later marrying his eldest son, the dauphin, François, to Mary Queen of Scots. Henri II's strategy, by contrast to the 'Rough Wooing', was to adopt a means of 'peaceful persuasion'. He enriched Scottish nobles, lay and ecclesiastic, with gold, pensions, military orders, land and benefices, using much the same methods that his father, François I, had employed in 1532 for the union of Brittany the kingdom of France. Henri II's first move in negotiating the union of Scotland to the kingdom of France 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

⁷ See Elizabeth Bonner, 'What Happened to the Scottish Soldier in France after the Hundred Years War?' (forthcoming). An earlier version of this paper was presented at the George Rudé French History Seminar held at the University of Melbourne in July 1996.

⁸ For a detailed examination of this subject, full transcriptions of a number of related documents as well as genealogical tables and one of the 'Auld Alliance' treaties between French and Scottish monarchs from 1295 to 1646 see, Elizabeth Bonner, 'French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal* (October, 1997).

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 an Act of the Parliament of Scotland was passed by the Three Estates confirming that Mary was to be betrothed to his son, Henri II ordered his troops in Scotland to expel the English and secure the Borders to protect, what he considered from 1548, as the 'realm of the Dauphin'.⁹

If we examine the Act of Parliament¹⁰ which formally betrothed Mary to the Dauphin, it contains all the basic details of the history that we would wish to know about the betrothal. In proceeding to examine a copy of the Act itself, I would like to say something about the Scottish Parliament. In the first paragraph it says that:

IN the Parliament of Ane Maist Excellent Princes Marie Quene of Scottis haldin at the Abbay of Hadingtoun the seuint day of Julij The zeir of God ane thousand fyue hundreth fourtie aucht zeiris be ane Nobill and mychtie Prince James Erle of Arrane Lord Hammiltoun & etc. and Governour of the Realme the thre Estatis of the Realme being present.

Thus, it will have been seen that the Scottish Parliament was also known as the Three Estates which comprised: The First Estate: the Nobles; the Second Estate: the Clergy, and the Third Estate: the Burghers chosen from the towns to represent the people. This form of Representative Assembly had more in common with the Assemblies of Sweden, Denmark, the Low Countries, France and the Spanish Cortes which were convoked in one chamber. It had much less in common with that unique institution, the Parliament of England. Secondly, that:

Monsiour Dessy [d'Essé] Lieutenantt generall of the nauy and armie send be the maist Christin king of France for support of this Realme at this present tyme.

The French fleet which landed at Leith in June 1548 comprised eighteen galleys under the command of Leone Strozzi (of which four were under the

⁹ For French military affairs concerning Scotland during the reign of Henri II, 1547-1559 see, Elizabeth Bonner, 'The Recovery of St. Andrews Castle in 1547: French Naval Policy and Diplomacy in the British Isles', *English Historical Review*, CXI, No. 442 (June, 1996), pp. 578-97; 'Additional Correspondence of the Papal Nuncios to the French Court in the Mid-Sixteenth Century' (forthcoming); 'French Gold in a Manuscript in Fisher Library, University of Sydney', *Proceedings of Scribe Colloquium: Holdings in Local Collections*, eds, B. Masters and N. Newbiggin (forthcoming); and *French Financial and Military Documents Concerning Scotland during the Reign of Henri II, 1547-1559*, Scottish History Society, 5th Series, Edinburgh (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Published in: *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 12 Vols, ed., T. Thomson & C. Innes, Edinburgh (1814-1875), Vol. 2, pp. 481-82.

command of Capitain Villegagnon who had been delegated by Henri II to circumnavigate Scotland and collect Mary Queen of Scots from Dumbarton Castle), one Brigatine, twenty-six ships of war commanded by the vice-admiral of Brittany, the Sieur de la Meilleraye, and as victuallers, eighty Flemish 'pynckes' of forty, fifty and sixty tons a piece. Thirdly that the French Lieutenant-General's

maister the king of France hauand regard to the ancient lig confederatioun and amitie standand betuix the Realme of France and this cuntrie and of the mortall weiris crudeliteis depredatiounis and intollerabill iniuris done be our auld enimeis of Ingland aganis our Souerane Lady being of sa tender age hir Realme and liegis thairof thir diuers zeris. Quhairthrow the said maist Christin king being mouit throw fraternall amitie and confederatioun foirsaid could do na les to aide support manteine and defend at his powar this tender princes hir Realme and liegis as propiciant and helplyke brother.

As we have seen 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, in a number of not only sixteenth-century French documents, but also in 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). Fourthly that the French King

hes presentlie send [his Lieutenant -General] in this Realme [of Scotland] with his nauie and armie of Nobillmen with sic directiounis as to put this Realme to the auld libertie priuilege and fredome and to recouer all strenthis Castellis and Fortalices out of our auld enimeis [the English] handis with the avice counsall and assistance of Lord Gouernour and nobillis of this Realme at thair vtter powar and to wair their liues to that effect and not anerlie hes send this armie presentlie bot also promittis in his said maisters name at all necessiar tymes to cum to send and haue in garnisoun men of weir munitioun and money in this Realme in sic quantitie that sall repres our saidis auld enimeis during the tyme of weir and keip and defend this Realme fra thame and all vthers in libertie and fredome conforme to his commissioun obligatioun and promeis geuin to him vnder the said

maist Christin Kingis [Henri II] greit Seillis [Seal] schawin and
 product in face of Parliament.

The initial French attack on Haddington having failed a halt was called until, according to an English Agent, John Brende, who reported to the English Privy Council on 6 July 1548 that, 'the lordes have assentid to the mariage and for that perpost the Quene this night is come into this Campe [at Haddington] and the Ceptre Crowne and Sworde is sent for to be deliverid to the Lieutenint of ffrance [S^r d'Essé]'. Brende also cynically observed that 'the ffranche crownes all redie resteyued prevaileth more in this matter with the Lordes of Scotlande'. Indeed, at Eëinburgh on 26 June 1548, Marie de Guise had assembled the Lords and after agreeing to the French King's conditions they signed the marriage treaty. Most prominent among the Lords were Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, his brother, Sir George Douglas, Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd earl of Cassillis, George, 5th Lord Seton, and many other lords, barons and bishops of the kingdom of Scotland. The royal regalia was necessary for the confirmation of the act of parliament as a statute of the realm which was required to be ceremoniously touched with the sceptre in order make it law but, as Brende informed the English privy council, the regalia was also invested upon the French king's representative in a symbolic act which placed the kingdom of Scotland into the hands of the French king, Henri II, who henceforth considered Scotland as part of the kingdom of France. The Act continues,

Thairfoir hauand consideratioun of the premissis and how that the said maist Christin King [Henri II] hes set his haill hart and minde for the defence of this Realme desyrit in his said maisters name for the mair perfyte vnion and indissolubill band of perpetuall amitie lig and confederatioun. The mariage of our Souerane Lady [Mary] to the effect that the said maist Christin Kingis eldest sone [François] and Dolphin of France may be coniunit in matrimonie with hir grace to the perpetuall honour plesour and proffeit of baith the Realmes obseruand and keipand this Realme and leigis thairof in the samin fredome liberteis and Lawis as hes bene in all Kingis of Scotlandis tymes bypast and sall mantene and defend this Realme and leigis of the samin as he dois the Realme of France and the liegis thairof conforme to hes commissioun promeis and directioun foirsaid product as said is. And thairfoir desyrit my Lord Gouvernour and the thre Estatis of Parliament to auisse heirwith and gif thair determinatioun thairintill gif the desyre foirsaid be reasonabill and acceptabill or not. The Quenis grace [Marie de Guise-Lorraine] our Souerane Ladyis maist derrest mother being present my Lord Gouvernour and thre Estatis of Parliament foirsaid all in ane voice hes fundin and decernit and be censement of Parliament concludit the desyre of the said Monsiour Dessy [d'Essé] Lieutenent [-General] in the name of the said maist Christin king his maister (Monsiour

Dosell [Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel] his Ambassadour present in the said Parliament confirmand the samin) verry resonabill and hes grantit that our said Souerane Lady be maryit with the said Dolphin at hir perfyte age and presentlie geuis thair consent thairto. Swa that the said King of France keip manteine and defend this Realme liegis of the samin liberteis and Lawes thairof as he dois his awin Realme of France and liegis of the samin. And at this Realme hes bene keipit mantenit and defendit be the Nobil kinges of Scotland in tymes bypast conforme to the promit of the said Lieutenant special commissar in the said cause and p.482: that our Souerane Lady be maryit vpone na vther persoun bot vpone the said Dolphin allanerlie.¹¹

Thus a parliament was hastily convoked to meet at Haddington Abbey on 7 July 1548, and the Royal Regalia¹² was summoned from Edinburgh to dignify the proceedings with the ceremonial legal symbolism of the solemn contract and agreement between the two kingdoms. This act of parliament is one of the most significant in sixteenth-century Scotland. On 7 July 1548, the Three Estates clearly and unambiguously put the future of the realm and defence of the kingdom of Scotland in the hands, and under the protection of Henri II, by agreeing to the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Dauphin and the union of the two kingdoms; providing that all the lieges of Scotland were maintained in the same freedom, liberties and laws of previous Scottish kings.

There appears to be little doubt of Henri II's interpretation, his view no doubt coloured by French Salic law,¹³ of the ceremony and Act of Parliament passed at Haddington Abbey on 7 July 1548: the legal symbolism of the investiture of the Scottish crown, sceptre and sword upon his proxy; the recognition by the Three Estates of Scotland of the Dauphin as their king, and *ipso facto* Henri II during his son's minority; and the submission of the Scots nobles, lay and ecclesiastic, and thereby all Scottish subjects, to him. It is not improbable that Henri II himself had insisted on the ceremony with all its

¹¹ For a full examination of the *politique* of Henri II in Scotland see, Elizabeth Bonner, *The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots: Tudor and Valois Politique and Intrigue in Scotland, 1543-1554*, Tuckwell Publishing, East Linton, Scotland (forthcoming).

¹² The Scottish Royal Regalia of the Crown of James V, Sword and Sceptre were walled-up in a vaulted room at Edinburgh Castle 'after the Act of Union of 1707'. The vault was eventually re-opened, and the Regalia placed on display in 1818', where it has remained to this present day, *Edinburgh Castle*, (Official Guide) R. Fawcett, I. MacIvor & B. Petersen, Edinburgh (1980) p. 24.

¹³ *Salic Law*: the alleged fundamental law of the French monarchy, by which females were excluded from succession to the crown; pertaining to the Salian Franks who inhabited a region near the Zyder Zee, and to whom the ancestors of the Merovingian dynasty belonged. Salian Law or Code (*lex Salica*), a Frankish law book, written in Latin, and extant in five successive enlarged recensions of Merovingian and Carolingian date, Shorter *Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1973).

legal symbolism, in addition to a formal Act of Parliament. Also, *par hazard*, the venue of a religious house for the convocation of the parliament, very likely held in the chapel of the abbey, no doubt evoked a religious atmosphere, especially in passing an act concerning one of the seven holy sacraments; and the investiture of the crown, sceptre and sword, reminiscent, and with religious connotations, of coronations. For Henri II, as he wrote to his ambassador in London, Odet de Selve, it was his duty and obligation to protect, defend and conserve the kingdom of Scotland, in lieu of the king of Scots, as he would France, and that at present both kingdoms were as but one and the same thing dependant upon his leadership.

How the Scots interpreted these events was probably different, but they were in no position to debate the subject. At that time, the Scots would have been obliged to submit to either England or France; and it was they who had begged the French for help, and had already accepted Henri II's not inconsiderable *douceurs* of gold, pensions, military orders, lands and benefices; the Scots were obliged, therefore, to meet the French king's conditions. As there does not appear to be any remaining evidence of what the Scots privately thought, in all probability they accepted Henri II's conditions in face of an emergency, hoping that it would be a short-term measure. On the plus side, at least there was a fair stretch of turbulent water separating France from Scotland, which certainly gave them a better chance of eventually regaining their full independence than if they had been forced to submit to their 'Auld Enemeis'. The final word of the Act, however, make clear the Three Estates intentions on 7 July 1548:

'MY Lord Gouvernour in our Souerane Ladyis name ratifeis and appreuis in this present Parliament the determinatioun and consent of the thre Estatis of the samin being present concerning the mariage of Souerane Lady with the Dolphin of France conforme to the act of Parliament maid thairupone. Prouyding always that the King of France the said Dolphinnis derrest Father keip and defend this Realme liegis and Lawis of the samin and as hes bene keipit in all kingis tymes of Scotland bypast and to mary hir vpona na vther persoun bot vpona the said Dolphin allanerlie'.

The advent of Mary Queen of Scots, the Anglo-French competition for her hand in marriage, the treaties, alliances and military engagements, the *rôle* of France in the government of Scotland, culminating in the union of the French and Scottish crowns, was the *apogée* of the 'Auld Alliance'. Whilst the effects of the Habsburg-Valois conflicts on the Continent during the 1550s, which inevitably included England and Scotland, ultimately led to the end of the formal military 'Auld Alliance' in 1560. It is only with the benefit of hindsight, however, that the 'Auld (mutually defensive/offensive military) Alliance' between France and Scotland against England can be said to have ended with the Anglo-Scottish peace Treaty of Edinburgh on 6 July 1560; that

after 265 years there would never be another formal military alliance between France and Scotland. Indeed, in 1560, contemporary Scots and French were firmly convinced that their 'Auld Alliance' stretched back over eight centuries to the time of Charlemagne; that this was probably seen as only another of a number of vicissitudes the 'Auld Alliance' had suffered over the centuries. It is also doubtful if any contemporary could have predicted the nature and impact of the Reformation in Scotland, or the effects of the Civil Wars or 'Wars of Religion' as they are known by some, which were soon to break out in France.

In any case, the 'Auld Alliance' had long since ceased to be just a military alliance. It had developed many other social, cultural, architectural, commercial, artistic, literary and educational links which certainly did not cease in 1560, and were much stronger than the fairly fragile peace with England. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the French influence on Scottish language and literature, art and architecture, legal institutions and education; or, for example, the establishment of the Scots College in 1326, which provided a focus for Scottish students studying in Paris until the upheaval of the French Revolution, during which time its library of books and precious manuscripts was scattered to the four winds. It is also not possible to examine here the Scottish literary influence in France of Scots such as John Major and George Buchanan both of whom studied and taught at the University of Paris in the early sixteenth century, and either of whom may have caused Erasmus to remark that the Scots 'plume themselves on their skill in dialectic subtleties'. Moreover, there are also the contributions of Thomas Reid, David Hume and Adam Smith in the eighteenth century, to what was known in France as the 'Scottish School of Philosophy', and to which Auguste Comte attributed his own evolution in the first instance especially due to some luminous inspirations of Hume and Adam Smith.

The Act of the Council of State in the name of Louis XIV in 1646 was the last of the Franco-Scottish agreements which confirmed the 'friendship and confederacy between the two kingdoms, offensive and defensive, of crown and crown, king and king, people and people'; and the marriage of Henriette-Anne to Philippe duc d'Orléans in 1661 was the last marriage contracted between the Scottish and French royal families. Ultimately, the death of Prince Charles Edward at Rome in 1788, who left no legitimate heirs (his brother, Henry Benedict, Cardinal York, did not assert his royal claims from 1788 until his own death in 1807) extinguished Stewart pretensions to the Scottish crown and any likelihood of rekindling any sort of alliance with France, especially since Scotland was now being ruled by the heavy hand of the Hanoverians.

By this time Father Thomas Innes, in his *Critical Essay...*, first published in 1729, had also extinguished the fable of the ancient alliance between Charlemagne and Achaius. Yet there remains a curious reference to

the donation of 'la terre d'Ecossais' in a charter of 1120 of the Abbey of Absie. The point of interest here is that the "*terram de Escozai*" (the land of a Scot) is mentioned in a twelfth-century French charter of an Abbey which was subsequently awarded in the sixteenth century to succeeding Scottish ambassadors, David Paniter and James Beaton as a reward by Henri II for their services to the French crown. A coincidence perhaps. But who was the Scot who possessed land near Poitiers which by the beginning of the twelfth century had come into the hands of Raoul Mauclavel, whose name does not sound particularly Scottish? It seems unlikely to have been a donation to a Scot for services rendered in the First Crusade which Dr. Macquarrie says, 'was an international movement which involved not only France and Italy ... but also remote parts of Northern Europe, including Scotland'; because the First Crusaders did not begin to return to Europe until the early twelfth century. Thus the land must have been acquired in at least the eleventh or possibly the tenth or even the ninth century, probably for military service, although at this time in European history this Scot may have come from Ireland; even though he may have been known as Scottish or called a Scot. This chronology brings the "*terram de Escozai*" much closer to the time of Charlemagne (742-814) and makes one wonder whether there may have been some fact in the fable after all ?

Resumé de L'Ancienne Alliance' et Les Fiançailles de Marie, Reine d'Escoisse¹⁴

Les origines des relations entre la France, l'Ecosse et l'Angleterre remontent à 1295 quand les Ecossais formèrent la première alliance offensive et défensive contre l'Angleterre; de façon à empêcher les incursions et les ambitions hégémoniques du roi de l'Angleterre, Edouard I^{er}. 'L'Auld Alliance' fut signée par tous les rois Français et Ecossais (à l'exception de Louis XI) depuis 1295 jusqu'au milieu du seizième siècle. Déjà à cette époque la légende des anciens rois d'Ecosse prenait le pas sur la réalité. Le père, Thomas Innes, au XVIII^e siècle établit que l'histoire fabuleuse de l'alliance Ecossaise avec Charlemagne n'était pas avérée. Mais aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles les Ecossais croyaient fermement que l'Alliance remontait aussi loin qu'à Charlemagne. Cette croyance était également partagée par les Français et fut utilisée dans des préambules de documents d'état, ou pour justifier telle action dans plusieurs documents non seulement Français mais aussi Ecossais.

Henri II fut prompt à exploiter cet outil de propagande après son accession au trône. Mais dès 1543, alors qu'il imagina un plan d'union des couronnes Françaises et Ecossaises qui profiterait du fait que Marie de Guise était mère de Marie, reine d'Ecosse, pour marier la jeune reine à son fils,

¹⁴ I am grateful to Monsieur Sephane Crouzat, Director of the French Institut in Edinburgh, for his translation of this text.

François. Ce projet ne devint une véritable option qu'après la défaite désastreuse de Ecossais à la bataille de Pinkie (1547). Durant le 'Rough Wooing' (ça va dire, 'une cour brutale'), le terme utilisé pour décrire les guerres Anglo-Ecossaise de 1543 à 1550, Henry VIII et le Protecteur Somerset tentèrent d'obliger les Ecossais à autoriser le mariage de Marie, reine d'Ecosse au fils de Henry VIII, Edouard. La stratégie de Henri II au contraire était d'adopter des moyens de 'persuasion pacifique'. Il couvrit la noblesse et le clergé Ecossais d'or, de pensions, d'ordres militaires et des terres, usant des mêmes tactiques que celle que son père avait employées pour unir le duché de Bretagne au royaume de France en 1532. Le premier geste d'Henri II fut d'établir un contrat avec James, Seigneur d'Hamilton et 2^e comte d'Arran et gouverneur d'Ecosse, qui promit qu'en échange d'un duché Français et autres cadeaux, il pourrait obtenir le consentement des trois états de parlement Ecossais pour le mariage de Marie, reine d'Ecosse au dauphin, la venue de la jeune reine en France, et la remise de certaines places fortes entre les mains Français. Ainsi, dès que Marie fut promise à François par un acte des trois états de parlement Ecossais le 7 juillet 1548, les troupes Françaises envoyées en Ecosse par Henri II commencèrent à mettre en oeuvre son souhait: expulser les Anglais et garder les frontières Ecossaises pour protéger ce qu'il considéra, dès les fiançailles, comme étant le royaume du dauphin.

Après une campagne qui aboutit à chasser les Anglais de Boulogne, Henri II signa un traité de paix avec l'Angleterre le 24 mars 1550 dans lequel il exigeait l'inclusion de l'Ecosse. Il acheta l'acquiescement des Nobles Ecossais, parmi lesquels Arran qui, depuis qu'il avait accepté le duché de Châtellerauld en 1549, avait aboli la plupart de ses pouvoirs de Gouverneur. Henri II envoya ensuite ses instructions pour le gouvernement d'Ecosse à la reine mère, Marie de Guise, et à son ambassadeur, Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel et de Villeparisis, qu'il promut peu après au rang de lieutenant-général d'Ecosse. Ainsi, qu'au conseil privée Ecossais traçant les grandes lignes de sa politique Ecossaise pour laquelle il s'était proclamé Protecteur. Cependant, la chute du gouvernement de Northumberland en Angleterre et l'accession de Marie Tudor, l'encouragèrent à reconsidérer sa politique: James Hamilton, comte d'Arran devait être destitué comme gouverneur d'Ecosse. En décembre 1553 le parlement de Paris, suivant les instructions du roi, émit l'opinion selon laquelle l'âge parfait de la jeune Reine pouvait être avancé de douze mois. Quelques mois plus tard, les trois états de parlement d'Ecosse destitua le gouverneur et consentit à l'investiture de Marie de Guise comme régente pour sa fille.

Avec l'avènement de Marie de Guise comme régente et de Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel et de Villeparisis comme lieutenant-général d'Ecosse, Henri II put alors en toute confiance laisser l'administration et le gouvernement du pays entre leurs mains et porter son attention sur son grand adversaire, le Saint Empereur Romain, Charles Quint. La politique d'Henri II

en Ecosse avait été jusque là un grand succès politique, diplomatique et militaire.

Tant sur les plans légal, administratif et militaire, la politique d'Henri II à l'égard de l'Ecosse fit l'objet de visées à long terme. Sur le plan militaire notamment, on peut mentionner les stratagèmes d'Henri II pour récupérer le château de Saint-André pour le gouvernement Ecossais en 1547. Ceci représenta la première action militaire de son règne et avait tout ce qui caractérise un projet mûri de longue date, comme l'atteste l'application rapide de ses ordres par son général des galères, Leone Strozzi. La majeure partie des succès administratifs et militaires d'Henri II sont dus à la présence de Henri Cleutin comme lieutenant-général. Marie de Guise fut la Reine Mère la plus populaire des XV^e e[t] XVI^e siècles, mais d'Oysel était un personnage de la même importance dans l'administration et le gouvernement de l'Ecosse, un fait qui a été ignoré par les historiens; ceux-ci ayant eu tendance à le reléguer au rang de simple ambassadeur en Ecosse. Alors que il est vrai que tel fut son poste lorsque François I^{er} le nomma en 1546, mais la situation changea radicalement à la fin de l'année suivante du fait de l'importance nouvelle accordée à l'Ecosse par Henri II.

Le succès de la politique d'Henri II en Ecosse était due presque entièrement aux millions de livres tournois (3 millions à la fin de 1549) qu'il dépensa, non seulement pour 'la garde et conservation de l'Ecosse', mais aussi pour les grands nobles Ecossais, ecclésiastiques et laïques. Ces sommes correspondaient à plus de trois fois les sommes investies par son père durant tout son règne, de 1515 à 1547.

Non seulement Henri II poursuivit les traditions de l'Ancienne Alliance', dont il croyait fermement qu'elle remontait à Charlemagne, mais il était plus attaché à l'Ecosse que n'importe quel autre monarque après 1295. En dehors de ses engagements financiers, il accorda des privilèges spéciaux et la naturalisation à sa garde écossaise en 1548, ainsi qu'à tous les sujets Ecossais à la suite de l'union des couronnes avec le mariage de Marie et François en 1558. Les Ecossais firent la réciproque avec les lettres de naturalité la même année; et en 1554 pour encourager les Ecossais à remplacer le gouverneur et investir Marie de Guise comme régente, Henri II accorda des privilèges spéciaux aux marchands Ecossais.

Tout au long de son règne, des troupes Françaises comprenant des centaines d'hommes, voire jusqu'à six à sept mille, furent basées en Ecosse, d'abord pour chasser les Anglais, puis pour garder les frontières de ce que Henri II considérait depuis 1548 comme le 'Royaume du Dauphin'. Cette politique contrastait nettement avec celle de ses prédécesseurs qui, comme dans le cas des ambassadeurs, avaient envoyé *ad hoc* des troupes pendant des périodes limitées afin de prêter main forte aux Ecossais contre leurs 'Auld Ennemis', les Anglais. Henri II, de par politique qu'il menait en Ecosse à la

suite de traité de Boulogne, avait placé les Anglais dans une position où il n'avaient d'autre choix que de se plier aux exigences du souverain Français. A cette époque l'Angleterre n'avait les moyens ni militaires ni financiers de combattre à la fois les Ecosseis et les Français. Cependant la docilité de l'Angleterre ne dura pas au-delà du régime de Northumberland en 1553. De ce fait, la mort d'Edouard VI amena d'Oysel à se rendre vite en France pour discuter avec Henri II, le duc de Guise, le cardinal de Lorraine et le connétable, Anne de Montmorency, de la déposition de gouverneur d'Ecosse. On ne pouvait faire confiance au comte d'Arran et sa tentative d'aligner l'Ecosse sur l'Empire en 1550, surtout au moment où la cousine de Charles Quint venait de revendiquer triomphalement la couronne Anglaise. L'accession au trône de Marie Tudor représentant le retour de l'Angleterre au Catholicisme, et le mariage de la souveraine avec Prince Philippe d'Espagne changèrent les relations Franco-Anglo-Ecosseises, pour finalement entraîner l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse dans la lutte entre les Habsbourg et les Valois au cours des années 1550.

Avec le consentement des trois états de parlement Ecosseis, Henri II avait négocié la régence de Marie de Guise ainsi que l'union de couronnes Française et Ecosseise qui devait amener son fils, François, à devenir le premier et dernier roi d'Ecosse et de France. La politique de Henri II en Ecosse fut couronnée de succès jusqu'en 1557. Mais la reprise des hostilités entre Habsbourg et Valois après la rupture de la trêve de Vaucelles (le 31 janvier 1557), les tensions religieuses en Europe, particulièrement en France, en Angleterre et en Ecosse, et l'effondrement du marché monétaire international, tout cela lié à un nombre considérable de décès parmi les dirigeants laïques et ecclésiastiques Européens, aggravèrent sérieusement le paysage politique international. Ceci mit un terme aux aspirations Françaises en Ecosse et, en 1560, à l'Ancienne Alliance'.militaire.

Acte des Trois États Écosseis à Haddington le 7 juillet 1548

Dans la convocation des Trois États du Royaume d'Écosse de la très excellente Princesse Marie, Reine d'Écosse, siégeant à l'Abbaye de Haddington le septième jour de juillet l'an de Dieu mil cinq cent quarante-huit par le Noble et puissant Prince, Jacques, Conte d'Arran, Milord Hamilton & etc., Gouverneur d'Écosse, les Trois États du Royaume étant présents.

Ce jour-même, M. Dessy [d'Essé], lieutenant-général de la flotte et de l'armée envoyées par le très chrétien roi de France [Henri II] pour secourir actuellement ce Royaume, a démontré comment son Maître, le roi de France, à cause des guerres mortelles, cruautés, déprédations et blessures insupportables commises depuis plusieurs années par nos ennemis traditionnels d'Angleterre contre notre Souveraine [Marie Stuart], étant en bas âge, ainsi que contre son Royaume et ses féaux sujets. Ledit très chrétien roi, poussé par amitié

fraternelle et par ladite confédération, a agi comme un frère propice et secourable pour aider, soutenir, maintenir et défendre de tout son pouvoir cette tendre Princesse, son Royaume et ses féaux sujets, contre tous ceux qui voudraient les blesser, non seulement en paroles mais aussi en actes, et pour cette raison, l'a envoyé actuellement dans ce royaume, avec une flotte et une armée de nobles seigneurs, leur ordonnant de rendre à ce Royaume sa liberté, ses privilèges et son indépendance de jadis, et de reprendre tous les lieux forts, châteaux et fortresses d'entre les mains de nos ennemis traditionnels [les Anglais], soutenus autant que faire se peut par les conseils prudents et l'aide de Gouverneur de des nobles de ce Royaume, prêts à donner leur vie pour obtenir le résultat: non seulement a-t-il déjà envoyé cette armée, mais aussi [d'Essé] promet-il, au nom de son susdit Maître, de venir dans ce Royaume, en toute occasion nécessaire, d'y envoyer et d'y garder en garnison des gens d'armes, des munitions et de l'argent suffisants pour restreindre lesdits ennemis traditionnels en temps de guerre, pour en garder et préserver ce Royaume en liberté et indépendance, contre ces ennemis ou tous autres, tout ceci conformément à la commission, obligation et promesse qui lui ont été confiées sous le Grand Sceau dudit très chrétien roi, apporté et exposé ici devant les Trois États. Par conséquent, prenant en considération ses promesses et le fait que ledit très chrétien roi a résolu de tout coeur de défendre ce Royaume, il [d'Essé] désirait, au nom de son susdit Maître, une union plus parfaite et alliance indissoluble d'amitié, de ligue et de confédération: le mariage de notre Souveraine [Marie Stuart]. De sorte que le fils [François] dudit très chrétien roi, Dauphin de France, puisse s'unir en mariage avec Sa Majesté pour l'honneur, le plaisir et le profit perpétuels des deux Royaumes, ce qui assurera à ce Royaume et à ses féaux sujets la préservation de la même indépendance, les mêmes libertés et lois qu'auparavant, sous tous les rois d'Écosse, et maintiendra la défense de ce Royaume et de ses féaux sujets, comme le Roi l'assure pour son Royaume de France et les féaux sujets de celui-ci, conformément à sa commission, promesse et direction déjà montrées comme susdit. Et de cette manière M. le Gouverneur et les Trois États du Royaume ont voulu délibérer là-dessus, et en donner leur décision, à savoir si le désir exprimé est ou n'est pas raisonnable et acceptable. En présence de la Reine [Marie de Guise-Lorraine], mère de notre Souveraine, M. le Gouverneur et les susdits Trois États du Royaume ont à l'unanimité trouvé bon, et, avec l'accord des Trois États ont accepté comme très raisonnable le désir dudit M. Dessy [d'Essé], lieutenant du roi très chrétien, son Maître, (M. Dosell [Henri Cleutin, Sieur d'Oysel] son ambassadeur, présent dans ce même convocation des Trois États, étant également d'accord), et ont permis que notre Souveraine [Marie Stuart] épouse ledit Dauphin [François] à un âge jugé convenable, et tous ici présents y consentent, pourvu que ledit roi de France garde, maintienne et conserve aux sujets de ce Royaume les mêmes libertés et lois comme il en fait pour son propre Royaume de France et pour ses sujets à lui. Et pour la raison que ce Royaume a été gardé, soutenu et défendu autrefois, conformément à la

promesse dudit Lieutenant, envoyé spécial pour ladite Cause, notre Souveraine n'épousera nul autre que ledit Dauphin.

M. le Gouverneur, au nom de notre Souveraine, sanctionne et approuve dans la convocation des Trois États du Royaume ici présente, la détermination et le consentement des Trois États, concernant le mariage de notre Souveraine avec le Dauphin de France, conformément à l'acte des Trois États décidé là-dessus. Pourvu que le roi de France, très cher père dudit Dauphin, maintienne et défende ce Royaume d'Écosse, ses féaux sujets et ses lois, comme l'ont fait au passé les rois d'Écosse, il promet de lui faire épouser le Dauphin, et nul autre.

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APPENDIX

The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots at the 'Abbey of Haddington' on 7th July 1548

By the invitation of the Local History Society and the Reverend Clifford Hughes, Minister of St. Mary's, Haddington, Dr. Elizabeth Bonner has devised a programme of historic, literary and cultural items illustrating the 'Auld Alliance', not only in honour of the visit to Haddington by visitors from Aubigny-sur-Nère (Haddington's twin-town in France), but also for local and other Scots who wish to participate in the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of the signing of the 'Auld Alliance' at Paris on 23rd of October 1295. The following programme will take place at St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Haddington at 7:00pm on Tuesday, 2nd May, 1995. All Visitors are Welcome. Admission by Donation. Refreshments will be served later.

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| 7:00pm | Reverend Clifford Hughes
(Minister of St. Mary's) | Welcome |
| 7:15pm | Dr. Elizabeth Bonner
(Visiting Fellow, Edinburgh University) | The "Auld Alliance": Fact and Fable' |
| 7:30pm | Mrs. Marion Stewart
(Edinburgh) | Recitation of Pierre de Ronsard's poems
concerning Marie Stuart and Henri II |
| 7:45pm | Mr. Charles Burnett
(Ross Herald of Arms) | The Honours of Scotland' |
| 8:00pm | Mrs Christine Stevenson
(Edinburgh) | Recitation of George Buchanan's poems
concerning Mary Queen of Scots and Henri II |
| 8:15pm | Dr. David Caldwell
(Asst. Keeper, Museums of Scotland) | The Siege of Haddington' |
| 8:30pm | Reverend Clifford Hughes
and Mr. Stephen Doughty (Harpsicord) | Sixteenth-Century French and Scottish Music |
| 8:45pm | Dr. Elizabeth Bonner | The Betrothal of Mary Queen of Scots' |
| 9:15pm | Panel of All Participants | Public Discussion and Questions |
| 9:45pm | REFRESHMENTS | DONATIONS FAREWELLS |